PART SIX

INDUSTRIALIZING AMERICA: UPHEAVALS AND EXPERIMENTS
1877–1917

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 6: 1865–1898
Period 7: 1890–1945

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

6.1 The rise of big business encouraged large-scale migrations, urbanization, and new efforts to reshape the environment and the economy.

6.2 An emerging industrial culture led to both opportunities and restrictions for immigrants, minorities, and women.

6.3 New cultural and intellectual movements emerged alongside debates over economic and social policies.

7.1 Governmental, political, and social organizations struggled to address societal and economic issues related to industrialization, urbanization, and mass migration.

Assessment Weight on the AP U.S. History Exam: 45% (Periods 6–8)

PART LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you’ve taught this part, your students should be able to answer the following “Big Idea” questions:

Chapter 17: Industrial America: Corporations and Conflicts, 1877–1911
What new opportunities and risks did industrialization bring, and how did it reshape American society?

Chapter 18: The Victorians Make the Modern, 1880–1917
How did the changes wrought by industrialization shape Americans’ identities, beliefs, and culture?

Chapter 19: “Civilization’s Inferno”: The Rise and Reform of Industrial Cities, 1880–1917
How did the rise of large cities shape American society and politics?

In the Progressive Era, how and why did reformers seek to address the problems of industrial America? To what extent did they succeed?
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work, Exchange, and Technology</th>
<th>Peopling</th>
<th>Environment and Geography</th>
<th>Politics and Power</th>
<th>Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture</th>
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<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Economic depression (1873–1879)</td>
<td>Hostility toward Chinese immigrants grows</td>
<td>Successful containment of New York cholera outbreak spurs movement for public health (1866)</td>
<td>Democrats make sweeping congressional gains (1874)</td>
<td>Comstock Act bans circulation of most information about sex and birth control (1873)</td>
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<td>First department store opens in Philadelphia (1874)</td>
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<td>First national park established at Yellowstone (1872)</td>
<td>Era of close party competition in national elections (1874–1894)</td>
<td>National League launches professional baseball (1876)</td>
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<td>Great Railroad Strike (1877)</td>
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<td>Appalachian Mountain Club founded (1876)</td>
<td>Reconstruction ends (1877)</td>
<td>Henry George, <em>Progress and Poverty</em> (1879)</td>
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<td>Deskilling of labor under mass production</td>
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<td>1880</td>
<td>First vertically integrated corporations</td>
<td>Rapid industrialization draws immigrants from around the world; American cities grow rapidly</td>
<td>Drought on the plains prompts calls for federal irrigation</td>
<td>Pendleton Civil Service Act (1883)</td>
<td>Increasing numbers of students attend college</td>
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<td>Rockefeller establishes Standard Oil Trust</td>
<td>Chinese Exclusion Act (1882–1943)</td>
<td>Hatch Act (1887) provides federal support for agricultural research and experiment stations</td>
<td>Peak influence of Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (1880s)</td>
<td>Booker T. Washington founds Tuskegee Institute (1881)</td>
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<td>Emergence of white-collar managerial work</td>
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<td>Interstate Commerce Act (1887)</td>
<td>William Dean Howells calls for realism in literature (1881)</td>
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<td>Women enter paid labor as office workers</td>
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<td>Hull House settlement founded (1889)</td>
<td>Birth of American football</td>
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<td>Knights of Labor grows rapidly (mid-1880s)</td>
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<td>Popularity of vaudeville (1880s–1890s)</td>
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<td>American Federation of Labor founded (1886)</td>
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<td>1890</td>
<td>Severe economic depression (1893–1897)</td>
<td>Gorras Blancas confront wealthy Anglo interests in New Mexico</td>
<td>Sierra Club founded (1892)</td>
<td>Rise of People’s Party (1890–1896)</td>
<td>Chicago World’s Fair (1893)</td>
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<td>Accelerated corporate mergers in key industries</td>
<td>Ellis Island opens (1892)</td>
<td>“Bicycle craze” and rise of hiking and camping get more Americans outdoors</td>
<td>Sweeping Republican gains (1894)</td>
<td>Literary realism and naturalism gain recognition</td>
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<td>Birth of modern advertising</td>
<td>Supreme Court upholds segregation of schools and public facilities in <em>Plessy v. Ferguson</em> (1896)</td>
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<td>“Solid South” emerges; African-American disfranchisement in South (1890–1905)</td>
<td>Popularity of ragtime music (1890s–1900s)</td>
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<td>Unemployed whites attack and drive Chinese farmworkers out of California</td>
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<td>William McKinley defeats William Jennings Bryan (1896)</td>
<td>Armory Show introduces modern art (1913)</td>
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<td>National Consumers’ League founded (1899)</td>
<td>Rise of Social Gospel</td>
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<td>Joseph Pulitzer pioneers “yellow journalism”</td>
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<td>1900</td>
<td>U.S. Steel becomes nation’s first billion-dollar corporation (1901)</td>
<td>Rising immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe</td>
<td>Lacey Act (1900)</td>
<td>William McKinley assassinated; Theodore Roosevelt becomes president (1901)</td>
<td>Nickelodeons introduce commercial motion pictures</td>
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<td>Women’s Trade Union League founded (1903)</td>
<td>Height of eugenics (1900s–1920s)</td>
<td>Antiquities Act (1906)</td>
<td>Niagara Movement calls for full voting rights and equal opportunities for blacks</td>
<td>Custom of unchaperoned “dating” arises</td>
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<td>International Workers of the World founded (1905)</td>
<td>Increasing numbers of blacks move to cities; responses include “race riots” by whites</td>
<td>gives president authority to create and protect national monuments</td>
<td>Women’s suffrage movement grows</td>
<td>Rise of the Negro Leagues</td>
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<td><em>Muller v. Oregon</em> (1908) permits state regulation of women’s working hours</td>
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<td>Newlands Reclamation Act (1902)</td>
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<td>Advent of literary and artistic modernism</td>
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<td>Triangle Shirtwaist fire (1911)</td>
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<td>First national wildlife refuge created (1903)</td>
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Industrial America: Corporations and Conflicts
1877–1911

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 6: 1865–1898

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

6.1 The rise of big business encouraged large-scale migrations, urbanization, and new efforts to reshape the environment and the economy.
  • Large-scale production created a “Gilded Age” characterized by a national consumer culture, marketing, and business consolidation.
  • Business and government leaders were challenged by demographic changes, regional differences, and labor movements.
  • Westward migration, new farming and transportation technologies, and economic unrest led to conflict.

6.2 An emerging industrial culture led to both opportunities and restrictions for immigrants, minorities, and women.
  • International and internal migrations increased population in urban and rural areas, heightening inequities and inspiring reform efforts.

6.3 New cultural and intellectual movements emerged alongside debates over economic and social policies.
  • Politics was tied to big business and focused on national economic issues, leading to calls for reform.
  • The social order was challenged by new cultural and intellectual movements.
CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Evaluate what factors led to the economic success of industrial capitalism in America after 1877.
2. Assess how American industry organized business practices and harnessed new technologies in order to maximize profits.
3. Understand the working conditions of American industrial laborers.
4. Analyze how and why American workers sought to improve their working conditions in the late nineteenth century.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Rise of Big Business
   A. Innovators in Enterprise
      1. Production and Sales
         a. As industrialization lowered prices through large-scale manufacturing, producers developed new technological and business efficiencies that allowed them to still make a profit.
         b. Railroad companies initiated the management revolution that created a managerial hierarchy of responsibilities, departmentalized operations by function, and improved accounting.
         c. The United States became an industrial power largely by tapping the vast natural resources of North America, including minerals, lumber, and other raw materials in the West.
         d. As steam and electricity became the chief energy workhorses, industries that had once depended on water power began to use prodigious amounts of coal. Kerosene replaced whale oil and wood to produce light and heat.
         e. By 1900, America’s factories and urban homes were converting to electric power. This transition had great economic and environmental significance.
         f. Cattle dealer Gustavus Swift pioneered the assembly line to improve productivity and created a new kind of enterprise—a vertically integrated firm capable of handling within its own structure all the functions of an industry—from central processing to distribution.
         g. He also utilized predatory pricing to absorb his competitors and gain greater market control.
      2. Standard Oil and the Rise of the Trusts
         a. Others shared Swift’s insight that the essential step was to identify a mass market and then develop a national enterprise capable of serving it.
         b. John D. Rockefeller took advantage of whale-oil shortages during the Civil War and discovery of oil in Pennsylvania to develop his kerosene and refining business.
         c. Rockefeller’s Standard Oil of Ohio adopted vertical integration to control production and sales, but it also pioneered the concept of horizontal integration—merging smaller companies into a corporation—to create a national distribution system for oil.
         d. In 1882, Rockefeller’s lawyers created a new legal form, the trust, enabling Rockefeller to manage a number of different firms as a single entity.
         e. Other companies soon followed, creating trusts in linseed oil, sugar, and salt production. By World War I, Singer, Ford, and General Electric had become world-known companies.
         f. Despite growing resentment toward large corporations and their excessive power, America’s largest one hundred companies controlled one-third of the nation’s productive capacity by 1900.
   3. Assessing the Industrialists
      a. Industrialists such as Swift, Rockefeller, and Carnegie received much criticism, especially during economic downturns.
      b. But during periods of prosperity, both the public and scholars have applauded their expert planning and management skills.
      c. Incorporation has systematically transformed the American economy.
4. A National Consumer Culture
   a. Corporations also encouraged consumerism as improved products became cheaper, and railroads transported manufactured goods and fresh produce to the shelves of new national chain stores such as Woolworth and A&P.
   b. John Wanamaker pioneered the department store, megastores that enticed shoppers through advertising and low prices.
   c. Montgomery Ward and Sears built mail-order empires by offering ordinary people access to a wide array of goods with money-back guarantees.
   d. In the late nineteenth century, modern advertising appeared as big businesses set about the task of creating a national demand for their brand names. By 1900, companies spent over $90 million a year on advertising space in newspapers and magazines, transforming the press into a mass-market industry.

B. The Corporate Workplace
1. Managers and Salesmen
   a. Before the Civil War, most American boys had hoped to become farmers, small businessmen, or independent craft workers. Afterward, Americans gradually became accustomed to working for someone else. Because they wore white shirts with starched collars, professionals became known as white-collar workers, a term that differentiated them from blue-collar workers on the shop floor. The shift had profound and wide-ranging consequences.
   b. The headquarters of major corporations began to house executives and an array of departments handling specific activities such as purchasing and accounting. These departments were supervised by middle managers, something not seen before in American industry.
   c. Corporations also created new systems of selling their products. They established national distribution networks. Traveling salesmen, trained in the art of the “hard sell,” introduced merchants to new products, offered incentives, and suggested sales displays; Leading manufacturers distributed scripts proposing conversations with customers that would assure sales.

2. Women in the Corporate Office
   a. Beneath the ranks of managers, another class of employees emerged: female office workers.
   b. Before the Civil War, most clerks at small firms had been young men, just starting out, who expected to rise through the ranks. But in a large corporation, secretarial work became a dead-end job, and employers began to assign it to women. By the turn of the twentieth century, 77 percent of all stenographers and typists were female; by 1920, women held half of all low-level office jobs.
   c. For white working-class women, clerking and office work represented new opportunities. In an era before day care, married women most often worked at home, where they could tend children while also taking in laundry, boarders, or piecework (sewing projects that were paid on a per-item basis).
   d. As new opportunities rose in industry, office work, teaching, nursing, and sales, fewer women worked as domestics, a trend that continued in the twentieth century.

C. On the Shop Floor
1. Despite the managerial revolution at the top, skilled craft workers—almost all of them men—retained considerable autonomy in many industries. As independent contractors, they provided their own tools, worked at their own pace, and adhered to an informal system of limited output.
2. Although manufacturers attempted to limit the power of skilled workers through subcontracting, they could not eliminate the enduring relationship between laborers.
3. As technology advanced, however, workers increasingly lost the proud independence characteristic of craft work. The most important cause of this was the deskilling of labor under a new system of mechanized manufacturing that industrialists called mass production.
4. By the early twentieth century, managers believed that they could further reduce costs and improve employee efficiency by implementing Frederick W. Taylor’s strategy of scientific management.
5. In its most extreme form, scientific management called for engineers to time each task with a stopwatch; companies would then pay workers more if they met the stopwatch standard. Taylor assumed that only money mattered to workers and that they would respond automatically to the lure of higher earnings.
6. Industrialization and incorporation widened the gap between managers and the blue-collar workforce as well as contributed to sharper class distinctions: the wealthy elite; an emerging, self-defined middle class; and a struggling class of workers.

7. Health Hazards and Pollution
   a. Unregulated industrial labor was dangerous, yet despite high casualty rates in the railroad and mining industry, companies resisted demands for safety regulation.
   b. Industrialization also contributed to air and water pollution as well as an increase in pulmonary diseases for not just workers but people living near mines and factories.

8. Unskilled Labor and Discrimination
   a. As production was deskilled, the ranks of factory workers came to include more and more women and children, who were almost always unskilled and paid lower wages. Although most men resented the presence of the opposite sex, women defended their right to work.
   b. In 1900, one of every five children under the age of sixteen worked outside the home.
   c. At the bottom of the pay scale were most African American workers who, because of racial discrimination, were turned away from most corporate and industrial jobs. African American women who moved to northern cities were largely excluded from office work and other new employment options; instead, they remained heavily concentrated in domestic service. African American men confronted the same exclusion and were turned away from all but the most menial jobs; in 1890, almost a third of African American men worked in personal service.
   d. Employers in the North and West recruited, instead, a different kind of low-wage labor: immigrants.

II. Immigrants, East and West
   A. Newcomers from Europe
      1. Between the Civil War and World War I, over 25 million immigrants entered the United States. They turned the American working class truly global: it now included people of African and Western European descent as well as Southern and Eastern Europeans, Mexicans, and Asians. By 1900, over 75 percent of all residents of San Francisco and New York City had at least one foreign-born parent.
      2. For the new industrial order, immigrants made an ideal labor supply. They took the worst jobs at low pay; during economic downturns, many returned to their home countries, reducing the shock of unemployment within the United States.
      3. Mass migration from Western Europe began in the 1840s, when over one million Irish fled a terrible famine. European population growth and commercialization of agriculture during the following decades resulted in the displacement of millions of rural people in Germany, Scandinavia, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, and the Balkans.
      4. Intent on improving their lives, immigrants endured a grueling journey across the Atlantic and an intense inspection process at Ellis Island.
      5. Although some immigrants had mastered trades, the majority, especially poor farmers from Italy, Greece and Eastern Europe, had not and filled the increasing demand for unskilled workers.
      6. Most expected to work for only a few years, accumulate good savings, and return home.
      7. Along with Italians and Greeks, Eastern European Jews were among the most numerous arrivals; they sought economic opportunity but also escaped religious repression in Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, and other parts of Eastern Europe. They transformed the Jewish presence in the United States.
      8. Immigrants with an education, money, or business contacts usually prospered. Others endured harsh working conditions to improve the life of their children and grandchildren. A few experienced extreme poverty.
   B. Asian Americans and Exclusion
      1. Americans were not as lenient toward newcomers from Asia.
      2. The first Chinese immigrants had arrived in the United States in the late 1840s during the California gold rush.
      3. After the Civil War, the Burlingame Treaty between the United States and China opened the way for increasing numbers to emigrate. Fleeing poverty and upheaval in southern China, they, like European immigrants, filled low-wage niches in the American labor market.
      4. Facing intense political pressure, lawmakers shut out Chinese immigrants during the 1870s. In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which specifically barred Chinese laborers from entering the United States.
5. Nonetheless, well into the twentieth century, Chinese immigrants (as opposed to native-born Chinese Americans) could not apply for citizenship.

6. By the turn of the century, Korean and Japanese immigrants also began to arrive; they worked in agriculture, on railroads, and in canneries but were denied citizenship as well.

7. The Chinese Exclusion Act set precedent for future immigration limitations, but Asian migration never fully ceased. The Chinese became the nation’s first illegal immigrants, as they entered the U.S. as stowaways on ships, travelers across the desert from Mexico, or paper sons with falsified documents.

III. Labor Gets Organized

A. The Emergence of a Labor Movement

1. Labor advocates could adopt one of two strategies. First, they could seek to build broad political alliances, reaching out to rural voters who shared their problems or were sympathetic to their cause. Second, they could reject politics and create more narrowly focused trade unions that negotiated directly with employers.

2. In general, labor advocates emphasized the first strategy between the 1870s and the early 1890s, and the latter in the early twentieth century. Across this era, while industrialization made America an increasingly rich and powerful nation, it also brought large-scale conflict between labor and capital.

3. The problem of industrial labor entered Americans’ consciousness dramatically with the Great Railroad Strike of 1877. Protesting steep wage cuts during the depression, thousands of railroad workers walked off the job.

4. For their role in the strike, many railroad workers were fired and blacklisted: railroad companies circulated their names on a “do not hire” list to prevent them from getting any work in the industry. The U.S. government created the National Guard to maintain order.

5. Henry George, a radical thinker and author of *Progress and Poverty* (1879), argued that industrialization would benefit only the middle and upper classes but push the working class into permanent poverty.

6. In the post-Civil War decades, many rural people saw themselves as sharing the same problems as industrial workers.

7. Agrarians, or farmers’ advocates, argued that high tariffs forced rural families to pay more for basic necessities while failing to protect America’s great export crops, cotton and wheat.

8. The most prominent agrarian protest group of the early postwar decades was the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, founded in 1867. Like workingmen, Grange farmers sought to counter the new power of corporate middlemen through cooperation and mutual aid.

9. In the wake of the 1870s depression, Grangers, labor advocates, and local workingmen’s parties forged a national political movement: the Greenback-Labor Party.

10. Overall, Greenbackers subscribed to the ideal of producerism. They dismissed middlemen, bankers, lawyers, and investors as idlers who lived off the sweat of those who labored with their hands. Believing that these “producers” shared common goals, they sought to unite them as a political force.


12. By the early 1880s, twenty-nine states had created railroad commissions to supervise railroad rates and policies; others formed commissions to regulate insurance and utility companies. These early regulatory efforts were not always effective, but they were important starting points for reform.

B. The Knights of Labor

1. The Knights of Labor was founded in 1869 as a secret society of garment workers in Philadelphia and by 1878 had emerged as a national movement.

2. The Knights had originally intended to set up a cooperative commonwealth of factories owned and run by the employees; although membership was open regardless of race, gender, or work, the Knights excluded Chinese immigrants.

3. The Knights advocated electoral action and government regulation of corporations; they required negotiations between employers and works during strikes, and they made demands including workplace safety laws, end of child labor, federal tax on high incomes, public ownership of telegraphs and railroads, and workers’ right to organize. The Knights also advocated personal responsibility and self-discipline such as temperance.

4. Membership in the organization grew rapidly during the 1880s and included skilled workers, textile workers, domestic workers, and tenant farmers.
5. Grassroots labor activism and successful strikes enhanced the Knights’ reputation among workers and contributed to a membership of 750,000 in 1885.

6. Events in Chicago, a hotbed of anarchism, brought an end to the Knights. A wave of strikes and demonstrations ended with the infamous Haymarket Square incident, which was blamed on anarchists who advocated a stateless society. Four of the anarchists were executed, one committed suicide, and the others received long prison sentences.

7. Seizing on the antiunion hysteria set off by the Haymarket affair, employers broke strikes violently, compiled blacklists, and forced some workers to sign “yellow-dog contracts” that renounced union membership.

C. Farmers and Workers: The Cooperative Alliance

1. Despite the Haymarket uprising, the Knights’ cooperative vision did not entirely fade. A new rural movement, the Farmers’ Alliance, arose to take up some of the issues that Grangers and Greenbackers had earlier sought to address.

2. Founded in Texas during the depression of the 1870s, the Farmers’ Alliance spread across the plains states and the South, becoming by the late 1880s the largest farmer-based movement in American history.

3. Alliance leaders pinned their initial hopes on cooperative stores and exchanges that would circumvent middlemen. Cooperatives gathered farmers’ orders and bought in bulk at wholesale prices, passing the savings on to farmers.

4. Alliance cooperatives suffered from chronic underfunding and lack of credit, and they also faced hostility from merchants and lenders they tried to circumvent.

5. When cotton prices fell further in 1891, however, the Texas Alliance failed. The Texas Alliance then proposed a subtreasury system, modeled on the national banking system. Under the subtreasury plan, the federal government would hold crops in public warehouses and issue loans on their value until they could be profitably sold.

6. The Farmers’ Alliance cooperated with the Knights of Labor, seeking to use rural voters’ substantial political clout on behalf of urban workers who shared their political vision; they created a new political party, the Populists, and called for federal action.

7. In 1887, Congress sent President Grover Cleveland two groundbreaking bills that he signed into law. The Hatch Act provided federal funding for agricultural research and education, directly meeting farmers’ demands for government support of agriculture.

8. The landmark Interstate Commerce Act was also a direct response to pressure from farmer-labor constituents. The act created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC).

9. The ICC represented a compromise between farmer-labor advocates and other reformers who were more sympathetic to business.

10. The Interstate Commerce Commission faced formidable challenges. Though the new law forbade railroads from reaching secret rate-setting agreements, evidence was very difficult to gather; secret “pooling” continued. At the same time, the Supreme Court undermined the commission’s powers, siding with railroads in fifteen (out of sixteen) decisions over the next two decades.

D. Another Path: The American Federation of Labor

1. While the Knights of Labor got involved in politics, some skilled workers pursued a different strategy. In the 1870s, printers, molders, ironworkers, bricklayers, and other skilled workers organized trade unions nationwide. These “brotherhoods” focused in more narrow and specific ways on the everyday needs of workers in skilled occupations.

2. Trade unions sought a closed shop—with all jobs reserved for union members—that kept out lower-wage workers. Union rules specified the terms of work, sometimes in minute detail. Most importantly, trade unions asserted the right of workers to participate in the decision-making process in the workplace.

3. In the early 1880s, many trade unionists joined the Knights of Labor coalition. But the catastrophe of Haymarket persuaded them to leave the order and create the separate American Federation of Labor (AFL).

4. Samuel Gompers, who led the new AFL until 1924, hammered out the philosophical position known as pure-and-simple unionism, which focused on concrete, achievable gains through collective bargaining and organizing workers by craft and occupation.

5. On one level, pure-and-simple unionism worked. The AFL was small at first, but by 1904, its membership had risen to over two million. In the early twentieth century, it became the nation’s leading voice for workers, lasting far longer than movements like the Knights of Labor.
6. The AFL was far less welcoming to women and blacks, and it was limited mostly to skilled craftsmen. There was little room in the AFL for department-store clerks and other service workers, much less the farm workers and domestic servants whom the Knights of Labor had organized.

7. Despite the AFL’s great success among skilled craftsmen, the narrowness of its base was a flaw that would later come back to haunt the labor movement.

The Victorians Make the Modern
1880–1917

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 6: 1865–1898

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

6.1 The rise of big business encouraged large-scale migrations, urbanization, and new efforts to reshape the environment and the economy.
   • Westward migration, new farming and transportation technologies, and economic unrest led to conflict.

6.2 An emerging industrial culture led to both opportunities and restrictions for immigrants, minorities, and women.
   • International and internal migrations increased population in urban and rural areas, heightening inequities and inspiring reform efforts.

6.3 New cultural and intellectual movements emerged alongside debates over economic and social policies.
   • The social order was challenged by new cultural and intellectual movements.
CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand what changes impacted the American family between 1880 and 1917 and how the family responded.
2. Assess in what ways the experience of education and sports evolved over time for men and women.
3. Evaluate how the public activities of women in American society changed between 1880 and 1917.
4. Analyze how scientific and artistic accomplishments reflected the themes, tensions, and values of the era.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Commerce and Culture
   A. Consumer Spaces
      1. During industrialization, members of the middle and working classes distinguished each other not just through work but also through consumerism and leisure.
      2. Entrepreneurs like Thomas Edison developed products such as the incandescent light bulb and phonograph for the consumer.
      3. Consumer culture appeared democratic because even working-class Americans could purchase cheap mass-produced goods and watch moving pictures.
      4. In reality, consumerism evidenced class inequalities, race privilege, and traditional gender roles.
      5. Consumer-oriented businesses enticed middle class women and families to change their old shopping and leisure habits.
      6. P. T. Barnum advertised his traveling circus as respectable and educational family entertainment.
      7. Department stores lured middle-class women by offering tearooms, day care, wrapping and carrying services, as well as credit plans.
      8. Although shopping in department stores remained the privilege of middle-class women, working-class women could work as clerks and cashiers in these establishments and use employee discounts to purchase the latest fashions.
      9. Technology widened the gap between the classes. Washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and telephones eased life and changed social relations for the middle class but also offered new employment opportunities for the working class.
     10. Railroad companies appealed to middle-class consumers and travelers with stations that offered modern amenities and railcars, such as the Pullman cars, that provided comfort in elegant surroundings.
     11. It was a struggle for wealthy African Americans to find seats in first-class railcars because white ladies and gentlemen opposed racial equality.
     12. The United States Supreme Court decided in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that segregation, such as separate cars on trains for African Americans, was constitutional as long as accommodations were equal. In reality, segregated facilities were inferior.
     13. This court decision upheld Jim Crow legislation that segregated all public and commercial spaces in the South and evidenced that racial and class injustices shaped business and consumer culture.
   B. Masculinity and the Rise of Sports
      1. “Muscular Christianity”
         a. Gender expectations also changed for men. Traditionally, a successful man was his own boss and economically independent. By 1900, more and more men worked in salaried positions or for wages. An increasing number also did “brain work” in offices and no longer used their muscles. Athletics became the preferred way for men to prevent weakness and decay and to maintain their toughness and strength.
         b. One of the first promoters of physical fitness was the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). Introduced in Boston in 1851, the YMCA combined vigorous activities with an evangelizing appeal.
         c. Business leaders hoped that sports taught discipline and established employer-sponsored teams to instill a competitive spirit, teamwork, and company pride.
d. YMCA leaders also offered working-class men opportunity for leisure activities and developed the new indoor games of basketball and volleyball to offer its membership winter activities.
e. Elite men and women enjoyed tennis, golf, swimming, and social gatherings at country clubs. Elite men also pursued more aggressive physical sports including boxing, weightlifting, and martial arts.

2. America’s Game
   a. Before the Civil War, there were no distinctly American games except for Native American lacrosse. European Americans preferred to play cricket.
   b. The rules for a new team sport, baseball, were developed during the 1840s and 1850s, and the game’s popularity spread in military camps during the Civil War. In the postwar years, it became the most popular sport in America.
   c. Although developed by independent craftsmen and adopted by middle-class and elite men to prove strength and fitness, employers also encouraged working-class men to play baseball because it promoted discipline and teamwork.
   d. Big-time professional baseball arose with the launching of the National League in 1876; during the first World Series in 1903, the Boston Americans defeated the Pittsburgh Pirates. Profit-minded entrepreneurs shaped the sport to please a new type of consumer, the fan.

3. Rise of the Negro Leagues
   a. Although a few African Americans had initially been able to play for major league teams, by the early 1900s, baseball had become a segregated sport.
   b. Shut out of white leagues, black players and fans turned instead to all-black professional teams, which organized into separate Negro Leagues to celebrate athletic talent and race pride.

4. American Football
   a. The most controversial sport was football, which began at elite Ivy League schools during the 1880s.
   b. Like baseball and the YMCA, football soon attracted business sponsorship.
   c. The first professional teams emerged around the turn of the century in western Pennsylvania’s steel towns. Executives of Carnegie Steel organized teams in Homestead and Braddock, and the first league appeared during the anthracite coal strike in 1902.

C. The Great Outdoors
1. By the 1880s and 1890s, elite and middle-class Americans began to view Victorian culture as stuffy and claustrophobic, and they revolted by heading outdoors.
2. A craze for bicycling swept the nation, and women took up athletic activities such as archery and golf.
3. The outdoors took on a new meaning: instead of danger and hard work, it reflected leisure and renewal. Those with leisure time accomplished this by using the railroad networks to go to national parks. People of modest means went camping and rented cottages.
4. As Americans went searching for renewal in nature, the nation’s conservation movement arose. Organizations such as the Appalachian Mountain Club (1876) and the Sierra Club (1892) dedicated themselves to preserving and enjoying America’s great mountains.
5. National and state governments set aside more public lands for preservation and recreation. The United States substantially expanded its park system, requiring more comprehensive oversight, which President Woodrow Wilson established by signing an act creating the National Park Service in 1916.
6. Conservationists also worked to protect wildlife. Preservation efforts resulted in the passage of the Lacey Act in 1900, the creation of the National Audubon Society in 1901, and President Theodore Roosevelt’s establishment of the first National Wildlife Refuge at Pelican Island, Florida, in 1903.
7. In 1908, Roosevelt used the powers of the Antiquities Act (1906), which gave U.S. presidents the ability to set aside “objects of historic and scientific interest” without congressional approval, to preserve the Grand Canyon.
8. Although the great outdoors provided new leisure opportunities for women as well as working-class tourists, elite visitors also maintained segregation practices.
9. New state game laws, which redefined hunting and fishing as recreational not subsistence activities to protect animals from extinction, triggered controversy over the uses of wildlife.

II. Women, Men, and the Solitude of Self
   A. Changes in Family Life
1. The average family—especially in the middle class—continued to get smaller in the post-Civil War decades. A long decline in the birth rate, which began in the late eighteenth century, continued in this era. In 1800, white women who survived to menopause had borne an average of 7.0 children; by 1900, the average was 3.6.

2. Several factors limited childbearing. Americans married at older ages, and many mothers tried—as they had for decades—to space pregnancies more widely by nursing young children for several years, which suppressed fertility. By the late nineteenth century, couples also used a range of other contraceptive methods, such as condoms and diaphragms.

3. In 1873, Anthony Comstock, the crusading secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, secured a federal law that banned “obscene materials” from the U.S. mail. The law prohibited circulation of almost any information about sex and birth control.

B. Education

1. For young people who hoped to secure respectable and lucrative jobs, the watchword was education. A high school education was particularly valuable for boys from affluent families who hoped to enter professional or managerial work. Daughters attended in even larger numbers than their brothers.

2. By 1900, 71 percent of Americans between the ages of five and eighteen attended school. That figure rose even further in the early twentieth century, as public officials adopted and enforced laws requiring school attendance.

3. Most high schools were co-educational, and almost every high school featured athletics.

4. Some high school graduates sought further degrees, as the higher education system expanded rapidly. The percentage of Americans who attended college rose during the 1880s from around 2 percent to 8 percent by 1920. Attendance at business and technical schools rose as well.

5. The economy shaped curriculum at most state universities stressing technical training. The curriculum at private colleges also changed. Under dynamic president Charles Eliot, between 1869 and 1909, Harvard College pioneered the use of liberal arts.

6. In the South, one of the most famous educational projects was Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute, founded in 1881. Washington, born in slavery, not only taught but also exemplified the goal of self-help.

7. Washington became the most prominent black leader of his generation. His 1895 Atlanta Compromise address intended to show racial progress in the South and seemed to support segregation.

8. Washington’s style of leadership, based on avoiding confrontation with whites and cultivating patronage and private influence, was well suited to the difficult era after Reconstruction. He represented the hope that education and hard work would erase white prejudice, but the tide of disfranchisement and segregation convinced younger African Americans that Washington had accommodated whites too much.

9. In the Northeast and South, women most often attended single-sex institutions or teacher-training colleges where the student body was overwhelmingly female.

10. For female students from affluent families, private colleges offered an education equivalent to men’s. Vassar College started the trend when it opened in 1861; Smith, Wellesley, and others soon followed.

11. Co-education was more prevalent in the Midwest and West, where state universities opened their doors to female students after the Civil War. Women were also admitted to most of the southern African American colleges founded during Reconstruction.

12. The Association for the Advancement of Women, founded in 1873 by women’s college graduates, defended women’s higher education and argued that women’s paid employment was a positive good. As women began to earn degrees and work for wages, it became more difficult to argue that women were “dependents” who did not need to vote.

C. From Domesticity to Women’s Rights

1. The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union

   a. During industrialization, middle-class women sought to expand their place beyond the household, building reform movements and taking political action. Starting in the 1880s, women’s clubs sprang up and studied social problems such as pollution, unsafe working conditions, and urban poverty. By 1890, they created a nationwide General Federation of Women’s Clubs.

   b. Women frequently made maternalist arguments; they justified their work based on their role as mothers.
c. One of the first places women sought to reform was the saloon. The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), founded in 1874, spread rapidly after 1879, when the charismatic Frances Willard became its leader.
d. It became the leading organization advocating prohibition of liquor. The WCTU, more than any other group of the late nineteenth century, launched women into public reform.
e. Although the prohibition movement drew many supporters, it also attracted many critics, and attitudes toward prohibition diverged along ethnic, religious, and class lines.
f. Frances Willard declared herself a Christian Socialist and urged her followers to tackle other problems, such as poverty, hunger, lack of libraries, prison conditions, and workers’ plight.
g. The WCTU advocated women’s voting rights and supported the Prohibition Party which accepted women as speakers, convention delegates, and local candidates.
h. The WCTU served as a springboard for many women to not only raise money but to become more politically involved, join the People’s Party or groups such as the National Congress of Mothers, and run for office.

2. Women, Race, and Patriotism
   a. Like temperance work, patriotic activism became women’s special province in the post-Civil War decades. The Daughters of the American Revolution, founded in 1890, devoted themselves to celebrating the memory of Revolutionary War heroes, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, founded in 1894, extolled the South’s “Lost Cause.”
   b. African American women did not sit idle and in 1896 created the National Association of Colored Women, a network of local women’s clubs that focused their attention on community support.
   c. Using the language of domesticity and respectability to justify their work, black club women arranged for the care of orphans, founded homes for the elderly, worked for temperance, and undertook public health campaigns.
   d. One of the most radical voices was Ida B. Wells, who launched a one-woman campaign against lynching. Her investigations revealed that labor disputes, economic competition, and consensual relationships between white women and black men, not interracial rape, were the reasons why white mobs lynched black men.
   e. The largest black women’s group arose within the National Baptist Church (NBC), which by 1906 represented 2.4 million African American churchgoers.
   f. Founded in 1900, the Women’s Convention of the NBC promoted and funded night schools, health clinics, kindergartens, day care centers, and prison outreach programs.

3. Women’s Rights
   a. Although it divided into two rival organizations during Reconstruction, the movement for women’s suffrage reunited in 1890 in the National American Woman Suffrage Organization (NAWSA).
   b. Soon afterward, suffragists won victories in the West, winning full ballots for women in Colorado in 1893 and Idaho as well as Utah in 1896. By 1913, most women living west of the Mississippi River had the ballot and in other localities could participate in municipal elections, school elections, or liquor referenda.
   c. Ironically, the prominence of the movement also encouraged women and men to oppose it. Antisuffragists argued that women voters would just double their husbands’ votes, subject men to “petticoat rule,” and undermine women’s special roles as disinterested reformers.
   d. By the 1910s, some women took a stand for feminism—women’s full political, economic, and social equality.
   e. A famous site of sexual rebellion was New York’s Greenwich Village, where radical intellectuals, including many gays and lesbians, created a vibrant community.
   f. Along with many other political activities, women in Greenwich Village founded the Heterodoxy Club (1912), which was open to any woman who pledged not to be “orthodox in her opinions.”
   g. As women entered the public sphere, feminists argued that they should not just fulfill Victorian expectations of self-sacrifice for others; they should work on their own behalf.

III. Science and Faith
   A. Darwinism and Its Critics
   1. Amid rapid change, the United States continued to be a deeply religious nation. However, the late nineteenth century brought increasing public attention to another kind of belief: faith in science.
2. Researchers in many fields became converts to the doctrine of “fact worship”: the belief that one could rely only on hard facts and observable phenomena. Fiction writers and artists used close observation and attention to real-life experience to create works of realism. Others struggled to reconcile science with religion.

3. Evolution—the idea that species are not fixed, but ever-changing—was not a simple idea that scientists all agreed upon in the late nineteenth century. The term was widely associated with British naturalist Charles Darwin and his immensely influential book, On the Origin of Species (1859), which proposed the theory of natural selection.

4. In nature, Darwin argued, all creatures struggle to survive. Individual members of a species are born with random genetic mutations that better fit them for their particular environment.

5. Social Darwinism, as Spencer’s idea became known, found its American champion in William Graham Sumner, a sociology professor at Yale. Competition, said Sumner, was a law of nature, like gravity, and the success of millionaires demonstrated to him that they were “naturally selected.”

6. Sumner’s views created controversy, as intellectuals argued that Social Darwinism was an excuse for the worst excesses of industrialization.

7. The most dubious applications of evolutionary ideas were codified into new reproductive laws based on eugenics, an emerging “science” of human breeding. Eugenicists proposed sterilizing those deemed “unfit,” especially residents of state asylums for the insane or mentally disabled.

8. In the early twentieth century, almost half of U.S. states enacted eugenics laws. By the time eugenics subsided in the 1930s, about 20,000 people had been sterilized, with California and Virginia taking the lead. Eugenicists also supported segregation and racial discrimination and advocated immigration restrictions.

B. Realism in the Arts

1. Inspired by the quest for facts, American authors rebelled against romanticism and Victorian sentimentality and took up literary realism.

2. By the 1890s, a younger generation of writers took up the call by editor and novelist William Dean Howells “to picture the daily life in the most exact terms possible.” Theodore Dreiser dismissed unrealistic novels that always had “a happy ending.”

3. Stephen Crane’s Maggie: A Girl of the Streets (1893) described the seduction, abandonment, and death of a slum girl. Hamlin Garland conveyed the hardships of rural life in Main-Travelled Roads (1891), a collection of stories based on his family’s struggle in Iowa and South Dakota.

4. Some authors believed realism did not go far enough to overturn Victorian morality. Jack London, who spent his teenage years as a factory worker, sailor, and tramp, dramatized what he saw as the harsh reality of an uncaring universe in stories such as “The Law of Life” (1901).

5. London and Crane helped create literary naturalism. They suggested that human beings were not so much rational agents and shapers of their own destinies, but blind victims of forces beyond their control—including their own subconscious impulses and desires.

6. America’s most famous fiction writer, Mark Twain (Samuel Langhorne Clemens), came to take an equally bleak view. In The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (1884), he condemned slavery and racism, and in A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court (1889), he bitterly critiqued America’s idea of progress.

7. By the time Twain died in 1910, realist and naturalist writers had laid the groundwork for literary modernism. Modernists rejected traditional canons of literary taste, tended to be religious skeptics or atheists, questioned the whole idea of progress and order, and focused their attention on the subconscious and “primitive” mind.

8. In the visual arts, technological changes influenced aesthetics. By 1900, some photographers argued that the rise of photography made painting obsolete.

9. Painters invented their own form of realism. In 1913, New York Realists participated in one of the most controversial events in American art history, the Armory Show.

10. Housed in an enormous National Guard building in New York, the show introduced America to modern art, including experiments with such styles as cubism, characterized by abstract, geometric forms.

11. A striking feature of both realism and modernism, as they developed, was that many of their leading writers and artists were men. They denounced nineteenth-century culture as hopelessly feminized. In making their work strong and modern, these men also contributed to the broader movement to masculinize America.

C. Religion: Diversity and Innovation
1. By 1900, new scientific, literary, and artistic ideas posed a significant challenge to religious faith. Although some Americans argued that science would sweep away religion altogether, American religious practice remained vibrant. Protestants developed creative new responses to the era of industrialization, while millions of newcomers built their own institutions for worship and religious education.

2. Immigrant Faiths
   a. By 1920, almost two million children attended Catholic elementary schools instead of public schools, and Catholic dioceses across the country operated fifteen hundred high schools.
   b. Like Protestants, some Catholics and Jews succumbed to secular pressures and fell away from religious practice.
   c. Those immigrant Catholics who remained faithful to the Church were anxious to preserve what they had known in Europe, and they generally supported the Church’s traditional wing. But they also wanted religious life to express their ethnic identities. The Catholic hierarchy agreed to appoint immigrant priests as auxiliary bishops within existing dioceses.
   d. In the late nineteenth century, many native-born, prosperous American Jews embraced Reform Judaism, abandoning such religious practices as keeping a kosher kitchen and conducting services in Hebrew.
   e. But this was not the way of Yiddish-speaking Jews from Eastern Europe. Generally much poorer and also eager to preserve their own traditions, they founded Orthodox synagogues, often in vacant stores, and practiced Judaism as they had at home.

3. Protestant Innovations
   a. Facilitated by global steamship and telegraph lines, Protestant foreign missions in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East grew rapidly after the Civil War. Missionaries were supported at home by millions of armies of volunteers, including many women.
   b. Missionaries won converts by offering medical care and promoting women’s education. Some missionaries came to love and respect the people among whom they served. But others became deeply frustrated.
   c. Militant Protestants created a powerful political association, the American Protective Association (APA). This virulently nativist and anti-Catholic group advocated that all public school teachers be Protestants, no Catholics hold public office, and immigration be restricted.
   d. Although Protestants still accounted for 60 percent of Americans affiliated with a religious body, the formation of groups such as the APA evidenced a fear that Catholics and Jews may limit that dominance.
   e. While some Protestants enlisted in foreign missions, others responded by evangelizing among the unchurched and indifferent. They provided reading rooms, day nurseries, vocational classes, and other services.
   f. This movement to renew religious faith through dedication to public welfare and social justice became known as the Social Gospel.
   g. Its goals were epitomized by Charles Sheldon’s novel In His Steps (1896), which told the story of a congregation whose members resolved to live by Christ’s precepts for one year.
   h. An example of the Social Gospel at work, the Salvation Army, which arrived from Great Britain in 1879, spread a message of repentance among the urban poor, offering assistance programs that ranged from soup kitchens to shelters for former prostitutes.
   i. Disturbed by what they saw as rising secularism and abandonment of belief, some conservative ministers and their allies held an annual series of Bible Conferences at Niagara Falls. The resulting “Niagara Creed” reaffirmed the literal truth of the Bible and the certainty of damnation for those not born again in Christ. These Protestants called themselves fundamentalists, based on their belief in the essential truth of the Bible and its central place in Christian faith.
   j. Fundamentalists such as Dwight L. Moody and Billy Sunday made effective use of revival meetings, offering salvation to anyone and expressing political thoughts based on their Protestant beliefs. Sunday’s public support for progressive reforms and condemnation of Socialists anticipated the nativism and antiradicalism of the post-World War I era.
   k. Sunday also embodied the masculinized American culture through his commanding presence on stage, his fiery sermons, and his history as a baseball player. His revivals also represented modern marketing techniques, providing mass entertainment and the opportunity to meet a sports hero. Americans had adapted to modernity by adjusting the older beliefs and values, enabling them to endure in new forms.
“Civilization’s Inferno”: The Rise and Reform of Industrial Cities
1880–1917

Period 6: 1865–1898
Period 7: 1890–1945

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

6.1 The rise of big business encouraged large-scale migrations, urbanization, and new efforts to reshape the environment and
the economy.
   • Large-scale production created a “Gilded Age” characterized by a national consumer culture, marketing, and business
     consolidation.
6.2 An emerging industrial culture led to both opportunities and restrictions for immigrants, minorities, and women.
   • International and internal migrations increased population in urban and rural areas, heightening inequities and
     inspiring reform efforts.
6.3 New cultural and intellectual movements emerged alongside debates over economic and social policies.
   • Gilded Age politics were tied to big business and focused on national economic issues, leading to calls for reform.

7.1 The struggle to address societal and economic issues related to industrialization, urbanization, and mass

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand what enabled American cities to grow so dramatically during the nineteenth century.
2. Assess how industrialization affected urbanization.
3. Evaluate how class structure, ethnicity, and gender affected urban political affairs.
4. Analyze in what ways cities were crucibles of urban reform.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The New Metropolis
   A. The Shape of the Industrial City
      1. Mass Transit
         a. During the early nineteenth century, cities served as commercial and financial centers and were usually located
            along harbors or riverfronts.
         b. The advent of steam power and industrialization brought manufacturing and cheap labor in the form of
            immigrants to cities.
         c. Travel in the larger American city was difficult and challenged the ingenuity of city builders.
         d. In 1887, Frank Sprague’s electric trolley system became the main mode of transportation in the cities.
         e. Congestion in the cities led to the development of elevated and underground transportation; with Manhattan’s
            subway, mass transit became rapid transit.
f. Suburbs for the wealthy developed in response to mass transportation developments beginning with the railroad. Los Angeles entrepreneur Henry Huntington helped foster the emerging suburban ideal of affordable single-family homes near large cities for the middle class.

2. Skyscrapers
   a. With steel girders and passenger elevators available by the 1880s, architects invented the skyscraper. Downtown landlords could profit from small plots of land by building up and corporations used these buildings as symbols of business prowess.
   b. Chicago soon pioneered skyscraper construction, though New York took the lead after the mid-1890s.

3. The Electric City
   a. During the 1870s, electric streetlights began to replace dim gaslights to brighten streets and public spaces.
   b. Electric light gave the city its modern tempo, turned night into day, improved safety, and made nightlife more appealing.

B. Newcomers and Neighborhoods
1. Young men and women from rural areas looking for work and hoping to help families back home moved to cities and contributed to their explosive growth.

2. Cities also became homes for millions of immigrants from overseas. The biggest ethnic group in Boston was the Irish; in Minneapolis, Swedes; in most other northern cities, Germans. Arriving in the metropolis, immigrants confronted many difficulties, and most relied on relatives and friends to get oriented and find employment.

3. Patterns of settlement varied by ethnic group. Many Italians, recruited by padroni, or labor bosses, found work in northeastern and Mid-Atlantic cities. Their urban concentration was especially marked after the 1880s, as more and more immigrants—especially men—arrived from southern Italy.

4. Institutions of many kinds, including newspapers and mutual aid societies, sprang up to serve the social and economic needs of ethnic urban communities.

5. Sharply defined ethnic neighborhoods—such as San Francisco’s Chinatown, Italian North Beach, and Jewish Hayes Valley—grew up in every major city, driven by discrimination, immigrants’ desire to stick together, and class divisions.

6. A great African American migration from the rural South to southern and northern cities began at the turn of the century, but urban blacks could not escape discrimination; job opportunities were few and usually limited to the service sector.

7. Race riots periodically plagued the black urban community in both northern and southern cities, often targeting black business districts.

8. Whether they arrived from the rural South or from Europe, Mexico, or Asia, working-class city residents needed cheap housing near their jobs.

9. As urban land values climbed, speculators tore down older houses that had been vacated by middle-class families moving to the suburbs. In their place, they erected five- or six-story tenements, buildings that housed twenty or more families in cramped, airless apartments.

10. Although reformers were able to convince municipal governments to establish housing codes requiring indoor toilets and fire safeguards, these laws did not apply to the thousands of tenements already in existence.

C. City Cultures
1. Urban Amusements
   a. Despite their many dangers and problems, industrial cities could also be exciting places to live—places where people could challenge older mores.
   b. By the turn of the twentieth century, new mass-based entertainments had emerged among the working classes, especially youth.
   c. At the same time, the great cities proved to be stimulating centers for intellectual life, from museums and opera houses to news magazines.
   d. One enticing attraction for city dwellers was the vaudeville theater, which arose in the 1880s and 1890s. Customers could walk in any time and watch a continuous sequence of musical acts, skits, juggling, magic, and other entertainment.
   e. By the 1910s, movie theaters became respectable places for amusement.
f. Even more spectacular were great amusement parks that appeared around 1900, most famously at New York’s Coney Island. These parks had their origins in world’s fairs, whose free educational exhibits proved less popular than their paid entertainment areas.

2. Ragtime and City Blues
a. Popular music also became a booming business in the industrial city. By the 1890s, Tin Pan Alley, the nickname for New York City’s song-publishing district, produced dozens of such national hit tunes as “A Bicycle Built for Two” and “My Wild Irish Rose.”
b. African American artists brought a syncopated beat that, by the 1890s, began to work its way into mainstream hits like “A Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight.” Black performers soon became stars in their own right with the rise of ragtime. The exciting “ragged rhythm” became wildly popular across class and race lines, as it differed from Victorian hymns and parlor songs.
c. Scott Joplin, a master of the genre, hoped to elevate African American music and secure a broad nation audience. He introduced ragtime to national audiences at the Chicago World’s Fair in 1893.
d. Ragtime ushered in an urban dance craze. Despite widespread condemnation of the sexual nature of dances such as the Bunny Hug and Grizzly Bear, the dance mania spread from urban working classes to rural and middle-class youth.
e. By the 1910s, black music entered mainstream popular culture. For example, Blues music appealed to young urbanites, who were far from home experiencing loneliness, dislocation, and disappointment along with the thrills of city life.
f. Ragtime and Blues profoundly influenced twentieth-century American culture as the commercial music industry and youth brazenly appropriated black musical styles as their own.

3. Sex and the City
a. In the city, where parental oversight was weaker than it had been in previous generations, amusement parks and dance halls helped young people foster the new custom of dating, which like many other cultural innovations emerged first among the working class.
b. Gradually, it became more acceptable for a young man to escort a young woman out on the town for commercial entertainments, rather than spending the evening at home under parents’ watchful eyes. For young people, dating opened a new world of pleasure, sexual adventure, and danger.
c. Young women proved most vulnerable in the system of dating. Although many tried to maintain strict standards of respectability, the lines between working-class “treats” and casual prostitution often blurred.
d. Dating and casual sex were hallmarks of an urban world in which large numbers of residents were young and single.
e. In addition to informal and casual heterosexual relationships, many industrial cities developed robust gay subcultures. A gay world flourished in New York, for example, including an array of drinking and meeting places, as well as underground gay clubs and drag balls.

4. High Culture
a. For elites, the rise of great cities offered an opportunity to build museums, libraries, and other cultural institutions that could flourish only in major metropolitan centers. Millionaires patronized the arts partly to advance themselves socially but also out of a sense of civic duty and national pride.
b. Art museums, history museums, and public libraries grew into major urban institutions.

5. Urban Journalism
a. Publishers such as Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst established mass-market newspaper empires by printing sensational investigations of scandals and injustices. The arrival of Sunday color comics, like R. F. Outcault’s “The Yellow Kid” (1894), lent their name to “yellow journalism,” a derogatory term used for these papers.
b. By 1900, new magazines such as Collier’s and McClure’s introduced middle-class readers to the work of such reporters as Ida Tarbell, who exposed the machinations of John D. Rockefeller, and David Graham Phillips, whose “Treason of the Senate,” published in Cosmopolitan in 1906, documented the deference of U.S. senators—especially Republicans—to wealthy corporate interests.
c. President Roosevelt dismissed exposé journalists as muckrakers who focused too much on the negative side of American life. But they inspired thousands of readers to get involved in reform movements and tackle the problems caused by industrialization.

II. Governing the Great City
A. Urban Machines
1. As industrial cities grew with breathtaking speed, their governance posed a serious problem.
2. In the United States, cities relied largely on private developers to build streetcar lines and provide urgently needed water, gas, and electricity. This preference for business solutions gave birth to what one urban historian calls the “private city”—a place shaped by individuals and profit-seeking businesses.
3. Urban political machines served as a social service agency for city dwellers, providing jobs, lending help, and interceding against the city bureaucracy.
5. For city businesses, the machine served a similar purpose, but it exacted a price in return for its favors: tenement dwellers gave a vote and businesses wrote a check.
6. In the 1860s, boss William Marcy Tweed had made Tammany Hall a byword for corruption, until his extravagant graft in the building of a lavish city courthouse led to his arrest in 1871 and a decline thereafter in the more blatant forms of machine corruption.
7. George Washington Plunkitt declared that he favored “honest graft,” the easy profits that came to savvy insiders.
8. Middle-class reformers who condemned immigrants for supporting city machines did not realize that, for immigrants, the corrupt system meant jobs, emergency aid, and the only public service they could hope to attain.
9. Machine-style governments accomplished some notable successes, such as build sewage systems, bridges, spacious parks, and major sanitation projects.
10. These achievements were remarkable because American city governments labored under severe political constraints.
11. As cities continued to expand, the limits of machine government became increasingly clear. In addition to the problem of corruption, even the hardest-working ward boss could only help individuals on a local level, in limited ways. Most improvements followed the money into the affluent neighborhoods.

B. The Limits of Machine Government
1. Even a casual observer could see that cities were finding it difficult to cope with extremely rapid growth and that some urban politicians preferred personal gain to public welfare.
2. The problems that resulted were dramatically evident during the depression of the 1890s, when working-class unemployment reached a staggering 25 percent in some cities, and homelessness and hunger were rampant.
3. The crisis of the 1890s radicalized many urban voters, who proved none too loyal to the machines when better alternatives arose.
4. Middle-class reformers launched ambitious improvement programs. Some advocated municipal ownership of utilities. Others built public baths, gyms, swimming pools, and playgrounds. Most mayors battled with corrupt streetcar companies to bring down fares and introduce competition.
5. Reformers slowly defeated machine-supported candidates by promising reduction in crime, affordable housing, and more funding for schools.
6. Reformers also experimented with new ways of organizing municipal government. After a devastating hurricane in 1900 killed an estimated six thousand people in Galveston, Texas, and destroyed much of the city, rebuilders adopted a commission system that became a nationwide model for efficient government. Several cities adopted the referendum system, allowing voters to express their opinion on key political questions.

III. Crucibles of Progressive Reform
A. Fighting Dirt and Vice
1. Cleaning Up Urban Environments
   a. Progressivism, the overlapping movements by working-class radicals and middle-class reformers to combat the ills of industrialization, had roots in the city.
   b. News reporters such as Helen Campbell and Jacob Riis used the recently invented flash photography to expose the problems of poverty, disease, and crime in the tenements.
c. One of the most urgent problems of the big city was disease. In the late nineteenth century, researchers in Europe came to understand the role of germs and bacteria. American city leaders adopted more municipal clean-water, sewage, and drainage projects.

d. The public health movement became one of the era’s most visible and influential reforms.

e. In cities, the impact of pollution was more obvious than in rural areas. Children played on piles of garbage, breathed toxic air, and consumed poisoned food, milk, and water. Infant mortality rates were shocking.

f. Outraged, urban reformers mobilized to demand safe water and better garbage collection. Hygiene reformers taught hand-washing and other techniques to fight the spread of tuberculosis.

g. Reformers also urged the adoption of smoke-abatement laws and launched the “City Beautiful” movement that aimed to make industrial cities healthier and nicer places.

2. Closing Red Light Districts

a. Distressed by the commercialization of sex in American cities, reformers also launched a nationwide campaign against prostitution; they warned of the threat of “white slavery,” alleging (in spite of considerable evidence to the contrary) that young white women were being kidnapped and forced into prostitution.

b. Practical investigators found a more complex reality: women entered prostitution as a result of many factors, including low-wage jobs, economic desperation, and often sexual and domestic abuse.

c. A wave of brothel closings crested between 1909 and 1912, as police shut down red light districts in cities nationwide. Meanwhile, Congress passed the Mann Act (1910) to prohibit the transportation of prostitutes across state lines.

d. The crusade against prostitution accomplished its main goal—closing brothels—but in the long term it worsened the conditions under which many prostitutes worked.

B. The Movement for Social Settlements

1. Urban reformers, focused on the plight of the urban poor, developed a far more ambitious project: the social settlement. The most famous of these was Hull House on Chicago’s West Side, founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr.

2. The project was an idea borrowed not only from American urban missions but also from Toynbee Hall, a London settlement that they had visited while touring Europe.

3. Addams envisioned Hull House as a link between the middle and working classes, where both learned about each other and shared what each could offer.

4. Addams and her colleagues came to believe that immigrants already knew what they needed. What they lacked were the resources to fulfill those needs, as well as a strong political voice. Hull House was typical in offering a bathhouse, playground, kindergarten, and day care.

5. By the early twentieth century, social settlements sprang up all over the United States. They engaged in an array of public activities and took many forms. Some attached themselves to pre-existing missions or to African-American colleges. Others were founded by energetic graduates of women’s colleges.

6. Social settlements used their resources and influence in many ways. They opened libraries and gymnasiums for working men and women. They operated employment bureaus, penny savings banks, and cooperative kitchens for tired families.

7. Settlement work served as a springboard for other projects, such as school reform, workplace safety laws, lead poisoning, and juvenile delinquency.

8. Margaret Sanger, a nurse who volunteered with a Lower East Side settlement, was horrified by women’s suffering from constant pregnancies and launched a national birth control movement.

9. Settlement work was an early, crucial proving ground for the emerging profession of social work, which transformed the provision of public welfare.

10. Social workers rejected the older model of private Christian charity, dispensed by well-meaning middle-class people to those in need. Instead, they used the new social sciences to gather facts and advocate change.

C. Cities and National Politics

1. Despite the work of reformers, the problems of the industrial city grew more rapidly than remedies for them could be found. Journalist Upton Sinclair published his novel The Jungle, an exposé of labor exploitation in Chicago meat-packing plants. His descriptions of rotten meat and filthy conditions caught the nation’s attention. Congress passed
the Pure Food and Drug Act (1906) and created the Food and Drug Administration to oversee compliance with the new law.

2. Urban reformers began to realize they could affect national politics. The National Consumers’ League, encouraging shoppers to patronize only stores where wages and working conditions were fair, became one of the most powerful progressive organizations advocating worker protection laws.

3. Many labor organizations, such as the Women’s Trade Union League, grew to national stature. Trade-union women and their wealthy allies also joined together in the broader struggle for women’s rights.

4. The need for state and national action became clear by the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire in 1911 that lead to the death of 146 garment workers, mostly young immigrant women.

5. Shock, anger, and grief crossed ethnic, class, and religious boundaries. New York State developed a labor code that established sweeping fire, safety, wage, and working hour regulations.

6. The tragedy demonstrated that the social and economic problems of the industrial city had outgrown the power of the political machines; only stronger state and national laws could affect serious change.

7. The political aftermath of the Triangle fire showed how challenges posed by industrial cities pushed politics in new directions, not only by transforming urban government but also by helping to build broader movements for reform.

8. By 1900, Americans and new immigrants, who had thronged to the great cities from rural areas and from countries around the world, helped build America into a global industrial power. In the process, they created an electorate and a society that was far more ethnically, racially, and religiously diverse than it had been before.

CHAPTER 20

Whose Government? Politics, Populists, and Progressives

1880–1917
AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 6: 1865–1898
Period 7: 1890–1945

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

6.1 The rise of big business encouraged large-scale migrations, urbanization, and new efforts to reshape the environment and the economy.
   • Business and government leaders were challenged by demographic changes, regional differences, and labor movements.

6.3 New cultural and intellectual movements emerged alongside debates over economic and social policies.
   • Gilded Age politics were tied to big business and focused on national economic issues, leading to calls for reform.

7.1 Governmental, political, and social organizations struggled to address societal and economic issues related to industrialization, urbanization, and mass migration.
   • Continued growth and consolidation of large corporations spurred economic growth amid episodes of increasingly severe market instability.
   • Progressive reformers called for federal legislation, greater social justice, and expanded democracy to address inequality.

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand the role of political parties in domestic politics before 1900 and the choices political parties provided to voters.
2. Evaluate how and why political affairs played a central role in American culture in the late nineteenth century, and assess how women participated in political culture.
3. Explain the origins and aims of the Populist movement.
4. Analyze in what ways the political structure in the South changed after 1877 and how blacks were gradually disenfranchised.
5. Understand how and why racial segregation intensified in the late nineteenth century.
6. Explain how the reform movement changed and how major politicians approached the reform movement after 1900.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Reform Visions, 1880–1892
   A. Electoral Politics After Reconstruction
      1. New Initiatives
         a. In the 1880s and 1890s, labor unions and agrarian or farmers’ groups took the lead in critiquing the new industrial order and demanding change. Over time, more and more middle-class and elite Americans also took up the call, eventually earning the name progressives.
         b. On the whole, middle-class progressives proposed more limited measures than radical labor and farmer advocates did, but since they wielded more political clout, they often had greater success in winning passage of new laws.
         c. Disillusionment with Republicans, resurgence of Democrats in the South, rapid population growth, and the addition of new states contributed to fierce party competition and political instability.
         d. More voters turned out in presidential elections between 1876 and 1892 than in any other time in American history because they held strong views about issues related to the outcome of the Civil War, rights for African Americans, and economic policy.
         e. Presidents during this era could not act aggressively because they were elected on narrow margins and often had to work with a Congress controlled by the opposing party.
         f. Although the term Gilded Age applies to the economic history of this time period, politics was not stagnant or meaningless; instead, Americans bitterly disagreed over how to clean up corruption and rein in corporate power.
g. After the assassination of President Garfield in 1881, reform of the spoils system became urgent, even though this system was not the immediate motive for the murder.

h. The Pendleton Act of 1883 established a nonpartisan Civil Service Commission to fill federal jobs by examination. Cities and states across the country enacted similar laws.

i. Although this regulation seemed to benefit the educated middle class the most, it did place talented professionals into office, discouraged hiring of disqualified party supporters, brought consistency to government bureaucracy, and reduced corruption.

j. Leaders of the civil service movement included many proponents of classical liberalism, a term that at the time described those Americans, especially former Republicans, who became disillusioned with Reconstruction and advocated more limited and professionalized government.

k. During the 1870s and 1880s, farmer-labor advocates were able to pressure President Cleveland into signing the Interstate Commerce Act. At the same time, many states established commissions such as the Bureau of Labor Statistics to oversee private business and expose unsafe working conditions.

2. Republican Activism

a. In 1890, the Republican-controlled Congress extended pensions to all Union veterans and passed a law to regulate interstate corporations. Though it proved difficult to enforce and was soon weakened by the Supreme Court, the Sherman Antitrust Act (1890) was the first federal attempt to forbid any “combination, in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade.”

b. President Benjamin Harrison sought to protect black voting rights in the South. He found an ally in Massachusetts representative Henry Cabot Lodge, who drafted a bill to create a bipartisan federal elections board. Whenever one hundred citizens, in a district of 20,000 or more, appealed for intervention, the board would investigate. Upon finding evidence of fraud or disfranchisement, they could work with federal courts to seat the rightful winner.

c. Although the bill passed in the House, it failed in the Senate because northern liberals thought it provided too much democracy, and western Republicans feared too much government interference.

d. The defeat was a devastating blow to those who sought to defend black voting rights. The episode marked the demise of the party of emancipation.

e. Voters and politicians opposed other Republican initiatives such as prohibition, end of state funding for Catholic schools, and protective tariffs. A major political shift in 1890 resulted in the re-election of Grover Cleveland by a large margin and Democrats capturing the House of Representatives.

B. The Populist Program

1. Although rural voters pressured a few savvy Democrats to join the Farmers’ Alliance to address their needs, most did nothing.

2. In Kansas, a state entirely dominated by Republicans who treated the Alliance with contempt, the Alliance joined with the Knights of Labor to form the People’s Party in 1890; they then stunned the nation by capturing four-fifths of the lower house of the Kansas legislature and most of the state’s congressional seats.

3. The victory electrified workers and farm advocates nationwide. In July 1892, their delegates met at Omaha, Nebraska, formally created the national People’s Party, and nominated former Union general and Greenback-Labor leader James B. Weaver for president. In November, the Populists, as they became known, captured a million votes and carried four western states.

4. Populists differed from the mainstream parties by calling for stronger government to protect ordinary people through means such as public ownership.

5. Populism represented a grassroots uprising of ordinary farmers and received much ridicule from the national press based in the Northeast.

6. Although farmers’ votes were its chief instrument of victory, the People’s Party attracted support from other groups such as Alabama steelworkers and Rocky Mountain miners but failed to interest other industrial workers.

7. Prohibitionist and women’s suffrage leaders hoped that Populists would adopt their causes, but they were disappointed. Constituency thus remained limited.

II. The Political Earthquakes of the 1890s

A. Depression and Reaction
1. In 1893, after European investors pulled money out of the United States, farm foreclosures had increased, and railroad companies went bankrupt, the stock market crashed, initiating a lengthy depression that contributed to bank closures and soaring unemployment above 20 percent.

2. For Americans who had lived through the terrible 1870s, the depression looked grimly familiar. Even fresher in their minds were recent labor uprisings, including the 1886 Haymarket affair and the 1892 showdown at Homestead—followed, during the depression’s first year, by a massive Pennsylvania coal strike and a Pullman railroad boycott that ended with bloody clashes between angry crowds and the U.S. Army.

3. In the summer of 1894, another protest jolted Americans. Radical reformer Jacob Coxey of Ohio proposed that the U.S. government hire the unemployed to fix the nation’s roads. In 1894, he organized jobless men to carry out a peaceful march to Washington to appeal for the program.

4. President Cleveland was out of step with his party on a major issue: expansion of federal coinage to include silver as well as gold coinage. Advocates of this free silver policy (“free” because the U.S. Mint would not charge a fee for minting silver coins) believed the policy would expand the U.S. money supply, encourage borrowing, and stimulate industry. But Cleveland was a firm advocate of the gold standard, believing the money supply should be closely tied to the nation’s gold reserves.

5. A secret arrangement with a syndicate of bankers lead by John Pierpont Morgan to buy gold to replenish the Treasury—at a tidy profit for the bankers—angered even fellow Democrats.

6. On election day, large numbers of voters in Midwestern, Mid-Atlantic, and even in western states chose the Republicans, who promised to support business, put down social unrest, and bring back prosperity. The election gave Republicans control of the House by a margin of 245 to 105 and began sixteen years of Republican dominance in national politics.

B. Democrats and the “Solid South”

1. In the South, the only region where Democrats gained strength in the 1890s, the People’s Party met defeat for distinctive reasons.

2. After the end of Reconstruction, African Americans had continued to vote in significant numbers in many areas. As long as Democrats competed for (and sometimes bought) black votes, the possibility remained that other parties could win their loyalty. Populists appealed to poor white and black people and built cross-racial ties.

3. Although Democrats struck back by calling themselves the “white man’s party” and denouncing Populists for promoting “Negro rule,” many white farmers, tenants, and wage earners ignored such appeals and continued to support populism.

4. Democrats vowed that white supremacy was nonnegotiable, and they looked for new ways to enforce it. As early as 1890, a state constitutional convention in Mississippi adopted a key innovation: an “understanding clause” that required would-be voters to interpret a clause of the state constitution, with local Democratic officials deciding who met the standard.

5. After the Populist uprising, antivoting measures spread to other southern states. Louisiana’s grandfather clause, which denied the vote to any man whose grandfather had been unable to vote in slavery days, was struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court. But in Williams v. Mississippi (1898), the Court allowed poll taxes and literacy tests to stand. By 1908, every southern state had adopted such measures.

6. In most of the South, voter turnout plunged, from above 70 percent to 34 percent or even lower. Not only blacks but also many poor whites ceased to vote.

7. Segregation laws proliferated and lynching of African Americans increasingly occurred in broad daylight.

8. Although reformers, labor unions, and Populists heavily protested, the convict lease system also expanded and transitioned into the chain gang system of prisoners working directly for the state.

9. This 1890s southern counterrevolution was clearly visible in Grimes County, Texas. Populists had swept into office in part owing to African American support. Democrats reacted by organizing a secret brotherhood, forcibly preventing blacks from voting, driving the sheriff out of the country, winning an overwhelming election, and ruling the county for the next fifty years.

C. New National Realities
1. After their crushing defeats outside the South, Democrats astonished the country by embracing parts of the agrarian-labor program in the presidential election of 1896. They nominated young free-silver advocate William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, who passionately defended farmers and attacked the gold standard.

2. Populists, reeling from their recent defeats, endorsed Bryan for president. But their power was waning. Bryan ignored them, running as a straight Democrat without ever acknowledging the People’s Party nomination.

3. The Populists never recovered from their defeats in 1894 or from Democrats’ ruthless opposition in the South and by 1900 faded away. Agrarian voters pursued their reform efforts elsewhere, particularly through the newly energized Bryan wing of the Democrats.

4. The Republicans’ brilliant campaign manager, Ohio coal and shipping magnate Marcus Hanna, orchestrated an unprecedented fund-raising campaign for William McKinley in 1896 among corporate leaders. Under Hanna’s guidance, Republicans denounced Bryan’s supporters as “anarchistic,” backed away from moral issues such as prohibition of liquor, and reached out to invite new immigrants to vote with them. McKinley won handily: 271 electoral votes to Bryan’s 176.

5. Nationwide, as in the South, the 1894–1896 realignment prompted a wave of political “reforms” such as imposing literacy tests and restrictions on voting for new immigrants. Leaders of both major parties worked to shut out future threats from new movements like the Populists. In the wake of such laws, voter turnout declined and the electorate narrowed in ways that favored the native-born and wealthy.

6. Intending to increase the democratic power of those who could vote, both major parties increasingly turned to the direct primary, asking voters rather than party leaders to choose nominees.

7. Another measure that enhanced democratic participation was the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution (1913), requiring voters, not state legislatures, to choose U.S. senators.

8. In 1894, the Supreme Court proved hostile to many proposed reforms when it struck down a recently adopted federal income tax on the wealthy.

9. Federal courts also invalidated many of the regulatory laws that states had passed to protect workers and promote public welfare, arguing that the courts were protecting workers from government regulation. As early as the case of In re Jacobs (1882), the New York State Court of Appeals struck down a public-health law that prohibited cigar manufacturing in tenements, arguing that such regulation exceeded the state’s police powers. In Lochner v. New York (1905), the Supreme Court told New York State it could not limit bakers’ workday to ten hours because that violated bakers’ rights to make contracts.

10. Farmer and labor advocates, urban progressives, and even the Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. disagreed with these rulings, arguing that judges did not recognize the difference between working and starving.

III. Reform Reshaped, 1901–1912

A. Theodore Roosevelt as President

1. Antitrust Legislation
   a. In 1900, William McKinley easily won his second political face-off against Democrat William Jennings Bryan. Only six months into his second term, however, on September 14, 1901, the president was shot as he attended a fair in Buffalo, New York. He died eight days later.
   b. Theodore Roosevelt, a reform-minded Republican, had political experience as a New York assemblyman, U.S. Civil Service commissioner, head of the New York City Police Commission, and McKinley’s assistant secretary of the navy. After the Spanish-American War, Roosevelt was elected as governor of New York.
   c. In an effort to neutralize this rising star, Republican bosses chose him as McKinley’s running mate in 1900, hoping the vice-presidency would be a political dead end. Instead, they suddenly found Roosevelt in the White House.
   d. Roosevelt did not prove to be quite the rebel his critics feared. He blended reform with the needs of private enterprise. During a bitter 1902 coal strike, his threats to nationalize coal companies if their owners refused to talk with the miners’ union resulted in negotiations. Roosevelt also sought better enforcement of the Interstate Commerce Act and the Sherman Antitrust Act. In 1903, he pushed through the Elkins Act, which prohibited discriminatory and preferential railway rates. That same year, he created the Bureau of Corporations, empowered to investigate business practices and bolster the Justice Department’s capacity to mount antitrust suits.
e. In 1904 Roosevelt won the presidential election by promising every American a Square Deal, and he stepped up his attack on trusts. The passage of the Hepburn Act in 1906 enabled the Interstate Commerce Commission to set shipping rates.

f. Following its precedent from 1904 when it ordered the dissolving of Northwest Securities Company, the U.S. Supreme Court in 1911 ordered the breakup of Standard Oil into smaller competing companies. This federal authority to dissolve the most egregious monopolies resulted in antitrust actions against other giant companies.

2. Environmental Conservation
   a. Roosevelt, an ardent outdoorsman and hunter, translated his love for nature into environmental action.
   b. He issued fifty-one executive orders creating wildlife refuges, oversaw the creation of three national parks, and vigorously used the Antiquities Act to set aside beautiful sites such as the Grand Canyon.
   c. Many of his conservation policies had a strong pro-business bent.
   d. He increased the amount of land held in federal forest reserves and turned their management over to a new, independent U.S. Forest Service. But Roosevelt’s forestry chief, Gifford Pinchot, insisted on fire suppression to maximize logging potential.
   e. In addition, Roosevelt supported the Newlands Reclamation Act (1902), which promoted economic development in the West but also gave the federal government the ability to sell public lands to raise money for irrigation projects that expanded agriculture on arid lands.

3. Roosevelt’s Legacies
   a. Theodore Roosevelt was a man of contradictions whose presidency left a mixed legacy. An unabashed believer in what he called “Anglo-Saxon” superiority, Roosevelt nonetheless invited Booker T. Washington to dine at the White House, earning fierce denunciation from white supremacists.
   b. Similarly, Roosevelt was an advocate of elite rule who called for the “best men” to enter politics, but he also defended the dignity of labor.
   c. In 1908 Roosevelt retired and passed the Republican nomination to William Howard Taft who easily defeated William Jennings Bryan.
   d. Disagreements over the reach and assertiveness of reform soon split the Republican Party into conservatives who opposed further reform and militant progressives who thought Roosevelt and Taft had not done enough.
   e. Reconciling these conflicting forces was a daunting task for Taft; through various incidents, he found himself on the opposite side of progressive Republicans, who began to call themselves “Insurgents.”

B. Diverse Progressive Goals

1. Protecting the Poor
   a. Although activists at the grassroots level called for more aggressive action and more democracy, groups of progressives—women, antipoverty reformers, and African American advocates—often disagreed about priorities and goals.
   b. States often served as seedbeds of change. Wisconsin’s Republican governor Robert La Follette promoted the Wisconsin Idea that called for more government intervention in the economy, with reliance on economic experts; he also expanded democracy by restricting lobbying activities and giving citizens the right of recall (voting to remove unpopular politicians from office) and referendum (voting directly on a proposed measure instead of relying on elected legislators).
   c. Progressives, inspired by the emerging fields of social science, focused special attention on the plight of the urban poor, arguing that individual laziness and ignorance did not cause unemployment and crowded slums, as elite Americans had long believed.
   d. Reformers, focusing on labor conditions for women and children, established the National Child Labor Commission in 1907 and hired Lewis Hine to photograph the conditions for children working in mines and mills.
   e. These investigations inspired Roosevelt to sponsor the first White House Conference on Dependent Children in 1909, which in turn contributed to the creation of the Children’s Bureau in the U.S. Labor Department.
   f. One of the National Consumers’ League’s greatest triumphs was the Supreme Court’s decision in Muller v. Oregon (1908), which upheld an Oregon law limiting women’s workday to ten hours.
g. This decision inspired women’s organizations to work for further reform, resulting in the first law providing public assistance for single mothers with dependent children (Illinois, 1911) and the first minimum wage law for women (Massachusetts, 1912).

h. The *Muller* decision, however, also dismayed labor advocates because it did not address men’s working hours, and it divided female reformers because it declared that women as mothers deserved special protection.

i. Labor reforms steadily advancing through state initiatives did benefit men, most notably workmen’s compensation laws; by 1917, all the industrial states had enacted insurance laws covering on-the-job accidents.

j. State initiatives, however, limited national reform. Several states strictly regulated child labor, but only four passed the proposed U.S. constitutional amendment to abolish child labor. Decentralized power that permitted innovation in states also hampered the creation of national minimum standards for wages and job safety.

2. The Birth of Modern Civil Rights

a. In the wake of the *Plessy* decision, southern disfranchisement, and deterioration of African American rights, a new generation of African American leaders challenged the leadership of Booker T. Washington.

b. Harvard-educated sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois called for a “talented tenth” of educated blacks to develop new strategies.

c. In 1905, Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter called a meeting at Niagara Falls—on the Canadian side, because no hotel on the U.S. side would admit blacks. The group’s Niagara Principles called for full voting rights; the end of segregation; equal treatment in the justice system; and equal opportunity in education, jobs, health care, and military service. These principles, based on black pride and an uncompromising demand for full equality, guided the civil rights movement throughout the twentieth century.

d. Not long after the conference, a shocking atrocity brought public attention to the civil rights cause. In 1908, a bloody race riot broke out in Springfield, Illinois, hometown of Abraham Lincoln.

e. Appalled by the violence against blacks, New York settlement worker Mary White Ovington called together a small group of sympathetic progressives. Their meeting led in 1909 to the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Most leaders of the Niagara Movement soon joined, and W.E.B. Du Bois became editor of the NAACP journal, *The Crisis*.

f. The fledgling NAACP allied with black churches, the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, and the National Urban League (1911), a union of agencies that assisted black migrants in the North. Over the coming decades, these groups grew into a powerful force for racial justice.

3. The Problem of Labor

a. Leaders of the nation’s dominant union, the American Federation of Labor, had long preached that workers should improve wages and working conditions through strikes and direct negotiations with employers, not political action.

b. But by the 1910s, as progressive reformers came forward with solutions, organized labor leaders in state after state began to join the cause.

c. At the same time, more radical and more militant labor groups emerged. In 1905, the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), led by fiery leaders like “Big Bill” Haywood, joined with other radicals to create a new movement, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

d. The Wobblies, as the IWW were called, were fervent supporters of the Marxist class struggle, arguing that by resisting in the workplace and ultimately launching a general strike, workers could overthrow capitalism.

C. The Election of 1912

1. After completing a yearlong safari in Africa, Roosevelt yearned to reenter the political fray. In a speech in Osawatomie, Kansas, in August 1910, Roosevelt made the case for what he called a New Nationalism that proposed a federal child labor law, more recognition of labor rights, and a national minimum wage for women. Roosevelt also endorsed women’s suffrage and curbing the power of the courts.
2. Early in 1912, Roosevelt announced himself as a Republican candidate for president, sweeping Insurgents into his camp. A bitter battle within the party ensued. Roosevelt won the states that held primary elections, but Taft controlled party caucuses elsewhere. Dominated by regulars, the Republican convention chose Taft. Roosevelt led his followers into what became known as the Progressive Party, offering his New Nationalism directly to the people.

3. Roosevelt was not the only rebel on the ballot in 1912. The major parties also faced a challenge from charismatic socialist Eugene V. Debs.

4. In the 1890s, Debs had founded the American Railway Union (ARU), a broad-based union that included both skilled and unskilled workers. In 1894, amid the upheavals of depression and popular protest, the ARU had boycotted luxury Pullman sleeping cars, in support of a strike by workers at the Pullman Company. Railroad managers, claiming that the strike obstructed the U.S. mail, persuaded the Cleveland administration to intervene against the union. The strike failed. Along with other ARU leaders, Debs served time in prison.

5. The experience radicalized Debs, and in 1901 he launched the Socialist Party of America. Debs translated socialism into an American idiom, emphasizing the democratic process as a means to defeat capitalism. By the early 1910s, his party had secured a minor but persistent role in politics.

6. Among the Democrats’ new generation of leaders was Virginia-born Woodrow Wilson, a political scientist who had served as president of Princeton University. As governor of New Jersey, Wilson had compiled an impressive reform record, including passage of a direct primary, workers’ compensation, and utility regulation. In 1912, he won the Democratic presidential nomination.

7. With four candidates in the field—Taft, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Debs—the 1912 campaign generated intense excitement. But the division of former Republicans between Taft and Roosevelt made the results fairly easy to predict.

8. Wilson won, though he received only 42 percent of the popular vote and almost certainly would have lost if Roosevelt had not been in the race. With his warnings about “free enterprise” and his markedly southern racial views, Wilson appeared to be a rather old-fashioned choice. But with labor protests reaching new peaks of visibility and middle-class progressives gathering public support, Wilson faced intense pressure to act.

IV. Wilson and the New Freedom

A. Economic Reforms

1. Wilson was a Democrat, and labor interests and farmers made up important components of his party’s base. But Democrats had a blind spot: their unwillingness to address African American needs.

2. In an era of rising corporate power, Democrats had come to believe that workers needed stronger government to intervene on their behalf.

3. One landmark achievement during the Wilson administration was the establishment of the progressive income tax through the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1913. Congressional law in 1914 taxed incomes above $4,000 per year. The tax affected less that 5 percent of households.

4. Combined with the inheritance tax established in 1917, this measure created a new way to fund the federal government and replaced tariffs as the chief source of revenue.

5. The new president also reorganized the nation’s financial system to address problems caused by the absence of a central bank. The main function of central banks at the time was to back up commercial banks in case they could not meet their obligations. In the United States, the great private banks of New York assumed this role; if they weakened, the entire system could collapse. This had nearly happened in 1907, when the Knickerbocker Trust Company failed and caused a financial panic.

6. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 gave the nation a banking system more resistant to financial panic. It created twelve district reserve banks funded and controlled by their member banks, with a central Federal Reserve Board to impose public regulation.

7. Wilson and the Democratic Congress turned next to the trusts. Wilson relied heavily on Louis D. Brandeis, the celebrated “people’s lawyer,” who believed vigorous competition in a free market was most efficient. The trick was to prevent trusts from unfairly using their power to curb such competition.

8. In the Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914, which amended the Sherman Act, the definition of illegal practices was left flexible, subject to the test of whether an action “substantially lessen[ed] competition or tend[ed] to create a
monopoly.” A new Federal Trade Commission received broad powers to decide what was fair, investigating companies and issuing “cease and desist” orders against anticompetitive practices.

9. The Commission on Industrial Relations, appointed near the end of Taft’s presidency and charged with investigating the condition of labor, revealed in its 1913 report that many workers earned $10 or less per week, endured regular periods of unemployment, and faced constant poverty and hardship. The commission concluded that labor activism was the result of employers’ ruthless antiunionism. The report recommended federal protection for workers’ right to organize and collective bargaining. Although too radical for its time, this report helped set an agenda that was finally addressed in the 1930s.

10. The report also inspired Wilson to support pro-labor legislation such as the Adamson Act, establishing an eight-hour day for railroad workers; the Seamen’s Act, outlawing age-old abuses of merchant sailors; and a workmen’s compensation law for federal employees.

11. Wilson’s reforms, however, did not extend to African Americans; indeed, he rolled back the Republican policy of selected appointments of black postmasters. He also praised the film Birth of a Nation (1915), which depicted the Reconstruction-era Ku Klux Klan in heroic terms. In this way, Democratic control of the White House helped set the tone for the Klan’s return in the 1920s.

B. Progressive Legacies

1. In the post–Civil War era, millions of Americans understood that the political system needed to adjust to new industrial conditions.

2. Whether they were rural, working-class, or middle-class, reformers faced fierce opposition from powerful business interests. When reformers managed to win a key regulatory law, they often found it struck down by hostile courts. Thus, the Progressive Era in the United States should be understood partly by its limitations.

3. Racial prejudice and increasing elitism warped the cause of reform; African Americans, their plight ignored by many white reformers, faced segregation and violence.

4. Divided power in a federalist system blocked the passage of uniform national laws on such key issues as child labor. Key social welfare programs—including national health insurance and old-age pensions, which became popular in Europe during these decades—scarcely made it onto the American agenda until the New Deal of the 1930s.

5. Another limitation to progressive reform was the fact that business interests in the United States were exceptionally successful and powerful, flush with recent expansion. During the era of industrialization, voters in countries with older, more native-born populations supported more robust government regulation and social welfare spending than voters in younger countries populated with many immigrants. Younger voters seemed, logically, to be less concerned about health insurance and security in old age.

6. Divisions within the American working class also played a role in limiting progressive reforms. Native-born whites, blacks, and immigrants often viewed one another as enemies or strangers rather than as members of a unified class with common interests. This helps explain why the Socialist Party drew, at its peak, less than 6 percent of the U.S. vote at a time when its counterparts in Finland, Germany, and France drew 40 percent or more. Lack of pressure from a strong, self-conscious workingmen’s party led to more limited results in the United States.

7. But it would be wrong to underestimate the achievements of agrarian, labor, and urban progressive reformers. Over the course of several decades, they persuaded more and more comfortable, prosperous Americans that the industrial economy required stronger government regulation.

8. Even the most cautious, elite progressives recognized that the United States had entered a new era. Giant multinational corporations overshadowed small businesses; with immigrants and farmers’ children crowding into vast cities, ties of kin and village melted away. Outdated political methods—from the spoils system to corrupt urban machines—would no longer do.

9. Progressives created new wisdom. Between 1883 and 1917, they drew the blueprints for a modern American state, one whose powers more suited the needs of an industrial era. At the same time, a stronger, more assertive United States began to exercise new influence on the world stage.
PART SEVEN

DOMESTIC AND GLOBAL CHALLENGES
1890–1945

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 7: 1890–1945

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

7.1 Organizations struggled to address the effects of large-scale industrialization, the Great Depression, and related social changes.
7.2 A revolution in technology helped to create a new mass culture and “modern” values amid increasing cultural conflicts.
7.3 Global conflicts led to debates over the United States’ increasingly dominant role in the world.

Assessment Weight on the AP U.S. History Exam: 45% (Periods 6-8)

PART LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you’ve taught this part, your students should be able to answer the following “Big Idea” questions:

Chapter 21: An Emerging World Power, 1890–1918
As the United States became a major power on the world stage, what ideas and interests did policymakers seek to promote in international affairs?

Chapter 22: Cultural Conflict, Bubble, and Bust, 1919–1932
What conflicts in culture and politics arose in the 1920s, and how did economic developments in that decade help cause the Great Depression?

Chapter 23: Managing the Great Depression, Forging the New Deal, 1929–1939
What new roles did the American government take on during the New Deal, and how did these roles shape the economy and society?

Chapter 24: The World at War, 1937–1945
How did World War II transform the United States domestically and change its relationship with the world?
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<td>1900</td>
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<td>• U.S. occupation of Haiti and other Caribbean and Central American nations</td>
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<td>• Documentary impulse in arts</td>
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An Emerging World Power
1890–1918

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 7: 1890–1945

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

7.2 A revolution in technology created a new mass culture and spread “modern” values amid increasing cultural conflicts.
   - Wartime tensions and xenophobia led to legislation restricting immigration.
   - World Wars I and II contributed to increased migration, both internally and to the United States.

7.3 Global conflicts led to debates over the United States’ increasingly dominant role in the world.
   - American expansionism led to overseas involvement and acquisitions in the Western Hemisphere and the Pacific.
   - World War I increased debates over the proper role of the United States in the world
After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand how economic interests affected American involvement in overseas expansion.
2. Evaluate the causes and consequences of the War of 1898.
3. Assess in what ways President Wilson attempted to reconcile America’s foreign policy with the nation’s political ideals.
4. Identify the major patterns and trends of American foreign policy between 1890 and 1914.
5. Analyze why the United States entered World War I.
6. Examine what domestic issues impacted the United States during World War I.

ANOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. From Expansion to Imperialism
   A. Foundations of Empire
      1. Historians used to describe turn-of-the-twentieth-century U.S. imperialism as something new. Now they emphasize continuities between foreign policy in this era and the nation’s earlier, relentless expansion across the continent.
      2. Policymakers beginning in the 1890s went on a determined quest for global markets. Industrialization and a modern navy provided tools for the United States to flex its muscle, and the economic crisis of the 1890s provided a spur.
      3. Confronting high unemployment and mass protests, policymakers feared that American workers would embrace socialism or communism. The alternative, they believed, was overseas markets that would create jobs and prosperity at home.
      4. Intellectual trends also favored imperialism. As early as 1885, Congregationalist minister Josiah Strong urged Protestants to proselytize overseas. He predicted that the American “Anglo-Saxon race” would “spread itself over the earth.” Such arguments were grounded in American exceptionalism, the idea that the United States had a unique destiny to foster democracy and civilization.
      5. Imperialists, basing their argument on the precedent of denying citizenship to American Indians and Asian immigrants as well as the vote to southern blacks, also used popular racial theories to justify rule over foreign people of color.
      6. As American policymakers saw European powers busily carving up Africa and Asia among themselves and embarking on an arms race to build steel-plated battleships, fear of ruthless competition drove the United States to also invest in the latest weapons. In his book *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), U.S. naval officer Alfred T. Mahan urged the United States to enter the fray, observing that naval power had been essential to the growth of past empires. In 1890, Congress appropriated funds for three battleships.
      7. President Grover Cleveland continued this naval program, but his secretary of state, Richard Olney, invoking the Monroe Doctrine, also asserted American power in the Western Hemisphere by intimidating Britain into negotiating border disputes between independent Venezuela and British Guiana.

B. The War of 1898
   1. In February 1895, Cuban patriots mounted a major guerrilla war against Spain, which had lost most of its other New World territories but managed to hold onto the island. The Spanish commander responded by rounding up civilians into detention camps, where as many as 200,000 Cubans died of starvation, exposure, or dysentery.
   2. In the United States, “yellow journalists” such as William Randolph Hearst turned their plight into a cause célèbre. Hearst’s coverage of Spanish atrocities fed a surge of nationalism, especially among those who feared that American men were losing strength and courage amid the conditions of industrial society.
   3. President Cleveland had no interest in supporting the Cuban rebellion, but he worried over Spain’s failure to end it. The war was disrupting trade and damaging American-owned sugar plantations on the island. An unstable Cuba was incompatible with America’s strategic interests, including a proposed canal whose Caribbean approaches would have to be safeguarded.
   4. McKinley, who came into office in 1897, took a tougher stance. His threat that the United States would step in if Spain could not ensure an “early and certain peace” seemed to work: Spain’s conservative regime fell, and a liberal government, taking office in October 1897, offered Cuba limited self-rule. But Spanish loyalists in Havana rioted against the proposal, while Cuban rebels held out for full independence.
   5. The publication of a private letter in the *New York Journal* by Dupuy de Lôme, Spanish minister to the United States, belittling the McKinley administration, intensified Americans’ indignation against Spain. The next week brought shocking news: the U.S. battle cruiser *Maine* had exploded and sunk in Havana harbor, with 260 seamen lost.
6. McKinley thought the explosion was an accident, but the naval board of inquiry blaming an underwater mine and Spanish negligence fueled public outrage even further.

7. Hesitant business leaders now became impatient, believing war was preferable to an unending Cuban crisis. On March 27, McKinley cabled an ultimatum to Madrid: immediate armistice for six months and, with the United States as mediator, peace negotiations with the rebels. Spain, though desperate to avoid war, balked at McKinley’s added demand that mediation must result in Cuban independence. On April 11, McKinley asked Congress for authority to intervene in Cuba.

8. Historians long referred to the ensuing conflict as the Spanish-American War, but that name ignores the central role of Cuban revolutionaries, who had started the conflict and hoped to achieve national independence. Thus, many historians now call it the War of 1898. The Teller Amendment to the war bill, disclaiming any intention by the United States to occupy Cuba, assured Americans that their country would uphold Cubans’ desire for independence. On April 24, 1898, Spain declared war on the United States. Across the country, regiments formed. Theodore Roosevelt accepted a commission as lieutenant colonel of a cavalry regiment.

9. The first decisive engagement of the war took place in the Pacific on May 1, 1898, when American ships under the command of Commodore George Dewey cornered the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and destroyed it. Manila, the Philippine capital, fell on August 13.

10. Nominally an independent nation, Hawaii had long been under American dominance, since its climate had attracted a horde of American sugarcane planters. An 1876 treaty between the United States and the island’s monarch gave Hawaiian sugar tariff-free access to the American market. In 1887, Hawaii also granted a long-coveted lease for a U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor.

11. When Hawaii’s access to the U.S. market was canceled by a new tariff in 1890, sugar planters revolted against Hawaii’s Queen Liliuokalani and negotiated a treaty of annexation. Grover Cleveland rejected the treaty, declaring that it would violate America’s “unbroken tradition” against acquiring territory overseas.

12. Victory in Manila, however, turned Hawaii into a strategic refueling station and Congress authorized the annexation of Hawaii in July 1898, despite the islanders’ opposition.

13. McKinley’s desires to annex additional territory became clear through occupation of Guam in the Marianas and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean.

14. In Cuba, Spanish forces were depleted by the long guerrilla war. Though poorly trained and equipped, American forces had the advantages of a demoralized foe and knowledgeable Cuban allies.

15. On July 3, the Spanish fleet in Santiago harbor tried a desperate run through the American blockade and was destroyed. Days later, Spanish forces surrendered. American combat casualties had been few; most deaths had resulted from malaria and yellow fever.

C. Spoils of War

1. The United States and Spain quickly signed an armistice in which Spain agreed to liberate Cuba and cede Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States. The future of the Philippines, an immense archipelago that lay over 5,000 miles from California, seemed unclear. Initially, the United States aimed to keep only Manila because of its fine harbor, but it was not defensible without the whole of Luzon, the large island on which the city was located. After some deliberation, McKinley found a justification for annexing the whole Philippines. He decided that “we could not leave [the Filipinos] to themselves—they were unfit for self-rule.”

2. Leading citizens, including Jane Addams, Mark Twain, and other peace advocates, enlisted in the anti-imperialist cause.

3. Anti-imperialists, however, were a diverse lot. Labor leaders warned union members about the threat of competition from cheap Filipino labor. Some argued that Filipinos and Hawaiians were perfectly capable of self-rule; others warned about the dangers of annexing eight million Filipinos of an “inferior race.”

4. In the Treaty of Paris, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States for a payment of $20 million. But annexation was not as simple as U.S. policymakers had expected.

5. On February 4, 1899—two days before the Senate ratified the treaty—fighting broke out between American and Filipino patrols on the edge of Manila. Confronted by annexation, rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo asserted his nation’s independence and turned his guns on occupying American forces. The ensuing conflict far exceeded in length and ferocity the war just concluded with Spain.

6. Fighting tenacious guerrillas, the U.S. Army resorted to the same tactics Spain had employed in Cuba: burning crops and villages and rounding up civilians. Atrocities became commonplace on both sides. In three years of warfare, 4,200 Americans and an estimated 200,000 Filipinos died.
7. Although McKinley’s decided victory over Bryan in 1900 suggested American approval of America’s overseas adventures, the brutal fighting in the Philippines resulted in doubts and questions.

8. The treaty, while guaranteeing freedom of religion to inhabitants of ceded Spanish territories, withheld any promise of citizenship. It was up to Congress to decide their “civil rights and political status.”

9. In 1901, the Supreme Court upheld this provision in a set of decisions known as the Insular Cases. The Constitution, declared the Court, did not automatically extend citizenship to people in acquired territories; Congress could decide. Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines were thus marked as colonies, not future states.

10. The Platt Amendment also limited Cuba’s independence by blocking Cuba from making a treaty with any country except the United States, giving America the right to intervene in Cuban affairs, and granting the United States a lease on Guantánamo Bay.

11. In accordance with a special commission set up by McKinley, the Jones Act of 1916 eventually committed the United States to Philippine independence but set no date. (The Philippines achieved independence in 1946.)

II. A Power Among Powers

A. The Open Door in Asia

1. Theodore Roosevelt believed that imperialism augmented domestic progressivism, arguing that an assertive federal government abroad and at home would enhance economic stability and political order.

2. American policymakers and business leaders had a burning interest in East Asian markets, but they were competing with Japan, Russia, Germany, France, and Britain over interests in coastal China. Fearful of being shut out, U.S. Secretary of State John Hay in 1899 sent these powers a note claiming the right of equal trade access—an “open door”—for all nations seeking to do business in China.

3. When a secret society of Chinese nationalists, known outside China as “Boxers,” rebelled against foreign occupation in 1900, the United States sent 5,000 troops to join a multinational campaign to break the Boxers’ siege of European government offices in Beijing.

4. Then, Europe and the United States were startled by an unexpected development: Japan’s emergence as East Asia’s dominant power, evidenced in its willingness to engage Russia in war. Roosevelt mediated a settlement in 1905.

5. Contemptuous of other Asians, Roosevelt respected the Japanese, whom he called “a wonderful and civilized people.” More importantly, he appreciated Japan’s rising military might. In 1908, the United States and Japan signed the Root-Takahira Agreement, confirming principles of free oceanic commerce and recognizing Japan’s authority over Manchuria.

6. William Howard Taft entered the White House in 1909, convinced that the United States had been shortchanged in Asia. Eager to promote U.S. business interests abroad, he hoped that infusions of American investment capital would offset Japanese power.

7. When the Chinese Revolution of 1911 toppled the Manchu dynasty, Taft supported the victorious Nationalists, who wanted to modernize their country and liberate it from Japanese domination. The United States had entangled itself in China and entered a long-term rivalry with Japan for power in the Pacific, a competition that would culminate thirty years later in World War II.

B. The United States and Latin America

1. Closer to home, European powers conceded Roosevelt’s argument that the United States had a “paramount interest” in the Caribbean.

2. In facing rivals, Roosevelt famously argued that the United States should “speak softly and carry a big stick,” which to him meant naval power and rapid access to two oceans through a canal. In the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901), Britain recognized the United States’ sole right to build and fortify a Central American canal.

3. Roosevelt persuaded Congress to authorize $10 million, plus future payments of $250,000 per year, to purchase from Colombia a six-mile strip of land across Panama, a Colombian province.

4. Furious when Colombia rejected this proposal, Roosevelt contemplated outright seizure of Panama but settled on covert assistance to an independence movement, triggering a bloodless revolution.

5. On November 6, 1903, the United States recognized the new nation of Panama; two weeks later, it obtained a perpetually renewable lease on a canal zone. Roosevelt never regretted the venture, though in 1922 the United States paid Colombia $25 million as a kind of conscience money.

6. Construction of the Panama Canal, a major engineering feat, took eight years and cost thousands in lives, but its opening in 1914 gave the United States a commanding position in the Western Hemisphere.

7. Roosevelt was already working in other ways to strengthen U.S. control of the Caribbean. Claiming that instability invited European intervention, Roosevelt announced through his Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine in 1904 that the United States would not just protect its Latin American neighbors from European powers and help preserve their
independence, but that it also had the unrestricted right to regulate Caribbean affairs. Citing this unilateral declaration, sanctioned only by America’s military and economic might, the United States intervened regularly in Caribbean and Central American nations over the next three decades.

8. Although President Woodrow Wilson had pledged to not add any more territories by conquest, when American interests called for it, his actions did not differ from his predecessors.

9. Events in neighboring Mexico forced Wilson to intervene. Mexican dictator, Porfirio Díaz, once friendly with American investors, learned to fear their extraordinary economic power and began to nationalize—reclaim—key resources.

10. Powerful American investors, who faced the loss of their Mexican holdings, began to back Francisco Madero, an advocate of constitutional government who was friendlier to U.S. interests. In 1911, Madero forced Díaz to resign and proclaimed himself president. But his position was weak. In 1913, Madero was deposed and murdered by a leading general, Victoriano Huerta.

11. The Wilson administration became increasingly fearful that the revolution threatened U.S. interests. Over the strong protests of Venustiano Carranza, the Mexican leader whom Wilson most favored, and using the pretext of a minor insult to the U.S. Navy, Wilson ordered U.S. occupation of the port of Veracruz on April 21, 1914, at the cost of 19 American and 126 Mexican lives. The Huerta regime crumbled and Carranza’s forces entered Mexico City in triumph in August 1914. But Wilson’s heavy-handed military interference caused lasting mistrust.


13. U.S. policymakers had shown their intention to police not only the Caribbean and Central America but also Mexico when they deemed it necessary.

III. The United States in World War I
A. From Neutrality to War
1. The Struggle to Remain Neutral
   a. While the United States staked claims across the globe, a war of unprecedented scale was brewing in Europe.
   b. Germany, a rising military power, terrified its neighbors. To the east, a disintegrating Ottoman Empire was losing its grip on the Balkans. Out of these conflicts, two rival power blocs emerged: the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) and the Triple Entente (Britain, France, and Russia).
   c. The United States had no obvious stake in these developments and trusted in its diplomatic power to maintain world peace.
   d. The spark that ignited World War I came in the Balkans, where Austria-Hungary and Russia competed for control. Austria’s 1908 seizure of Ottoman provinces, including Bosnia, angered Russia and its ally, Serbia. In response, Serbian revolutionaries recruited Bosnian Slavs, including university student Gavrilo Princip, to resist Austrian rule. In June 1914, in the town of Sarajevo, Princip assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne.
   e. Like dominos falling, the system of European alliances rapidly pushed all the powers into war. The Allies—Great Britain, France, and Russia—confronted the Central Powers of Germany and Austria-Hungary, joined in November by the Ottoman Empire.
   f. Two major war zones emerged. Germany battled the British and French (and later Italians and Americans) on the Western Front. Assisted by Austro-Hungarians, Germany also fought Russia on the Eastern Front. Because most of the warring nations held colonial empires, the conflict also spread to the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.
   g. The Great War wreaked terrible devastation. New technology such as long-range, high velocity rifles and machine guns made warfare deadlier than ever. Across a swath of Belgium and northeastern France, millions of soldiers on both sides hunkered down in fortified trenches. Despite repeated attacks across “no man’s land,” the Western Front barely moved between late 1914 and 1918.
   h. At the outbreak of war, Wilson called on Americans to be “neutral in fact as well as in name.” If he kept the United States out of the conflict, Wilson reasoned, he could influence the postwar settlement, much as President Roosevelt had helped arbitrate the Russo-Japanese War in 1905.
   i. Even if Wilson had wanted to unite Americans behind the Allies, that would have been nearly impossible in 1914. Many Irish Americans viewed Britain as an enemy, resenting its continued occupation of Ireland. Millions of German Americans maintained ties to their homeland.
j. Progressive-minded Republicans, such as Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, vehemently opposed taking sides in a European fight, as did socialists, who condemned the war as a conflict among greedy capitalist and imperialist nations. Two giants of American industry, Andrew Carnegie and Henry Ford, also opposed the war.

k. The United States wished to trade with all the warring nations, but in September 1914, the British imposed a naval blockade on the Central Powers to cut off vital supplies of food and military equipment. The Wilson administration protested this infringement of the rights of neutral carriers but did not take action. An imbalance in trade favoring Britain over Germany undercut U.S. neutrality, tying America’s economic health to Allied victory. If Germany won and Britain and France defaulted on their debts, American companies would suffer catastrophic losses.

l. To challenge the British navy, Germany launched a devastating new weapon, the U-boat, or submarine. In April 1915, Germany issued a warning that all ships flying the flags of Britain or its allies were liable to destruction. A few weeks later, a U-boat off the coast of Ireland torpedoed the British luxury liner *Lusitania*, killing 1,198 people, including 128 Americans.

m. The attack on the passenger ship incensed Americans. President Wilson sent strongly worded protests to Germany, but tensions subsided by September when Germany announced that U-boats would no longer attack passenger vessels without warning.

n. Nonetheless, the *Lusitania* crisis prompted Wilson to reconsider his options. He quietly tried to mediate an end to the European conflict. Finding neither side seriously interested in peace, Wilson endorsed a $1 billion buildup of the U.S. military in the fall of 1915.

o. The war and American neutrality shaped the presidential election campaign in 1916. Republicans rejected the prowar Roosevelt in favor of Supreme Court justice Charles Evans Hughes. Democrats renominated Wilson, who ran on his progressive record and his promise to keep the nation out of the war. He won by a narrow margin.

2. America Enters the War

a. Despite Wilson’s campaign slogan, events pushed him toward war. In February 1917, Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare, and Wilson responded by breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany.

b. A few weeks later, newspapers published an intercepted dispatch from the German foreign secretary, Arthur Zimmermann, to his minister in Mexico City suggesting that if Mexico joined the Central Powers and the United States entered the war, Germany would help Mexico recover “the lost territory of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.”

c. With Pancho Villa’s border raids still fresh in the public mind, the Mexico-Germany threat jolted American opinion. Meanwhile, German U-boats attacked American ships without warning, sinking three on March 18 alone.

d. On April 2, 1917, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war. Reflecting his Protestant zeal and progressive idealism, Wilson promised that American involvement would make the world “safe for democracy.”

e. On April 6, the United States declared war on Germany. Reflecting the nation’s divided views, the vote was far from unanimous. Six senators and fifty members of the House voted against entry, including Representative Jeannette Rankin of Montana, the first woman elected to Congress.

B. “Over There”

1. Americans Join the War

a. Few Americans realized that entry in the war meant sending men in addition to munitions and economic aid.

b. In 1917, the U.S. Army numbered fewer than 200,000 soldiers. To field a fighting force, Congress instituted a military draft in May 1917.

c. President Wilson chose General Pershing to head the American Expeditionary Force (AEF).

d. When the United States entered the war, German U-boats were sinking 900,000 tons of Allied ships each month. By sending merchant and troop ships in armed convoys, the U.S. Navy cut that monthly rate to 400,000 tons by the end of 1917.

e. With trench warfare grinding on, Allied commanders pleaded for American soldiers to fill their depleted units, but Pershing waited until the AEF reached full strength.

f. The Allies’ burden increased when the Eastern Front collapsed following the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

g. Peace with Russia freed Germany to launch a major offensive on the Western Front. By May 1918, German troops advanced to within 50 miles of Paris.

h. As Allied leaders called desperately for U.S. troops, Pershing finally committed about 60,000 men to help the French in the battles of Château-Thierry and Belleau Wood.

i. With American soldiers arriving in massive numbers, Allied forces brought the German offensive to a halt in July; by September, they forced a German retreat.
j. Then Pershing pitted over one million American soldiers against an outnumbered and exhausted German army in the Argonne forest. By early November, this attack had broken the German defense of a crucial rail hub at Sedan. The cost was high: 26,000 Americans killed and 95,000 wounded.

k. The flood of American troops and supplies across the Atlantic turned the tide. Recognizing the inevitability of defeat and facing popular uprisings at home, the German government signed an armistice on November 11, 1918. The Great War was over.

2. The American Fighting Force
a. By the end of World War I, almost four million American men—popularly known as “doughboys”—wore U.S. uniforms, as did several thousand female nurses.

b. The recruits reflected America’s heterogeneity: one-fifth had been born outside the United States, and soldiers spoke forty-nine different languages.

c. Over 400,000 African American men enlisted, accounting for 13 percent of the armed forces. Their wartime experiences were often grim. They served in segregated units and were given the most menial tasks. Racial discrimination disrupted military efficiency and erupted in violence at several camps.

d. About 25 percent of the adult male American Indian population served during the war in integrated combat units; roughly 5 percent died, compared to 2 percent for the military as a whole.

e. About two-thirds of American soldiers in France saw military action, but most escaped the horrors of sustained trench warfare.

f. During the brief period of American participation, 53,000 servicemen died in action. Another 63,000 died from disease, mainly the devastating influenza pandemic that began early in 1918 and, over the next two years, killed 50 million people throughout the world.

g. The nation’s military deaths, though substantial, were a mere speck compared to the 500,000 American civilians who died of this terrible flu—not to mention the 8 million soldiers lost by the Allies and Central Powers.

C. War on the Home Front
1. Mobilizing the Economy
a. War was big business for American. Grain, weapons, and manufactured goods flowed to Britain and France, the United States became a creditor nation, and U.S. banks provided capital for investments around the globe. At the same time, government powers expanded, with new federal agencies overseeing almost every part of the economy.

b. The War Industries Board (WIB), established in July 1917, directed military production. The WIB allocated scarce resources among industries, ordered factories to convert to war production, set prices, and standardized procedures.

c. The National War Labor Board (NWLB) established the eight-hour day for war workers with time-and-a-half pay for overtime, and it endorsed equal pay for women. In return for a no-strike pledge, the NWLB also supported workers’ right to organize.

d. The Fuel Administration introduced daylight saving time to conserve coal and oil; the Railroad Administration took control of the nation’s hodgepodge of private railroad companies to rapidly move troops and equipment.

e. The Food Administration, led by engineer Herbert Hoover, convinced farmers to nearly double their acreage of grain to feed soldiers and allies and mobilized a “spirit of self-denial” through “Meatless” Mondays and “Porkless” Tuesdays rather than mandatory rationing. Hoover emerged from the war as one of the nation’s most admired figures.

2. Promoting National Unity
a. During the war, suppressing dissent became a near obsession for President Wilson. In April 1917, Wilson formed the Committee on Public Information (CPI), a government propaganda agency headed by journalist George Creel. The committee set out to mold Americans into “one white-hot mass” of war patriotism. The CPI touched the lives of practically every civilian. It distributed seventy-five million pieces of literature and enlisted thousands of volunteers to deliver short prowar speeches at movie theaters.

b. The CPI also pressured immigrants to become “One Hundred Percent Americans.” Posters exhorted citizens to root out German spies, and the American Protective League, a quasi-vigilante group sanctioned by the Department of Justice, spied on neighbors and coworkers as well as conducted violent raids against draft dodgers and peace activists. Although German Americans initially bore the brunt of this campaign, government propaganda helped arouse a nativist hysteria that lasted well into the 1920s.

c. During the war, Congress passed two new laws to curb dissent. The Espionage Act of 1917 imposed stiff penalties for antiwar activities. The Sedition Act of 1918 prohibited any words or behavior that might “incite, provoke, or
encourage resistance to the United States, or promote the cause of its enemies.” Because these acts defined treason and sedition loosely, they led to the conviction of more than a thousand people.

d. In *Schenck v. United States* (1919), the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of a socialist who was jailed for circulating pamphlets that urged army draftees to resist induction. The justices followed this with a similar decision in *Abrams v. United States* (1919), stating that authorities could prosecute speech that they believed to pose “a clear and present danger to the safety of the country.”

3. Great Migrations
   a. World War I created new economic opportunities at home. Jobs in war industries drew thousands of people to the cities, including immigrants.
   b. For the first time, with so many men in uniform, jobs in heavy industry opened to African Americans, accelerating the pace of southern blacks moving to the North. During World War I, more than 400,000 African Americans moved to such cities as St. Louis, Chicago, New York, and Detroit, in what became known as the Great Migration.
   c. Although the rewards for leaving repressive racism and poverty behind were great, and taking a war job could be a source of patriotic pride, blacks living in the North also encountered discrimination in jobs, housing, and education.
   d. Wartime labor shortages also prompted Mexican Americans in California, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona to leave farm labor for industrial jobs in rapidly growing southwestern cities. Thousands of Mexicans also entered the United States as a result of displacement from the Mexican Revolution of 1910–1917.
   e. Women were the largest group to take advantage of wartime employment opportunities. About 1 million women joined the paid labor force for the first time, while another 8 million gave up low-wage service jobs for higher-paying industrial work.

4. Women’s Voting Rights
   a. One of World War I’s positive legacies was women’s suffrage. When the United States entered the war, the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) threw the support of its 2 million members behind Wilson.
   b. NAWSA women in thousands of communities promoted food conservation, aided war workers, and distributed emergency relief through organizations such as the Red Cross.
   c. Alice Paul and the National Woman’s Party (NWP) took a more confrontational strategy. As a lobbyist for NAWSA, Paul found her cause dismissed by congressmen, and in 1916 she founded the NWP.
   d. Inspired by militant British suffragists, the party began picketing the White House in July 1917. Paul and other NWP activists were arrested for obstructing traffic and sentenced to seven months in jail. They protested by going on a hunger strike, which prison authorities met with forced feeding. Public shock at the women’s treatment put pressure on Wilson and drew attention to the suffrage cause.
   e. Impressed by NAWSA’s patriotism and also worried by the NWP’s militancy, the antisuffrage Wilson reversed his position. In January 1918, he urged support for woman suffrage as a “war measure.”
   f. The constitutional amendment quickly passed the House of Representatives; it took eighteen months to get through the Senate and another year to win ratification by the states. On August 26, 1920, Tennessee gave the Nineteenth Amendment the last vote it needed.
   g. Historians agree that both patriotic strategy and militant protest contributed to women gaining the vote, but neither might have worked without the extraordinary circumstances of the Great War. Indeed, after World War I, many nations moved to enfranchise women.

IV. Catastrophe at Versailles
   A. The Fate of Wilson’s Ideas
      1. In January 1917, the idealistic Wilson argued that no victor should be declared after World War I: only “peace among equals” could last. Having achieved victory at an incredible price, Britain and France showed absolutely no interest in such a plan.
      2. But the war’s horrors had created popular pressure for an outcome that was just and enduring. Wilson scored a diplomatic victory in January 1919, when the Allies accepted his Fourteen Points as the basis for negotiations.
      3. The Points embodied one important strand in American progressivism. They called for open diplomacy, “absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas,” arms reduction, removal of trade barriers, and national self-determination for peoples in the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and German empires.
      4. Essential to Wilson’s vision was the founding of a League of Nations that would guarantee “independence and territorial integrity” for every country. Acting as an international regulatory body, the League would mediate
disputes, supervise arms reduction, and—according to the crucial Article X of its covenant—curb aggressor nations through collective military action. Wilson hoped the League would “end all wars.”

5. Ten thousand representatives from around the globe attended the peace conference, but France, Britain, and the United States dominated the proceedings. They rejected racial equality proposals, ignored a global pan-African Congress, snubbed Arab allies, marginalized Italian interests, and completely ignored Russia and Germany.

6. Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Great Britain and Premier Georges Clemenceau of France wanted to punish Germany for World War I. They forced Germany to pay $33 billion in reparations and give up coal supplies, merchant ships, valuable patents, and even part of its territory along the French border.

7. These requirements caused keen resentment and economic hardship in Germany, and over the following two decades they helped lead to World War II.

8. Wilson did have some success. The Allies established nine new nations, stretching from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, embodying Wilson’s principle of self-determination for European states. The Allies, however, dismantled the Central Powers’ colonial empires, not into independent states but as assigned colonies to themselves.

9. The establishment of a British mandate in Palestine (now Israel) proved crucial because thousands of Jews moved there to settle permanently, contributing to violence between Jews and Palestinians—a situation that soon grew beyond British control.

10. Given these results, the Versailles treaty must be judged one of history’s greatest catastrophes. In Europe itself, as well as places as far-flung as Palestine and Indochina, it created the conditions for horrific future bloodshed.

11. Wilson hoped the new League of Nations, authorized by the treaty, would moderate the terms of the settlement and secure a peaceful resolution of other disputes. For this to occur, American participation in the League was crucial.

B. Congress Rejects the Treaty

1. Though major opinion makers and religious denominations supported the treaty, the Republican Party was openly hostile, and it held a majority in the Senate.

2. One group, called the “irreconcilables,” consisted of western progressive Republicans such as Hiram Johnson of California and Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, who opposed U.S. involvement in European affairs.

3. Another group of Republicans, led by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, worried that Article X—the provision for collective security—would prevent the United States from pursuing an independent foreign policy.

4. To mobilize support for the treaty, the president embarked on an exhausting speaking tour. In Pueblo, Colorado, in September 1919, Wilson collapsed. A week later, back in Washington, he suffered a severe stroke that left one side of his body paralyzed. Wilson still urged Democratic senators to reject all Republican amendments.

5. When the treaty came up for a vote in November 1919, it failed to win the required two-thirds majority; a second attempt, in March 1920, fell seven votes short.

6. The treaty was dead, and so was Wilson’s leadership. The president never fully recovered from his stroke. The United States never ratified the Versailles treaty or joined the League of Nations. In turn, the weak League failed to do what Wilson had hoped. When Wilson died in 1924, his dream of a just and peaceful international order lay in ruins.

7. World War I had a lasting impact. Europe’s hold on its colonial empire weakened. The United States seemed to abandon the world when it rejected the Versailles treaty, but its deep entanglement in global politics, enormous diplomatic clout, and dependence on overseas trade made isolationism an unrealistic option.

8. World War I had a dramatic effect on the home front as well. Wartime jobs and prosperity would usher in an era of exuberant consumerism. Although the achievement of women’s voting rights seemed to presage a new progressive era. But as peace returned, Americans instead realized that the war had not advanced reform and relinquished government activism during the 1920s.
Cultural Conflict, Bubble, and Bust

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 7: 1890–1945

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

7.2 A revolution in technology helped to create a new mass culture and spread “modern” values, while cultural conflicts increased.

- New technologies benefitted many but also contributed to political and cultural conflicts.
- Wartime tensions and xenophobia led to legislation restricting immigration.
- World Wars I and II contributed to increased migration, both internally and to the United States.

7.3 Global conflicts led to debates over the United States’ increasingly dominant role in the world.

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Assess the conflicted legacies of World War I.
2. Trace how and why business and government became allies in the 1920s and how this partnership affected the American economy.
3. Evaluate how American foreign policy developed during the 1920s.
4. Understand why a mass national culture developed after World War I.
5. Examine how and why cultural conflict broke out in response to the new secular values of the decade.
6. Identify how intellectuals, writers, and artists reacted to the postwar era and what caused these reactions.
7. Analyze why the Great Depression occurred and how it initially affected the United States.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Conflicted Legacies of World War I
   A. Racial Strife
      1. Many African Americans emerged from the war determined to stand up for their rights and contributed to a spirit of resistance to oppression that characterized the early 1920s.
      2. Blacks who had migrated to the North and blacks who had served in the war had high expectations that exacerbated white racism; lynching nearly doubled in the South, and race riots broke out in the North.
      3. A variety of tensions were present in northern cities where violence erupted: black voters determined the winners of close elections, and blacks competed with whites and immigrants for jobs and housing.
      4. The race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in June 1921, that destroyed thirty-five blocks of the prosperous Greenwood district, locally referred to as “the black Wall Street,” evidenced that white mobs resented growing black prosperity.
   B. Erosion of Labor Rights
      1. The war effort, overseen by a Democratic administration sympathetic to labor, had temporarily increased the size and power of labor unions.
2. The National War Labor Board (NWLB) had established an eight-hour day for war workers and supported workers’ right to organize.
3. Membership in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) grew by a third during World War I and reached over 3 million by the war’s end.
4. Workers’ expectations rose as the war economy brought higher pay and better working conditions.
5. But after the war, employers resumed attacks on union activity by creating more non-unionized jobs, and rapidly rising inflation threatened to wipe out wage increases.
6. As a result of workers’ determination and employers’ resistance, one in every five workers went on strike in 1919; strikes were held by steelworkers, shipyard workers in Seattle, and policemen in Boston.
7. Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts fired the entire Boston police force, and that strike failed; Coolidge was rewarded with the Republican vice presidential nomination in 1920.
8. Antilabor decisions by the Supreme Court were an important factor in labor’s decline. In Coronado Coal Company v. United Mine Workers (1925), the Court ruled that a striking union could be penalized for illegal restraint of trade.
9. The Court also struck down federal child labor regulations; in Adkins v. Children’s Hospital (1923), it voided a minimum wage for women workers in the District of Columbia, reversing many of the gains that had been achieved before World War I through the groundbreaking decision in Muller v. Oregon.
10. Such decisions and aggressive antiunion campaigns caused membership in labor unions to fall from 5.1 million in 1920 to 3.6 million in 1929—only 10 percent of the nonagricultural workforce.
11. The 1920s marked the heyday of welfare capitalism, a system of labor relations that stressed management’s responsibility for employees’ well-being. Employers hoped this would build a loyal workforce and head off strikes and labor unrest. At a time when government unemployment compensation and Social Security did not exist, General Electric, U.S. Steel, and other large corporations offered workers health insurance, old-age pensions, and profit-sharing programs. But such plans covered only about 5 percent of the industrial workforce.

C. The Red Scare
1. American fears of socialism and communism deepened after World War I as the labor unrest coincided with the founding of the Bolsheviks’ Third International (or Comintern) to export communist doctrine and revolution to the rest of the world.
2. Ironically, as public concern about domestic Bolshevism increased, the U.S. Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party were rapidly losing members and political power.
3. Tensions mounted with a series of bombings in the early spring of 1919; in November, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer staged the first of what were known as Palmer raids, in which federal agents stormed the headquarters of radical organizations.
4. Lacking the protection of U.S. citizenship, thousands of aliens who had committed no crime but were suspect because of their anarchist or revolutionary beliefs or their immigrant backgrounds faced deportation without formal trial or indictment.
5. Palmer predicted that a conspiracy attempt to overthrow the government would occur on May Day in 1920; when the incident never occurred, the hysteria of the Red Scare began to abate.
6. At the height of the Red Scare, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti—alien draft evaders—were arrested for robbery and murder, were denied a new trial even though evidence surfaced that suggested their innocence, and were executed in 1927. This case was one of the ugly scars left by the ethnic and political hostilities of the Great War.

II. Politics in the 1920s
A. Women in Politics
1. At the start of the 1920s, many progressive women hoped that the achievement of full voting rights would offer women new leverage to tackle industrial poverty. The newly organized Women’s Joint Congressional Committee, a Washington-based advocacy group achieved passage of the first federally funded health-care legislation, the Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act (1921).
2. Sheppard-Towner provided federal funds for medical clinics, prenatal education programs, and visiting nurses. Despite fears of socialized medicine, Sheppard-Towner improved health care for the poor and significantly lowered infant mortality rates. It also marked the first time that Congress designated federal funds to the states and encouraged them to administer a social welfare program.
3. In 1923, Alice Paul persuaded Congress to discuss an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution, stating that “men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States.” Debate divided women’s rights advocates and the nation. After repeated introduction in Congress over the next five decades, the ERA finally failed after the bitter ratification struggle in the 1970s.
4. Moved by the immense suffering caused by World War I, some women joined a growing international peace movement. Treaty makers ignored them, but the activists organized for sustained opposition to war. In 1919, they created the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), whose leading members included Jane Addams. Through the 1920s and beyond, the league denounced imperialism, proposed social justice measures, and stressed the suffering caused by militarism.

5. Despite such work, women’s activism suffered major setbacks in the 1920s. The WILPF came under fierce attack during the Red Scare, based on the presence of socialist women among its ranks.

6. Many congressmen initially supported the Sheppard-Towner Act because they feared the voting power of women, but by the late 1920s, Congress ended the program.

7. Though women proved to be effective lobbyists, they had difficulty gaining access to posts in the Republican and Democratic parties. Finding that women did not vote as a bloc, politicians in both parties began to take their votes for granted.

B. Republicans and Business

1. With President Wilson ailing in 1920, Democrats nominated Governor James M. Cox of Ohio for president, on a platform calling for U.S. participation in the League of Nations and continuation of Wilson’s progressivism.

2. Republicans, led by their probusiness wing, chose Ohio senator Warren G. Harding, who promised “not nostrums but normalcy.” On election day, he won in a landslide, beginning an era of Republican dominance that lasted until 1932.

3. Harding’s secretary of commerce, Herbert Hoover, utilized the Commerce Department to create 2,000 trade associations representing companies in almost every major industry. Government officials worked closely with the associations, providing statistical research, suggesting industry-wide standards, and promoting stable prices and wages.

4. Hoover hoped that through voluntary business cooperation with government—an associated state—he could achieve what progressive reformers had sought through governmental regulation.

5. When President Harding died suddenly of a heart attack in August 1923, evidence was just coming to light that parts of his administration were riddled with corruption. The worst scandal concerned the secret leasing of government oil reserves in Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and Elk Hills, California, to private companies.

6. Assuming office after Harding’s death, President Calvin Coolidge maintained Republican dominance while offering a contrast to his predecessor’s cronyism.

7. Campaigning in 1924, Coolidge called for limited government and tax cuts for business.

8. Rural and urban Democrats were deeply divided over such issues as prohibition and immigration restriction; delegates at their national convention cast 102 ballots before finally choosing John W. Davis, a Wall Street lawyer.

9. Coolidge easily defeated Davis and staved off a challenge by Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin, who tried to resuscitate the Progressive Party. In the end, Coolidge received 15.7 million votes to Davis’s 8.4 million and La Follette’s 4.9 million.

10. For the most part, Republicans declined to carry forward progressive initiatives from the prewar years. The Republican-dominated Federal Trade Commission (FTC) failed to enforce antitrust laws.

11. With the agricultural sector facing hardship, Congress sought to aid farmers with the McNary-Haugen bills of 1927 and 1928, which proposed a system of federal price supports for major crops. But President Coolidge opposed the bills as “special-interest legislation” and vetoed them both.

C. Dollar Diplomacy

1. Political campaigns emphasized domestic issues in the 1920s, but the United States nonetheless remained deeply engaged in foreign affairs. The Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover administrations all sought to advance U.S. business interests, especially by encouraging private banks to make foreign loans. They hoped such loans would stimulate growth and increase demand for U.S. products in developing markets.

2. In 1922, when American banks offered an immense loan to Bolivia, at a hefty profit, the State Department pressured Bolivia to accept it. It also forced Bolivia to agree to financial oversight by a commission under the banks’ control. A similar arrangement was reached with El Salvador’s government in 1923, though efforts to broker such deals in Honduras and Guatemala fell through.

3. Where stronger action was needed, the United States intervened militarily, often to force repayment of debt. The U.S. Marines occupied Nicaragua almost continuously from 1912 to 1933, the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924, and Haiti from 1915 to 1934.

4. In these lengthy military deployments, Americans came to think of these occupied countries as essentially U.S. possessions, much like Puerto Rico and the Philippines.
5. At home, critics denounced both loan guarantees and military interventions as dollar diplomacy. African American leaders also denounced the Haitian occupation. On behalf of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races, a delegation conducted a fact-finding tour of Haiti in 1926. Their report exposed, among other things, the sexual exploitation of Haitian women by U.S. soldiers.

6. By the late 1920s, dollar diplomacy was on the defensive, in keeping with a broader disgust with international affairs.

7. At the same time, political leaders became frustrated with their poor results. Although loans were usually repaid, securing bankers’ profits, the money often ended up in the pockets of local elites; U.S. policy had failed to build broad-based prosperity overseas.

8. Military intervention could have even more dire results. In Haiti, the marines crushed peasant protests and helped the Haitian elite consolidate its power. U.S. occupation thus helped create the conditions for harsh future dictatorships that Haitians endured through the rest of the twentieth century.

D. Culture Wars

1. Prohibition
   a. By 1929, ninety-three U.S. cities had populations over 100,000. New York City exceeded 7 million, and the population of Los Angeles had exploded to 1.2 million.
   b. The lives and beliefs of urban Americans—including millions of recent immigrants—often differed dramatically from those in small towns and farming areas.
   c. Native-born rural Protestants, faced with a dire perceived threat, mobilized in the 1920s to protect what they saw as “American values.” This anti-foreign sentiment is termed nativism.
   d. Rural and native-born Protestants started the decade by achieving a longtime goal: prohibition of liquor. The nation’s decades-long prohibition campaign culminated with Congress’s passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1917. Ratified by nearly every state and effective in January 1920, the amendment prohibited “manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors” anywhere in the United States.
   e. Although defenders hailed prohibition as a victory for health, morals, and Christian values, thousands circumvented it in urban “speakeasies” and other illegal drinking sites.
   f. Thousands of Americans also streamed across the border to Mexico contributing to the rise of Tijuana and Mexicali as booming vice towns. The law remained in force until its repeal in 1933.

2. Evolution in the Schools
   a. At the state and local levels, controversy erupted as fundamentalist Protestants sought to mandate school curricula based on biblical creation.
   b. In 1925, Tennessee’s legislature outlawed the teaching of “any theory that denies the story of the Divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, [and teaches] instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals.” The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which had been formed during the Red Scare to protect free speech rights, challenged the law’s constitutionality. It intervened in the trial of John T. Scopes, a high school biology teacher who taught evolution to his class and faced a jail sentence for doing so.
   c. The case attracted national attention because Clarence Darrow, a famous criminal lawyer, defended Scopes, while William Jennings Bryan, the three-time Democratic presidential candidate, spoke for the prosecution.
   d. The press dubbed the Scopes case “the monkey trial.” The label referred both to Darwin’s argument that human beings and other primates share a common ancestor and to the circus atmosphere at the trial, which was broadcast live over a Chicago radio station. Scopes was convicted and the law remained on the books for more than thirty years.

3. Nativism
   a. Some native-born Protestants blamed immigration for what they perceived as America’s moral decline. Such attitudes fueled a momentous shift in immigration policy.
   b. The National Origins Act (1924) for the first time limited European migration to the United States. The act limited annual immigration from any country to 2 percent of that nationality’s percentage of the U.S. population as it had stood in 1890. Since only small numbers of Italians, Greeks, Poles, Russians, and other Southern and Eastern European immigrants had arrived before 1890, the law drastically limited immigration from those places.
   c. In 1929, Congress imposed even stricter quotas, setting a cap of 150,000 immigrants per year from Europe and continuing to ban most immigrants from Asia.
   d. These laws, however, did not restrict immigration from Latin America resulting in the arrival of over 1 million Mexicans who applied for the jobs immigrants used to take. Despite calls for limitations, immigration from Mexico would not be cut off until the Great Depression.
e. States passed anti-immigrant measures as well. California, for example, denied “aliens ineligible for citizenship” the right to own real estate and limited the teaching of Japanese language, history, or culture in schools. This affected Japanese Americans, in particular, placing them in a vulnerable situation by the end of the 1930s.

4. The National Klan
   a. Shortly after the premier of Birth of a Nation (1915), a popular film glorifying the Reconstruction-era Ku Klux Klan, a group of southerners revived the group. With its blunt motto, “Native, white, Protestant supremacy,” the Klan did not limit harassment to blacks but targeted immigrants, Catholics, and Jews as well, with physical intimidation, arson, and economic boycotts.
   b. Membership in the Klan rose to three million, including many women, and the group wielded serious political clout. Although passage of immigration restrictions contributed to a decline nationally, the Klan remained strong in the South and cooperated with members of the Anti-Saloon League to enforce prohibition laws through threats and violent attacks.
   c. The rise of the Klan represented a national trend in growing anti-Semitism as evidenced in the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish factory supervisor wrongly accused of rape and murder; the rise of white supremacist groups such as the Silver Legion in Los Angeles, a fringe paramilitary group aligned with Hitler’s Nazis; and warnings by prominent individuals such as Henry Ford that “the proud Gentile race” must arm itself against a Jewish conspiracy aimed at world domination.

5. The Election of 1928
   a. Such conflicts created the climate for a stormy presidential election in 1928. Democrats, traditionally drawing strength from white voters in the South and immigrants in the North, divided over prohibition, immigration restriction, and the Klan.
   b. By 1928, the northern urban wing gained firm control. Democrats nominated Governor Al Smith of New York, the first presidential candidate to represent the urban working class. The grandson of Irish peasants, Smith had risen through New York City’s Democratic machine and become a dynamic reformer.
   c. But Smith offended many small-town and rural Americans. He spoke in a heavy New York accent and sported a brown derby that highlighted his ethnic working-class origins. Middle-class reformers questioned his ties to Tammany Hall; temperance advocates opposed him as a “wet.” The governor’s greatest handicap was his religion. Although Smith insisted that his Catholic beliefs would not affect his duties as president, many Protestant leaders opposed him.
   d. Smith proved no match for the Republican nominee, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover. Enjoying the benefit of eight years of Republican prosperity, Hoover promised voters that individualism and cooperative endeavors would banish poverty.
   e. He won a major victory, receiving 58 percent of the popular vote to Smith’s 41 percent and an overwhelming 444 electoral votes to Smith’s 87.

III. Intellectual Modernism
A. Harlem in Vogue
   1. Black Writers and Artists
      a. As New York’s black population tripled in the decade after 1910, during the Great Migration, Harlem stood as a symbol of hope to African American people. Talented black artists and writers flocked to the district, where they broke with older genteel traditions and asserted ties to Africa.
      b. Writers and artists of the Harlem Renaissance championed race pride. Claude McKay and Jean Toomer explored the black experience and represented in fiction what philosopher Alain Locke called the “New Negro.”
      c. This creative work embodied the ongoing struggle to find a way, as the influential black intellectual W. E. B. Du Bois explained, “to be both a Negro and an American.”
      d. Zora Neale Hurston embodied the energy and optimism of the Harlem Renaissance. She traveled through the South and the Caribbean, documenting folklore, songs, and religious beliefs. She incorporated this material into her short stories and novels, celebrating the humor and spiritual strength of ordinary black men and women.
   2. Jazz
      a. To millions of Americans, the most visible part of the Harlem revolution was jazz. As a musical form, jazz coalesced in New Orleans and other parts of the South before World War I. Borrowing from blues, ragtime, and other popular forms, jazz musicians developed an ensemble style in which individual performers, keeping a rapid ragtime beat, improvised over and around a basic melodic line.
      b. The majority of early jazz musicians were black, but white performers, some of whom had more formal training, injected elements of European concert music.
c. As jazz spread nationwide during the 1920s, musicians developed the improvised solo. The key figure of this development was trumpeter Louis Armstrong.
d. As jazz spread, it generally followed the routes of the Great Migration of blacks from the South to northern and western cities, where dance halls were plentiful and consumers were eager to receive it.
e. By the 1920s, radio also helped popularize jazz, as the emerging record industry churned out records of the latest tunes. New York became the hub of this commercially lucrative jazz as white listeners—who hailed “primitive” black music and seldom suspended their racial condescension when they went “slumming” to mixed-race clubs—flocked to theaters, ballrooms, and expensive clubs to hear the “Harlem sound” from the orchestras of Duke Ellington and other stars.
f. Through jazz, the recording industry began to develop products specifically aimed at urban working-class blacks. While its marketing reflected the segregation of American society at large, jazz brought black music to the center stage of American culture. It became the era’s signature music, so much so that novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald dubbed the 1920s the “Jazz Age.”

3. Marcus Garvey and the UNIA
   a. It was no accident that the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which arose in the 1920s to mobilize African American workers, was based in Harlem. Led by Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey, the UNIA championed black separatism.
   b. The charismatic Garvey urged followers to move to Africa, arguing that peoples of African descent would never be treated justly in white-run countries.
   c. The UNIA grew rapidly in the early 1920s and soon claimed four million followers, including many recent migrants to northern cities. It published a newspaper, Negro World, opened “liberty halls” in northern cities, and solicited funds for the Black Star Line steamship company, to trade with the West Indies and carry American blacks back to Africa.
   d. But the UNIA declined as quickly as it had arisen. In 1925, Garvey was imprisoned for mail fraud because of his solicitations for the Black Star Line. President Coolidge commuted his sentence but ordered his deportation to Jamaica. Without Garvey’s leadership, the movement collapsed.
   e. The UNIA left a legacy of activism, especially among working-class blacks. A transnational consciousness, or pan-Africanism, arguing that people of African descent, in all parts of the world, had a common destiny and should cooperate in political action, emerged owing to black men’s military service in Europe during World War I, the Pan-African Congress seeking representation at the Versailles treaty table, the U.S. occupation of Haiti, and modernist experiments in literature and the arts.

B. Critiquing American Life
   1. Other American artists and intellectuals of the 1920s registered bitter dissent. Some had experienced firsthand the shock and devastation of World War I, an experience so searing that American writer Gertrude Stein dubbed those who survived it the Lost Generation.
   2. Novelist John Dos Passos railed at the obscenity of “Mr. Wilson’s war” in The Three Soldiers (1921). Ernest Hemingway’s novel A Farewell to Arms (1929) portrayed the futility and dehumanizing consequences of war.
   3. The war accelerated a literary trend of exploring the dark side of the human psyche. Playwright Eugene O’Neill, for example, offered a Freudian view of humans’ raw, un governable sexual impulses, in such dramas as Desire Under the Elms (1924). O’Neill first made his mark with The Emperor Jones (1920), which appealed to Americans’ fascination with Haiti.
   4. In a decade of conflict between traditional and modern worldviews, many writers exposed what they saw as the hypocrisy of small-town and rural life.
   5. The most savage critic of conformity was Sinclair Lewis, whose novel Babbitt (1922) depicted the disillusionment of an ordinary small-town salesman. Babbitt was widely denounced as un-American; Elmer Gantry (1927), a satire of a greedy evangelical minister on the make, provoked even greater outrage.
   6. But critics found Lewis’s work superb, and in 1930 he became the first American to win the Nobel Prize for literature.
   7. Even more famous was F. Scott Fitzgerald’s The Great Gatsby (1925), which offered a scathing indictment of Americans’ mindless pursuit of pleasure and material wealth.

IV. From Boom to Bust
   A. The Postwar Economy
      1. Immediately after World War I, Americans experienced a series of economic shocks, beginning with rampant inflation that raised prices by one-third in 1919 alone, followed by a two-year recession that raised unemployment to
10 percent. Then the economy began to grow slowly; between 1922 and 1929, national per capita income rose an impressive 24 percent.

2. Large-scale corporations continued to replace individual- or family-run enterprises as the major form of American business organization.

3. Through successive waves of consolidation, the two hundred largest businesses came to control almost half the country’s nonbanking corporate wealth by 1929. The greatest number of mergers occurred in rising industries such as chemicals (in which DuPont emerged as the leader) and electrical appliances (General Electric).

4. At the same time, mergers between Wall Street banks enhanced the role of New York as the financial center of the United States and, increasingly, the world. U.S. companies exercised growing international power.

5. Despite the boom, the economy had significant weaknesses throughout the 1920s. Agriculture, which still employed one-fourth of all workers, never fully recovered from the postwar recession. Once Europe’s economy revived, its farmers flooded world markets with grain and other farm products, causing prices to fall. Other industries, including coal and textiles, languished for similar reasons. Many rural Americans shared little of the decade’s prosperity. The bottom 40 percent of American families had an average annual income of only $725 (about $9,100 today).

B. Consumer Culture

1. The Automobile
   a. The middle-class home was filled with consumer goods. By 1929, 40 percent of American households owned a radio. At the same time, electric refrigerators and vacuum cleaners came into use in affluent homes.
   b. The advertising industry reached new levels of ambition and sophistication, entering what one historian calls the era of the “aggressive hard sell,” encouraging consumers to buy what they wanted not what they needed.
   c. In practice, the question of who participated in consumer culture was contested—as shown vividly in the Tulsa race riot, when white mobs plundered furniture and phonograph players from black homes.
   d. Surrounded by exhortations to indulge in luxuries, millions of working-class Americans barely squeezed by, with wives and mothers often taking paid work to provide basic necessities. At times of crisis, some families sold all their furniture, starting with pianos and phonograph players and moving, if necessary, to dining tables and beds. Others bartered with neighbors or raised vegetables in their yards.
   e. When every dollar counted, the lure of consumer culture often created friction. Married women resented husbands who spent discretionary cash and expected wives to “make do.” Generational conflicts emerged, especially when wage-earning children challenged the long-standing expectation that their earnings should go “all to mother.”
   f. Poor and affluent families often had one thing in common: they stretched their incomes by taking advantage of new forms of borrowing, such as auto loans and installment plans. “Buy now, pay later,” said the ads, and millions did—a factor that contributed to the country’s broad economic over-extension in the 1920s. Anyone, no matter how rich, could get into debt, but consumer credit was particularly perilous for those living on the economic margins. Such easy credit turned out to be a contributing factor to the bust in 1929.
   g. No possession typified national consumer culture better than the automobile, a showpiece of modern consumer capitalism that revolutionized American economic and social life. In a single year, 1929, Americans spent $2.58 billion on automobiles. By the end of the decade, they owned 23 million cars—about 80 percent of the world’s automobiles—or an average of one car for every six people.
   h. The exuberant expansion of the auto industry rippled through the economy, with both positive and negative results. It stimulated the steel, petroleum, chemical, rubber, and glass industries and, directly or indirectly, provided jobs for 3.7 million workers. Highway construction became a billion-dollar-a-year enterprise, financed by federal subsidies and state gasoline taxes. Car ownership spurred the growth of suburbs and, in 1924, the first suburban shopping center: Country Club Plaza outside Kansas City, Missouri.
   i. But cars were expensive, and most Americans bought them on credit. This created risks not only for buyers but for the whole economy. Borrowers who could not pay off car loans lost their entire investment in their cars; if they defaulted, banks were left holding unpaid loans. But amid the boom of the 1920s, such a scenario seemed remote.
   j. Cars changed the way Americans spent their leisure time. Though gasoline was not cheap, proud drivers took their machines on the road. An infrastructure of gas stations, motels, and drive-in restaurants soon catered to drivers.
   k. Railroad travel began to fade as automobiles became central to tourism. The American Automobile Association, founded in 1902, estimated that in 1929 almost a third of the population took vacations by car, patronizing “autocamps” and cabins. By 1923, there were 247 autocamps in Colorado alone.

2. Hollywood
The Coming of the Great Depression

1. Toward the end of the decade, strains on the economy began to show. By 1927, consumer lending had become the tenth-largest business in the country, topping $7 billion a year. Increasing numbers of Americans also bought into the stock market, often with unrealistic expectations.

2. Corporate profits were so high that some companies, fully invested in their own operations, plowed excess earnings into the stock market. Some market players compounded risk by purchasing on margin. Such a strategy raked in gains as long as the economy grew, jobs were plentiful, and investments rose in value. But those conditions did not last.

3. Yet even when the stock market crashed, in a series of plunges between October 25 and November 13, 1929, few onlookers understood the magnitude of the crisis. Deep, cyclical depressions had been a familiar part of the industrializing economy since at least the panic of the 1830s; such depressions had tended to follow periods of rapid growth and speculation. A sharp downturn had occurred recently, in 1921, without triggering long-term disaster.

4. The market rose again in late 1929 and early 1930, and while a great deal of money had been lost, most Americans hoped the aftermath of the crash would be brief. Instead, the nation was experiencing the beginning of the Great Depression.

5. Over the next four years, industrial production fell 37 percent, and construction plunged by 78 percent. Prices for crops and other raw materials, already low, fell by half. By 1932, unemployment reached a staggering 24 percent.

6. A precipitous drop in consumer spending helped deepen the crisis. Having bought on credit, and now facing hard times, consumers cut back dramatically, creating a vicious cycle of falling demand and forfeited loans.

7. In late 1930, several major banks went under, victims of overextended credit and reckless management. As industrial production slowed, a much larger wave of bank failures occurred in 1931, causing an even more severe shock. Since the government did not insure bank deposits, savings in failed banks simply vanished.

8. Not everyone experienced absolute devastation; the middle class remained and the wealthy continued to live in luxury. Incomes, however, declined and a barter system, exchanging services for goods, developed across the nation.

9. Desperate people turned to churches, synagogues, and other forms of private charity for aid, but by winter of 1931 these organization were overwhelmed. The lack of unemployment insurance and public support for the elderly combined with wiped-out savings created widespread misery.

10. Even those not entirely broke or unemployed had to adjust to depression conditions. Marriage rates dropped to historical lows as did birthrates. Despite hiring restrictions, female employment increased.

11. The severity of the depression varied by region. Bank failures were more prominent in the Midwest and plains. Extractive industries such as timber and mining suffered catastrophic declines. Southern states endured less unemployment owing to a smaller manufacturing base, but farm wages plunged. Unemployment rates for black men and women were two to three times as high as for whites.
Managing the Great Depression, Forging the New Deal 1929–1939

Period 7: 1890–1945

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

7.1 Organizations struggled to address the effects of large-scale industrialization, economic uncertainty, and related social changes.

- Large corporations dominated the U.S. economy and transformed society amid increasing market instability.

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand how President Herbert Hoover responded to the Great Depression.
2. Evaluate how and why the federal government influenced American economic and political issues during the 1930s.
3. Assess how President Roosevelt responded to economic depression and why he responded in this manner. Examine the primary differences between the first and second New Deal.
4. Consider how labor unions responded to the New Deal.
5. Analyze how the New Deal affected American society both during the 1930s and thereafter.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Early Responses to the Depression, 1929–1932
   A. Enter Herbert Hoover
      1. The American economy went rapidly downhill between 1929 and 1932. U.S. gross domestic product fell almost by half, from $103.1 billion to $58 billion. Consumption dropped by 18 percent, construction by 78 percent, and private investment by 88 percent. Fifteen million people were unemployed by 1933, and many others took wage cuts to keep their jobs.
      2. The Great Depression was, in part, a global crisis that emerged from the aftermath of World War I. Germany’s economy, burdened by reparation payment, was shattered by 1929. The heavy cost of war prevented Britain’s central bank from resuming its role as a key manager in the international financial system.
      3. In addition, the war disrupted the international gold standard. The United States and most European nations had long tied the value of their currencies to gold. This system had worked fairly well before the crisis of World War I, but it was vulnerable during economic downturns, when foreign financiers withdrew their investments and demanded gold payments.
      4. As the depression continued, President Herbert Hoover drew upon two powerful American traditions. The first was the belief that economic outcomes were the responsibility of individual people. People’s fate was in their own hands,
not in the workings of the market. The second tradition was voluntarism—the idea that the business community could regulate itself without relying on government assistance.

5. Following these principles, Hoover asked Americans to do more with less and cut federal taxes to boost private spending and corporate investment.

6. Faced with economic catastrophe, both Britain and Germany abandoned the gold standard in 1931; their economies recovered moderately. But the Hoover administration, not recognizing that an inflexible money supply discouraged investment, argued that such a move would weaken the value of the dollar.

7. The United States finally left the gold standard in 1933, under Roosevelt's administration, but by then the economy had stalled.

8. In 1930, Republicans enacted the Smoot-Hawley Tariff; despite protests by over a thousand economists urging him to veto it, Hoover approved the legislation. The orthodoxy of high tariffs had helped protect American manufacturing during good economic times, but in 1930, Smoot-Hawley triggered retaliatory tariffs in other countries, which further hindered global trade and led to greater economic contraction throughout the industrialized world.

9. Hoover recognized that voluntarism from corporate leaders and high tariffs might not be enough and turned to government action. He called on state and local governments to increase capital expenditures on public works. In 1931, he secured an increase of $700 million in federal spending on public works.

10. Hoover’s most innovative program was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), which provided federal loans to railroads, banks, and other businesses. Congress approved it in January 1932.

11. This plan might have worked, but the RFC was too cautious in lending the money. Although Congress allocated $1.5 billion to the RFC, the agency had expended only 20 percent of these funds by the end of 1932.

12. Compared with previous chief executives—and in contrast to his popular image as a “do-nothing” president—Hoover had responded to the national emergency with government action on an unprecedented scale. But the nation’s needs were even more unprecedented, and Hoover’s programs failed to meet them.

B. Rising Discontent

1. As the depression continued, many citizens came to hate Herbert Hoover. Terms, such as Hoovervilles (shantytowns where people lived in packing crates) and Hoover blankets (newspapers) reflected the growing discontent with Hoover’s failing policies.

2. Even as some Americans were going hungry, farmers formed the Farmers’ Holiday Association and destroyed food rather than accepting prices that would not cover their costs.

3. Bitter labor strikes occurred in the depths of the depression, despite the threat that strikers would lose their jobs.

4. Veterans staged the most publicized—and most tragic—protest. In the summer of 1932, the Bonus Army of 15,000 unemployed World War I veterans marched on Washington to demand immediate payment of their pension awards; newsreels showing the U.S. Army moving against its own veterans made Hoover’s popularity plunge even lower.

C. The 1932 Election

1. As the 1932 election approached, the nation overall was not in a revolutionary mood. Many middle-class Americans had internalized the ideal of the self-made man and blamed themselves rather than the system for their hardships. Most Americans believed that something altogether new had to be tried—whatever that might be.

2. The Republicans nominated Hoover once again for president, and the Democrats nominated Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt of New York.

3. In 1921, Roosevelt had suffered an attack of polio that left both his legs paralyzed, yet he emerged from the illness a stronger, more resilient man.

4. Roosevelt won the election easily, receiving 22.8 million votes to Hoover’s 15.7 million,

5. Elected in November, Roosevelt would not begin his presidency until March of 1933. (Ratified in 1933, the Twentieth Amendment set January 20 as the permanent inauguration day.)

6. As FDR waited, Americans suffered through the worst winter of the depression. Nationwide, unemployment continued to climb to staggering levels of 60 percent in some cities. Public welfare institutions were totally overwhelmed.

7. Despite dramatic increases in their spending, private charities and public relief agencies only reached a fraction of the needy.
8. The nation’s banking system was so close to collapse that many state governors closed banks temporarily to avoid further withdrawals. By March 1933, the nation had hit rock bottom.

II. The New Deal Arrives, 1933–1935
   A. Roosevelt and the First Hundred Days
      1. Banking Reform
         a. Ideologically, Roosevelt differed little from Hoover. Both wished to maintain the American economic system and the nation’s social values, including hard work and sacrifice. Roosevelt’s charm and his willingness to experiment made him more effective and more popular than Hoover.
         b. A wealthy aristocrat from a patrician family, Roosevelt was unlikely to inspire millions of ordinary Americans. But he established a close rapport with the American people; his use of radio-broadcasted “fireside chats” fostered a sense of intimacy.
         c. Roosevelt dramatically expanded the role of the executive branch in initiating policy, thereby helping to create the modern presidency.
         d. To draft legislation and policy, Roosevelt relied heavily on financier Bernard Baruch and a “Brains Trust” of professors from Columbia, Harvard, and other leading universities. He also turned to his talented cabinet, including Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, Frances Perkins at the Labor Department, Henry A. Wallace at Agriculture, and Henry Morgenthau Jr., the secretary of the treasury.
         e. Roosevelt could have done little, however, without a sympathetic Congress. The 1932 election had swept Democratic majorities into both the House and Senate.
         f. The first months of the administration produced a whirlwind of activity in Congress known as the Hundred Days, during which fifteen major bills were enacted, targeting banking failures, agricultural overproduction, the business slump, and soaring unemployment.
         g. Derided by opponents as an “alphabet soup” because of the many abbreviations they spawned (CCC, WPA, AAA, etc.), the new policies and agencies represented the dawn of a new American state.
         h. The first problem Roosevelt confronted was the banking crisis; the president declared a national “bank holiday” and called Congress into special session. The result was the Emergency Banking Act, which permitted banks to reopen if a Treasury Department inspection showed they had sufficient cash reserves.
         i. In his first fireside chat, the president reassured citizens that the banks were safe; when the banks reopened, there were more deposits than withdrawals.
         j. A second banking law, the Glass-Steagall Act, further restored public confidence by creating the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), which insured deposits up to $2,500. Roosevelt also removed the U.S. Treasury from the gold standard in June 1933, which allowed the Federal Reserve to lower interest rates. It had been raising them since 1931, which had only deepened the downturn.
      2. Agriculture and Manufacturing
         a. The Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) established a system of cash subsidies for seven major commodities (wheat, cotton, corn, hogs, rice, tobacco, and dairy products) to entice farmers to cut production in the hopes that prices would rise.
         b. The AAA’s benefits were distributed unevenly; subsidies went primarily to the owners of large and medium-sized farms, while renters and sharecroppers received a few dollars in relief payments.
         c. The National Industrial Recovery Act launched the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which established a system of self-governing private associations in six hundred industries.
         d. The NRA’s codes established prices and production quotas. But large companies tended to dominate the NRA’s code-drafting process, thus solidifying the power of large businesses at the expense of smaller ones.
      3. Unemployment Relief
         a. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), set up in May 1933 under the direction of Harry Hopkins, offered federal money to the states for relief programs and was designed to keep people from starving until other recovery measures took hold.
         b. Established in November 1933, the Civil Works Administration (CWA) put 2.6 million men and women to work; at its peak, it employed 4 million in public works jobs. The CWA lapsed the next spring when Republican opposition compelled New Dealers to abandon it.
c. A more long-term program, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), mobilized 250,000 young men to do reforestation and conservation work. Over the course of the 1930s, the “CCC boys” built thousands of bridges, roads, trails, and other structures in state and national parks.

4. Housing Crisis
a. More than half a million Americans lost their homes between 1930 and 1932. In response, Congress created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) to refinance home mortgages. In just two years of operation, the HOLC helped more than a million Americans retain their homes.

b. The Federal Housing Act of 1934 extended the program under a new agency, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). Together, the HOLC, the FHA, and the subsequent Housing Act of 1937 permanently changed the mortgage system and extended home ownership.

c. Although these measures had halted the economic downward spiral, stabilized the financial sector, and established hope, the New Deal did not break the grip of the depression.

B. The New Deal Under Attack
1. Critics on the Right
a. In order to reform Wall Street and the stock market, Congress established in 1934 the Securities and Exchange Commission with broad powers to determine how stocks and bonds were sold, to set rules for margin (credit) transactions, and to prevent stock sales by those with insider information.

b. The Banking Act of 1935 gave the president the authority to appoint a new Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, placing control of interest rates and other money-market policies in a federal agency rather than in the hands of private bankers.

c. Business leaders and conservative Democrats formed the Liberty League in 1934 to lobby against the New Deal and its “reckless spending” and “socialist” reforms.

d. The National Association of Manufacturers combatted what its members perceived as Roosevelt’s antibusiness policies with a publicity campaign, promoting free enterprise through radio programs, motion pictures, billboards, and direct mail.

e. In Schechter v. United States (1935), the Supreme Court ruled that the National Industrial Recovery Act represented an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power to the executive branch. The Court also struck down the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Railroad Retirement Act, and the Frazier-Lemke Act.

2. Critics on the Populist Left
a. Citizens like Francis Townsend thought that the New Deal had not gone far enough; Townsend proposed the Old Age Revolving Pension Plan.

b. The most direct political threat to Roosevelt came from Senator Huey Long of Louisiana who had presidential aspirations. In 1934, Senator Long broke with the New Deal and established his own national movement, the Share Our Wealth Society.

c. The split between New Dealers and populist reformers created hope for Republicans that they might return limited government and free enterprise to political power.

d. Roosevelt feared that Townsend and Long, along with the popular “radio priest,” Father Charles Coughlin, might join forces to form a third party. He had to act if he wanted to win.

III. The Second New Deal and the Redefining of Liberalism, 1935–1938
A. The Welfare State Comes into Being
1. The Wagner Act and Social Security
a. As the depression continued and attacks on the New Deal mounted, Roosevelt—with his eye on the 1936 election—began to move to the left and construct a new coalition to broaden the scope of his response to the depression.

b. The Revenue Act of 1935, raising taxes on corporate profits and higher incomes, evidenced the shift in policy with the Second New Deal toward social justice and the creation of a safety net. The resulting welfare state—a term applied to industrial democracies that adopt various government-guaranteed social-welfare programs—fundamentally changed American society.

c. The first beneficiary of Roosevelt’s change in direction was the labor movement.
d. After the Supreme Court declared the NIRA, including Section 7(a) giving workers the right to organize, unconstitutional in 1935, labor representatives demanded legislation that would protect the right to organize and bargain collectively.

e. The Wagner Act of 1935 upheld the right of industrial workers to join a union and established the nonpartisan National Labor Relations Board to further protect workers’ rights.

f. The Social Security Act of 1935 provided old-age pensions for most workers in the private sector to be financed by a federal tax that both employers and employees would pay; established a joint federal-state system of unemployment compensation; and offered a relief program for widowed mothers and the blind, deaf, and disabled.

g. The Social Security Act was a milestone in the creation of the modern welfare state. Never before had the federal government assumed such responsibility for the well-being of a substantial portion of the citizenry.

2. New Deal Liberalism

a. The Second New Deal created what historians call New Deal Liberalism. Classical liberalism held individual liberty to be the foundation of a democratic society, and the word liberal had traditionally denoted support for free-market policies and weak government.

b. Roosevelt and his advisors redefined the idea and created policy to preserve individual liberty through government assistance and guarantees for basic well-being.

B. From Reform to Stalemate

1. The 1936 Election

a. Under Harry Hopkins, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) put relief workers directly onto the federal payroll; between 1935 and 1943, the WPA employed 8.5 million Americans, but it only reached about one-third of the nation’s unemployed.

b. In 1936, new voters joined the Democratic Party, including people who had personally benefitted from New Deal programs such as the WPA, as well as organized labor, midwestern farmers, white ethnic groups, northern African Americans, middle-class families, intellectuals, and progressive Republicans.

c. Ralph Landon, the Republican challenger to Roosevelt in 1936, accepted the legitimacy of most New Deal programs but criticized their inefficiency and expense. The Republican candidate also pointed to authoritarian regimes in Italy and Germany, directed by Benito Mussolini and Adolph Hitler, respectively, and hinted that Roosevelt harbored similar dictatorial ambitions.

d. Roosevelt beat Landon in a landslide; there was no third-party threat, as Huey Long had been assassinated in September of 1935. Roosevelt received 60 percent of the popular vote and carried every state except Maine and Vermont.

2. Court Battle and Economic Recession

a. Because he believed the future of New Deal reforms might be in doubt, Roosevelt asked for fundamental changes in the structure of the Supreme Court only two weeks after his inauguration.

b. Roosevelt proposed the addition of one new justice for each sitting justice over the age of seventy—a scheme that would have increased the number of justices from nine to fifteen; opponents protested that he was trying to “pack” the Court with justices who favored the New Deal.

c. The issue became a moot point when the Supreme Court upheld several key pieces of New Deal legislation and a series of resignations created vacancies on the Court.

d. Roosevelt managed to reshape the Supreme Court to suit his liberal philosophy through new appointments, including Hugo Black, Felix Frankfurter, and William O. Douglas.

e. The so-called Roosevelt recession of 1937–1938 dealt the most devastating blow to the president’s political effectiveness in his second term. A steady improvement in the economy had caused Roosevelt to slash the budget, causing a tightening in credit, a market downturn, and rising unemployment. Roosevelt quickly reversed course and spent his way out of the downturn, boosting funds for the WPA and resuming public works projects.

f. The Roosevelt spending programs resembled the theories of John Maynard Keynes, a British economist, who argued that government intervention through deficit spending and manipulation of interest rates could ease the highs and lows of business cycles. Keynesian economics gradually won wider acceptance as defense spending during World War II finally ended the Great Depression.
g. Throughout Roosevelt’s second term, a conservative coalition composed of southern Democrats, rural Republicans, and industrial interests in both parties impeded further social legislation. The era of change was over by 1939.

IV. The New Deal’s Impact on Society

A. A People’s Democracy
   1. Organized Labor
      a. The New Deal accelerated the expansion of the federal bureaucracy.
      b. Government reform inspired beliefs that the nation could, and should, become more egalitarian, and ordinary people seized the opportunity to push for change in the nation’s social and political institutions.
      c. Labor’s dramatic growth in the 1930s represented one of the most important social and economic changes of the decade. Organized labor won the battle for recognition, higher wages, seniority systems, and grievance procedures.
      d. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) served as the cutting edge of the union movement by promoting “industrial unionism”—organizing all of the workers in one industry, both skilled and unskilled, into one union.
      e. Hoping to use its influence to elect candidates that were sympathetic to labor and social justice, the CIO quickly allied itself with the Democratic Party.
      f. The labor movement still had not developed into a dominant force in American life, and many workers remained indifferent or even hostile to unionization.

   2. Women and the New Deal
      a. Under the experimental climate of the New Deal, Roosevelt appointed the first female cabinet member, Frances Perkins, who served as secretary of labor.
      b. Eleanor Roosevelt, who had worked in the 1920s to increase women’s power in political parties, labor unions, and education, as First Lady pushed the president and the New Deal to do more for the disadvantaged and served as the conscience of the New Deal.
      c. Few New Deal programs addressed the needs and concerns of women. Some NRA codes set a lower minimum wage for women than men, and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) did not hire women at all. When they did hire women, New Deal programs tended to reinforce the broader society’s gender and racial attitudes.

   3. African Americans Under the New Deal
      a. Although some New Deal programs reflected prevailing racist attitudes, blacks received significant benefits from programs that were for the poor, regardless of race.
      b. The belief that the administration cared about their plight contributed in a major shift in their political allegiance from the Republican to the Democratic Party. In 1936, blacks outside the South gave Roosevelt 71 percent of their votes.
      c. Roosevelt maintained an informal “black cabinet” of intellectuals advising him on the needs of blacks and appointed several African Americans to federal office, including Mary McLeod Bethune, founder of Bethune-Cookman College, who advocated for fairer treatment of blacks in New Deal agencies.
      d. The New Deal did not change prevailing racial attitudes; CCC camps were segregated; both Social Security and the Wagner Act explicitly excluded the domestic and agricultural jobs most African Americans held; and Roosevelt refused to support antilynching legislation.
      e. The infamous Scottsboro case in 1931, accusing and convicting nine young black men of raping two white women despite inconsistencies, reflected the prevalent racism in southern society and law.
      f. Payments through the Agricultural Adjustment Act to white landowners contributed to the eviction of thousands of sharecroppers. African Americans reacted by joining the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, a biracial organization founded in 1934, but the economic and political power of landowners limited their efforts.
      g. Although creating hope, New Deal programs did not reform the nation’s racial laws and practices.

   4. Indian Policy
      a. New Deal reformers realized that the nation’s policy of forced assimilation, prohibition of Indian religions, and confiscation of Indian lands had left most tribes poor, isolated, and vulnerable to economic forces. Unemployment rates for Native Americans were three times the national average.
b. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 reversed the Dawes Act of 1887 by promoting Indian self-government and granting a greater degree of religious freedom.

c. This “Indian New Deal,” although well-intentioned, did little to improve the lives of Native Americans and did not stop the Bureau of Indian Affairs and congressional interference in tribal affairs.

5. Struggles in the West

a. During the 1920s and 1930s, agriculture in California became a big business as corporate-owned farms produced specialty crops—lettuce, tomatoes, peaches, grapes, and cotton—and staggered harvests, which required transient labor.

b. Thousands of immigrant workers from Mexico and Asia and white migrants from midwestern states trooped from farm to farm, harvesting those crops for shipment to eastern markets. Some of these migrants also settled in the rapidly growing cities along the West Coast, especially the sprawling metropolis of Los Angeles.

c. During the economic downturn, the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations supported a “repatriation” or deportation policy resulting in the movement of half a million people to Mexico, including American citizens.

d. Under the New Deal, the situation of Mexican Americans improved as they found employment with the WPA, the NYA (National Youth Administration), and the CCC.

e. New Deal programs did not improve the migrant farm labor system under which so many people of Mexican descent labored. But Mexicans joined the New Deal coalition in large numbers because of the Democrats’ commitment to ordinary Americans.

f. Men and women of Asian descent—mostly from China, Japan, and the Philippines—formed a tiny minority of the American population but were a significant presence in some western cities and towns.

g. Migrants from Japan and China had long faced discrimination. As farm prices declined during the depression and racial discrimination undermined the prospects of the rising generation for nonfarm jobs, about 20 percent of the immigrants returned to Japan.

h. Chinese Americans were even less prosperous than their Japanese counterparts. In the hard times of the depression, they turned for assistance both to traditional Chinese social organizations such as huiguan (district associations) and to local authorities. Few benefitted from the New Deal because until the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943, Chinese immigrants were classified as “aliens ineligible for citizenship” and therefore excluded from most federal programs.

i. Because Filipino immigrants came from a U.S. territory, they were not affected by the ban on Asian immigration passed in 1924. However, as the depression cut wages, Filipino immigration slowed to a trickle and was virtually cut off by the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. The act granted independence to the Philippines (which since 1898 had been an American dependency), classified all Filipinos in the United States as aliens, and restricted immigration to fifty persons per year.

B. Reshaping the Environment

1. The Dust Bowl

a. The expansion of federal responsibilities in the 1930s created a climate conducive to conservation efforts, as did public concern heightened by the devastation in the “dust bowl” of the Great Plains.

b. Although the long-term success of New Deal resources policy was mixed, it innovatively stressed scientific management of the land, conservation instead of commercial development, and the aggressive use of public authority to preserve and improve the natural environment.

c. Between 1930 and 1941, a severe drought afflicted farmers in the semiarid states of Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arkansas, and Kansas.

d. But the dust bowl was primarily a human creation. Farmers had pushed the agricultural frontier beyond its natural limits, stripping the land of its native vegetation and destroying the delicate ecology of the plains. When the rains dried up and the winds came, nothing remained to hold the soil. Huge clouds of thick dust rolled over the land, turning the day into night.

e. This ecological disaster prompted a mass exodus. Their crops ruined and their debts unpaid, at least 350,000 “Okies” (so called whether or not they were from Oklahoma) loaded their meager belongings into beat-up Fords and headed to California. Many were drawn by handbills distributed by commercial farmers that promised good jobs and high wages; instead, they found low wages and terrible living conditions.
f. John Steinbeck’s novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) immortalized them and their journey, and New Deal photographer Dorothea Lange’s haunting images of migrant camps in California gave a personal face to some of the worst suffering of the depression.

g. The dust bowl helped to focus attention on land management and ecological balance. Agents from the Soil Conservation Service in the Department of Agriculture taught farmers the proper technique for tilling hillsides. Government agronomists tried to prevent soil erosion through better agricultural practices and windbreaks like the Shelterbelts, the planting of 220 million trees running north along the 99th meridian from Texas to the Canadian border.

2. Tennessee Valley Authority
   a. The most extensive New Deal environmental undertaking was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). It integrated flood control, reforestation, and agricultural and industrial development, and a hydroelectric grid provided cheap power for the valley’s residents.
   b. The TVA was part of Roosevelt’s effort to keep farmers on the land by improving their quality of life.
   c. The Rural Electrification Administration (REA) accomplished the same goal by promoting nonprofit farm cooperatives that offered loans to farmers to install power lines. Electricity brought irons, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and radios to ease farm life and isolation. Electricity also broke down the barriers between urban and rural life.

3. Grand Coulee
   a. The West benefitted enormously from the New Deal’s attention to the environment.
   b. On the Colorado River, the Boulder Dam (later renamed Hoover Dam), completed in 1935 with PWA funds, generated power for growing cities such as Las Vegas, Los Angeles, and Phoenix.
   c. The largest project was the Grand Coulee Dam built by the PWA and the Bureau of Reclamation in 1941 on the Columbia River in Washington State. The project provided electricity and irrigation for the state’s major crops.
   d. New Deal projects affecting the environment can be seen throughout the country—CCC and WPA workers built the Blue Ridge Parkway; government workers built the San Francisco Zoo, Berkeley’s Tilden Park, and the canals of San Antonio; the CCC helped to complete the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail through the Sierra Nevada.
   e. Cabins, shelter, picnic areas, and lodges in American state parks are witness to the New Deal ethos of recreation coexisting with conservation.

C. The New Deal and the Arts
   1. New Deal administrators encouraged artists to create projects that would be of interest to the entire community, not just the cultured elite. “Art for the millions” became a popular New Deal slogan and encouraged the painting of murals in hundreds of public buildings.
   2. The Federal Art Project gave work to many young artists who would become the twentieth century’s leading painters, muralists, and sculptors, like Jackson Pollock.
   3. Under the Federal Music Project and Federal Writers’ Project (FWP), over 15,000 musicians and 5,000 writers found work, including Zora Neale Hurston. The FWP also collected oral histories, including two thousand narratives by former slaves.
   4. The Federal Theatre Project nurtured such talented directors, actors, and playwrights as Orson Welles, John Huston, and Arthur Miller.

D. The Legacies of the New Deal
   1. By creating a powerful national bureaucracy and laying the foundation of a social-welfare state, the New Deal redefined the meaning of American liberalism.
   2. For the first time, Americans experienced the federal government as a part of their everyday lives through Social Security payments, farm loans, relief work, and mortgage guarantees.
   3. The government made a commitment to intervene when the private sector could not guarantee economic stability, and federal regulation brought order and regularity to economic life.
   4. Defects of the emerging welfare system were that it intruded deeply into the lives of citizens and that it did not include national health care; welfare programs also failed to reach a significant minority of American workers, including domestics and farm workers, for many years.
5. The New Deal completed the transformation of the Democratic Party that had begun in the 1920s toward a coalition of ethnic groups, city dwellers, organized labor, blacks, and a broad cross-section of the middle class that would form the backbone of the Democratic coalition for decades to come.

CHAPTER 24

The World at War 1937–1945

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand the key elements of American foreign policy prior to World War II.
2. Trace how and why America edged closer to war between 1939 and 1941.
3. Evaluate how mobilization and war affected American society.
4. Illustrate how the Allies fought and won World War II.
5. Assess how American war aims affected plans for postwar settlement.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Road to War
   A. The Rise of Fascism
      1. Japan and Italy
         a. The Great Depression gave rise to an antidemocratic movement called fascism in the form of authoritarian, militaristic governments led by powerful dictators: Benito Mussolini in Italy, Adolf Hitler in Nazi Germany, Francisco Franco in Spain, and Hideki Tojo in Japan.
         b. The Treaty of Versailles’ harsh terms for Germany, Italy’s and Japan’s desire to expand, as well as the League of Nation’s inability to preserve the existing international order all contributed to the Second World War.
         c. Fascist countries combined an authoritarian state with intense nationalism to achieve power and wage war during the 1930s.
         d. The first threat came from Japan: in 1932 it occupied Manchuria; then in 1937, it launched a full-scale invasion of China.
         e. In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia, and by 1936, the Italian subjugation of Ethiopia was complete. The League of Nations condemned the aggression, but it could not stop Japan or Italy.
      2. Hitler’s Germany
         a. Germany presented the gravest threat to the world order in the 1930s. Huge World War I reparations payments, economic depression, fear of communism, labor unrest, and rising unemployment fueled the rise of Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist (Nazi) Party.
         b. Hitler became chancellor in 1933, assumed dictatorial powers, and, as he made clear in his book Mein Kampf (My Struggle), sought to overturn the territorial settlements of the Versailles treaty, to “restore” all of the Germans of central and Eastern Europe to a single German fatherland, and to annex large areas of Eastern Europe.
c. Part of Hitler’s vision was that “inferior races” and other “undesirables” had to make way for the “master race.” He launched a persecution of Jews.

d. Hitler’s 1935 announcement of plans to rearm Germany—in violation of the Versailles treaty—met with no resistance.

e. Germany reoccupied the Rhineland in 1936, and later that year Hitler and Italy’s Benito Mussolini joined forces in the Rome-Berlin Axis.

f. Also in 1936, Germany and Japan signed a pact to create a military alliance against the Soviet Union. Wanting to avoid war, Britain and France took no action.

B. War Approaches

1. The Popular Front

   a. Partly owing to disillusionment with American participation in World War I, isolationism built in Congress and the nation throughout the 1920s.

   b. Gerald P. Nye, a senator from North Dakota, headed a congressional investigation into the profits of munitions makers during World War I; his committee concluded that war profiteers, whom it called “merchants of death,” had maneuvered the nation into World War I for financial gain.

   c. Although most of the committee’s charges were dubious or simplistic, they contributed to the passage of the Neutrality Act of 1935, imposing an embargo on arms trading with countries at war and declaring that American citizens traveled on the ships of belligerent nations at their own risk. In 1936, Congress banned loans to belligerents, and in 1937, it adopted a “cash-and-carry” provision.

   d. Americans had little enthusiasm for war and looked to Republican Ohio senator Robert Taft, aviator hero Charles Lindbergh, or the conservative National Legion of Mothers of America to preserve isolationism. This sentiment forced President Roosevelt to approach the brewing war cautiously.

   e. The Popular Front, an international organization combating fascism, advocated U.S. intervention.

   f. In the United States, the Popular Front drew support from the Communist Party, African American civil rights activists, trade unionists, left-wing intellectuals, and a few New Deal administrators. They urged Roosevelt to take a stronger stance against European fascism.

2. The Failure of Appeasement

   a. Despite their Loyalist sympathies, the neutral stance of the United States, Great Britain, and France virtually assured a fascist victory in the 1936 Spanish Civil War.

   b. In 1938, Hitler sent troops to annex Austria, while simultaneously scheming to seize part of Czechoslovakia.

   c. At the Munich Conference in September 1938, Britain and France capitulated to Germany’s aggression, agreeing to let Germany annex the Sudetenland—the German-speaking border areas of Czechoslovakia—in return for Hitler’s pledge to seek no more territory.

   d. Within six months, Hitler’s forces had overrun the rest of Czechoslovakia and were threatening to march into Poland.

   e. In August 1939, Hitler signed a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union, which assured Germany it would not have to wage war on two fronts at once.

   f. On September 1, 1939, German troops attacked Poland; two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany. World War II had begun.

   g. President Roosevelt, with the support of most Americans, sought to keep the United States neutral.

   h. By mid-1940, Germany had overrun Western Europe, leaving Great Britain as the only power in Europe fighting Hitler.

3. Isolationism and Internationalism

   a. In America, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies led the interventionists, while the isolationists formed the America First Committee, which had the support of the conservative press, to keep America out of the war.

   b. In 1940, Roosevelt, proceeding cautiously, created the National Defense Advisory Commission to put America’s economy and government on a defense footing, gave World War I destroyers to Britain in exchange for access to British overseas possessions, and convinced Congress to increase defense spending and institute the nation’s first peacetime draft to defend “the great arsenal of democracy.”
c. After winning an unprecedented third term as president in 1940, Roosevelt concentrated on persuading the American people to increase aid to Britain.
d. In January 1941, Roosevelt’s “Four Freedoms” speech outlined a liberal international order and cast the war as a noble defense of democratic societies.
e. In March 1941, Roosevelt convinced Congress to pass the Lend-Lease Act, to “lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of” arms and other equipment to any country whose defense was considered vital to the security of the United States.
f. The “lend-lease” was extended to the Soviet Union, which became part of the Allied coalition after it was invaded by Germany; the full implementation of lend-lease marked the unofficial entrance of the United States into the European war.
g. The United States and Britain’s Atlantic Charter called for economic collaboration between the two countries and for guarantees of political stability after the end of the war and also supported free trade, national self-determination, and the principle of collective security.
h. By September 1941, Nazi submarines and American vessels were fighting an undeclared naval war in the Atlantic, unknown to the American public; without a dramatic enemy attack, Roosevelt hesitated to ask Congress for a declaration of war.

C. The Attack on Pearl Harbor
1. The final provocation came not from Germany but from Japan.
2. Throughout the 1930s, Japanese military advances in China had upset the balance of political and economic power in the Pacific; Roosevelt suggested that aggressors such as Japan be “quarantined” by peace-loving nations, but the United States avoided taking a strong stand.
3. During the sack of Nanjing in 1937, the United States refused to intervene, leading to the deaths of 300,000 Chinese.
4. Japan craved the conquest of more territory and signed a pact with Germany and Italy in 1940.
5. After Japan occupied part of French Indochina, Roosevelt retaliated with trade restrictions and embargoes on aviation fuel and scrap metal.
6. When Japanese troops occupied the rest of Indochina, Roosevelt froze Japanese assets in the United States and instituted an embargo on trade with Japan, including oil shipments.
7. The United States knew that Japan was planning an attack but did not know when or where; on December 7, 1941, Japanese bombers attacked Pearl Harbor.
8. On December 8, Congress voted to declare war on Japan; three days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, and the United States in turn declared war on them.

II. Organizing for Victory
A. Financing the War
1. Presidential power expanded dramatically when Congress passed the War Powers Act on December 18, 1941. The act gave Roosevelt unprecedented authority over all aspects of the war. This act marked the beginning of what some historians call the imperial presidency: the far-reaching use of executive authority during the latter part of the twentieth century.
2. Defense mobilization definitively ended the Great Depression. Between 1940 and 1945, the gross national product doubled, after-tax profits of American business doubled, and farm output grew by one-third.
3. The Revenue Act of 1942 expanded the number of people paying income taxes from 3.9 million to 42.6 million. Taxes on personal income and business profits paid half the cost of the war; the rest came by borrowing from the American people through the sale of war bonds.
4. The number of civilians employed by the government increased almost fourfold.
5. Many wartime agencies increased far-reaching cooperation between government and private business. One of the most important agencies was the War Production Board (WPB), which awarded defense contracts, evaluated military and civilian requests for scarce resources, and oversaw the conversion of industry to military production.
6. The WPB preferred to deal with major corporations; these very large businesses would later form the core of the military-industrial complex of the postwar years.
Working together, American business and government turned out a prodigious supply of military hardware: 86,000 tanks, 296,000 airplanes, 15 million rifles and machine guns, 64,000 landing craft, and 6,500 cargo ships and naval vessels.

B. Mobilizing the American Fighting Force
1. An expanded state presence was also evident in the government’s mobilization of a fighting force; by the end of World War II, the armed forces of the United States numbered 15 million men and women of all ethnic and social backgrounds.
2. The military segregated the nearly 1 million African Americans who fought in all branches of the armed forces and assigned them the most menial jobs; Mexican Americans and Native Americans were never officially segregated.
3. Among the most instrumental soldiers were the Native American “code talkers.” No Axis nation ever broke the codes devised by Native Americans.
4. Three hundred fifty thousand American women enlisted in the armed services and achieved a permanent status in the military. The armed forces limited the types of duty assigned to women; they were barred from combat, and most were assigned to jobs reflecting stereotypes of women’s roles in civilian life.
5. The American army resembled the nation as a whole: united in wartime purpose, the military reflected the strengths and weaknesses of a diverse, fractious society.

C. Workers and the War Effort
1. Rosie the Riveter
   a. Government and corporate recruiters sought to remedy the war-induced labor shortage and drew on patriotism to urge women into the workforce.
   b. Women made up 36 percent of the labor force in 1945, compared with 24 percent at the beginning of the war, though they faced much discrimination, sexual harassment, and inequitable pay.
   c. Women’s participation in the labor force dropped temporarily when the war ended, but it rebounded steadily for the rest of the 1940s.
2. Wartime Civil Rights
   a. In the face of domestic and wartime discrimination, African Americans manifested a new mood of militancy.
   b. African American leaders pointed out parallels between anti-Semitism in Germany and racial discrimination in America; they pledged themselves to a “Double V” campaign: victory over Nazism abroad and victory over racism and inequality at home.
   c. In response to the threat of a black “march on Washington,” Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, prohibiting “discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin,” and established the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC).
   d. The FEPC did not affect segregation in the armed forces and could not enforce compliance with its orders.
   e. African American groups flourished; the NAACP grew to 450,000 by 1945, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was founded and became known nationwide for its demonstrations and sit-ins.
   f. The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Congress of Spanish Speaking Peoples built on their communities’ patriotic contributions to the defense industry and the armed services to challenge discrimination and exclusion.
   g. The U.S. government, however, contributed to exploitation as it brought thousands of Mexican contract labors into the United States under the Bracero Program. Low-wage agricultural work during and after the war contributed to the emergence of the farm labor movement under Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez.
3. Organized Labor
   a. Unions expanded membership during World War II. Major unions made a no-strike pledge for the duration of the war. Roosevelt set up the National War Labor Board (NWLB), which established wages, hours, and working conditions and had the authority to seize plants that did not comply.
   b. Dissatisfaction with limits on wage increases peaked in 1943, a year in which a nationwide railroad strike was narrowly averted and John L. Lewis led the United Mine Workers on a strike; Lewis won wage concessions, but he alienated Congress and the public.
   c. Congress passed the antiunion Smith-Connally Labor Act over Roosevelt’s veto, prohibiting strikes in defense industries and political contributions by unions.
D. Politics in Wartime
1. In his 1944 State of the Union address, FDR called for a second Bill of Rights to guarantee that all Americans had access to an education and a job, adequate food and clothing, and decent housing and medical care.
2. FDR’s Bill of Rights remained largely rhetorical since it received no congressional support until after the war ended.
3. The Servicemen’s Readjustment Act (1944), known as the “GI Bill of Rights,” provided education, job training, medical care, pensions, and mortgage loans for those who had served during the war.
4. Roosevelt’s call for social legislation was part of a plan to woo Democratic voters and reinvigorate the New Deal coalition.
5. In 1944, Roosevelt sought a fourth term because of the war; Democrats dropped Henry Wallace as vice president, as his views were seen as too extreme, and teamed Roosevelt with Harry S. Truman to run against Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York.
6. In a close election, Roosevelt received only 53.5 percent of the popular vote; the party’s margin of victory came from the cities, and a significant segment of this urban support came from organized labor.

III. Life on the Home Front
A. “For the Duration”
1. People on the home front worked on civilian defense committees, collected old newspapers and scrap material, served on local rationing and draft boards, and planted “victory gardens” that produced 40 percent of the nation’s vegetables.
2. The Office of War Information (OWI) strove to disseminate information and promote patriotism; the OWI urged advertising agencies to link their clients’ products to the war effort.
3. Popular culture reflected America’s new international involvement and built morale on the home front; many movies had patriotic themes, demonstrated heroism of ordinary citizens, or warned of the dangers of fascism, while newsreels and on-the-spot radio broadcasts kept the public up to date on the war.
4. The major inconveniences of the war were the limitations placed on consumption: almost everything Americans ate, wore, or used during the war was subjected to rationing or regulation. Although most citizens complied with restrictions, a black market of meat, gasoline, cigarettes, and nylon stockings thrived.
B. Migration and the Wartime City
1. Racial Conflict
   a. The war affected where people lived; families followed service members to training bases or points of debarkation, and the lure of high-paying defense jobs encouraged others to move.
   b. As a center of defense production, California experienced a 53 percent growth in population, a larger share of wartime migration than any other state.
   c. Wartime cities became vibrant and exciting places as around-the-clock work shifts kept people on the streets night and day and workers spent cash in jazz clubs, dance halls, and movie theaters.
   d. As more than a million African Americans migrated to defense centers in California, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, racial conflicts arose over jobs and housing.
   e. In Los Angeles, male Latinos who belonged to pachuco (youth) gangs dressed in “zoot suits;” blacks and some working-class white teenagers also wore zoot suits as a symbol of alienation and self-assertion, but to adults and Anglos, the attire symbolized wartime juvenile delinquency.
   f. In Los Angeles, zoot-suiters became the target of white hostility toward Mexican Americans; in July 1943, rumors that a pachuco gang had beaten a white sailor set off a four-day riot.
2. Gay and Lesbian Communities
   a. For gays and lesbians, the wartime migration to urban centers created new opportunities for gay men and women to establish communities. But widespread hostility kept the vast majority of gays and lesbians silent and hidden.
   b. Although the military tried to screen out homosexuals, once in the service, homosexuals found opportunities to participate in a gay culture often more extensive than that in civilian life. Most, however, kept their sexuality hidden because doctors and psychiatrists treated homosexuality as a psychological disorder that would justify dishonorable discharge.
C. Japanese Removal
1. Despite some racial tension, the home front was generally calm in the 1940s; German and Italian Americans usually did not experience intense prejudice, and leftists and Communists faced little repression after the Soviet Union became an ally.

2. The internment of Japanese Americans on the West Coast was a glaring exception to racial tolerance, a reminder of the fragility of civil liberties in wartime.

3. Fear of spies, sabotage, and further attacks, fueled by local politicians and newspapers, contributed to an anti-Japanese hysteria.

4. In early 1942, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which gave the War Department the authority to evacuate Japanese Americans from the West Coast and intern them in relocation camps for the rest of the war. Despite the lack of any evidence of Nisei disloyalty or sedition, few public figures opposed the plan.

5. The War Relocation Authority rounded up 112,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were citizens, and sent them to internment camps in California, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arkansas.

6. The Japanese Americans who made up one-third of the population of Hawaii were not interned; the Hawaiian economy could not function without them.

7. Furloughs for seasonal workers, attendance at a college, and enlistment in the armed services were some routes out of the internment camps.

8. Nisei Gordon Hirabayashi was among the few Japanese Americans who actively resisted incarceration. A student at the University of Washington, Hirabayashi was a religious pacifist who had registered with his draft board as a conscientious objector. He challenged internment by refusing to register for evacuation; instead, he turned himself in to the FBI.

9. Tried and convicted in 1942, he appealed his case to the Supreme Court in Hirabayashi v. United States (1943). In that case, and also in Korematsu v. United States (1944), the Court allowed the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast on the basis of “military necessity” but avoided ruling on the constitutionality of the internment program.

10. Congress issued a public apology in 1988 and awarded $20,000 to each of the eighty thousand surviving Japanese American internees.

IV. Fighting and Winning the War

A. Wartime Aims and Tensions

1. The Allied coalition was composed mainly of Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union, and its leaders (Winston Churchill, Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin) set overall strategy.

2. Churchill and Roosevelt’s Atlantic Charter formed the basis of the Allies’ vision of the postwar international order, but Stalin had not been part of that agreement, a fact that would later cause disagreements over its goals.

3. The Russians argued for opening a second front in Europe—preferably in France—because it would draw German troops away from Russian soil.

4. In November 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to open a second front in return for Stalin’s promise to fight against Japan when the war in Europe ended.

5. The delay in creating the second front meant that the Soviet Union bore the brunt of the land battle against Germany; Stalin’s mistrust of the United States and Great Britain carried over into the Cold War.

B. The War in Europe

1. D-Day
   a. During the first seven months of the war, the Allies suffered severe defeats on land and sea in both Europe and Asia.
   b. The turning point in the war came when the Soviets halted the German advance in the Battle of Stalingrad; by 1944, Stalin’s forces had driven the Germans out of the Soviet Union.
   c. In North Africa, Allied troops, under the leadership of General Dwight D. Eisenhower and General George S. Patton, defeated Germany’s Afrika Korps led by General Erwin Rommel.
   d. The Allied command moved to attack the Axis through Sicily and the Italian peninsula; in July 1943, Mussolini’s fascist regime fell, and Italy’s new government joined the Allies.
   e. The Allied forces finally entered Rome in June 1944, although the last German forces in Italy did not surrender until May 1945.
f. The invasion of France came on D-Day, June 6, 1944; under General Eisenhower’s command, more than 1.5 million American, British, and Canadian troops crossed the English Channel.

g. In August 1944, Allied troops helped to liberate Paris; by September, they had driven the Germans out of most of France and Belgium.

h. In December 1944, after ten days of fighting, the Allies pushed the Germans back across the Rhine River in the Battle of the Bulge, the final German offensive.

i. As American, British, and Soviet troops advanced toward Berlin, Hitler committed suicide in his bunker on April 30; Germany surrendered on May 8, 1945.

2. The Holocaust
   a. As Allied troops advanced into Germany, they came upon the extermination camps where 6 million Jews, along with 6 million other people, were put to death.
   b. The Roosevelt administration had information about the camps as early as 1942, but so few Jews escaped the Holocaust because the United States and the rest of the world would not take in the Jews.
   c. The War Refugee Board, established in 1944, eventually helped to save about 200,000 Jews who were placed in refugee camps in various countries.
   d. Factors combining to inhibit U.S. action were anti-Semitism, fears of economic competition from a flood of immigrant refugees to a country just recovering from the depression, failure of the media to grasp the magnitude of the story and to publicize it accordingly, and the failure of religious and political leaders to speak out.

C. The War in the Pacific
   1. After Pearl Harbor, Japan continued its conquests in the Far East and began to threaten Australia and India. By May 1942, it had forced the surrender of U.S. forces in the Philippine Islands.
   2. In May 1942, in the Battle of the Coral Sea, American naval forces halted the Japanese offensive against Australia, and in June, Americans inflicted crucial damage on the Japanese fleet at Midway.
   3. Over the next eighteen months, General Douglas MacArthur and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz led the offensive in the Pacific, advancing from one island to the next.
   4. The reconquest of the Philippines began with a victory in the Battle of Leyte Gulf, in which the Japanese lost practically their entire fleet; by early 1945, triumph over Japan was in sight, with costly American victories at Iwo Jima and Okinawa.
   5. The use of kamikaze missions, combined with the Japanese refusal to surrender, suggested to American military strategists that Japan would continue to fight despite overwhelming losses.
   6. Ferocious fighting in the Pacific evidenced the presence of racial tensions for both countries; Americans held anti-Asian sentiments and Japanese held a sense of racial superiority over all their neighbors.
   7. When Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met at Yalta in February 1945, victory in Europe and the Pacific was in sight, but no agreement had been reached on the peace to come. President Roosevelt died April 2, 1945.

D. The Atomic Bomb and the End of the War
   1. When Harry Truman took over the presidency, he learned of the top-secret Manhattan Project, charged with developing atomic weapons. It cost more than $2 billion and employed 120,000 people.
   2. Truman ordered the dropping of atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima, on August 6, and Nagasaki, on August 9.
   3. At the time, the belief that Japan’s military leaders would never surrender unless their country was utterly devastated convinced policymakers that they had to deploy the atomic bomb.
   4. One hundred thousand people died at Hiroshima and sixty thousand at Nagasaki; tens of thousands more died slowly of radiation poisoning.
   5. Japan offered to surrender on August 10 and signed a formal treaty of surrender on September 2, 1945.

E. The Toll of the War
   1. World War II was one of the most disruptive and terrible wars in human history. Worldwide, 60 million soldiers and civilians had died, the Holocaust took the lives of 6 million European Jews, 100 million additional soldiers and civilians were wounded, and 30 million people were homeless.
2. Major cities and industrial centers in Europe and Asia had been bombed, and much of the industrial infrastructure of Germany and Japan lay in ruin.
3. The colonized people in Africa and Asia took the Atlantic Charter and Roosevelt’s insistence that this was a war for democracy seriously and began to demand self-determination.
4. In the United States, World War II resulted in the death of 400,000 and the wounding of 300,000. Returning veterans, who by 1950 represented one-third of the male population older than 19, would influence society, business, politics, and foreign policy for the remainder of the century.

PART EIGHT

MODERN STATE AND THE AGE OF LIBERALISM
1945–1980

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS
Period 8: 1945–1980
AP U.S. History Key Concepts
8.1 The United States assumed a position of global leadership in the postwar period, with domestic and international consequences.
8.2 Liberalism reached its apex, generating a variety of political and cultural responses.
8.3 Postwar economic, demographic, and technological changes had a far-reaching impact on America.
Assessment Weight on the AP U.S. History Exam: 45% (Periods 6-8)

PART LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After you’ve taught this part, your students should be able to answer the following “Big Idea” questions:

Chapter 25: Cold War America, 1945–1963
In the first two decades of the Cold War, how did competition on the international stage and a climate of fear at home affect politics, society, and culture in the United States?

Chapter 26: Triumph of the Middle Class, 1945–1963
Why did consumer culture become such a fixture of American life in the postwar decades, and how did it affect politics and society?

How did the civil rights movement evolve over time, and how did competing ideas and political alliances affect its growth and that of other social movements?


What were liberalism’s social and political achievements in the 1960s, and how did debates over liberal values contribute to conflict at home and reflect tension abroad?

Chapter 29: The Search for Order in an Era of Limits, 1973–1980

How did the legacy of social changes—such as shifting gender roles, civil rights, and challenges to the family—in the 1960s continue to reverberate in the 1970s, leading to both new opportunities and political disagreement?

**PART THEMES**

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<td>• The Feminine Mystique (1963)</td>
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<td>• National Organization for Women founded (1966)</td>
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<td>• Student and antiwar activism</td>
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<td>• Great Society environmental initiatives</td>
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<td>• Urban riots (1964–1968)</td>
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<td>• Kerner Commission Report (1968)</td>
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<td>• Economic boom</td>
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<td>• Government spending on Vietnam and Great Society</td>
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<td>• Medicare and Medicaid created (1965)</td>
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<td>1970</td>
<td>• Nixon invades Cambodia (1971)</td>
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<td>• Paris Accords end Vietnam War (1973)</td>
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<td>• Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel (1978)</td>
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<td>• Iranian Revolution (1979) and hostage crisis (1979–1981)</td>
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<td>• Richard Nixon’s landslide victory (1972)</td>
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<td>• Watergate scandal; Nixon resigns (1974)</td>
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<td>• Jimmy Carter elected president (1976)</td>
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<td>• Moral Majority founded (1979)</td>
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<td>• Equal Rights Amendment (1972)</td>
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<td>• Harvey Milk assassinated (1978)</td>
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<td>• First Earth Day (1970)</td>
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<td>• Environmental Protection Agency established (1970)</td>
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<td>• Endangered Species Act (1973)</td>
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<td>• Three Mile Island accident (1979)</td>
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<td>• Energy crisis (1973)</td>
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<td>• Inflation surges, while economy stagnates (stagflation)</td>
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<td>• Deindustrialization</td>
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<td>• Tax revolt in California (1978)</td>
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Cold War America
1945–1963

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 8: 1945–1980
AP U.S. History Key Concepts

8.1 The United States assumed a position of global leadership in the postwar period, with domestic and international consequences.

- The United States attempted to contain communism, stabilize the world’s economy, and create an international security system.
- The United States faced decolonization, shifting international alignments, and other complex foreign policy issues.
- Cold War policies led to public debates over the power of the federal government, the means for pursuing goals, and the balance between liberty and order.

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Outline the origins of the Cold War and explain its broad ideological, economic, political, and military components.
2. Understand the major aspects of America’s plans of containment and economic aid to foreign countries during the Cold War. Illustrate how these values shaped the most important events that characterized foreign affairs between 1945 and 1963.
3. Evaluate the causes, conduct, and consequences of the Korean War.
4. Assess how President Dwight Eisenhower responded to the Cold War.
5. Analyze how John F. Kennedy escalated the Cold War.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Containment and a Divided Global Order
   A. Origins of the Cold War
      1. Yalta
         a. World War II set the basic conditions for Cold War rivalry. The Cold War would produce an arms race through the military-industrial complex, the interconnection of corporate influence of political policy in the interest of producing armaments for global warfare.
         b. At the Yalta Conference, one source of conflict was Stalin’s desire for a band of Soviet-controlled satellite states to protect the Soviet Union’s western border.
         c. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed in principle on the idea of a Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. Roosevelt pressed for an agreement that guaranteed self-determination and democratic elections in Poland and neighboring countries but, given the presence there of Soviet troops, had to accept a pledge from Stalin to hold “free and unfettered elections” at a future time.
         d. Germany was to be divided into four zones controlled by the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union; Berlin would be partitioned among the four powers as well.
e. The Big Three (Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin) made progress toward the establishment of the United Nations; its Security Council would include the five major Allied powers, plus seven other nations participating on a rotating basis, and permanent members of the Council would have veto power over decisions of the General Assembly.

f. The United Nations convened for the first time in San Francisco on April 25, 1945.

2. Potsdam
   a. At the 1945 Potsdam Conference, President Harry Truman decided that the United States had to take a hard line against Soviet expansion; however, he could not eliminate Soviet-imposed governments in Poland, Hungary, and Romania.
   b. Yalta and Potsdam thus laid the groundwork for communist rule over Eastern Europe. From the American perspective, Stalin’s refusal to implement self-determination in Eastern Europe was the beginning point of the Cold War.
   c. Disagreements between American delegates at Potsdam, who wanted to revive the German economy to protect democracy in Western Europe, and Stalin, who simply wanted to extract reparations from Germany, paved the way for the division of Germany into East and West.
   d. Public speeches widened the gulf between the Soviet Union and the West. Stalin suggested that capitalists would cause a future war. Churchill accused Stalin of raising an “iron curtain” around Eastern Europe and suggested that “English-speaking peoples” should set the term of the postwar world.
   e. As the standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States intensified, Western Europeans and Americans began to fear a cataclysmic war with the Soviet Union.

B. The Containment Strategy
1. Toward an Uneasy Peace
   a. Three events—Soviet involvement in Iran and Turkey, civil war in Greece, and Communist parties gaining strength in France and Italy—convinced Americans that the Soviet Union aimed to expand.
   b. As tensions mounted, a new policy of containment began to take shape. George F. Kennan argued that the United States should adopt “long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.” As long as the United States and its allies opposed Soviet expansion everywhere in the world, the unstable government in Moscow would inevitably collapse.
   c. Just as Kennan thought that the Soviet system was despotic and weak, Stalin believed that the capitalistic West had its own flaws. Neither side entirely understood or trusted the other, and each projected its worst fears onto the other.
   d. Great Britain’s power in the world was declining, owing to economic crisis and independence movements within its empire. The United States replaced it as the leading world power.
   e. The policy of containment crystallized in 1947 when Britain announced it could no longer support the anticommunists in the Greek civil war, causing the West to worry that Soviet influence in Greece threatened its interests in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, especially Turkey.
   f. American reaction resulted in the Truman Doctrine, which called for large-scale military and economic assistance in order to prevent communism from taking hold in Greece and Turkey. Congress followed up by quickly approving millions of dollars in aid.
   g. The Marshall Plan sent relief to devastated European countries and helped to make them less susceptible to communism.
   h. The Marshall Plan met with opposition in Congress until a communist-led coup occurred in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, after which Congress voted overwhelmingly to approve funds for the program.
   i. Over the next four years, the United States contributed nearly $13 billion to a highly successful recovery; Western European economies revived, opening new opportunities for international trade. When the Soviet Union refused to participate and ordered Eastern Europe to do so as well, the West could blame Stalin for intensifying the Cold War.

2. East and West in the New Europe
a. The United States, France, and Britain consolidated their zones in 1947, prepared to establish an independent republic, and initiated a program of economic reform for Germany, including West Berlin, which alarmed the Soviets, who responded with a blockade of the city.

b. Truman countered the blockade with airlifts of food and fuel; the blockade, lifted in May 1949, made West Berlin a symbol of resistance to communism.

c. In April 1949, the United States entered into its first peacetime military alliance since the American revolution—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—in which twelve nations agreed that an armed attack against one of them would be considered an attack against all of them.

d. NATO also agreed to the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) in May 1949; in October, the Soviets created the German Democratic Republic (East Germany).


3. NSC-68
a. In September 1949, American military intelligence had proof that the Soviets had detonated an atomic bomb; this revelation called for a major reassessment of American foreign policy.

b. To devise a new diplomatic and military blueprint, Truman turned to the National Security Council (NSC), an advisory body established by the National Security Act of 1947 that also created the Department of Defense and Central Intelligence Agency.

c. The National Security Council gave a report, known as NSC-68, redefining the Soviet Union as a serious threat driven by obsessive desires to dominate the world.

d. The report recommended the development of a hydrogen bomb, increasing U.S. conventional forces, establishing a strong system of alliances, and increasing taxes in order to finance defense building.

C. Containment in Asia
1. Civil War in China
a. American policy in Asia was based as much on Asia’s importance to the world economy as on the desire to contain communism.

b. After dismantling Japan’s military forces and weaponry, American occupation forces drafted a democratic constitution and oversaw the rebuilding of the economy.

c. In China, a civil war had been raging since the 1930s between Communist forces, led by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, and conservative Nationalist forces, under Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek).

d. For a time, the Truman administration attempted to help the Nationalists by providing more than $2 billion in aid, but in August 1949, it cut off that aid when reform did not occur; in October 1949, the People’s Republic of China was formally established under Mao, and the remnants of Jiang’s forces fled to Taiwan.

e. The pro-Nationalist “China lobby” in Congress viewed Mao’s success as a defeat for the United States; the China lobby’s influence blocked U.S. recognition of “Red China” and prevented its admission to the United Nations, leading instead to U.S. recognition of the exiled Nationalist government in Taiwan.

2. The Korean War
a. At the end of World War II, both the Soviet Union and the United States had troops in Korea and divided the country into competing spheres of influence at the 38th parallel.

b. The Soviets supported a Communist government, led by Kim Il Sung, in North Korea, and the United States backed a Korean Nationalist, Syngman Rhee, in South Korea.

c. On June 25, 1950, North Koreans invaded across the 38th parallel; Truman asked the UN Security Council to authorize a “police action” against the invaders.

d. The Security Council voted to send a “peacekeeping force” to Korea; though fourteen non-Communist nations sent troops, the UN army in Korea was overwhelmingly American and, by request of Truman to the Security Council, headed by General Douglas MacArthur.

e. MacArthur’s surprise amphibious attack at Inchon gave UN forces control of almost all the territory south of the 38th parallel.
f. MacArthur ordered troops to invade North Korea and led them to the Chinese border at the Yalu River. A massive Chinese counterattack forced MacArthur’s forces to retreat.

g. Months of fighting resulted in stalemate; given this military stalemate, a drop in public support, and the fact that the United States did not want large numbers of troops tied down in Asia, Truman and his advisors decided to work toward a negotiated peace.

h. Truman relieved MacArthur of his command based on insubordination, though the decision to relieve him was highly unpopular.

i. Two years after truce talks began, an armistice was signed in July 1953; Korea was divided near the original border at the 38th parallel, with a demilitarized zone between the countries.

j. Truman committed troops to Korea without congressional approval, setting a precedent for other undeclared wars. The war also expanded American involvement in Asia, transforming containment into a truly global policy. During the war, American defense expenditures grew from $13 billion in 1950 to $50 billion in 1953, nearly two-thirds of the budget.

k. American foreign policy had become more global, more militarized, and more expensive; even in times of peace, the United States functioned in a state of permanent mobilization.

5. The Munich Analogy

   a. The memory of appeasement guided U.S. thinking when it came to drafting containment policy. American presidents believed that instead of appeasing Soviet leaders, which would undoubtedly lead to war, the United States should resist Soviet expansion.

   b. This thinking often drove the United States into armed conflicts that supported right-wing repressive regimes.

II. Cold War Liberalism

A. Truman and the End of Reform

1. The 1948 Election

   a. Truman and the Democratic Party after the war forged what historians call Cold War liberalism. They preserved the core programs of the New Deal welfare state, developed the containment policy to oppose Soviet influence throughout the world, and fought so-called subversives at home.

   b. Organized labor was a key force in Cold War liberalism. Union membership increased to over 14 million by 1945; workers mounted crippling strikes in the automobile, steel, and coal industries.

   c. In 1946, Republicans gained control of both houses of Congress and set about undoing New Deal measures, especially targeting labor legislation.

   d. In 1947, the Republican-controlled Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, a rollback of several pro-union provisions of the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, dismantling the secondary boycott and the union shop, labor rights that workers had fought hard for, and forcing unions to purge communists from their ranks.

   e. Truman’s veto of the Taft-Hartley Act countered some workers’ hostility to his earlier antistrike activity and kept labor in the Democratic fold.

   f. In the election of 1948, the Republicans again nominated Thomas E. Dewey for president, and Democrats nominated Truman.

   g. Democratic left and right wings split off: the Progressive Party nominated Henry A. Wallace for president; the States’ Rights Democratic Party (Dixiecrats) nominated Strom Thurmond.

   h. To the nation’s surprise, Truman won the election handily. But he had to tread carefully to preserve core support within the Democratic Party.

2. The Fair Deal

   a. In 1949, Truman proposed his Fair Deal, an extension of the New Deal’s liberalism, including national health insurance, aid to education, a housing program, expansion of Social Security, a higher minimum wage, and new agricultural programs. Its attention to civil rights reflected the growing importance of African Americans to the Democratic coalition.

   b. Cold War fears over the spread of un-American ideals, such as “socialized medicine,” convinced Congress to adopt only parts of the Fair Deal: a higher minimum wage, improvements to Social Security, and the National Housing Act of 1949.

B. Red Scare: The Hunt for Communists
1. Loyalty-Security Program
   a. Historians have revealed that during the administration of FDR, several high-ranking government officials acted as spies for the Soviet Union. Several hundred more suppliers of information to Moscow were identified, working in a range of government departments and agencies. After World War II, the spying ceased for the most part.
   b. Many Americans at the time, however, believed that Communist influence predominated within the government. Legitimate suspicions and real fears, as well as political opportunism, fueled a second Red Scare that lasted longer and was more extensive than the first one that followed World War I.
   c. In 1947, President Truman created the Loyalty-Security Program to permit officials to investigate any employee of the federal government for “subversive” activities.
   d. Although intended to root out serious threats, the program was broad enough to define anyone as subversive for the slightest reason and thus “unfit” for government employment.
   e. The Red Scare spread from the federal government to all corners of the nation as many state and local governments, universities, political organizations, and businesses adopted their own antisubversion programs.

2. HUAC
   a. In 1938, a group of conservatives had launched the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to investigate Communist influence in labor unions and New Deal agencies.
   b. In 1947, HUAC held widely publicized hearings on alleged Communist activity in the film industry. Those accused of subversion found themselves on an unofficial blacklist that made it impossible to find future work in the industry.
   c. HUAC’s sensational investigation of Alger Hiss resulted not in a guilty verdict of spying but in a conviction of lying to Congress. Although many Americans still view the case as exemplifying the out-of-control witch-hunt during the Red Scare, circumstantial evidence has emerged that Hiss may have been a spy.

3. McCarthyism
   a. The meteoric rise of Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin marked both the high point and then the finale of the Red Scare.
   b. McCarthy dropped a bombshell on the nation in February of 1950: Communist Party members were active in shaping policy in the State Department.
   c. For nearly four years, McCarthy used his position as chair of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations to accuse primarily Democrats of subversive activities. Few people attempted to stop him.
   d. Sensationalized events such as the espionage trial and controversial execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, as well as several convictions for members of the American Communist Party for violating the 1940 Smith Act, gave McCarty’s wild accusations some credence.
   e. In early 1954, McCarthy overreached by launching an investigation into subversive activity in the U.S. Army.
   f. In December of 1954, the Senate voted 67 to 22 to censure McCarthy for unbecoming conduct. He died from an alcohol-related illness three years later.

C. The Politics of Cold War Liberalism
   1. In 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower secured the Republican nomination, despite divisions in the party. More conservative party members supported Senator Robert Taft, an ardent anti-Communist and opponent to the New Deal. Moderate Republicans looked to Eisenhower and more liberal-minded leaders such as Nelson Rockefeller, who advocated international programs such as NATO and the Marshall Plan and tolerated labor unions and the New Deal.
   2. For eight years, between 1952 and 1960, Eisenhower steered a precarious course from the middle of the party. He signed bills increasing federal outlays for veterans’ benefits, housing, highway construction, and Social Security; he also increased the minimum wage from 75 cents an hour to $1.
   3. America Under Eisenhower
      a. International events transformed the Cold War. Stalin died in 1953, and after a power struggle, Nikita S. Krushchev emerged as his successor in 1956.
      b. Although Krushchev called for “peaceful coexistence” with the West and more flexibility toward dissent, Soviet repression of the 1956 Hungarian uprising for independence illustrated inflexibility.
c. Eisenhower’s “New Look” in foreign policy, continuing America’s commitment to producing nuclear weapons to project U.S. dominance in the Cold War struggle against international communism, contributed to the arms race as the Soviet Union matched the United States weapon for weapon.

d. By 1958, both the United States and the Soviet Union possessed intercontinental ballistic missiles.

e. Eisenhower, although a novice in domestic affairs, was well-liked by the American public and much less confrontational than his Democratic predecessor. He easily won reelection in 1956.

f. During the Eisenhower administration, Cold War consensus about foreign policy and the economy appeared to have calmed the national political system.

III. Containment in the Postcolonial World

A. The Cold War and Colonial Independence

1. Vietnam

a. The American policy of containment soon extended to new nations emerging in the Third World.

b. The United States often failed to recognize that indigenous or nationalist movements in emerging nations had their own goals and were not necessarily under the control of Communists.

c. The United States created an extensive system of defensive alliances based on the NATO model, including the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in 1954 which connected the U.S. and its major European allies with Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand.

d. U.S. policymakers tended to support stable governments, as long as they were not Communist; some American allies were governed by dictatorships or repressive right-wing regimes.

e. The Central Intelligence Agency moved beyond intelligence gathering into active, albeit covert, involvement in the internal affairs of foreign countries.

f. In 1953, the CIA helped to overthrow Iran’s premier after he seized control of British oil properties; in 1954, it supported a coup in Guatemala against the duly elected government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán after he expropriated land held by the American-owned United Fruit Company and accepted arms from Communist Czechoslovakia.

g. In Southeast Asia, Truman mismanaged a golden opportunity to bring the Vietnamese nationalist leader Ho Chi Minh into the American camp through domestic and military support against the French attempt after World War II to re-take the colony it had maintained since the mid-1800s. Truman incorrectly viewed Ho Chi Minh as an ardent Communist pledged against American interests.

h. Eisenhower also failed to understand the importance of embracing a united Vietnam. If the French failed to regain control, Eisenhower argued, the so-called domino theory would lead to the collapse of all non-Communist governments in the region.

i. Although the United States eventually provided most of the financing, the French still failed to defeat the tenacious Vietminh. After a fifty-six-day siege in early 1954, the French went down to stunning defeat at the huge fortress of Dien Bien Phu.

j. The result was the 1954 Geneva Accords, which partitioned Vietnam temporarily at the 17th parallel, committed France to withdraw from north of that line, and called for elections within two years that would lead to a unified Vietnam.

k. The United States rejected the Geneva Accords and immediately set about undermining them. With the help of the CIA, a pro-American government took power in South Vietnam in June 1954.

2. In a rigged election in 1955, Ngo Dinh Diem became president of an independent South Vietnam and called off the scheduled reunification elections. After the last French soldiers left in March 1956, the United States propped up the Diem government with economic aid and military advisors.

3. The Middle East

a. The oil-rich Middle East was playing an increasingly central role in the strategic planning of the United States and the Soviet Union, which presented one of the most complicated foreign policy challenges.

b. On May 14, 1948, Zionist leaders proclaimed the state of Israel; Truman quickly recognized the new state, alienating the Arabs but winning crucial support from Jewish voters.
c. When Gamal Abdel Nasser came to power in Egypt in 1952, he pledged to lead not just his country but the entire Middle East out of its dependent, colonial relationship through a form of pan-Arab socialism and declared Egypt’s neutrality in the Cold War.

d. Unwilling to accept this stance of nonalignment, John Foster Dulles abruptly withdrew his offer of U.S. financial aid to Egypt in 1957; in retaliation, Nasser seized and nationalized the Suez Canal, through which three-quarters of Western Europe’s oil was transported.

e. After months of negotiation, Britain and France, in alliance with Israel, attacked Egypt and retook the canal. Eisenhower and the United Nations forced France and Britain to pull back; Egypt reclaimed the Suez Canal and built the Aswan Dam on the Nile with Soviet support.

f. After the Suez Canal crisis, the Eisenhower Doctrine stated that American forces would assist any nation in the Middle East requiring aid against “International Communism.”

g. Eisenhower invoked the doctrine when he sent troops to aid King Hussein of Jordan against a Nasser-backed revolt and when he sent troops to back a pro-U.S. government in Lebanon.

h. The attention that the Eisenhower administration paid to developments in the Middle East in the 1950s demonstrated how the access to a steady supply of oil increasingly affected foreign policy.

B. John F. Kennedy and the Cold War

1. The Election of 1960 and the New Frontier

a. Poised to become the youngest man ever elected to the presidency and the nation’s first Catholic chief executive, Kennedy practiced what became known as the “new politics,” an approach that emphasized youthful charisma, style, and personality more than issues and platforms.

b. A series of four televised debates between Kennedy and Nixon showed how important television was becoming in political life; voters who listened to the 1960 presidential debates on the radio concluded that Nixon had won, and those who watched it on TV felt that Kennedy had won.

c. Kennedy won only the narrowest of electoral victories, receiving 49.7 percent of the popular vote to Nixon’s 49.5 percent; a shift of a few thousand votes in key states would have reversed the outcome.

d. A resolute Cold Warrior, Kennedy brought to Washington a cadre of young ambitious newcomers, including Robert McNamara, a former head of Ford Motor Company, who would serve as secretary of defense. A host of academics also flocked to Washington to join the New Frontier, including Robert Kennedy, the president’s brother, who served as attorney general.

2. Crises in Cuba and Berlin

a. The Soviet Union’s announcement in January 1961 that it intended to support “wars of national liberation” anywhere in the world took on special meaning when applied to Cuba, where Fidel Castro had overthrown Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959.

b. Intent on keeping Soviet influence out of the Western Hemisphere, Kennedy implemented Eisenhower’s plan to foment an anti-Castro uprising in early 1961. The CIA-trained invaders were crushed by Castro’s troops after landing at Cuba’s Bay of Pigs on April 17.

c. U.S.-Soviet relations further deteriorated in June 1961 when the Soviets built the Berlin Wall to stop the exodus of East Germans; the Berlin Wall remained a symbol of the Cold War until 1989.

d. The climactic confrontation of the Cold War, the Cuban missile crisis, occurred in October 1962, when American reconnaissance planes flying over Cuba photographed Soviet-built bases for intermediate-range ballistic missiles, which could reach U.S. targets as far as 2,200 miles away.

e. In a televised address, Kennedy confronted the Soviet Union and announced that the United States would impose a “quarantine on all offensive military equipment” intended for Cuba.

f. After a week of tense negotiations, both Kennedy and Khrushchev made concessions: the United States would not invade Cuba, and the Soviets would dismantle the missile bases. Kennedy also secretly ordered U.S. missiles to be removed from Turkey, at the insistence of Khrushchev.

3. Kennedy and the World

a. Exhibiting the idealism of the early 1960s, the Peace Corps was a low-cost Cold War weapon intended to show the developing world that there was an alternative to communism.
b. Wanting to compete with the Soviet Union after it had successfully launched into space the first satellite in 1957 and the first man in 1961, Kennedy committed the United States to landing a man on the moon and increased funding for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). The United States successfully landed a man on the moon in 1969.

C. Making a Commitment in Vietnam
   1. When Kennedy became president, he inherited Eisenhower’s involvement in Vietnam. Kennedy saw Vietnam in very much the same Cold War terms.
   2. In 1961, Kennedy increased military aid to South Vietnam in the form of U.S. Special Forces (“Green Berets”) who trained the South Vietnamese army in unconventional, small-group warfare tactics.
   3. Despite American aid, the corrupt and repressive Diem regime installed by Eisenhower in 1954 was losing ground in South Vietnam. Opponents, with backing from North Vietnam, had formed the National Liberation Front. Its guerilla forces, the Vietcong, rallied ordinary citizens, who had experienced forced resettlement and religious persecution, against the oppressive Diem government, including Buddhist priests who set themselves on fire.
   4. South Vietnam represented a dilemma for the United States: support for Diem would create stability and prevent communist victory but also perpetuate oppression. The assassination of Diem on November 3, 1963, only added further complexity.
CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand the factors that explain the rise of American prosperity during the two decades following World War II.
2. Assess the changing roles of cities and suburbs in American society.
3. Evaluate in what ways the “fifties” were the historical norm of American life.
4. Analyze what changes women, youth, and the family experienced during the era.

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Postwar Prosperity and the Affluent Society
   A. Economy: From Recovery to Dominance
      1. The Bretton Woods System
         a. In 1945, the United States was the only major industrial power not devastated by war; U.S. corporations, banks, and manufacturers dominated the world economy, a preeminence that would continue unchallenged for twenty years.
         b. American economic leadership abroad translated into affluence at home; domestic prosperity benefitted a wider segment of society than anyone had thought possible in the dark days of the Great Depression.
         c. A meeting in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, established the U.S. dollar as the capitalist world’s principal reserve currency and resulted in the creation of two global institutions—the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).
         d. The World Bank provided private loans for the reconstruction of war-torn Europe as well as for the development of Third World countries, and the IMF was designed to stabilize the value of currencies, thereby helping to guide the world economy after the war.
         e. In 1947, the first General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) established an international framework for overseeing trade rules and practices.
         f. Although Bretton Woods and GATT intended to create a free-market global economy, the programs benefitted the United States more than recently independent countries.
      2. The Military-Industrial Complex
         a. A second linchpin of postwar prosperity was defense spending. The military-industrial complex that President Eisenhower identified in his 1961 farewell address had its roots in the business-government partnerships of the world wars. But unlike after World War I, the massive commitment of government dollars for defense continued after 1945.
         b. As military spending rose from 1 percent of GDP to 10 percent, defense-related industries established long-term relationships with the Pentagon. Companies such as Boeing and Lockheed earned the majority of their income through military contracts.
         c. As permanent mobilization took hold, science, industry, and the federal government became increasingly intertwined. According to the National Science Foundation, federal money underwrote 90 percent of the cost of research for aviation and space, 65 percent for electricity and electronics, 42 percent for scientific instruments, and 24 percent for automobiles.
         d. In response to the Soviet Union launching Sputnik in 1957, the United States accelerated its focus on the Cold War space race. Eisenhower funneled millions of dollars into new college scholarships and university research in science and technology.
      3. Corporate Power
         a. For more than half a century, American enterprise had favored the consolidation of economic power into big corporate firms. That tendency continued as domestic and world markets increasingly overlapped after 1945.
         b. To staff their bureaucracies, the postwar corporate giants required a huge white-collar army. A new generation of corporate chieftains emerged, operating in a complex environment that demanded long-range forecasting.
         c. Critics feared that the new corporate world would stifle creativity. For example, David Riesman, who contrasted the independent businessmen and professionals of earlier years with the managerial class of the postwar world,
concluded in *The Lonely Crowd* (1950) that the new corporate men were “other-directed,” more attuned to their associates than driven by their own goals.

d. From 1947 to 1975, worker productivity more than doubled across the whole of the economy. As industries mechanized, they could suddenly turn out products more efficiently and at lower cost. But millions of high-wage manufacturing jobs were lost as machines replaced workers.

4. The Economic Record

a. America’s annual GDP jumped from $213 billion in 1945 to more than $500 billion in 1960; by 1970, it exceeded $1 trillion. This sustained growth provided a 25 percent rise in real income for ordinary Americans between 1946 and 1959. Homeownership rose from 43 percent in 1940 to 62 percent in 1960.

b. Americans at the bottom of society, however, struggled to survive. In *The Affluent Society* (1958), John Kenneth Galbraith argued that the poor were only an “afterthought” in the minds of politicians. He noted that one in thirteen families earned less than $1,000 a year. In *The Other America*, Michael Harrington concluded that although the elite and middle class converged, the lower class lagged far behind.

B. A Nation of Consumers

1. The GI Bill

a. The most breathtaking development in the postwar American economy was the dramatic expansion of the domestic consumer market. The sheer quantity of consumer goods available to the average person was without precedent.

b. The new ethic of consumption appealed to the postwar middle class. Middle-class status was more accessible than ever before because of the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944, popularly known as the GI Bill. By 1955, over 2 million veterans had attended college, and another 5.6 million had attended trade school with government financing.

c. Government-financed education contributed to a better educated workforce, higher earning power, and increased consumerism.

d. The GI Bill also sparked a building boom and expanded the middle class through home ownership.

2. Trade Unions

a. After lengthy strikes between 1945 and 1947, labor and management gradually accepted collective bargaining as the normal means for determining a worker’s reward.

b. Consequently, the nation’s major industries, including auto, steel, clothing, chemical, and virtually all consumer product manufacturing, were operating with union contracts by the early 1950s and workers experienced real increases in income.

c. Collective bargaining became the alternative to the European welfare state and the venue into the middle class as negotiated contracts did not just increase wages but also provided for pension plans and company-paid health insurance.

d. Though impressive, the labor-management accord was never as durable as it seemed. Vulnerabilities lurked, even in the accord’s heyday. Domestic markets remained fragile, unorganized workers did not receive the same benefits, and employers retained their antunion philosophy. The postwar labor-management accord, thus, was a transitory event, not a permanent condition of American economic life.
3. Houses, Cars, and Children
   a. Increased educational levels, growing home ownership, and higher wages all enabled more Americans than ever
to become consumers. In the emerging suburban nation, three elements came together to create patterns of
consumption that would endure for decades: houses, cars, and children.
   b. Consumption for the home, such as accessories for a baby’s room, new stoves, ovens, and refrigerators, as well as
washers and dryers drove the postwar American economy.
   c. Producers that developed planned obsolescence—the encouragement of consumers to replace appliances and cars
every few year—transformed the home into a site of perpetual consumer desire.
   d. Advertisers turned the baby boomers into consumers by targeting their real and perceived needs from birth
through adulthood.
4. Television
   a. Television’s leap to cultural prominence was swift and overpowering. There were only 7,000 television sets in
American homes in 1947, but a year later the CBS and NBC radio networks began offering regular programming,
and by 1950 Americans owned 7.3 million television sets. Ten years later, 87 percent of American homes had at
least one television set.
   b. Television became the primary mediator between the consumer and the marketplace. Television stations,
dependent entirely on advertising for profits, offered corporate-sponsored shows such as General Electric
Theater.
   c. Television revolutionized and forever changed the ways products were sold to American consumers.
   d. What Americans saw on television, besides the omnipresent commercials, was an overwhelmingly white, Anglo-
Saxon world of nuclear families, suburban homes, and middle-class life.
C. Youth Culture
1. Rock ‘n’ Roll
   a. The emergence of a mass youth culture had its roots in the lengthening years of education and increasing
purchasing power of teenagers, a process at work since the 1920s.
   b. Advertisers eagerly exploited this new market to capture teenagers’ spending money and to exploit their influence
on family purchases.
   c. Since young people made up the largest audience for motion pictures, Hollywood movies soon catered to the
desires of teenagers through horror, rock ‘n’ roll, dangerous youth, and beach party films.
   d. Music really defined the 1950s youth culture, with rock ‘n’ roll, a music style that originated in African American
rhythm and blues, being a driving force.
   e. Suggestions that rock ‘n’ roll would contribute to interracial dating, rebellion, and more open sexuality did not
diminish its popularity.
2. Cultural Dissenters
   a. Postwar artists, musicians, and writers expressed their alienation from mainstream society through intensely
personal, introspective art forms, such as the improvisational style of bebop in jazz.
   b. The Beats were a group of writers and poets such as Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac who were both literary
innovators and outspoken critics of middle-class materialism; they inspired a new generation of rebels in the
1960s.
D. Religion and the Middle Class

1. In an age of anxiety, Americans yearned for a reaffirmation of faith. Church membership jumped from 49 percent of the population in 1940 to 70 percent in 1960. People flocked especially into the evangelical Protestant denominations, which benefitted from a remarkable new crop of preachers. Most notable was the young Reverend Billy Graham, who made brilliant use of television, radio, and advertising to spread the Gospel.

2. Graham, Robert Schuller, Norman Vincent Peale, and other 1950s evangelicals laid the foundation for the rise of the televangelists, who created popular television ministries in the 1970s.

3. Growing religious faith defined the Cold War as a conflict between Americans as a righteous people opposed to communist atheism and drew Catholics, Protestants, and Jews into an ecumenical movement that downplayed doctrinal differences. Congress added the phrase “under God” to the Pledge of Allegiance in 1954 and added “In God We Trust” to American currency in 1956.

II. The American Family in the Era of Containment

A. The Baby Boom

1. Improving Health and Education
   a. Two aspects about American families after World War II are noteworthy: marriages were remarkably stable and married couples decided to have babies. More babies were born between 1948 and 1953 than in the previous thirty years.
   b. Reasons for the baby boom include so many couples getting married at a younger age and having babies at the same time. The boom peaked in 1957 and remained relatively high in the early 1960s.
   c. The baby boom had a long-term impact with a secondary jump in birth rates in the 1980s as boomers had their own children; unforeseen funding problems now threaten to engulf Social Security and Medicare as boomers reach retirement age.
   d. Baby boomers benefitted from new advances in public health and medical practice after World War II. Drugs such as penicillin, streptomycin, and cortisone turned former serious illnesses into mere childhood routines.
   e. The nation’s education system also profited as middle-class college-educated parents placed high value on education and approved 90 percent of proposed school bond issues during the 1950s.

2. Dr. Benjamin Spock
   a. To keep baby boom children healthy and happy, middle-class parents increasingly relied on the advice of experts. Dr. Benjamin Spock’s *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* sold a million copies a year after its publication in 1946. Spock urged mothers to abandon the rigid feeding and baby-care schedules of an earlier generation.
   b. Spock’s contradictory message that mothers should not be too protective but that they should be constantly available for their children did not reassure many women. Some of them would be inspired by the resurgence of feminism in the 1960s.

B. Women, Work, and Family

1. In the postwar years, women attempted to reconcile the middle-class domestic ideal of raising children, attending to their household duties, and devoting themselves to their husbands with the need or desire to work outside of the home in a job market that offered limited opportunities.

2. The postwar definition of womanhood pronounced motherhood the only “normal” female role and described career women as social misfits in need of therapy.

3. Although many middle- and working-class women embraced their role as housewives, they were also seeking work outside of the home. In 1954, married women made up half of all women workers. By 1960, the number of mothers working had increased four times and 30 percent of wives worked.

4. Most women worked in gender-stereotyped jobs such as salesclerk, waitress, domestic servant, and secretary.

5. Contrary to belief, women’s paid work was not merely supplemental but also allowed families to move into the middle class. The highest rate of labor-force participation for women came from the lower end of the middle class; however, women of all class backgrounds entered the workforce.
6. Working women still bore full responsibility for child care and household management, allowing families and society to avoid facing the social implications of women’s new roles.

C. Challenging Middle-Class Morality
   1. Alfred Kinsey
      a. The two decades between 1945 and 1965 were a time of sexual conservatism when young men and women channeled their sexual desire strictly toward marriage.
      b. Scientific studies by Alfred Kinsey, a zoologist at Indiana University, in the late 1940s and early 1950s revealed a broad range of actual sexual behaviors among average American people.
      c. His studies confirmed that a sexual revolution had already begun to transform American society by the early 1950s, and his research opened a national conversation about sex.

2. The Homophile Movement
   a. Kinsey also revealed that homosexuality was far more prevalent in American society than contemporaries assumed.
   b. These findings gave encouragement to “homophiles,” gays and lesbians who wanted to actively change homophobia in American society.
   c. Homophiles faced daunting obstacles because same-sex sexual relations were illegal in every state. Members of homophile organizations cultivated a respectable, middle-class image to combat prejudice and change the laws. Their actions laid the groundwork for the gay rights movement of the 1970s.

3. Media and Morality
   a. Fears that media such as comic books would destroy traditional morality and encourage juvenile delinquency did not slow the growing frankness about sex and violence in the nation’s printed media and films.
   b. One example of that growing frankness was Playboy magazine, founded in 1953 by Hugh Hefner, which created a fictional world of sophisticated men who spent money on clothing and jazz albums as well as sexually available women.
   c. Although millions of American men read Playboy, few actually adopted its fantasy lifestyle.

III. A Suburban Nation
   A. The Postwar Housing Boom
      1. William J. Levitt and the FHA
         a. Migration to the suburbs grew on an unprecedented scale after World War II; by 1960, one-third of Americans lived in suburbs.
         b. William J. Levitt, a Long Island building contractor, revolutionized suburban housing by applying mass-production techniques to home construction; other developers followed suit in subdivisions all over the country, hastening the exodus from farms and cities.
         c. Many homes were financed with mortgages from the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Veterans Administration at rates dramatically lower than those offered by private lenders. FHA and VA mortgages explain why homeownership jumped to 60 percent by 1960.
         d. New suburban homes, as well as their funding, were reserved mostly for middle-class young whites; some homeowners had to sign a restrictive covenant prohibiting occupation in the development by blacks, Asians, or Jews.
         e. Although Shelley v. Kraemer (1948) ruled that restrictive covenants were illegal, the practice continued until the civil rights laws of the 1960s banned private discrimination.

      2. Interstate Highways
         a. Suburban growth would have been impossible without the automobile. Car ownership increased from twenty-five million cars in 1945 to seventy-five million in 1965.
         b. The federal government took note of the increasing demand for roads and funded the construction of new highways through programs such as the National Interstate and Defense Highway Act of 1956. The nationally integrated highway system changed American cities by making massive suburbanization possible, rerouting traffic from small towns, and cutting wide swaths through old urban neighborhoods.
3. Fast Food and Shopping Malls
   a. As Americans began to abandon city centers in the 1950s, entrepreneurs developed new commercial forms: the shopping mall and the fast-food restaurant.
   b. Suburban shopping centers brought the market to the consumer.
   c. In 1954, Ray Kroc bought a franchise of the little-known McDonald’s Restaurant; three years later, he bought the company from the McDonald brothers and turned it into the largest chain of restaurants in the world and in the process transformed the way Americans consumed food.

B. Rise of the Sunbelt
1. New growth patterns were most striking in the South and West, where inexpensive land, unorganized labor, low taxes, and warm climates beckoned; California grew the most rapidly, containing one-tenth of the nation’s population by 1970, surpassing New York as the most populous state.
2. A distinctive feature of Sunbelt suburbanization was its close relationship to the military-industrial complex. Military bases proliferated in the South and Southwest in the postwar decades, especially in Florida, Texas, and California.
3. Aerospace, defense, and electronics industries were also located in Sunbelt metropolitan areas.
4. Orange County, California, southwest of Los Angeles, illustrated this Sunbelt suburbanization; its population jumped from 130,760 in 1940 to 703,925 in 1960.

C. Two Societies: Urban and Suburban
1. The Urban Crisis
   a. Between 1950 and 1960, the nation’s twelve largest cities lost 3.6 million whites and gained 4.5 million nonwhites.
   b. Postwar cities in the industrial Northeast and Midwest experienced a rise in the urban problems of poverty, slum housing, and hardships as the manufacturing sector contracted and thousands of semiskilled or unskilled jobs disappeared.
   c. Intensification of poverty, aging apartment buildings, and racial segregation contributed to the urban crisis.
   d. Urban renewal programs aimed to revitalize inner cities by demolishing old buildings to make way for new highways, high-rise housing, and commercial buildings. In the process, 1.4 million people were displaced.
   e. Federally funded housing projects for the displaced produced grim high-rise housing projects that destroyed community bonds and created an environment for crime and hopelessness.
2. Urban Immigrants
   b. The federal government’s welcoming of Mexican labor under its Bracero Program, which began during World War II, was revived in 1951 and ended in 1964.
   c. Although many Mexicans settled in Los Angeles, Long Beach, San Jose, and El Paso, others also established Mexican American communities in Chicago, Denver, Detroit, and Kansas City.
   d. Residents of Puerto Rico had been American citizens since 1917, so they were not subject to immigration laws; they became America’s first group to immigrate by air. Most moved to New York City.
   e. Cuban refugees were the third largest group of Spanish-speaking immigrants; the Cuban refugee community turned Miami into a cosmopolitan, bilingual city almost overnight.
   f. Spanish-speaking immigrants created huge barrios in major American cities, where bilingualism flourished and the Catholic Church shaped religious life.
CHAPTER 27

Walking into Freedom Land: The Civil Rights Movement

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand what it was like to live under Jim Crow.
2. Outline the origins of the civil rights movement.
3. Assess how World War II and the Cold War shaped the civil rights movement.
5. Explain the major differences between the first phase of the civil rights movement, 1955–1966, and the second stage, the period between 1966 and 1973.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Emerging Civil Rights Struggle, 1941–1957
   A. Life Under Jim Crow
      1. Racial segregation and economic exploitation defined the lives of the majority of African Americans in the postwar decades.
      2. Numbering 15 million in 1950, African Americans were approximately 10 percent of the U.S. population, but in the South, they constituted between 30 and 50 percent of the population of several states, such as South Carolina and Mississippi.
      3. Segregation, commonly known as Jim Crow, prevailed in every aspect of southern life. In southern states, where two-thirds of all African Americans lived in 1950, blacks could not eat in restaurants patronized by whites or use the same waiting rooms at bus stations.
      4. Economic and political structures further marginalized and disempowered black citizens. African Americans could not work for local or state government and usually held low-wage menial jobs. Poll taxes, literacy tests, and intimidation had chiseled the proportion of eligible black voters to 20 percent, giving whites disproportionate power.
      5. In the North, racial segregation in everyday life was less acute but equally tangible. Northern segregation took the form of a spatial system in which whites increasingly lived in suburbs or on the outskirts of cities, while African Americans were concentrated in downtown neighborhoods.
      6. There was greater freedom for African Americans in the North and West than in the South. Blacks could vote, participate in politics, and, at least after the early 1960s, enjoy equal access to public accommodations. However, poverty and racial discrimination were also deeply entrenched in the North and West.
   B. Origins of the Civil Rights Movement
      1. A series of factors came together in the middle of the twentieth century to make a broad and unique movement possible.
2. An important influence was World War II. In the war against fascism, the Allies sought to discredit racist Nazi ideology. Committed to an antiracist ideology abroad, Americans increasingly condemned all forms of racism, even those at home.

3. The Cold War placed added pressure on U.S. officials. To inspire other nations in the global standoff with the Soviet Union, Truman advocated that the United States establish true democracy.

4. Among the most consequential factors was the growth of the urban black middle class. Historically small, the black middle class experienced robust growth after World War II. Its ranks produced most of the civil rights leaders.

5. Churches, for centuries a sanctuary for black Americans, were especially important. So were African American college students—part of the largest expansion of college enrollment in U.S. history—who joined the movement, adding new energy and fresh ideas.

6. Labor leaders were generally more equality-minded than the rank and file, but trade unions such as the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers, and the Communications Workers of America, among many others, were reliable allies at the national level.

7. The new medium of television played a crucial role. When television networks covered early desegregation struggles, such as the 1957 integration of Little Rock High School, Americans across the country saw the violence of white supremacy firsthand.

C. World War II: The Beginnings

1. Executive Order 8802
   a. During the war fought for basic human freedoms “to make the world safe for democracy,” America was far from ready to extend full equality to its own black citizens.
   b. Black workers faced discrimination in wartime employment, and more than a million black troops served in segregated units commanded by whites.
   c. On the home front, activists pushed two strategies. A. Philip Randolph, whose Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was the most prominent black trade union, called for a march on Washington in early 1941, planning to protest for equal opportunity in war jobs.
   d. To avoid a divisive protest, FDR issued Executive Order 8802, prohibiting racial discrimination in defense industries, and Randolph agreed to cancel the march. The resulting Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) was weak, but it set an important precedent: federal action in support of civil rights.

2. The Double V Campaign
   a. A second strategy was the “Double V Campaign,” a patriotic racial slogan that spread like wildfire through black communities across the country. African Americans would demonstrate their love of country by fighting the Axis powers. But they would also demand, peacefully but emphatically, the defeat of racism at home.
   b. Those efforts met considerable resistance. In war industries, factories periodically shut down in Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other cities because of “hate strikes”: the refusal of white workers to labor alongside black workers.
   c. Race riots were one manifestation of white resistance to change. On a hot summer day in Detroit, whites from the city’s ethnic neighborhoods taunted and beat African Americans in a local park. Three days of rioting ensued in which thirty-four people were killed, twenty-five of them black. Federal troops were called in to restore order.
   d. Despite and because of such incidents, a generation was spurred into action during the war years. One of the first bus boycotts occurred in New York City in 1941, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) emerged in Chicago in 1942. African American veterans used the GI Bill after the war to push against segregation.

D. Cold War Civil Rights

1. Civil Rights and the New Deal Coalition
   a. Symbolic victories, such as Jackie Robinson breaking the color line in baseball and northern liberals becoming allies of civil rights advocates, propelled many African Americans into action.
   b. African American leaders also had hopes for President Truman. Although capable of racist language, Truman supported civil rights on moral grounds. He understood, moreover, the growing importance of the black vote in key northern states, a fact driven home by his surprise 1948 victory.
   c. Lacking support in Congress for civil rights legislation, Truman turned to executive action. In 1946, he appointed a Presidential Committee on Civil Rights, whose 1947 report called for robust federal action on behalf of civil rights. In 1948, under pressure from A. Philip Randolph’s Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service, Truman signed an executive order desegregating the armed forces as well as employment in federal agencies.
d. Truman’s boldness upset southern Democrats who, under the leadership of Strom Thurmond, created the States’ Rights Democratic Party, popularly known as the Dixiecrats, for the 1948 election.

2. Race and Anticommunism
   a. The Cold War struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union shaped postwar civil rights in both positive and negative terms. The Soviet Union routinely used American racism as a means of discrediting the United States abroad. The worry about America’s tarnished image strengthened the hand of civil rights leaders.
   b. McCarthyism and the hunt for subversives at home held the civil rights movement back. Civil rights opponents charged that racial integration was “communistic,” and the NAACP was banned in many southern states as an “anti-American” organization.
   c. Black Americans who spoke favorably of the Soviet Union, such as the actor and singer Paul Robeson, or had been “fellow travelers” in the 1930s, such as the pacifist Bayard Rustin, were persecuted by the House Un-American Activities Committee.
   d. The fate of people like Robeson showed that the Cold War could work against the civil rights cause just as easily as for it.

E. Mexican Americans and Japanese Americans
   1. In the Southwest, from Texas to California, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans endured a “caste” system not unlike the Jim Crow South.
   2. Labor activism in the 1930s and 1940s, especially in Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) unions with large numbers of Mexican Americans, improved wages and working conditions in some industries and produced a new generation of leaders.
   3. Additionally, more than 400,000 Mexican Americans served in World War II. Having fought for their country, many returned to the United States, determined to challenge their second-class citizenship.
   4. A new Mexican American middle class began to take shape in major cities such as Los Angeles, San Antonio, El Paso, and Chicago, which, like the African American middle class, provided leaders and resources to the cause.
   5. In Texas and California, Mexican Americans created new civil rights organizations in the postwar years. In 1948, World War II veterans and activists in Corpus Christi, Texas, founded the American GI Forum; in California, activists established the Community Services Organization to protest the poor treatment of Mexican American soldiers and veterans, but both groups soon broadened their scope to encompass political and economic justice.
   6. Activists also pushed for legal change. In 1947, five Mexican American fathers in California sued a local school district for placing their children in separate “Mexican” schools. Although **Mendez v. Westminster School District** never made it to the U.S. Supreme Court, the Ninth Circuit Court ruled such segregation unconstitutional, laying the legal groundwork for broader challenges to racial inequality.
   7. In another significant legal victory, the Supreme Court ruled in 1954—just two weeks before the landmark **Brown v. Board of Education** decision—that Mexican Americans constituted a “distinct class” that could claim protection from discrimination.
   8. Also on the West Coast, Japanese Americans accelerated their legal challenge to discrimination. Undeterred by rulings in the **Hirabayashi** (1943) and **Korematsu** (1944) cases upholding wartime imprisonment (see Chapter 24), the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) filed lawsuits in the late 1940s to regain property lost during the war.
   9. These efforts by Mexican and Japanese Americans enlarged the scope of civil rights beyond demands by African Americans and laid the foundation for a broader notion of racial equality in the postwar years.

F. Fighting for Equality Before the Law
   1. Thurgood Marshall
      a. With southern Democrats determined to block civil rights legislation in Congress, activists looked toward northern state legislatures and federal courts for recourse.
      b. The first fair employment laws had come in New York and New Jersey in 1945, but it would take another decade before other states with significant black populations passed similar legislation, despite the creation of alliances with trade unions and liberal organizations.
      c. In the meantime, however, NAACP lawyers Thurgood Marshall, Charles Hamilton Houston, and William Hastie had been preparing the legal ground in a series of test cases challenging racial discrimination.
      d. Marshall, the great-grandson of slaves, graduated from Lincoln University in Philadelphia and Howard University. Marshall would argue most of the NAACP’s landmark cases and become the first African American appointed to the Supreme Court in 1967.
e. Legal challenges gradually led to success: the Supreme Court ruled in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944) that all-white primaries were unconstitutional and in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma* (1950) that universities could not segregate black students from others on campus. Although little change in daily life occurred as a result of these cases, they nevertheless began to crack the system of segregation.

2. Brown v. Board of Education
   a. A landmark civil rights case, the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision involved Linda Brown, a black pupil in Topeka, Kansas, who had been forced to attend a distant segregated school rather than the nearby white elementary school. The NAACP’s chief counsel, Thurgood Marshall, argued that such segregation, mandated by the Topeka Board of Education, was unconstitutional because it denied Linda Brown the “equal protection of the laws” guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.
   b. The unanimous decision overturned the “separate but equal” doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson* and declared simply that integration should proceed “with all deliberate speed.”
   c. Southerners, however, called for “massive resistance.” The “Southern Manifesto,” signed in 1956 by 101 members of Congress, denounced the *Brown* decision as “a clear abuse of judicial power” and encouraged their constituents to defy it. That year, half a million southerners joined White Citizens’ Councils dedicated to blocking school integration. Some whites revived the old tactics of violence and intimidation, swelling the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan to levels not seen since the 1920s.
   d. President Eisenhower accepted the *Brown* decision as the law of the land, but he thought it was a mistake and was not happy about committing federal power to enforce it.

6. A crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas, finally forced his hand. In September 1957, nine black students attempted to enroll at the all-white Central High School. Governor Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to bar them. Then the mob took over. Every day, the nine students had to run a gauntlet of angry whites chanting “Go back to the jungle.” As the vicious scenes played out on television night after night, Eisenhower finally acted. He sent 1,000 federal troops to Little Rock and nationalized the Arkansas National Guard, ordering them to protect the black students. Eisenhower thus became the first president since Reconstruction to use federal troops to enforce the rights of blacks.

II. Forging a Protest Movement, 1955–1965

A. Nonviolent Direct Action
   1. Montgomery Bus Boycott
      a. Southern resistance to *Brown* rendered the decision unenforceable in practice and inspired activists to forge a unique protest movement.
      b. *Brown* had been the law of the land for barely a year when a single act of violence struck at the heart of black America. A fourteen-year-old African American young man from Chicago, Emmett Till, was murdered for flirting with a white woman in a Mississippi store. Photos of Till’s mutilated body in *Jet* magazine brought national attention to the heinous crime.
      c. An all-white jury finding the murderers innocent galvanized an entire generation of African Americans into action.
      d. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a seamstress and civil rights activist in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to give up her seat on a city bus to a white man. She was arrested and charged with violating a local segregation ordinance.
      e. Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., the recently appointed pastor of Montgomery’s Dexter Street Baptist Church, who embraced the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, endorsed a plan proposed by a local black women’s organization to boycott Montgomery’s bus system until it was integrated.
      f. For 381 days, Montgomery’s African Americans formed car pools or walked to work. Although the transit company neared bankruptcy owing to empty busses and downtown stores lost business, only a Supreme Court decision declaring bus segregation unconstitutional convinced the city of Montgomery to comply.
      g. The Montgomery bus boycott catapulted King to national prominence. In 1957, along with the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, he founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), based in Atlanta. The black church, long the center of African American social and cultural life, now lent its moral and organizational strength to the civil rights movement.

2. Greensboro Sit-Ins
a. The battle for civil rights entered a new phase in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, when four black college students took seats at the whites-only lunch counter at the local Woolworth’s. They were determined to “sit in” until they were served.

b. Although they were arrested and had to endure taunting pelting with food and other debris, the sit-in tactic worked—the Woolworth’s lunch counter was desegregated—and sit-ins quickly spread to other southern cities.

3. Ella Baker and SNCC
   a. After the Woolworth’s lunch counter sit-in, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Ella Baker helped to organize the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960 to facilitate sit-ins by blacks demanding an end to segregation.
   
b. Students launched sit-ins in 126 cities across the Upper South, from North Carolina into Virginia, Maryland, and Tennessee, drawing African American and white college students into the movement in unprecedented numbers.
   
c. SNCC quickly emerged as the most important student protest organization in the country and inspired a generation of students on college campuses across the nation.
   
d. Baker, a New Deal advocate and NAACP activist, advocated participatory democracy and grass roots activism by ordinary people. Her protégés included future civil rights leaders such as Stokely Carmichael, Anne Moody, John Lewis, and Diane Nash.

4. Freedom Rides
   
a. In 1961, the Congress of Racial Equality organized a series of what were called Freedom Rides on interstate bus lines in the South, aimed to call attention to violations of recent Supreme Court rulings against segregation in interstate commerce.
   
b. The young black and white activists were attacked by white mobs, and outside Anniston, Alabama, one bus was firebombed. Despite the violence, state authorities refused to intervene.
   
c. Although President Kennedy remained cautious on supporting civil rights, beatings shown on the nightly news forced Attorney General Robert Kennedy to send federal marshals to Alabama to restore order.
   
d. Civil rights activists thus learned the value of nonviolent protest that provoked violent white resistance.

B. Legislating Civil Rights, 1963–1965

1. The Battle for Birmingham
   
a. When thousands of black demonstrators, organized by Martin Luther King Jr., marched to picket Birmingham, Alabama’s department stores, television cameras captured the severe methods used against them by Eugene “Bull” Connor, the city’s public safety commissioner.
   
b. King, while serving a jail sentence for leading the march, penned his “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” justifying nonviolent direct action as necessary to create a crisis that will awaken Americans to the reality of segregation and inspire legislative action.
   
c. President Kennedy responded to the incident on June 11, 1963, when he went on television to promise major legislation banning discrimination in public accommodations and empowering the Justice Department to enforce desegregation.
   
d. Black leaders hailed Kennedy’s speech as the “Second Emancipation Proclamation,” yet on the evening of the address, Medgar Evers, the president of the Mississippi chapter of the NAACP, was shot and killed.

2. The March on Washington and the Civil Rights Act
   
a. To rouse the conscience of the nation and to marshal support for Kennedy’s bill, civil rights leaders launched a massive civil rights March on Washington in 1963.
   
b. King’s “I Have a Dream” speech and the sight of blacks and whites marching together did more than anything else to make the civil rights movement acceptable to white Americans; it also marked the high point of the civil rights movement and confirmed King’s position as the leading speaker for the black cause.
   
c. Young militant activists, including John Lewis of the SNCC, who hoped to present more provocative speeches, evidenced an emerging rift within the movement.
   
d. Southern senators blocked the civil rights legislation, and there was an outbreak of violence by white extremists; four black Sunday school students were killed when a Birmingham, Alabama, church was bombed.
   
e. On assuming the presidency, Lyndon Johnson made passing a civil rights bill a priority.
   
f. In June 1964, Congress approved the most far-reaching civil rights law since Reconstruction. The keystone of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII, outlawed discrimination in employment on the basis of race, religion, national origin, and sex. Another section guaranteed equal access to public accommodations and schools.
3. Freedom Summer
   a. The Civil Rights Act had not addressed black voting rights. In 1964, black organizations mounted a major campaign in Mississippi. Known as Freedom Summer, the effort drew several thousand volunteers from across the country, including nearly one thousand white college students from the North.
   b. They established freedom schools for black children and conducted a major voter registration drive. So determined was the opposition that only about twelve hundred black voters were registered that summer, at a cost of four murdered civil rights workers and thirty-seven black churches bombed or burned.
   c. The murders strengthened the resolve of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which had been founded during Freedom Summer. Banned from the “whites only” Mississippi Democratic Party, MFDP leaders were determined to attend the 1964 Democratic National Convention as the legitimate representatives of their state.
   d. Inspired by Fannie Lou Hamer, a former sharecropper turned civil rights activist, the MFDP challenged the most powerful figures in the Democratic Party. When party officials seated the white Mississippi delegation and refused to recognize the MFDP, civil rights activists left convinced that the Democratic Party would not change.

4. Selma and the Voting Rights Act
   a. In March 1965, James Bevel of the SCLC called for a march from Selma, Alabama, to the state capital in Montgomery to protest the murder of a voting-rights activist. As soon as the six hundred marchers left Selma, crossing over the Edmund Pettus Bridge, mounted state troopers attacked them with tear gas and clubs. The scene was shown on national television that night and became known as Bloody Sunday. Calling the episode “an American tragedy,” President Johnson went back to Congress.
   b. The Voting Rights Act of 1965, which passed on August 6, outlawed the literacy tests and other devices that prevented blacks from registering to vote and authorized the attorney general to send federal examiners to register voters in any county where registration was less than 50 percent.
   c. In the South, the results were stunning. In 1960, only 20 percent of blacks had been registered to vote; by 1971, registration reached 62 percent. The number of black elected officials also increased rapidly from 1,400 in 1970 to 4,900 in 1980.
   d. Something else would never go back either: the liberal New Deal coalition. By the second half of the 1960s, the liberal wing of the Democratic Party had won its battle with the conservative, segregationist wing. Democrats had embraced the civil rights movement and made African American equality a cornerstone of new “rights” liberalism.
   e. But over the next generation, between the 1960s and the 1980s, southern whites and many conservative northern whites would respond by switching to the Republican Party.

III. Beyond Civil Rights, 1966–1973
   A. Black Nationalism
      1. Malcolm X
         a. Black leaders and representatives of other nonwhite communities increasingly realized that if white people remained in charge of the country’s major social and political institutions, laws and marches would not eliminate widespread poverty and economic inequality for minority groups.
         b. The philosophy of black nationalism signified many things in the 1960s. It could mean anything from pride in one’s community to total separatism, from building African American-owned businesses to wearing dashikis to honor African traditions.
         c. In the early 1960s, the leading exponent of black nationalism was the Nation of Islam, which fused a rejection of Christianity with a strong philosophy of self-improvement. Black Muslims, as they were known, adhered to a strict code of personal behavior; men were recognizable by their dark suits, white shirts, and ties, women by their long dresses and head coverings.
         d. The most charismatic Black Muslim was Malcolm X (the X stood for his African family name, lost under slavery). A spellbinding speaker, Malcolm preached a philosophy of militant separatism, although he advocated violence only for self-defense. Hostile to mainstream civil rights organizations, he caustically referred to the 1963 March on Washington as the “Farce on Washington.”
         e. In 1964, after a power struggle with founder Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm broke with the Nation of Islam. While he remained a black nationalist, he moderated his antiwhite views and began to talk of a class struggle uniting poor whites and blacks.
f. On February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated while delivering a speech in Harlem. Three Black Muslims were later convicted of his murder.

2. Black Power
   a. A more secular brand of black nationalism emerged in 1966 when SNCC and CORE activists, following the lead of Stokely Carmichael, began to call for black self-reliance under the banner of Black Power.
   b. Spurred by the Black Power slogan, African American activists turned their attention to the poverty and social injustice faced by so many black people. Black organizers set up day care centers, ran job training programs, and worked to improve housing and health in the inner cities.
   c. In some instances, the attention to racial pride led African Americans to reject white society and to pursue more authentic cultural forms. In addition to focusing on economic disadvantage, Black Power emphasized black pride and self-determination.

3. Black Panther Party
   a. One of the most radical nationalist groups was the Black Panther Party, founded in Oakland, California, in 1966 by two college students, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. A militant self-defense organization dedicated to protecting African Americans from police violence, the Panthers took their cue from the slain Malcolm X.
   b. The Panthers’ organization spread to other cities in the late 1960s, where members undertook a wide range of community-organizing projects. Their free breakfast program for children and testing for sickle-cell anemia, an inherited disease with a high incidence among African Americans, were especially popular.
   c. The Panther’s radicalism and belief in armed self-defense overshadowed these positive programs and instead contributed to violent clashes with police.

4. Young Lords
   a. Among those inspired by the Black Panthers were Puerto Ricans in New York. Their vehicle was the Young Lords Organization (YLO), later renamed the Young Lords Party. Like the Black Panthers, YLO activists sought self-determination for Puerto Ricans, both those in the United States and those on the island in the Caribbean.
   b. YLO activists also focused on improving neighborhood conditions and increasing access to health care. Although YLO achieved limited success, their community organizing awakened community consciousness and produced future leaders.

5. The New Urban Politics
   a. Black Power also inspired African Americans to work within the political system. By the mid-1960s, black residents neared 50 percent of the population in several major American cities—such as Detroit, Atlanta, Cleveland, and Washington, D.C.
   b. The 1972 National Black Political Convention brought together radicals, liberals, and moderates; delegates issued the National Black Political Agenda, which called for community control over schools in black neighborhoods, national health insurance, and the elimination of the death penalty.
   c. By the end of the century, black elected officials had become commonplace in major American cities. There were forty-seven African American big-city mayors by the 1990s, and blacks had led most of the nation’s most prominent cities: New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Detroit, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.

B. Poverty and Urban Violence
1. The first “long hot summer” began in July 1964 in New York City when police shot a black criminal suspect in Harlem. Angry youths looted and rioted there for a week. Over the next four years, the volatile issue of police brutality set off riots in dozens of cities.
2. In August 1965, the arrest of a young black motorist in the Watts section of Los Angeles sparked six days of rioting that left thirty-four people dead.
3. The riots of 1967, however, were the most serious, engulfing twenty-two cities in July and August. Forty-three people were killed in Detroit alone, nearly all of them black, and $50 million worth of property was destroyed. President Johnson called in the National Guard and U.S. Army troops, many of them having just returned from Vietnam, to restore order.
4. President Johnson and Martin Luther King Jr. realized that legislation and speeches had not addressed the poverty and deprivation of cities.
5. Following the gut-wrenching riots of 1967, Johnson appointed a presidential commission, headed by Illinois governor Otto Kerner, to investigate the causes of the violence. Released in 1968, the Kerner Commission Report was a searing look at race in America.
6. Stirred by turmoil in the cities, and seeing the limitations of his civil rights achievements, Martin Luther King began to confront the deep-seated problems of poverty and racism facing American blacks. He began to criticize President Johnson and Congress for prioritizing the war in Vietnam over ending poverty at home, and he planned a massive Poor People’s Campaign to fight economic injustice.

7. To advance that cause, King went to Memphis, Tennessee, to support a strike by predominantly black sanitation workers. There, on April 4, 1968, he was assassinated by escaped convict James Earl Ray. King’s death set off a further round of urban rioting, with major violence breaking out in more than a hundred cities.

8. Although the civil rights movement had brought about real tangible changes, by 1968 the fight over civil rights had also divided the country. Democrats were losing credibility as citizens became more concerned about maintenance of law and order and other national concerns.

C. Rise of the Chicano Movement
1. Mexican Americans had something of a counterpart to Martin Luther King: Cesar Chavez. He and Dolores Huerta had worked for the Community Service Organization (CSO), a California group founded in the 1950s to promote Mexican political participation and civil rights. Leaving that organization in 1962, Chavez concentrated on the agricultural region around Delano, California. With Huerta, he organized the United Farm Workers (UFW), a union for migrant workers.
2. A 1965 grape pickers’ strike led the UFW to call a nationwide boycott of table grapes, bringing Chavez huge publicity and backing from the AFL-CIO. Chavez staged a hunger strike in 1968, which ended dramatically after twenty-eight days with Senator Robert F. Kennedy at his side to break the fast. Victory came in 1970 when California grape growers signed contracts recognizing the UFW.
3. Mexican Americans shared some civil rights concerns with African Americans—especially access to jobs—but they also had unique concerns: the status of the Spanish language in schools, for instance, and immigration policy.
4. Mexican Americans had been politically active since the 1940s, aiming to surmount the poverty, language barriers, and discrimination that obstructed political involvement.
5. Those efforts began to pay off in the 1960s, when the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) mobilized support for John F. Kennedy and worked successfully with other organizations to elect Mexican American candidates to Congress.
6. Two other organizations, the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDF) and the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, carried the fight against discrimination to Washington, D.C., and mobilized Mexican Americans into an increasingly powerful voting bloc.
7. Younger Mexican Americans grew impatient with civil rights groups such as MAPA and MALDEF, however. The barrios of Los Angeles and other western cities produced the militant Brown Berets, modeled on the Black Panthers.
8. Rejecting the assimilationist approach of their elders, fifteen hundred Mexican American students met in Denver in 1969 to hammer out a new political and cultural agenda. They proclaimed a new term, Chicano, to replace Mexican American, and later organized a political party, La Raza Unida (The United Race), to promote Chicano interests.

D. The American Indian Movement
1. Numbering nearly 800,000 in the 1960s, native people were exceedingly diverse, divided by language, tribal history, region, and degree of integration into American life. As a group, they shared a staggering unemployment rate—ten times the national average—and were the worst off in housing, disease rates, and access to education.
2. In the 1960s, the prevailing spirit of protest swept through Indian communities. Young militants challenged their elders in the National Congress of American Indians. Beginning in 1960, the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC), under the slogan “For a Greater Indian America,” promoted the ideal of all Native Americans as a single ethnic group.
3. The NIYC had substantial influence within tribal communities, but two other organizations, the militant Indians of All Tribes (IAT) and American Indian Movement (AIM), attracted more attention in the larger society. These groups embraced the concept of Red Power, and beginning in 1968 they staged escalating protests to draw attention to Indian concerns. In 1969, members of Indians of All Tribes occupied the deserted federal penitentiary on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay.
4. In 1972, AIM members joined the Trail of Broken Treaties, a march sponsored by a number of Indian groups. When AIM activists seized the headquarters of the hated Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., and ransacked the building, older tribal leaders denounced them.
5. However, AIM managed to focus national media attention on Native American issues with a siege at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in February 1973. The site of the infamous 1890 massacre of the Sioux, Wounded Knee was situated on the Pine Ridge reservation, where young AIM activists had cultivated ties to sympathetic elders. For more than two months, AIM members occupied a small collection of buildings, surrounded by a cordon of FBI agents and U.S. marshals. Several gun battles left two dead, and the siege was finally brought to a negotiated end.

CHAPTER

28

Uncivil Wars: Liberal Crisis and Conservative Rebirth
1961–1972
AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 8: 1945–1980

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

8.1 The United States assumed a position of global leadership in the postwar period, with domestic and international consequences.

• The United States attempted to contain communism, stabilize the world’s economy, and create an international security system.
• The United States faced decolonization, shifting international alignments, and other complex foreign policy issues.
• Cold War policies led to debates over the power of the federal government, the means for pursuing goals, and the balance between liberty and order.

8.2 Liberalism reached its apex, generating a variety of political and cultural responses.

• Activists sought to address inequalities in American society.
• Liberalism was attacked by the left and by resurgent conservative movements.

8.3 Postwar economic, demographic, and technological changes had a far-reaching impact on America.

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Explain the most important parts of President Lyndon B. Johnson’s Great Society program.
2. Evaluate the relationship between American domestic affairs and the conduct of the Vietnam War.
3. Assess why 1968 is considered a watershed year in modern American history.
4. Understand why the term counterculture described the behavior of many baby boomers during the late 1960s.
5. Analyze how President Nixon approached the Vietnam War.

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Liberalism at High Tide

A. John F. Kennedy’s Promise

1. President Kennedy called upon the American people to serve and improve their country. His youthful enthusiasm inspired a younger generation and laid the groundwork for an era of liberal reform.
2. Kennedy was not able to fulfill his promise or his legislative suggestions such as health insurance for the aged, a new antipoverty program, or a civil rights bill because of opposition in the Senate.
3. On November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas, President Kennedy was assassinated by Lee Harvey Oswald; Lyndon Johnson was sworn in as president.
4. Kennedy’s youthful image, the trauma of his assassination, and the sense that Americans had been robbed of a promising leader contributed to a powerful mystique that continues today.

B. Lyndon B. Johnson and the Great Society

1. The 1964 Election

a. Lyndon Johnson was the opposite of Kennedy. A seasoned Texas politician and longtime Senate leader, he had risen to wealth and political eminence without too many scruples. But he never forgot his modest, hill-country origins or lost his sympathy for the downtrodden.

b. Johnson lacked the Kennedy style, but he capitalized on Kennedy’s assassination, applying his astonishing energy and negotiating skills to bring to fruition several of Kennedy’s stalled programs and many more of his own, in the ambitious Great Society.

c. On assuming the presidency, Johnson promptly and successfully pushed for civil rights legislation as a memorial to his slain predecessor (see Chapter 27). His motives were complex. As a southerner who had previously opposed civil rights for African Americans, Johnson wished to prove that he was more than a regional figure—he would be the president of all the people.

d. Johnson’s ambitious goal was to “end poverty in our time.”
e. The Office of Economic Opportunity, established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, created programs such as Head Start, the Job Corps, Upward Bound, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), and the Community Action Program.

f. During the 1964 presidential election campaign, Johnson promised to continue the War on Poverty and hoped for a mandate by the people.

g. His opponent, archconservative Barry Goldwater of Arizona, ran on an anticomunist, antigovernment platform.

h. Johnson won by a landslide, and a Democratic congressional majority allowed him to push the Great Society ahead. Goldwater’s candidacy, however, marked the beginning of a grassroots conservative revolt.

2. Great Society Initiatives
   a. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 authorized $1 billion in federal funds to benefit impoverished children; the Higher Education Act provided the first federal scholarships for college students. Congress also established Medicare and Medicaid in 1965.
   b. The Great Society also addressed the environment; Johnson pressed for expansion of the national parks system, improvement of the nation’s air and water, and increased land-use planning.
   c. Liberal Democrats brought about significant changes in immigration policy with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, which abandoned the quota system of the 1920s.

3. Assessing the Great Society
   a. By the end of 1965, the Johnson administration had compiled the most impressive legislative record of liberal reforms since the New Deal.
   b. The results of the War on Poverty were that the poor were better off in an absolute sense, but they remained far behind the middle class in a relative sense. The proportion of Americans living below the poverty line dropped from 20 percent to 13 percent between 1963 and 1968.
   c. Millions of African Americans moved into the middle class.
   d. Although the Great Society benefitted many Americans, it did not solve basic problems, such as entrenched poverty, racial segregation in cities, and skewed distribution of wealth.

C. Rebirth of the Women’s Movement
   1. Labor Feminists
      a. Feminist concerns were kept alive in the 1950s and 1960s by working women, who campaigned for such things as maternity leave and equal pay for equal work.
      b. Labor feminists, who belonged to unions, won passage of the Equal Pay Act in 1963, establishing the principle of equal pay for equal work.
      c. Although more women than ever were working outside the home, the labor market undervalued their contributions and families still expected them to do their traditional domestic labor.
   2. Betty Friedan and the National Organization for Women
      a. Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* suggested that women, who felt stifled by domestic routines, needed education and work outside the home.
      b. Publication of Friedan’s book coincided with developing changes, such as women having fewer children owing to the birth control pill and more women divorcing and gaining higher education levels.
      c. Women also had legal tools to fight sex discrimination owing to the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
      d. Friedan and many labor feminists founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966. Modeled on the NAACP, NOW was intended to be a civil rights organization for women.
      e. Ironically, the calls by white middle-class women for reform helped to further fracture the fragile New Deal coalition.

II. The Vietnam War Begins
   A. Escalation Under Johnson
      1. Gulf of Tonkin
         a. When Johnson became president, he continued and accelerated U.S. involvement in Vietnam based on the policy of containing communism.
b. Johnson in the summer of 1964 heard reports that North Vietnamese torpedo boats had fired on American destroyers in international waters.

c. On August 7, 1964, Congress authorized the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which allowed Johnson to “take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.”

d. Johnson, however, did not reveal plans to the American people, fearing that it would mean the end of the Great Society.

2. The New American Presence
   a. The Johnson administration moved toward the Americanization of the war in 1965 with deployment of American ground troops and intensive bombing against North Vietnam.
   b. The deployment of ground troops, eventually numbering 536,000 in 1968, was intended to stabilize South Vietnam.
   c. Operation Rolling Thunder, a protracted bombing campaign that by 1968 had dropped a million tons of bombs on North Vietnam, failed to break the North Vietnamese’s will to fight; the flow of their troops and supplies continued to the south unabated as the communists rebuilt roads and bridges, moved munitions underground, and built networks of tunnels and shelters.
   d. Hoping to win a war of attrition, the Johnson administration assumed that American superiority in personnel and weaponry would ultimately triumph.

B. Public Opinion and the War
   1. Although the American people initially approved escalation in Vietnam, by the late 1960s, public opinion began to turn against the war in Vietnam; television had much to do with these attitudes as Vietnam was the first televised war.
   2. Despite glowing statements made on television, by 1967, many administration officials privately reached a more pessimistic conclusion regarding the war.
   3. Reporters accused the administration of suffering from a “credibility gap;” televised hearings in 1966 by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee raised further questions about U.S. policy.
   4. Economic developments put Johnson and his advisors even more on the defensive; the costs of the war became evident as the growing federal deficit nudged the inflation rate upward, beginning the inflationary spiral that plagued the U.S. economy throughout the 1970s.
   5. After the escalation in the spring of 1965, various antiwar coalitions organized several mass demonstrations in Washington; participants shared a common skepticism about the means and aims of U.S. policy and argued that the war was antithetical to American ideals.

C. Rise of the Student Movement
   1. The New Left
      a. Youth were among the key protestors of the era.
      b. In their manifesto, the Port Huron Statement, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) expressed their disillusionment with the consumer culture and the gulf between the prosperous and the poor and rejected Cold War ideology and foreign policy.
      c. The founders of SDS referred to themselves as the New Left to distinguish themselves from the Old Left of communists and socialists of the 1930s and 1940s.
      d. At the University of California at Berkeley, the Free Speech Movement organized a sit-in in response to administrators’ attempts to ban political activity on campus.
      e. Many protests centered on the draft, especially after the Selective Service System abolished automatic student deferments in January 1966; in public demonstrations of civil disobedience, opponents of the war burned their draft cards, closed down induction centers, and broke into Selective Service offices and destroyed records.
      f. The Johnson administration had to face the reality of large-scale opposition to the war. The 1967 Mobilization to End the War brought 100,000 protestors into the streets of San Francisco and over 250,000 in New York.
2. Young Americans for Freedom
   a. Conservative students were also protesting on college campuses.
   b. Inspired by the group Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), these students defended free enterprise and supported the war in Vietnam but feared that the government had taken on oppressive powers.
   c. YAF’s founding principles, outlined in “The Sharon Statement” in 1960, inspired young conservatives who would support the Reagan administration in the 1980s.

3. The Counterculture
   a. The “hippie” symbolized the new counterculture, a youthful movement that glorified liberation from traditional social strictures.
   b. Popular music by Pete Seeger, Joan Baez, and Bob Dylan expressed political idealism, protest, and loss of patience with the war and was an important part of the counterculture.
   c. Beatlemania helped to deepen the generational divide and paved the way for the more rebellious, angrier music of other British groups, notably the Rolling Stones.
   d. Drugs and sex intertwined with music as a crucial element of the youth culture that was celebrated at rock concerts attended by hundreds of thousands of people.
   e. In 1967, at the “world’s first Human Be-In” at San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park, Timothy Leary urged gatherers to “turn on, tune in, and drop out;” 1967 was also the “Summer of Love,” in which city neighborhoods swelled with young dropouts, drifters, and teenage runaways dubbed “flower children.”
   f. Many young people stayed out of the counterculture and the antiwar movement, yet media coverage made it seem that all of America’s youth were rejecting political, social, and cultural norms.

III. Days of Rage, 1968–1972
   A. War Abroad, Tragedy at Home
      1. The Tet Offensive
         a. The Johnson administration’s hopes for Vietnam evaporated when the Vietcong unleashed a massive assault, known as the Tet offensive, on major urban areas in South Vietnam.
         b. Although in military terms a failure, the attack made a mockery of official pronouncements that the United States was winning the war and swung public opinion more strongly against the conflict.
         c. Antiwar Senator Eugene J. McCarthy’s strong showing in the presidential primaries reflected profound public dissatisfaction with the course of the war and propelled Senator Robert F. Kennedy into the race on an antiwar platform.
         d. On March 31, 1968, Johnson stunned the nation by announcing that he would not seek reelection.
   2. Political Assassinations
      a. 1968 also witnessed the assassination of Martin Luther King and its ensuing riots.
      b. Robert Kennedy’s plea to follow King’s nonviolent example in Indianapolis kept the city from erupting in a riot.
      c. On June 5, Americans experienced another tragedy that shattered the dreams of those hoping for social change through political action. Kennedy, as he was celebrating his victory in the California primary, was shot dead by a young Palestinian, Sirhan Sirhan.
      d. The Democratic Party never fully recovered from Johnson’s withdrawal and Robert Kennedy’s assassination.

B. The Antiwar Movement and the 1968 Election
   1. Democratic Convention
      a. The events of 1968 had radicalized the antiwar activists.
      b. At the 1968 Democratic National Convention, the political divisions generated by the war consumed the party; outside the convention “Yippies” demonstrated, diverting attention from the more serious and numerous activists who came to Chicago as delegates or volunteers.
      c. The Democratic mayor of Chicago, Richard J. Daley, called out the police to break up the demonstrations. In what was later described as a “police riot,” patrolmen attacked protestors at the convention with mace, tear gas, and clubs as TV viewers watched, which only cemented a popular impression of the Democrats as the party of disorder.
d. Democrats dispiritedly nominated Hubert H. Humphrey and approved a platform that endorsed continued fighting in Vietnam while diplomatic means to an end were explored.

2. Richard Nixon
   a. Richard Nixon, after losing the presidential campaign in 1960 and the California gubernatorial race in 1962, tapped the increasingly conservative mood of the electorate in an amazing political comeback, winning the 1968 Republican presidential nomination.
   b. Nixon courted the “silent majority” of law-abiding Americans, including working-class voters who had traditionally supported the Democratic Party, but had become disillusioned.

3. George Wallace
   a. George Wallace, a third-party candidate, skillfully combined attacks on liberal intellectuals and government elites with denunciations of school segregation and forced busing.
   b. Wallace hoped that by carrying the South, he could deny a major candidate an electoral victory and force the election in the House of Representatives.
   c. Although this strategy failed, his campaign issues—liberal elitism, welfare policies, and law and order—became hallmarks for the next generation of conservatives.

4. Nixon’s Strategy
   a. Nixon offered a subtler version of Wallace’s populism, adopting what his advisers called the “southern strategy” of courting disaffected southern white voters tired of the civil rights agenda of the Democratic Party.
   b. By promising to strictly adhere to law and order, he also appealed to millions of suburban voters.
   c. Nixon received 43.4 percent of the vote to Humphrey’s 42.7 percent, defeating him by only 500,000 votes out of the 73 million that were cast. The New Deal coalition of the past thirty years was now broken for the Democratic Party.

C. The Nationalist Turn
   1. Vietnam and the increasingly radical youth rebellion intersected with the turn toward nationalism by young African American and Chicano activists.
   2. Mexican Americans including Cesar Chavez marched in Los Angeles in 1970 against the war.
   3. The Black Panther Party and the National Black Antiwar Antidraft League spoke out against the war as well. Muhammad Ali, the most famous boxer in the world, refused to be inducted in the army.

D. Women’s Liberation
   1. The late 1960s spawned a new brand of feminism: women’s liberation.
   2. Women’s liberation was loosely structured. The movement went public by protesting at the Miss America pageant in 1968.
   3. A national Women’s Strike for Equality in August 1970 brought hundreds of thousands of women into the streets demanding women’s equality with men.
   4. The terms sexism and male chauvinism became new words in American culture.
   5. “Sisterhood” often did not include women of color because they were more focused on the shared struggle of the civil rights movement.
   6. Women’s liberationists insisted that women take control of their bodies, campaigned for reproductive rights, and railed against a culture that blamed women in cases of sexual assault and ignored sexual harassment at work.
   7. Women’s political mobilization resulted in significant legislative and administrative gains, such as Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendments Act, which prohibited colleges and universities that received federal funds from discriminating on the basis of sex.
   8. Founded by congresswomen Shirley Chisholm and Bella Abzug in 1971, the National Women’s Political Caucus promoted the election of women to public office.
   9. In 1972, Congress authorized child-care deductions for working parents; in 1974, the Equal Credit Opportunity Act improved women’s access to credit.
   10. The antiwar movement and evolving rights liberalism of the sixties further splintered the Democratic Party.

E. Stonewall and Gay Liberation
1. The vast majority of gay men and lesbians remained “in the closet.” Homosexuality was illegal in the vast majority of states—sodomy statutes outlawed same-sex relations, and police used other morals laws to harass and arrest gay men and lesbians.

2. In the late 1960s, inspired by Black Power and the women’s movement, gay activists increasingly demanded unconditional recognition of their rights and encouraged people to “Come Out!”

3. The new gay liberation found multiple expressions in major cities across the country, but a defining event occurred in New York’s Greenwich Village when a local gay bar called the Stonewall Inn was raided by police in the summer of 1969. Its patrons, including gay men, lesbians, transvestites, and transsexuals, rioted for two days.

4. The gay liberation movement grew quickly after Stonewall. Local gay and lesbian organizations proliferated, and activists began pushing for nondiscrimination ordinances and consensual sex laws at the state level.

5. By 1975, the National Gay Task Force and several other national organizations lobbied Congress, served as media watchdogs, and advanced suits in the courts.

IV. Richard Nixon and the Politics of the Silent Majority
A. Nixon in Vietnam
1. Vietnamization and Cambodia
   a. When it came to Vietnam, Nixon picked up where Johnson had left off. Abandoning Vietnam, Nixon insisted, would damage America’s “credibility” and make the country seem “a pitiful, helpless giant.” Nixon wanted peace, but only “peace with honor.”
   b. To neutralize criticism at home, Nixon began delegating the ground fighting to the South Vietnamese. Under this new policy of Vietnamization, American troop levels dropped from 543,000 in 1968 to 334,000 in 1971 to barely 24,000 by early 1973.
   c. Far from abating, however, the antiwar movement intensified. In November 1969, half a million demonstrators staged a huge protest in Washington.
   d. On April 30, 1970, as part of a secret bombing campaign against Vietminh (Vietnamese liberation army) supply lines operating in neutral Cambodia, American troops destroyed enemy bases there. When news of the invasion of Cambodia came out, American campuses exploded in outrage.
   e. On May 4, 1970, at Kent State University in Ohio, panicky National Guardsmen fired into an antiwar rally, killing four students and wounding eleven. At Jackson State College in Mississippi, Guardsmen stormed a dormitory, killing two black students.
2. My Lai Massacre
   a. Journalist Seymour Hersh revealed one of the worst atrocities of the war in Life magazine in 1969. U.S. Army troops had killed hundreds of villagers in My Lai.
   b. Although high-ranking officers had participated, only one soldier, Second Lieutenant William Calley was convicted of the war crime.
   c. A group called Vietnam Veterans Against the War, believing that Calley had been turned into a scapegoat, publicized other atrocities committed by U.S. troops. Their antiwar protest reflected the deep personal torment that Vietnam had caused many soldiers.
3. Détente
   a. Nixon’s policy of détente was to seek peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and Communist China and to link these overtures of friendship with a plan to end the Vietnam War, a war fought ostensibly to halt the spread of communism.
   b. He traveled to Moscow to sign the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) between the United States and the Soviet Union.
   c. Nixon traveled to China in 1972, the first sitting U.S. president to do so, in a symbolic visit that set the stage for the establishment of formal diplomatic relations.
4. Exit America
   a. To strengthen his negotiating position at the Paris peace talks with North Vietnam, Nixon stepped up military action with a series of B-52 bombings; the Paris Peace Accords were signed on January 27, 1973.
b. Congress gradually cut back aid to South Vietnam. In March 1975, North Vietnamese forces launched a final offensive, and on April 30, Vietnam was reunited.

c. America’s military involvement had barely altered the geopolitical reality in southeastern Asia.

d. More than 58,000 Americans died and over 300,000 were wounded during a war that cost over $150 billion and decreased Americans’ confidence in their government system.

B. The Silent Majority Speaks Out

1. Law and Order and the Supreme Court
   a. Under the leadership of Chief Justice Earl Warren, the U.S. Supreme Court issued some of the most far-reaching liberal jurisprudence in U.S. history.
   b. Right-wing activists accused the Warren Court of legislating from the bench when it ruled that the accused had the right to counsel and that arrestees had to be informed by police of their right to remain silent.
   c. The Court’s decisions in regard to pornography and religious rituals in school convinced conservative and religious Americans that the Court had become immoral.
   d. A myriad of social factors—drugs, income inequality, and proliferation of guns—contributed to a drastic rise in crime, fueling conservatives’ call for law and order.

2. Busing
   a. Because southern states had lagged in their intent to desegregate schools, federal courts by 1968 ordered an end to segregation.
   b. Using the strategy of busing students to or from heavily segregated schools proved effective; by the mid-1970s, 86 percent of southern black children attended school with whites.
   c. In northern states, busing was less successful because the separation of suburbia from the inner city had entrenched racial segregation of schools.
   d. As the 1972 presidential election neared, Nixon took advantage of the discontent over law and order issues and busing.

C. The 1972 Election

1. The disarray within the Democratic Party over Vietnam and civil rights gave Nixon’s campaign a decisive edge.

2. Nixon’s advantages against his weak opponent, Senator George McGovern, and a short-term upturn in the economy favored the Republicans.

3. Nixon appealed to the “silent majority” of non-protesters and easily won reelection with 61 percent of the popular vote, carrying every state except Massachusetts and the District of Columbia, although Democrats maintained control of both houses of Congress.

4. The election, nevertheless, marked a pivotal moment in the nation’s shift to the right.

CHAPTER 29

The Search for Order in an Era of Limits
1973–1980
AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 8: 1945–1980

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

8.2 Liberalism reached its apex, generating a variety of political and cultural responses.
   • Civil rights activists achieved some successes in ending segregation.
   • Activists sought to address inequalities in American society.
   • Liberalism was attacked by the left and by resurgent conservative movements.

8.3 Postwar economic, demographic, and technological changes had a far-reaching impact on America.
   • Rapid changes in society led to optimism and concern for their effect on American values.
   • Many sought prosperity even as critics called for the conservation and protection of natural resources.

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:
1. Understand how the Watergate scandal unraveled the Nixon presidency.
2. Assess how and why America experienced a severe economic crisis in the 1970s.
3. Evaluate what effect Jimmy Carter’s presidency had on domestic politics.
4. Analyze how expanding social activism led to a conservative reaction at the end of the decade.
5. Examine why President Jimmy Carter failed to develop an effective style of leadership and how foreign affairs affected his administration.
6. Evaluate what changes the American family experienced during the era.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. An Era of Limits
   A. Energy Crisis
      1. Once the world’s leading producer, the United States had become heavily dependent on imported oil, mostly from the Persian Gulf.
      2. When Middle Eastern states threw off the remnants of European colonialism, they demanded concessions for access to the fields. In 1960, oil-rich developing countries formed a cartel, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).
      4. Resentful of American support for Israel, the Arab states in OPEC declared an oil embargo in October 1973.
      5. The United States scrambled to meet its energy needs in the face of the oil shortage. Congress imposed a national speed limit of 55 miles an hour to conserve fuel, and Americans began to buy smaller, more fuel-efficient foreign cars.
      6. Sales of American cars slumped. With one of every six jobs in the country generated directly or indirectly by the auto industry, the effects rippled across the economy.
      7. Compounding the distress was the raging inflation set off by the oil shortage; prices of basic necessities rose by nearly 20 percent in 1974 alone.
   B. Environmentalism
      1. Environmental Protection Agency
         a. The energy crisis drove home the realization that the earth’s resources were not limitless.
         b. The environmental movement was an offshoot of sixties activism, but it had numerous historical precedents. The movement had received a hefty push back in 1962 when biologist Rachael Carson published Silent Spring, a stunning analysis of the impact of the pesticide DDT on the food chain.
c. In 1970, on the heels of the Santa Barbara oil spill, burning of the Cuyahoga River, and planned construction of an airport in the Everglades, Americans celebrated the first Earth Day, and Congress passed the National Environmental Policy Act, which created the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).


e. Corporations resented environmental regulations, as did many of their workers, who believed that tightened standards threatened their jobs. By the 1980s, environmentalism starkly divided Americans.

2. Nuclear Power

a. By 1974, U.S. utility companies were operating forty-two nuclear power plants, with a hundred more planned. Environmentalists, however, publicized other dangers of nuclear power: a meltdown would be catastrophic, and so, in slow motion, might be radioactive wastes.

b. These fears seemed to be confirmed in March 1979, when the reactor core at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, came close to meltdown. This near-catastrophe enabled environmentalists to win the battle over nuclear energy.

c. After Three Mile Island, no new nuclear plants were authorized. Today, nuclear reactors account for 20 percent of all U.S. power generation—substantially less than several European nations, but still fourth in the world.

C. Economic Transformation

1. Deindustrialization

a. In addition to the energy crisis, long-term economic problems included a growing federal deficit and spiraling inflation owing to government spending on the Vietnam War and the Great Society. The country also faced more robust industrial competition from West Germany and Japan, and America’s share of world trade dropped from 32 percent in 1955 to 18 percent in 1970 in a continuing downward trend.

b. Many of these economic woes highlighted a transformation in the United States: from an industrial-manufacturing economy to a postindustrial-service one.

c. In the short run, the devastating combination of unemployment, stagnant consumer demand, and inflation—stagflation—resulted in a noticeable decline in the standard of living for ordinary Americans. None of the three presidents of the decade—Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter—had much luck tackling stagflation.

d. Nixon’s New Economic Policy, imposing temporary price and wage controls in 1971 in an effort to curb inflation and removing the United States from the gold standard, did not address the underlying weaknesses in the U.S. economy. Ford’s Whip Inflation Now (WIN) campaign, urging Americans to cut food waste and to do more with less, was noble but deeply unpopular. Carter’s policies were similarly ineffective.

e. America’s economic woes struck hardest at the industrial sector, which began to be dismantled. Worst hit was the steel industry, as foreign steel flooded into the United States during the 1970s.

f. The steel industry was the prime example of what became known as deindustrialization. The country was in the throes of an economic transformation that left it largely stripped of its industrial base. In addition to steel producers, manufacturers of automobiles, tires, textiles, and other durable goods closed plants.

2. Organized Labor in Decline

a. Deindustrialization threw many blue-collar workers out of well-paid union jobs.

b. Deindustrialization dealt an especially harsh blow to the labor movement, which had facilitated the postwar expansion of that middle class.

c. Instead of seeking higher wages, unions now mainly fought to save jobs. Union membership went into steep decline. With labor’s decline, a main buttress of the New Deal coalition was coming undone.

D. Urban Crisis and Suburban Revolt

1. Middle-class flight to the suburbs continued apace, and the “urban crisis” of the 1960s spilled into the “era of limits.” Facing huge price inflation and mounting piles of debt—to finance social services for the poor and to replace disappearing tax revenue—nearly every major American city struggled to pay its bills in the 1970s.

2. New York, the nation’s financial capital and its largest city, fared the worst and nearly went bankrupt in 1975.

3. Cities faced declining fortunes in these years for many reasons, but one key was the continued loss of residents and businesses to nearby suburbs.
4. Suburbanization and the economic crisis combined powerfully in what became known as the tax revolt, a dramatic reversal of the postwar spirit of generous public investment. The premier example was California’s Proposition 13, an initiative that would roll back property taxes, cap future increases for present owners, and require that all tax measures have a two-thirds majority in the legislature.

5. Proposition 13 hobbled public spending in the nation’s most populous state, inspired tax revolts across the country, and helped conservatives define an enduring issue: low taxes.

6. Income inequalities widened again as the U.S. labor market divided into a vast, low-wage market at the bottom and a much narrower high-wage market at the top, with the middle squeezed smaller and smaller.

II. Politics in Flux, 1973–1980

A. Watergate and the Fall of a President

1. The Watergate Affair

a. In June 1972, five men with connections to the Nixon administration were arrested for breaking into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee at the Watergate complex in Washington D.C.

b. This incident was part of a broad pattern of abuse of power by a White House obsessed with his enemies, including the establishment of a clandestine intelligence group hired to plug government information leaks.

c. Nixon could have fired the burglars but instead paid them bribes to keep quiet and instructed the CIA to stop the FBI investigation.

d. In May 1973, the Senate Watergate committee began holding televised hearings, at which administration officials implicated Nixon in the illegal cover-up.

e. In June 1974, the House Judiciary Committee voted on several articles of impeachment against Nixon: obstruction of justice, abuse of power, and subverting the Constitution.

f. Facing certain conviction in the Senate, on August 9, 1974, Nixon became the first U.S. president to resign.

g. Vice President Gerald Ford was sworn in as president; a month later, he granted Nixon a “full, free, and absolute” pardon.

h. Congress adopted several reforms in response to the Watergate affair, such as the War Powers Act (1973) reining in the president’s ability to deploy U.S. forces without congressional approval, a strengthened Freedom of Information Act (1974) giving citizens access to federal records, and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (1978) prohibiting domestic wiretapping without a warrant.

i. Nixon’s resignation also contributed to increased voter apathy and to the Republic Party becoming more conservative.

2. Watergate Babies

a. Seventy-five young and reform-minded Democrats, dubbed the “Watergate babies,” joined the House after the 1974 midterm elections, in which they made Watergate and Ford’s pardon of Nixon their top issues.

b. Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress eliminated the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and reduced the number of votes needed to end a filibuster from 67 to 60. Democrats dismantled the existing committee structure, which had entrenched power in the hands of a few elite committee chairs, and passed the Ethics in Government Act.

c. Ironically, the post-Watergate reforms made government less efficient and more susceptible to special interests—the opposite of what had been intended. A diffuse power structure actually gave lobbyists more places to exert influence. Influence shifted to party leaders and with little incentive to compromise, the parties grew more rigid, and bi-partisanship became rare.

3. Political Realignment

a. Despite Democratic gains in 1974, liberalism proved unable to stop runaway inflation or speed up economic growth. Conservatives in Congress used this opening to articulate alternatives, especially economic deregulation and tax cuts.

b. Deindustrialization in the Northeast and Midwest and continued population growth in the Sunbelt shifted power toward the West and South.

B. Jimmy Carter: The Outsider as President

2. But Carter’s inexperience showed. Disdainful of the Democratic establishment, Carter relied heavily on inexperienced advisers from Georgia, leading to chilly relations with congressional leaders.

3. Carter was an economic conservative. Deregulating airline, trucking and railroad industries stimulated competition and cut prices, but it also drove firms out of business and hurt unionized workers. These efforts proved ineffective at reigniting economic growth.

4. Then, the Iranian Revolution curtailed oil supplies, and gas prices jumped again. By then, Carter’s approval rating had fallen below 30 percent.

III. Reform and Reaction in the 1970s

A. Civil Rights in a New Era

1. Among the most significant efforts to address the legacy of exclusion against minorities and women was affirmative action.

2. Affirmative action, however, did not sit well with many whites, who believed that the deck was being stacked against them. Much of the dissent came from conservative groups that had opposed civil rights all along. They charged affirmative action advocates with “reverse discrimination.”

3. A major shift in affirmative action policy came in 1978. Allan Bakke, a white man, sued the University of California at Davis Medical School for rejecting him in favor of less-qualified, minority-group candidates.

4. Bakke v. University of California (1978) upheld affirmative action but, by rejecting a quota system, thereby also called it into question. Future court rulings and state referenda in the 1990s and 2000s would further limit affirmative action.

B. The Women’s Movement and Gay Rights

1. Women’s Activism

   a. During the first half of the 1970s, the women’s liberation movement produced unprecedented activism. Women established child-care facilities, created a feminist art and poetry movement, challenged all-male colleges and universities, increased the number of women on university faculties, and founded women’s studies programs.

   b. Much of women’s liberation activism focused on the female body. The women’s health movement founded dozens of medical clinics, encouraged women to become physicians, and educated millions of women about their bodies.

   c. To reform antiabortion laws, activists pushed for remedies in more than thirty state legislatures. Women’s liberationists founded the antirape movement, established rape crisis centers around the nation, and lobbied state legislatures and Congress to reform rape laws.

2. Equal Rights Amendment

   a. Buoyed by this flourishing of activism, the women’s movement renewed the fight for an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution. Congress adopted the amendment in 1972, and within just two years, thirty-four of the necessary thirty-eight states had ratified it, and the ERA appeared headed for adoption. But then, progress abruptly halted.

   b. Credit for putting the brakes on ERA ratification goes chiefly to a remarkable woman: Phyllis Schlafly, a lawyer long active in conservative causes. Despite her own flourishing career, Schlafly and her organization, STOP ERA, advocated traditional roles for women.

   c. The ERA was never ratified, despite a congressional extension of its deadline to June 1982.

3. Roe v. Wade

   a. The women’s movement had another major goal: winning reproductive rights. Activists pursued two tracks: legislative and judicial. In the early 1960s, abortion was illegal in virtually every state. A decade later, a handful of states, such as New York, Hawaii, California, and Colorado, adopted laws making legal abortions easier to obtain.

   b. The judicial track culminated in Roe v. Wade (1973). In that landmark decision, the justices nullified a Texas law that prohibited abortion under any circumstances, even when the woman’s health was at risk, and laid out a new national standard: abortions performed during the first trimester were protected by the right of privacy.
c. The decision transformed a traditionally state-regulated polity into a national, constitutionally protected right.
d. For the women’s movement, Roe v. Wade represented a triumph. For evangelical and fundamentalist Christians, Catholics, and conservatives generally, it was a bitter pill. Roe polarized what was already a sharply divided public and mobilized conservatives to seek a Supreme Court reversal or, short of that, to pursue legislative limitation of abortion rights.

4. Harvey Milk
   a. The gay rights movement had achieved notable victories as well, including city ordinances that protected gay men and lesbians from employment and housing discrimination. These, too, proved controversial.
   b. No one embodied the combination of gay liberation and hard-nosed politics better than a San Francisco camera-shop owner named Harvey Milk.
   c. Milk managed to mobilize the “gay vote” into a powerful bloc and finally won a city supervisor seat in 1977.
   d. After he helped to win passage of a gay rights ordinance in San Francisco, he was assassinated in 1978—along with the city’s mayor, George Moscone—by a disgruntled former supervisor named Dan White.

C. After the Warren Court
   1. President Nixon came into the presidency promising to appoint conservative-minded justices to the bench. Between 1969 and 1972, he was able to appoint four new justices to the Supreme Court, including the new chief justice, Warren Burger. However, the Burger Court refused to scale back the liberal precedents set under Warren.
   2. Other decisions advanced women’s rights. In 1976, the Court ruled that arbitrary distinctions based on sex in the workplace and other arenas were unconstitutional, and in 1986 that sexual harassment violated the Civil Rights Act.
   3. In all of their rulings on privacy rights, however, both the Warren and Burger Courts confined their decisions to heterosexuals. The justices were reluctant to move ahead of public attitudes toward homosexuality.

III. The American Family on Trial
   A. Working Families in the Age of Deindustrialization
      1. Women Enter the Workforce
         a. One of the most striking developments of the 1970s and 1980s was the relative stagnation of wages. Hardest hit were blue-collar and pink-collar workers and those without college degrees.
         b. Between 1973 and the early 1990s, every major income group except the top 10 percent saw their real earnings (accounting for inflation) either remain the same or decline. Women streamed into the workforce and Americans were fast becoming dependent on the two-income household.
         c. The earnings of working women made up for the declining earning power or the absence of men in American households. At the same time, women’s real income also grew as more women entered professional and skilled jobs.
      2. Workers in the National Spotlight
         a. For a brief period in the 1970s, the trials of working men and women made a distinct imprint on national culture. Reporters wrote of the “blue-collar blues” associated with plant closings and the hard-fought strikes of the decade.
         b. Across the nation, the number of union-led strikes surged, even as the number of Americans in the labor movement continued to decline. In most strikes and industrial conflict, workers won a measure of public attention but typically gained little economic ground.
         c. When Americans turned on their televisions in the mid-1970s, the most popular shows reflected the “blue-collar blues” of struggling families. All in the Family was joined by The Waltons, set during the Great Depression. Good Times, Welcome Back, Kotter, and Sanford and Son dealt with poverty in the inner city. The Jeffersons featured an upwardly mobile black couple. Laverne and Shirley focused on working girls in the 1950s and One Day at a Time on working women in the 1970s making do after divorce.
         d. The most-watched television series of the decade, 1977’s eight-part Roots, explored the history of slavery and the survival of African American culture and family roots despite the oppressive labor system. Not since the 1930s had American culture paid such close attention to working-class life.
         e. The decade also saw the rise of musicians such as Bruce Springsteen, Johnny Paycheck, and John Cougar (Mellencamp), who became stars by turning the hard-scrabble lives of people in small towns and working-class communities into rock anthems. Meanwhile, on the streets of Harlem and the South Bronx in New York, working-class African American young men experimenting with dance and musical forms invented break dancing and rap
music—styles that expressed both the hardship and the creativity of working-class black life in the deindustrialized American city.

B. Navigating the Sexual Revolution

1. Sex and Popular Culture
   a. By the 1960s, sex before marriage had grown more socially acceptable—an especially profound change for women—and frank discussions of sex in media and popular culture had grown more common.
   b. In that decade, three developments dramatically accelerated this process: the introduction of the birth control pill, the rise of the baby-boomer–led counterculture, and the influence of feminism. Widely available in the United States for the first time in 1960, the birth control pill gave women an unprecedented degree of control over reproduction.
   c. Women’s rights activists reacted to the new emphasis on sexual freedom in at least two distinct ways.
   d. For many feminists, the emphasis on casual sex seemed to perpetuate the old double standard of male privilege versus female innocence. Moreover, sexual harassment was all too common in the workplace, and the proliferation of pornography continued to commercialize women as sex objects.
   e. On the other hand, many feminists remained optimistic that the new sexual ethic could free women from those older moral constraints. They called for a revolution in sexual values, not simply behavior, that would end exploitation and grant women the freedom to explore their sexuality on equal terms with men.
   f. In the 1970s, popular culture was suffused with discussions of the sexual revolution. Mass-market books with titles such as Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex, Human Sexual Response, and The Sensuous Man shot up the best-seller list.
   g. Hollywood took advantage of the new sexual ethic by making films with explicit erotic content that pushed the boundaries of middle-class taste. Films such as Midnight Cowboy (1969), Carnal Knowledge (1971), and Shampoo (1974), the latter starring Hollywood’s leading ladies’ man, Warren Beatty, led the way.
   h. In the second half of the decade, networks both exploited and criticized the new sexual ethic. In frivolous, lighthearted shows such as the popular Charlie’s Angels, Three’s Company, and The Love Boat, heterosexual couples explored the often confusing, and usually comical, landscape of sexual morality. At the same time, the major networks produced more than a dozen made-for-TV movies sensationalizing the potential threats to children posed by a less strict sexual morality.

2. Middle-Class Marriage
   a. Many Americans worried that marriage itself was threatened. What defined a healthy marriage in an age of rising divorce rates, changing sexual values, and feminist critiques of the nuclear family? Only a small minority of Americans rejected marriage outright. But many people came to believe that they needed help as marriage came under a variety of stresses—economic, psychological, and sexual.
   b. A therapeutic industry arose in response. Churches and secular groups alike established marriage seminars and counseling services to assist couples in sustaining a “healthy” marriage. A popular form of 1960s psychotherapy, the “encounter group,” was adapted to marriage counseling: Couples met in large groups to explore new methods of communicating. Americans increasingly defined marriage not simply by companionship and sexual fidelity but by the deeply felt emotional connection between two people.

C. Religion in the 1970s: The Fourth Great Awakening

1. Evangelical Resurgence
   a. Evangelical Protestant churches emphasized an intimate, personal salvation (being “born again”); focused on the literal scripture of the Bible; and regarded the death and resurrection of Jesus as the central message of Christianity. These tenets distinguished evangelicals from mainline Protestants as well as from Catholics and Jews, and they flourished in a handful of evangelical colleges, Bible schools, and seminaries in the postwar decades.
   b. No one did more to keep the evangelical fire burning than Billy Graham. A graduate of the evangelical Wheaton College in Illinois, Graham cofounded Youth for Christ in 1945 and then toured the United States and Europe preaching the gospel.
   c. Graham and other evangelicals in the 1950s and 1960s laid the groundwork for the Fourth Great Awakening. But it was the secular liberalism of the late 1960s and early 1970s that sparked the evangelical revival.
Many Americans regarded feminism, the counterculture, sexual freedom, homosexuality, pornography, divorce, and legalized abortion not as distinct issues, but as a collective sign of moral decay in society.

e. To seek answers and find order, more and more people turned to evangelical ministries, especially Southern Baptist, Pentecostal, and Assemblies of God churches.

f. As mainline churches lost about 15 percent of their membership between 1970 and 1985, evangelical church membership soared.

g. Much of this astonishing growth came from the creative use of television. Graham had pounded the pavement and worn out shoe leather to reach his converts. But a new generation of preachers, the so-called televangelists, brought religious conversion directly into Americans’ living rooms through television and built huge media empires through small donations from millions of avid viewers—not to mention advertising.

2. Religion and the Family

a. Of primary concern to evangelical Christians was the family. Drawing on relevant passages from the Bible, evangelicals believed that the nuclear family, and not the individual, represented the fundamental unit of society. The family itself was organized along paternalist lines: father was breadwinner and disciplinarian; mother was nurturer and supporter.

b. Evangelicals spread their message about the Christian family through books and seminars.

c. Christian activists, concerned about sex education in public schools, pornography, abortion, and rising divorce rates, argued that strengthening the traditional family structure would ward off the influences of an immoral society.

d. Wherever one looked in the 1970s and early 1980s, American families were under strain. Nearly everyone agreed that the waves of social liberalism and economic transformation that swept over the nation in the 1960s and 1970s had destabilized society and, especially, family relationships.

e. But Americans did not agree about how to restabilize families. Indeed, different approaches to the family would further divide the country in the 1980s and 1990s, as the New Right would increasingly make “family values” a political issue.
PART LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you’ve taught this part, your students should be able to answer the following “Big Idea” questions:

Chapter 30: Conservative America in the Ascent, 1980–1991

What factors made the rise of the New Right possible, and what ideas about freedom and citizenship did conservatives articulate in the 1980s?

Chapter 31: Confronting Global and National Dilemmas, 1989 to the Present

How has globalization affected American politics, economics, and society?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>AMERICA IN THE WORLD</th>
<th>POLITICS AND POWER</th>
<th>IDENTITY</th>
<th>ENVIRONMENT AND GEOGRAPHY</th>
<th>WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1980 | • Ronald Reagan begins arms buildup  
      • United States arms Contras in Nicaragua  
      • Berlin Wall comes down (1989) | • New Right helps elect Ronald Reagan president  
      • Iran-Contra scandal (1985–1987)  
      • Renewed emphasis on material success and the “rich and famous”  
      • *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (1989) | • Rise in Latino and Asian immigration  
      • Reagan tax cut (1981)  
      • Apple personal computer introduced (1983)  
      • National debt triples (1981–1989) |
      • USSR breaks apart; end of Cold War  
      • Al Qaeda bombs World Trade Center (1993)  
      • UN peacekeeping forces in Bosnia (1992–1995) | • Bill Clinton elected president (1992)  
      • Republican resurgence (1994)  
      • Welfare reform (1996)  
      • Clinton impeached and acquitted (1998–1999) | • Pat Buchanan declares “culture war” (1992)  
      • Proposition 209 ends affirmative action in California universities  
      • Defense of Marriage Act (1998)  
      • WTO protests in Seattle (1999) | • Backlash against “multiculturalism”  
      • California bans bilingual education in public schools (1998) | • Internet gains in popularity  
      • Recession (1990–1991)  
      • NAFTA ratified (1993)  
      • Debt reduction under Bill Clinton |
| 2000 | • Al Qaeda attacks World Trade Center and Pentagon (2001)  
      • United States and allies invade Afghanistan (2002)  
      • USA PATRIOT Act (2002)  
      • Massachusetts becomes first state to legalize same-sex marriage (2004); nine states follow by 2012  
      • “War on terror” becomes fixture in American discourse | • New scrutiny of airport passengers after 9/11  
      • California, Texas, Hawaii, and New Mexico become “majority-minority” states (where the majority of the population is composed of minorities) | • Crisis in newspaper industry  
      • Great Recession (2007–2010)  
      • President Bush asks for and receives bank bailout from Congress (2008)  
      • Unemployment hits 10 percent |
| 2010 | • Arab Spring (2010–2012)  
      • Osama bin Laden killed (2011)  
      • Last combat troops withdrawn from Iraq (2011) | • Health-care reform (2010)  
      • Tea Party helps Republicans regain control of House of Representatives  
      • Barack Obama reelected president (2012) | • Congress and President Obama end “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy in U.S. military (2011) | • Obama’s 2012 electoral coalition heavily African American, Hispanic, Asian American, female, and young | • Financial industry accounts for largest share of GDP among all industry sectors |
Conservative America in the Ascent 1980–1991

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS
Period 9: 1980–Present
AP U.S. History Key Concepts

9.1 Conservatism arose in politics and culture.
   • The growth of conservatism was fueled by religious fundamentalism and loss of faith in the government.
   • Conservative successes were hampered by enduring support for some government programs.

9.2 U.S. foreign policy was redefined after the Cold War.
   • The Reagan administration set the tone for future administrations with an interventionist foreign policy based on

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand how the domestic policies of presidents Reagan and Bush reflected the rise of conservatism.
2. Explain the most important foreign policy challenges President Jimmy Carter faced.
4. Assess how President George Bush dealt with the Middle East.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Rise of the New Right
   A. Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan: Champions of the Right
      1. The Conscience of a Conservative
         a. Ronald Reagan embodies the story of New Right Republican conservatism. Although a New Deal Democrat and admirer of Roosevelt, as a taxpayer and staunch anticommunist he turned away from liberalism and joined the Republican Party.
         b. Reagan came to national prominence in 1964. Speaking to the Republican convention on national television, he delivered a powerful speech supporting the presidential nomination of archconservative Barry Goldwater.
         d. Goldwater also suggested that previous Republican and Democratic administrations had not been determined enough to stop the spread of communism.
      2. Grassroots Conservatives
         a. Goldwater’s rhetoric inspired a grassroots movement by conservative activists to make him the Republican Party’s nominee for president in 1964.

c. Although Goldwater won the Republican nomination, he lost the election because Americans were not yet willing to embrace his strident tone and militaristic foreign policy.

d. Goldwater campaigners swung their support to Ronald Reagan and contributed to his winning California’s governorship in 1966 and 1970.

e. His impassioned rhetoric supporting limited government, low taxation, and law and order won broad support among citizens of the most populous state and made him a force in national politics.

f. Narrowly defeated in his bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976, Reagan counted on his growing popularity to make him the party’s candidate in 1980.

B. Free-Market Economics and Religious Conservatism

1. The conservative movement resembled a three-legged stool consisting of anticommunism, free-market economics, and religious traditionalism. Uniting all three in a political coalition was no easy feat.

2. Religious traditionalists demanded strong government action to implement their faith-based agenda, while economic conservatives favored limited government and free markets. Both groups, however, were ardent anticommunists. In the end, the success of the New Right would come to depend on balancing the interests of economic and moral conservatives.

3. Since the 1950s, William F. Buckley, the founder and editor of the *National Review*, and Milton Friedman, the Nobel Prize-winning economist at the University of Chicago, have been the most prominent conservative intellectuals.

4. Friedman became a national conservative icon with the publication of *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962). The Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, and the Cato Institute issued policy proposals and attacked liberal legislation and the permissive culture they claimed it had spawned.

5. The most striking addition to the conservative coalition was the Religious Right. The perception that American society had become immoral, combined with the influence of a new generation of popular ministers, made politics relevant. Conservative Protestants and Catholics joined together in a tentative alliance, as the Religious Right condemned divorce, abortion, premarital sex, and feminism.

6. Charismatic television evangelists such as Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell emerged as the champions of a morality-based political agenda during the late 1970s. Falwell established the Moral Majority in 1979, boasting 400,000 members and $1.5 million in contributions in its first year. It would be the organizational vehicle for transforming the Fourth Great Awakening into a religious political movement.

7. Phyllis Schlafly’s STOP ERA, which became Eagle Forum in 1975, continued to advocate for conservative public policy; Focus on the Family was founded in 1977; and a succession of conservative organizations would emerge in the 1980s, including the Family Research Council.

8. In 1964, Goldwater’s and Reagan’s message appealed to few Americans. However, a series of events—failed war in Vietnam; a court that legalized abortion and pornography, enforced school busing, and curtailed public expression of religion; urban riots; and stagflation—weakened Democrats.

9. By the late 1970s, the New Right had developed a conservative message that commanded wide popular support. Religious and free-market conservatives joined with traditional anticommunist hard-liners in a broad coalition that attacked welfare state liberalism, social permissiveness, and an allegedly weak and defensive foreign policy. Ronald Reagan expertly appealed to all of these conservative constituencies and captured the Republican presidential nomination in 1980.

C. The Carter Presidency

1. Hostage Crisis

a. Carter had an idealistic vision of American leadership in world affairs. He presented himself as the anti-Nixon, a world leader who rejected Henry Kissinger’s “realism” in favor of human rights and peacemaking.

b. He withdrew economic and military aid from some repressive regimes, signed a treaty turning control of the Panama Canal over to Panama, and crafted a “framework for peace” between Egypt and Israel. While Carter deplored what he called the “inordinate fear of communism,” his efforts at improving relations with the Soviet Union foundered.
c. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, Carter ordered an embargo on wheat shipments to the Soviet Union, withdrew SALT II from Senate consideration, called for increased defense spending, and declared an American boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow. He and Congress began providing covert assistance to anti-Soviet fighters in Afghanistan, some of whom, including Osama bin Laden, would metamorphose into anti-American Islamic radicals decades later.

d. Carter’s ultimate undoing came in Iran, however. Since the 1940s, Iran had been ruled by the Shah (“King”), Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. Ousted by a democratically elected parliament in the early 1950s, Pahlavi sought and received the assistance of the CIA, which helped him reclaim power in 1953. Early in 1979, the Shah was driven into exile by a revolution that brought the fundamentalist Shiite cleric Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to power. When the United States admitted the deposed Shah into the country for cancer treatment, Iranian students seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran, taking sixty-six Americans hostage. The captors demanded that the Shah be returned to Iran for trial. Carter refused and instead suspended arms sales to Iran and froze Iranian assets.

e. For the next fourteen months, the hostage crisis paralyzed Carter’s presidency. Several months later, however, a stunning development changed the calculus on both sides: Iraq, led by Saddam Hussein, invaded Iran.

f. Desperate to focus his nation’s attention on Iraq’s invasion, Khomeini began to talk with the United States about releasing the hostages. The hostages were finally released the day after Carter left office—a final indignity endured by a well-intentioned but ineffectual president.

2. The Election of 1980
a. President Carter’s sinking popularity hurt his bid for reelection. When he was barely renominated for the presidency, Carter’s approval rating was historically low: a mere 21 percent of Americans believed that he was an effective president. Economically, millions of citizens were suffering from stagnant wages, high inflation, crippling mortgage rates, and an unemployment rate of nearly 8 percent.

b. With Carter on the defensive, Reagan remained upbeat and decisive. To emphasize his intention to be a formidable international leader, Reagan hinted that he would take strong action to win the hostages’ return. To signal his rejection of liberal policies, he declared his opposition to affirmative action and forced busing and promised to get “the government off our backs.” Reagan effectively appealed to working- and middle-class Americans who felt financially insecure in an era of stagflation by asking them: “Are you better off today than you were four years ago?”

c. Carter received only 41.0 percent of the vote. Independent candidate John Anderson garnered 6.6 percent, and Reagan won with 50.7 percent of the popular vote. The Republicans elected thirty-three new members of the House of Representatives and twelve new senators, which gave them control of the U.S. Senate for the first time since 1954.

II. The Dawning of the Conservative Age
A. The Reagan Coalition
1. The core of the Republican Party remained relatively affluent, white, Protestant voters who supported balanced budgets, opposed government activism, feared crime and communism, and believed in a strong national defense, but Reagan Republicanism also attracted middle-class suburbanites and migrants to the Sunbelt states who endorsed the conservative agenda of combating crime and limiting social welfare spending.

2. This emerging Republican coalition was joined by a large and electorally key group of former Democrats, southern whites, who had been gradually moving toward the Republican Party since 1964.

3. Reagan capitalized on Richard Nixon’s “southern strategy.” Many southern whites had lost confidence in the Democratic Party, especially after the party’s support for civil rights. After 1980, southern whites would remain a cornerstone of the Republican coalition.

4. The Religious Right proved crucial to the Republican victory as well. It called for a constitutional ban on abortion, voluntary prayer in public schools, and a mandatory death penalty for certain crimes.

5. Reagan’s broad coalition attracted the allegiance of blue-collar Catholics, alarmed by antiwar protesters and rising welfare expenditures and hostile to feminist demands. Some observers saw these voters, which many called Reagan Democrats, as coming from the “silent majority” that Nixon had swung into the Republican fold in 1968 and 1972. They lived in heavily industrialized midwestern states such as Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois and had been a core part of the Democratic coalition for three decades.
6. Reagan’s victory in the 1980s hinged on both a revival of right-wing conservative activism and broad dissatisfaction with liberal Democrats.

B. Conservatıves in Power

1. Reaganomics
   a. In his first year in office, Reagan and his chief advisor, James A. Baker III, set out to roll back federal taxes, social welfare spending, and the regulatory bureaucracy. They advocated a vast increase in defense spending and an end to détente with the Soviet Union. To match the resurgent economies of Germany and Japan, they set out to restore American leadership of the world’s capitalist societies and to inspire renewed faith in “free markets.”
   b. To achieve its economic objectives, the new administration advanced a set of policies, dubbed Reaganomics, to increase the production (and thus, the supply) of goods. The theory underlying supply-side economics, as this approach was called, emphasized investment in productive enterprises. According to supply-side theorists, the best way to bolster investment was to reduce the taxes paid by corporations and wealthy Americans, who could then use these funds to expand production.
   c. Supply-siders maintained that the resulting economic expansion would increase government revenues and offset the loss of tax dollars stemming from the original tax cuts. Meanwhile, the increasing supply would generate its own demand, as consumers stepped forward to buy ever more goods. Supply-side theory presumed—in fact, gambled—that future tax revenues would make up for present tax cuts.
   d. Reagan took advantage of Republican control of the Senate to win congressional approval of the 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA), a massive tax cut that embodied supply-side principles. The act reduced income tax rates for most Americans by 23 percent over three years. For the wealthiest Americans, the highest marginal tax rate dropped from 70 to 50 percent.
   e. David Stockman, Reagan’s budget director, hoped to match a reduction in tax revenue with a cutback in federal expenditures and proposed substantial cuts in Social Security and Medicare. But Congress, and even the president himself, rejected his idea; they were not willing to antagonize middle-class and elderly voters who viewed these government entitlements as sacred.
   f. Social Security and Medicare, next to defense spending, were by far the nation’s largest budget items; reductions in other programs would not achieve the savings the administration desired. This contradiction between New Right Republican ideology and political reality would continue to frustrate the party into the twenty-first century.
   g. Stockman revealed in 1982 that supply-side economics was based on faith, not economics, and a long-discredited idea that financial help for the rich would “trickle down” to the lower and middle classes.
   h. As spending cuts fell short, the federal budget deficit increased dramatically. Military spending contributed a large share of the growing federal debt. Reagan and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger pushed through Congress a five-year, $1.2 trillion military spending program.
   i. By the time Reagan left office, the total federal debt had tripled, rising from $930 billion in 1981 to $2.8 trillion in 1989. The rising annual deficits of the 1980s contradicted Reagan’s pledge of fiscal conservatism.

2. Deregulation
   a. Deregulation of prices in the trucking, airline, and railroad industries had begun under President Carter in the late 1970s, but Reagan expanded the mandate to include cutting back on government protections of consumers, workers, and the environment. To reduce the reach of federal regulatory agencies, the Reagan administration cut their budgets by an average of 12 percent.
   b. Reagan also limited the effectiveness of regulatory agencies by staffing them with leaders opposed to the agencies’ missions. For example, the heads of the Department of the Interior and Environmental Protection Agency opposed environmentalism. Public outrage, however, forced Reagan to reverse course during his second term.
   c. Having attained two of his prime goals—a major tax cut and a dramatic increase in defense spending—Reagan did not seriously attempt to scale back big government and the welfare state. When he left office in 1989, federal spending stood at 22.1 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) and federal taxes at 19 percent of GDP, both virtually the same as in 1981. In the meantime, though, the federal debt had tripled in size, and the number of government workers had increased from 2.9 to 3.1 million.
d. Historians continue to debate whether there was a “Reagan Revolution.” Even if he did not achieve everything many of his supporters desired, however, Reagan left an indelible imprint on politics, public policy, and American culture.

3. Remaking the Judiciary
   a. Hoping to reverse liberal judicial philosophy during his two terms, Reagan appointed 368 federal court judges—most of them with conservative credentials—and three Supreme Court justices: Antonin Scalia, Sandra Day O’Connor, and Anthony Kennedy. Ironically, the latter two turned out to be far less devoted to New Right conservatism than Reagan and his supporters imagined.
   b. Reagan also elevated Justice William Rehnquist, a conservative Nixon appointee, to the position of chief justice. Under Rehnquist’s leadership (1986–2005), the Court’s conservatives took an activist stance, limiting the reach of federal laws, ending court-ordered busing, and endorsing constitutional protection of property rights.
   c. On controversial issues such as individual liberties, abortion rights, affirmative action, and the rights of criminal defendants, the presence of O’Connor enabled the Court to resist the rightward drift and to maintain a moderate position. As a result, the justices scaled back, but did not usually overturn, the liberal rulings of the Warren and Burger Courts.

4. HIV/AIDS
   a. Another conservative legacy was the slow national response to one of the worst disease epidemics of the postwar decades: HIV and AIDS. In 1981, American physicians identified HIV as a new virus—one that was causing the deaths of hundreds of gay men, who were prominent among the earliest carriers of the disease.
   b. Within the United States, AIDS took nearly a hundred thousand lives in the 1980s—more than were lost in the Korean and Vietnam Wars combined. However, because early victims primarily were gay men, President Reagan, emboldened by New Right conservatives, hesitated in declaring a national health emergency.
   c. Between 1981 and 1986, as the epidemic spread, the administration took little action and prevented the surgeon general from speaking forthrightly to the nation about the disease. In Reagan’s last years in office, the administration finally began to devote federal resources to treatment for HIV and AIDS patients and research into possible vaccines. But the delay had proved costly, inhumane, and embarrassing.

C. Morning in America

1. Election of 1984
   a. Reagan’s tax cuts had barely taken effect when he was forced to reverse course. High interest rates set by the Federal Reserve Board had cut the runaway inflation of the Carter years, but sent the economy into a recession in 1981–1982 that put 10 million Americans out of work and shuttered 17,000 businesses. Unemployment neared 10 percent, the highest rate since the Great Depression.
   b. Reagan was forced to negotiate a tax increase with Congress in 1982—to the loud complaints of supply-side diehards. The president’s job rating plummeted, and in the 1982 midterm elections Democrats picked up twenty-six seats in the House of Representatives and seven state governorships.
   c. Fortunately for Reagan, the economy had recovered by 1983, restoring the president’s job approval rating just in time for the 1984 presidential election. During the campaign, Reagan emphasized the economic resurgence, touring the country promoting his tax policies and the nation’s new prosperity.
   d. The Democrats nominated former vice president Walter Mondale of Minnesota. Reagan won a landslide victory, losing only Minnesota and the District of Columbia. Still, Democrats retained their majority in the House and, in 1986, regained control of the Senate.
   e. Reagan’s 1984 campaign slogan, “It’s Morning in America,” projected the image of a new day dawning on a confident people. His positive outlook combined with robust economic growth after 1982 helped make the 1980s a decade characterized by both backward-looking nostalgia and aggressive capitalism.

2. Return to Prosperity
   a. By 1985, for the first time since 1915, the United States registered a negative balance of international payments. It now imported more goods and capital than it exported. The country became a debtor (rather than a creditor) nation.
   b. The rapid ascent of the Japanese economy to become the world’s second largest was a key factor in this historic reversal.
c. Meanwhile, American businesses grappled with a worrisome decline in productivity. Because managers wanted to cut costs, the wages of most employees stagnated. Further, because of foreign competition, the number of high-paying, union-protected manufacturing jobs shrank.

d. By 1985, more people in the United States worked in the service industry than rolled out rails, girders, and sheet steel in the nation’s steel industry.

e. A brief return to competitiveness in the second half of the 1980s masked the steady long-term transformation of the economy that had begun in the 1970s. The nation’s heavy industries—steel, autos, and chemicals—continued to lose market share to global competitors.

f. Increasingly, financial services, medical services, and computer technology—service industries, broadly speaking—were the leading sectors of growth. This shift in the underlying foundation of the American economy, from manufacturing to service, from making things to producing services, would have long-term consequences for the global competitiveness of U.S. industries and the value of the dollar.

3. Culture of Success

a. The economic growth of the second half of the 1980s popularized the materialistic values championed by the free marketeers. In the 1980s, Americans celebrated wealth accumulation in ways unseen since the 1920s.

b. Lee Iacocca, who took over the ailing Chrysler Corporation and made it profitable again, symbolized the resurgent corporate America.

c. High-profile financial wheeler-dealers also captured Americans’ imagination. For example, Ivan Boesky, a white-collar criminal convicted of insider trading, represented a new generation of Wall Street executives who pioneered the leveraged buyout (LBO), using leveraged (borrowed) money to buy a company, restructure it as apparently profitable, and sell it at a profit.

d. The Reagan-era public, fascinated with money and celebrity, watched Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous on television and followed Donald Trump’s every move.

4. The Computer Revolution

a. Four entrepreneurs—Bill Gates, Paul Allen, Steve Jobs, and Steve Wozniak—pioneered the computer revolution in the late 1970s and 1980s by taking a technology used exclusively by the military and multinational corporations and making it accessible to individual consumers.

b. Scientists had devised the first computers for military purposes during World War II. Cold War military research subsequently funded the construction of large mainframe computers, but they were too bulky for personal use. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, concluding with the development of the microprocessor in 1971, each generation of computers grew faster and smaller.

c. Apple Computers, founded in 1976 by Jobs and Wozniak, began producing small, individual computers that could be easily used by a single person. When Apple enjoyed success, other companies scrambled to get into the market. International Business Machines (IBM) offered its first personal computer in 1981, but Apple Corporation’s 1984 Macintosh computer (later shortened to “Mac”) became the first run-away commercial success for a personal computer.

d. In 1975, Gates and Allen founded the Microsoft Corporation, whose MS-DOS and Windows operating systems soon dominated the software industry.

e. In three decades, the computer had moved from a few military research centers to thousands of corporate offices and then to millions of peoples’ homes. In an age that celebrated free-market capitalism, government research and government funding had played an enormous role in the development of the most important technology since television.

III. The End of the Cold War

A. U.S.-Soviet Relations in a New Era

1. Reagan’s Cold War Revival

a. When Reagan assumed the presidency in 1981, he broke with his immediate predecessors in Cold War strategy. Nixon’s policy of détente with the Soviet Union and China reflected his realist view in foreign affairs, which meant advancing the national interest without regard to ideology. Carter endorsed détente and continued to push for relaxing Cold War tensions. This worked for a time, but the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan empowered hard-
liners in the U.S. Congress and forced Carter to take a tougher line—which he did with the Olympic boycott and grain embargo.

b. Conservatives did not believe in détente or in the containment policy that had guided U.S. Cold War strategy since 1947. Reagan and his advisors wanted to defeat the Soviet Union. His administration pursued a two-pronged strategy toward that end.

c. First, it abandoned détente and set about rearming America. Buildup in American military strength, reasoned Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, would force the Soviets into an arms race that would strain their economy and cause domestic unrest. Reagan’s proposal for a Strategic Defense Initiative, a satellite-based system that would destroy nuclear missiles in flight, proved very controversial.

d. Second, the president supported CIA initiatives to roll back Soviet influence in the developing world by funding anticomunist movements in Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, and Central America. As a result, Reagan supported repressive, right-wing regimes, particularly in Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.

e. In Guatemala, this approach produced a brutal military rule. In Nicaragua, Reagan actively encouraged a coup against the left-wing Sandinista government, which had overthrown the U.S.-backed strongman, Anastasio Somoza. And in El Salvador, the U.S.-backed government maintained secret “death squads.” In each case, Reagan blocked Soviet influence, but the damage done to local communities and to the international reputation of the United States, as in Vietnam, was great.

2. Iran-Contra

a. For years, Reagan had denounced Iran as an “outlaw state” and a supporter of terrorism. But in 1985, he wanted its help. To win Iran’s assistance in freeing two dozen American hostages, the administration sold arms to Iran without public or congressional knowledge. While this secret arms deal was diplomatically and politically controversial, the use of resulting profits in Nicaragua was explicitly illegal.

b. To overthrow the democratically elected Sandinistas, which the president accused of threatening U.S. business interests, Reagan ordered the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to assist an armed opposition group called the Contras.

c. Although Reagan praised the Contras as “freedom fighters,” Congress worried that the president and other executive branch agencies were assuming war-making powers that the Constitution reserved to the legislature. In 1984, Congress banned the CIA and any other government agency from providing any military support to the Contras.

d. Oliver North, a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Marines and an aide to the National Security Council, defied that ban. With the tacit or explicit consent of high-ranking administration officials, including the president, North used the profits from the Iranian arms deal to assist the Contras.

e. Still swayed by Reagan’s charm, the public accepted his convenient loss of memory. Nonetheless, the Iran-Contra affair resulted in the prosecution of Colonel North and several other officials and jeopardized the president’s reputation.

3. Gorbachev and Soviet Reform

a. The Soviet system of state socialism and central economic planning had transformed Russia from an agricultural to an industrial society between 1917 and the 1950s. But it had done so inefficiently. Most enterprises hoarded raw materials, employed too many workers, and did not develop new products. The Russian economy fell farther and farther behind those of capitalist societies, and most people in the Soviet bloc endured a low standard of living.

b. Mikhail Gorbachev, a younger Russian leader, recognized the need for internal economic reform and an end to the war in Afghanistan. He introduced policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (economic restructuring), which encouraged widespread criticism of the rigid institutions and authoritarian controls of the Communist regime.

c. To lessen tensions with the United States, Gorbachev met with Reagan and by 1987 they had agreed to eliminate all intermediate-range nuclear missiles based in Europe. A year later, Gorbachev ordered Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, and Reagan replaced many of his hard-line advisors with policymakers who favored a renewal of détente.

d. As Gorbachev’s efforts revealed the flaws of the Soviet system, the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe demanded the ouster of their Communist governments. In Poland, the Roman Catholic Church and its pope—Polish-born John
Paul II—joined with Solidarity, the trade union movement, to overthrow the pro-Soviet regime. Soviet troops did not intervene, and a series of peaceful uprisings created a new political order throughout the region. The destruction of the Berlin Wall in 1989 symbolized the end of Communist rule in Central Europe.

e. Soviet military leaders seized power in August 1991 and arrested Gorbachev. But widespread popular opposition led by Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Republic, thwarted their efforts to oust Gorbachev from office. This failure broke the dominance of the Communist Party.

f. On December 25, 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics formally dissolved to make way for an eleven-member Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The Russian Republic assumed leadership of the CIS, but the Soviet Union was no more. The collapse of the Soviet Union was the result of internal weaknesses of the Communist economy. External pressure from the United States played an important, though secondary, role.

g. Although George Kennan, the architect of the American containment policy, asserted that “Nobody … ‘won’ the cold war,” and the conflict had been very costly for both sides, most Americans claimed victory.

B. A New Political Order at Home and Abroad

1. Election of 1988
a. Determined not to divide the country, Reagan did not actively push controversial policies espoused by the Religious Right. While Reagan failed to roll back the social welfare and regulatory state of the New Deal–Great Society era, he changed the dynamic of American politics. His antigovernment rhetoric won many adherents, as did his bold and fiscally dangerous tax cuts.

b. George H. W. Bush, Reagan’s vice president and successor, was not beloved by conservatives but he possessed an insider’s familiarity with government and a long list of powerful allies, accumulated over three decades of public service.

c. Bush’s route to the White House reflected the post-Reagan alignments in American politics. In the primaries, he faced a spirited challenge from Pat Robertson, the archconservative televangelist. To secure the Christian “family values” vote, he nominated Dan Quayle as his running mate.

d. On the Democratic side, Jesse Jackson became the first African American to challenge for a major-party nomination, winning eleven states in primary and caucus voting. However, the much less charismatic Massachusetts governor, Michael Dukakis, emerged as the Democratic nominee. Bush won with 53 percent of the vote, a larger margin of victory than Reagan’s in 1980.

2. Middle East
a. The end of the Cold War left the United States as the only military superpower and raised the prospect of a “new world order” dominated by the United States and its European and Asian allies. But American officials and diplomats now confronted an array of regional, religious, and ethnic conflicts that defied easy solutions.

b. None were more pressing or more complex than those in the Middle East. Conflicts in the region would dominate the foreign policy of the United States for the next two decades, replacing the Cold War at the center of American geopolitics.

c. After Carter’s 1979 Egypt-Israel treaty at Camp David, there were few bright spots in U.S. Middle Eastern diplomacy. In 1982, the Reagan administration supported Israel’s invasion of Lebanon, a military operation intended to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). When Lebanese militants, angered at U.S. intervention on behalf of Israel, killed 241 American marines, Reagan abruptly withdrew the forces. Three years later, Palestinians living in the Gaza Strip and along the West Bank of the Jordan River—territories occupied by Israel since 1967—mounted an intifada, a civilian uprising against Israeli authority. In response, American diplomats stepped up their efforts to persuade the PLO and Arab nations to accept the legitimacy of Israel and to convince the Israelis to allow the creation of a Palestinian state. Neither initiative met with much success.

3. Persian Gulf War
a. American interest in a reliable supply of oil from the region led the United States into a short but consequential war in the Persian Gulf in the early 1990s.

b. In August 1990, Iraq went to war to expand its boundaries and oil supply. Iraqi troops quickly conquered oil-rich Kuwait and threatened Saudi Arabia, the site of one-fifth of the world’s known oil reserves and an informal ally of the United States.
c. To preserve Western access to oil, President Bush sponsored a series of resolutions in the United Nations Security Council calling for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. Bush then successfully prodded the UN to authorize the use of force, and the president organized a military coalition of thirty-four nations.

d. Dividing mostly along party lines, the Republican-led House of Representatives authorized American participation by a vote of 252 to 182, and the Democratic-led Senate agreed by the close margin of 52 to 47.

e. The coalition forces led by the United States quickly won the war for the “liberation of Kuwait.” Bush wisely decided against occupying Iraq and removing Saddam Hussein from power and instead, he won passage of UN Resolution 687, which imposed economic sanctions against Iraq.

f. The military victory, low incidence of American casualties, and quick withdrawal produced a euphoric reaction at home. But Saddam Hussein remained a formidable power in the region. His alleged ambitions were one factor that, in March 2003, would cause Bush’s son, President George W. Bush, to initiate another war in Iraq—one that would be much more protracted, expensive, and bloody for Americans and Iraqis alike.

g. The post–Cold War world promised to be a multipolar one, with great centers of power in Europe, the United States, and East Asia, and seemingly intractable conflict in the Middle East.

CHAPTER 31

Confronting Global and National Dilemmas

1989 to the Present

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 9: 1980–Present

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

9.2 U.S. foreign policy was redefined after the Cold War.
   • 9/11 led to controversial conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq.

9.3 In the twenty-first century, the nation experienced challenges resulting from social, economic, and demographic changes.
   • Continued integration into the world economy was accompanied by economic instability and environmental issues.
   • Demographic shifts profoundly affected culture and politics.
CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Assess what economic changes impacted the United States during the 1990s and how the nation recovered from economic stagnation experienced in the 1980s.
2. Evaluate in what ways the United States has taken part in globalization since the early 1990s. Examine what critics of globalization argued.
3. Analyze how computer technology “revolutionized” the United States. Evaluate who benefitted and who did not.
4. Outline the major aspects of U.S. post-Cold War foreign policy.
5. Understand the accomplishments and limitations of the Clinton presidency.
6. Illustrate how George W. Bush ascended to power.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. America in the Global Economy
   A. The Rise of the European Union and China
      1. Since the early 1990s, a multipolar world has emerged—with centers of power in Europe, Japan, China, and the United States, along with rising regional powers such as India and Brazil.
      2. In 1992, the nations of Western Europe created the European Union (EU) and moved toward the creation of a single federal state, somewhat like the United States. By the end of the 1990s, the European Union embraced more than twenty countries and 450 million people and accounted for a fifth of all global imports and exports. In 2002, the EU introduced a single currency, the euro, which soon rivaled the dollar and the Japanese yen as a major international currency.
      3. Militarily, however, the EU remained a secondary power. European countries preferred social programs to armies and posed no military challenge to the United States.
      4. Between 2000 and 2008, China quadrupled its gross domestic product (GDP) and economic growth rates were consistently near 10 percent—higher than the United States achieved during its periods of furious economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s.
      5. China could hardly have put up such impressive numbers without its symbiotic relationship with American consumers. It embraced capitalism, and its factories produced inexpensive products for export, which Americans eagerly purchased—everything from children’s toys and television sets to clothing, household appliances, and video games. Such a relationship is possible because China has deliberately kept its currency weak against the American dollar, ensuring that its exports remain cheap in the United States.
      6. Beneficial to American consumers in the short run, the long-term impact is a continuously shrinking manufacturing base in the United States, costing jobs and adversely affecting communities. Additionally, China has kept its currency low against the dollar primarily by purchasing American debt. China now owns nearly 25 percent of total U.S. debt, more than any other nation. Many economists believe that it is unwise to allow a single country to wield so much influence over the U.S. currency supply.
   B. An Era of Globalization
      1. International Organizations and Corporations
         a. The end of the Cold War shattered barriers that had restrained international trade and impeded capitalist development of vast areas of the world. New communications systems were shrinking the world’s physical spaces to a degree unimaginable at the beginning of the twentieth century.
         b. Global financial markets became integrated to an unprecedented extent, allowing investment capital to “flow” into and out of nations and around the world in a matter of moments. International organizations set the rules for capitalism’s worldwide expansion. During the final decades of the Cold War, the leading capitalist industrial nations formed the Group of Seven (G7) to manage global economic policy. Russia joined the group in 1997, creating the Group of Eight (G8).
c. The G8 nations—the United States, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Canada, and Russia—largely controlled the major international financial organizations.

d. As globalization accelerated, so did the integration of regional economies. To offset the economic clout of the European bloc, in 1993 the United States, Canada, and Mexico signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This treaty envisioned the eventual creation of a free-trade zone covering all of North America.

e. The capitalist nations of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore consulted on economic policy; as China developed a quasi-capitalist economy and became a major exporter of manufactures, its Communist-led government joined their deliberations.

f. The proliferation of multinational corporations (MNCs), such as Walmart, Apple, and McDonald’s, has made globalization possible. The number of corporations with offices and factories in multiple countries has exploded from 7,000 in 1970 to 63,000 in 2000.

g. Globalization was driven by more than a quest for new markets. Corporations sought ever-cheaper sources of labor. Many American multinational corporations closed their factories in the United States and outsourced manufacturing jobs to plants in Mexico, Eastern Europe, and especially Asia.

2. Financial Deregulation

a. As trade restrictions among nations began to fall in the 1980s and 1990s, so did restrictions on investment. One of the principal differences between this new era of globalization and previous eras has been the opening of national financial and currency markets to investment from around the world. Global financial integration has been a hallmark of our time.

b. Financial deregulation led to spectacular profits for investors but produced a more fragile, crash-prone global economy.

C. Revolutions in Technology

1. Computers, cellular phones, the Internet and World Wide Web, the iPod, and other electronic devices altered work, leisure, and access to knowledge in stunning ways. Like unimpeded trade, these advances in communications and personal technologies made the world smaller and more global.

2. During the 1990s, personal computers grew even more significant with the spread of the Internet and the World Wide Web. Like the computer itself, the Internet was the product of military-based research. But it was soon used by government scientists, academic specialists, and military contractors to exchange data, information, and electronic mail. By the 1980s, the Internet had spread to universities, businesses, and the general public.

3. The debut in 1991 of the graphics-based World Wide Web—a collection of servers that allowed access to millions of documents, pictures, and other materials—enhanced the popular appeal and commercial possibilities of the Internet. By 2011, 78 percent of all Americans and more than two billion people worldwide used the Internet to send messages and view information. Businesses used the World Wide Web to sell their products and services; e-commerce transactions totaled $114 billion in 2003, $172 billion in 2005, and neared $500 billion by 2010. The Web proved instantly democratic, providing ordinary people with easy access to knowledge.

II. Politics and Partisanship in a New Era

A. An Increasingly Plural Society

1. New Immigrants

a. Demographers predict that at some point between 2040 and 2050 the United States will become a “majority-minority” nation: no single ethnic or racial group will be in the numerical majority. This is already the case in California, where in 2010 African Americans, Latinos, and Asians together constituted a majority of the state’s residents.

b. The population of the United States grew from 203 million in 1970 to 280 million in 2000. Immigrants from Latin America and East Asia accounted for about 25 million of the 77-million-person increase.

c. An extraordinary inflow of immigrants was the unintended result of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which eliminated the 1924 quota system that favored Northern Europe.

d. The legislation also included provisions that eased the entry of immigrants who were professionals, scientists, and artists “of exceptional ability,” or who possessed skills in high demand in the United States. Finally, a provision with far-reaching implications was included in the new law: immediate family members of those already legally resident in the United States were admitted outside of the total numerical limit.
e. American residents from Latin America and the Caribbean were best positioned to take advantage of the family provision. By 2000, there were more Latinos than African Americans in the United States. These immigrants profoundly shaped the emerging global economy by sending substantial remittances back to families in their home countries.

f. Throughout much of its history, the United States had oriented itself toward the Atlantic, but increased immigration from Asia changed that perspective. Increased transnational trade across the Pacific transformed the Pacific Rim into an important new region.

2. Multiculturalism and Its Critics

a. Most new immigrants arrived under the terms of the 1965 law. But those who did not—and became known as “illegal aliens”—stirred political controversy. Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986, granting citizenship to many who had arrived illegally, providing incentives to employers not to hire undocumented immigrants, and increasing surveillance along the border with Mexico. Significantly, state governments led the efforts to deal with illegal immigration. In 1994, California voters overwhelmingly supported Proposition 187, which barred illegal aliens from public schools and state social services, but federal courts ruled it unconstitutional in 1999.

b. The concept of multiculturalism emerged to define social diversity. It suggested Americans were not a single people into whom others melted but comprised a diverse set of ethnic and racial groups living and working together. A shared set of public values held the society together.

c. Critics, however, charged that multiculturalism perpetuated ethnic chauvinism and conferred preferential treatment on minority groups.

d. Conservatives argued that governmental programs such as affirmative action were deeply flawed, because they promoted “reverse discrimination” against white men and resulted in the selection and promotion of less-qualified applicants for jobs and educational advancement.

e. The U.S. Supreme Court spoke loudest on the subject. In two parallel 2003 cases, the Court invalidated one affirmative action plan at the University of Michigan but allowed racial preference policies that promoted a “diverse” student body. Thus diversity became the law of the land, the constitutionally acceptable basis for affirmative action. The policy had been narrowed but preserved.

f. Additional anxieties about a multicultural nation centered on language. For example, California’s Proposition 227, calling for an end to bilingual education in public schools, passed with a healthy 61 percent majority.

B. Clashes over “Family Values”

1. Abortion

a. New Right conservatives claimed that liberalism had eroded respect for marriage and what they had called, since the 1970s, “family values.” They pointed to the 40 percent rate of divorce among whites and the nearly 60 percent rate of out-of-wedlock pregnancies among African Americans.

b. Abortion was central to the battles between feminists and religious conservatives and a defining issue between Democrats and Republicans. Feminists who described themselves as prochoice viewed the issue from the perspective of the pregnant woman, arguing that the right to a legal, safe abortion was crucial to her control over her body and life. Conversely, religious conservatives, who pronounced themselves prolife, viewed abortion from the perspective of the unborn fetus, claiming that its rights trumped those of the living mother.

c. By the 1980s, fundamentalist Protestants had assumed leadership of the antiabortion movement, which became increasingly confrontational and politically powerful. In 1987, religious activist Randall Terry founded Operation Rescue, which mounted protests outside abortion clinics and harassed their staffs and clients. Antiabortion activists also won state laws that limited public funding for abortions, required parental notification before minors could obtain abortions, and mandated waiting periods before any woman could undergo an abortion procedure.

2. Gay Rights

a. The issue of homosexuality stirred equally deep passions. As more gay men and women came out of the closet, they demanded legal protections from discrimination in housing, education, and employment. Public opinion about these demands varied by region, but by the 1990s, many cities and states had indeed banned discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.
b. Gay rights groups also sought legal rights for same-sex couples that were akin to those enjoyed by married heterosexuals. Many of the most prominent national gay rights organizations focused on full marriage equality.

c. The Religious Right had long condemned homosexuality as morally wrong. Public opinion remained sharply divided. In 1992, Colorado voters approved an amendment to the state constitution that prevented local governments from enacting ordinances protecting gays and lesbians—a measure that the Supreme Court subsequently overturned as unconstitutional. That same year, Oregon voters defeated a more radical initiative that would have prevented the state from using any funds “to promote, encourage or facilitate” homosexuality.

d. In 1998, Congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act, which allowed states to refuse to recognize gay marriages or civil unions formed in other jurisdictions. However, eleven states have legalized gay marriage more recently.

3. Culture Wars and the Supreme Court
   b. Ideologically moderate justices, however, affirmed the “essential holding” in Roe v. Wade (1973) that women had a constitutional right to control their reproduction. In Lawrence v. Texas (2003), the Court limited the power of states to prohibit private homosexual activity between consenting adults.

1. New Democrats and Public Policy
   a. In 1992, Clinton, the governor of Arkansas, styled himself a New Democrat who would bring Reagan Democrats and middle-class voters back to the party. At only forty-six, he was a young, energetic, ambitious policy wonk—extraordinarily well informed about the details of public policy.
   b. To win the Democratic nomination in 1992, Clinton had to survive charges that he embodied the permissive social values that conservatives associated with the 1960s: namely, that he dodged the draft to avoid service in Vietnam, smoked marijuana, and cheated repeatedly on his wife. But Clinton adroitly talked his way into the presidential nomination: he had charisma and a way with words.
   c. President George H. W. Bush won renomination over his lone opponent, the conservative columnist Pat Buchanan. The Democrats mounted an aggressive campaign that focused on Clinton’s domestic agenda: he promised a tax cut for the middle classes, universal health insurance, and a reduction of the huge Republican budget deficit.
   d. For his part, Bush could not overcome voters’ discontent with the weak economy and conservatives’ disgust at his tax hikes. He received only 38 percent of the popular vote as millions of Republicans cast their ballots for independent businessman Ross Perot, who won more votes (19 percent) than any independent candidate since Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. With 43.7 percent of the vote, Clinton won the election.
   e. As a self-proclaimed New Democrat, Clinton tried to steer a middle course through the nation’s increasingly divisive partisanship. Clinton had notable successes as well as spectacular failures pursuing this course.
   f. Clinton’s proposed health care system of “managed competition” failed and forty million Americans remained without health coverage.
   g. More successful was Clinton’s plan to reduce the budget deficits of the Reagan-Bush presidencies. In 1993, he secured a five-year budget package that would reduce the federal deficit by $500 billion. By 1998, Clinton’s fiscal policies had balanced the federal budget and begun to pay down the federal debt. As fiscal sanity returned to Washington, the economy boomed, thanks in part to the low interest rates stemming from deficit reduction.

2. The Republican Resurgence
   a. But those economic results lay in the future. More immediately, the midterm election of 1994 confirmed that the Clinton presidency had not produced an electoral realignment: conservatives still had a working majority. Republicans gained a majority in the House for the first time since 1954 and retook control of the Senate. Leading the Republican charge was Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who revived calls for significant tax cuts, reductions in welfare programs, anticrime initiatives, and cutbacks in federal regulations.
   b. In response to the massive Democratic losses in 1994, Clinton moved to the right. Claiming in 1996 that “the era of big government is over,” he avoided expansive social-welfare proposals for the remainder of his presidency and
sought Republican support for a centrist New Democrat program. The signal piece of that program was reforming the welfare system.

3. Clinton’s Impeachment
   a. Even with the concession on welfare, Clinton could not escape an opposition deeply hostile to his presidency. Following a relatively easy victory in the 1996 election, his second term unraveled when a sex scandal led to his impeachment. Clinton denied having had a sexual affair with Monica Lewinsky, a former White House intern. Independent prosecutor Kenneth Starr, a conservative Republican, concluded that Clinton had committed perjury and obstructed justice and that these actions were grounds for impeachment.
   b. Historically, Americans have usually defined “high crimes and misdemeanors”—the constitutional standard for impeachment—as involving a serious abuse of public trust that endangered the republic. In 1998, conservative Republicans favored a much lower standard because they did not accept Clinton’s legitimacy as president. They vowed to oust him from office.
   c. On December 19, the House of Representatives narrowly approved two articles of impeachment. Only a minority of Americans supported the House’s action. Lacking public support, Republicans in the Senate fell well short of the two-thirds majority they needed to remove the president.

D. Post-Cold War Foreign Policy
   1. The Breakup of Yugoslavia
      a. Among the challenges for the United States was the question of whether to support the admission of some of the new European and Central Asian states formed in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, such as Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia, into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Many observers believed that extending the NATO alliance into Eastern Europe would damage U.S.-Russian relations.
      b. By 2010, twelve new nations—most of them in Eastern Europe, and ten of them former members of the Warsaw Pact—had been admitted to the NATO alliance.
      c. Two of the new NATO states, Slovenia and Croatia, emerged from an intractable set of conflicts that led to the dissolution of the communist nation of Yugoslavia.
      d. In 1992, the heavily Muslim province of Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence, but its substantial Serbian population refused to live in a Muslim-run multiethnic state. Slobodan Milosevic, an uncompromising Serbian nationalist, launched a ruthless campaign of “ethnic cleansing” to create a Serbian state.
      e. In November 1995, Clinton organized a NATO-led bombing campaign and peacekeeping effort, backed by 20,000 American troops, that ended the Serbs’ vicious expansionist drive.
      f. Four years later, a new crisis emerged in Kosovo, another province of the Serbian-dominated Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Again led by the United States, NATO intervened with aircraft strikes and military forces to preserve Kosovo’s autonomy. By 2008, seven newly independent nations had emerged from the wreckage of Yugoslavia’s demise.

2. America and the Middle East
   a. No post-Cold War development proved more challenging than the emergence of radical Islamic movements in the Middle East.
   b. Clinton had inherited from President George H. W. Bush a defeated Iraq and a sizeable military force in Saudi Arabia. American fighter jets left Saudi Arabian air bases to fly regular missions over Iraq, enforcing a no-fly zone, where Iraqi planes were forbidden, and bombing select targets. The Clinton administration also enforced a UN-sanctioned trade embargo with Iraq.
   c. Angered by the continued U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia, Muslim fundamentalists soon targeted Americans. In 1993, radical Muslim immigrants set off a bomb in the World Trade Center in New York City, killing six people and injuring more than a thousand. Five years later, Muslim terrorists bombed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and in 2000, they bombed the American warship, the USS Cole, in Yemen.
   d. The Clinton administration knew these attacks were the work of Al Qaeda, a network of radical Islamic terrorists organized by the wealthy Saudi exile Osama bin Laden. In February 1998, the year of the embassy bombings, bin Laden had issued a call for holy war—arguing that it was the duty of every Muslim to kill Americans and their allies.
e. After the embassy attacks, Clinton ordered air strikes on Al Qaeda bases in Afghanistan, but the strikes failed to disrupt this growing terrorist network. When Clinton left office, the CIA, the State Department, and the Pentagon were well aware of the potential threat posed by bin Laden’s followers.

III. Into a New Century
   A. The Ascendance of George W. Bush
      1. Tax Cuts
         a. The election of 2000 joined those of 1876 and 1960 as the closest and most contested in American history. Gore won the popular vote, amassing 50.9 million votes to Bush’s 50.4 million, but fell short in the electoral college, 267 to 271. Consumer- and labor-rights activist Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate, drew away precious votes in key states that certainly would have carried Gore to victory.
         b. Late on election night, the vote tally in Florida gave Bush the narrowest of victories. Democrats demanded hand recounts in several counties. A month of tumult followed, until the U.S. Supreme Court, voting strictly along conservative/liberal lines, ordered the recount stopped and let Bush’s victory stand. Recounting ballots without a consistent standard to determine “voter intent,” the Court reasoned, violated the rights of Floridian voters under the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause. But the Court also declared that Bush v. Gore was not to be regarded as precedent.
         c. Bush also brought into the administration his campaign advisor, Karl Rove, whose advice made for an exceptionally politicized White House. Rove foreclosed the easygoing centrism of Bush the campaigner by arguing that a permanent Republican majority could be built on the party’s conservative base. Bush’s vice president, the uncompromising conservative Richard Cheney, became, with Bush’s consent, virtually a co-president. On Capitol Hill, Rove’s hard line was reinforced by Tom DeLay, the House majority leader, who in 1995 had declared “all-out war” on the Democrats.
         d. The domestic issue that most engaged President Bush, as it had Ronald Reagan, was taxes. Bush’s Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act of 2001 slashed income tax rates, extended the earned income credit for the poor, and phased out the estate tax by 2010.
         e. A second round of cuts in 2003 targeted dividend income and capital gains. His signature cuts skewed the distribution of tax benefits upwards. Bush had pushed far beyond any postwar president, even Reagan, in slashing federal taxes.
         f. Critics warned that such massive tax cuts would plunge the federal government into debt. By 2006, federal expenditures had jumped 33 percent, at a faster clip than under any president since Lyndon Johnson. Huge increases in health-care costs were the main culprit. Two of the largest federal programs, Medicare and Medicaid—health care for the elderly and the poor, respectively—could not contain runaway medical costs.
         g. Midway through Bush’s second term, the national debt stood at over $8 trillion—much of it owned by foreign investors, who also financed the nation’s huge trade deficit. On top of that, staggering Social Security and Medicare obligations were coming due for retiring baby boomers.
      2. September 11, 2001
         a. On September 11, 2001, nineteen Islamic terrorists from Al Qaeda hijacked four commercial jets and flew two of them into New York City’s World Trade Center, destroying its twin towers and killing over 2,900 people. A third plane crashed into the Pentagon, near Washington, D.C. The fourth, presumably headed for the White House or possibly the U.S. Capitol, crashed in Pennsylvania when the passengers fought back and thwarted the hijackers.
         b. As an outburst of patriotism swept the United States, George W. Bush proclaimed a “war on terror” and vowed to carry the battle to Al Qaeda. Operating out of Afghanistan, where they had been harbored by the fundamentalist Taliban regime, the elusive Al Qaeda briefly offered a clear target. In October 2011, while Afghani allies carried the ground war, American planes rained destruction on the enemy.
         c. By early 2002, this lethal combination had ousted the Taliban regime, destroyed Al Qaeda’s training camps, and killed or captured many of its operatives. However, Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden had retreated to a mountain redoubt and escaped over the border into Pakistan.
      3. The Invasion of Iraq
         a. On the domestic side, Bush declared the terrorist threat too big to be contained by ordinary law-enforcement means. He wanted the government’s powers of domestic surveillance placed on a wartime footing. With little
debate, Congress passed the USA PATRIOT Act, granting the administration sweeping authority to monitor citizens and apprehend suspected terrorists.

b. On the international front, Bush used the war on terror as the premise for a new policy of preventive war. Under international law, only an imminent threat justified a nation’s right to strike first. Now, under the Bush doctrine, the United States reserved for itself the right to act in “anticipatory self-defense.” President Bush singled out Iran, North Korea, and Iraq—“an axis of evil”—as the targeted states.

c. Officials in the Pentagon regarded Iraq as unfinished business, left over from the Gulf War of 1991, and saw in Iraq an opportunity to unveil America’s supposed mission to democratize the world. The democratizing effect would spread across the Middle East, toppling or reforming other unpopular Arab regimes and stabilizing the region. That, in turn, would secure the Middle East’s oil supply, whose fragility Saddam’s 1990 invasion of Kuwait had made all too clear. It was the oil, in the end, that was of vital interest to the United States.

d. Insisting that Iraq constituted a “grave and gathering danger” and ignoring the failure to secure a legitimizing UN resolution, Bush invaded in March 2003. America’s one major ally in the rush to war was Great Britain. Relations with France and Germany became poisonous. Even neighboring Mexico and Canada condemned the invasion, and Turkey, a key military ally, refused transit permission, ruining the army’s plan for a northern thrust into Iraq. The Arab world exploded in anti-American demonstrations.

e. Within three weeks, American troops had taken the Iraqi capital. The regime collapsed, and its leaders went into hiding (Saddam Hussein was captured nine months later). However, the Pentagon had made no provision for postconflict operations. Thousands of poor Iraqis looted everything they could get their hands on, shattering the infrastructure of Iraq’s cities.

f. In the midst of this turmoil, an insurgency began, sparked by Sunni Muslims who had dominated Iraq under Saddam’s Baathist regime. The Shiite majority at first welcomed the Americans, but extremist Shiite elements soon turned hostile, and U.S. forces found themselves under fire from both sides. With the borders unguarded, Al Qaeda supporters flocked in from all over the Middle East, eager to do battle with the infidel Americans.

g. Iraqis viewed the U.S. forces as invaders. Photographs showing American guards at Baghdad’s Abu Ghraib prison abusing and torturing suspected insurgents offered to Muslims final proof of American treachery. Despite heavy losses, President Bush committed the U.S. to “stay the course.”

4. The 2004 Election

a. As the 2004 presidential election approached, the Bush campaign stirred the culture wars and emphasized patriotism and Bush’s war on terror to mobilize conservatives and further entrench the Republican Party as the dominant power in Washington. Rove encouraged activists to place antigay initiatives on the ballot in key states to draw conservative voters to the polls.

b. The Democratic nominee, Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, was a Vietnam hero, twice wounded and decorated for bravery—in contrast to the president, who had spent the Vietnam years comfortably in the Texas Air National Guard. But Kerry’s membership in the antiwar group, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and his blistering critique of the war to the Senate Armed Services Committee in 1971 made him vulnerable to charges of being weak and unpatriotic.

c. A sudden onslaught of slick television ads by a group calling itself Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, falsely charging that Kerry had lied to win his medals, fatally undercut his advantage.

d. Bush beat Kerry, with 286 electoral votes to Kerry’s 252. He was no longer a minority president and had won a narrow, yet clear, popular majority.

B. Violence Abroad and Economic Collapse at Home

1. George Bush’s second term was defined by crisis management. In 2005, Hurricane Katrina—one of the deadliest hurricanes in the nation’s history—devastated New Orleans.

2. The run of crises did not abate after Katrina. Increasing violence and a rising insurgency in Iraq made the war there even more unpopular in the United States. In 2007, changes in U.S. military strategy helped quell some of the worst violence, but the war dragged into its fifth and sixth years under Bush’s watch.

3. In 2008, the American economy began to stumble. By fall, the Dow Jones Industrial Average had lost half its total value, and major banks, insurance companies, and financial institutions were on the verge of collapse. The entire automobile industry was near bankruptcy. Millions of Americans lost their jobs, and the unemployment rate surged...
to 10 percent. Housing prices dropped by as much as 40 percent in some parts of the country, and millions of Americans defaulted on their mortgages. The United States had entered the worst economic recession since the 1930s, what soon became known as the Great Recession.

4. The 2008 presidential election took shape in that perilous context. The Democratic nomination was contested between the first woman and the first African American to be viable presidential contenders, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Barack Hussein Obama. In a close-fought contest, Obama emerged by early summer as the nominee.

5. Meanwhile, the Bush administration confronted an economy in free fall. In September, less than two months before the election, the secretary of the treasury, Henry Paulson, urged Congress to pass the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act. Passed in early October, the act dedicated $700 billion to rescuing many of the nation’s largest banks and brokerage houses. Between Congress’s actions and the independent efforts of the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve, the U.S. government invested close to $1 trillion in saving the nation’s financial system.

C. The Obama Presidency

1. “Remaking America”
   a. Barack Obama, a Democratic senator from Illinois, represented the younger generation of an increasingly multiracial and multicultural America.
   b. He took the oath of office of the presidency on January 21, 2009, amid the deepest economic recession since the Great Depression and with the United States mired in two wars in the Middle East.
   c. From the podium, the new president recognized the crises and worried about “a nagging fear that America’s decline is inevitable.” But like all presidents at the opening of their term, Obama hoped to strike an optimistic tone. Americans, he said, must “begin again the work of remaking America.”
   d. As the first African American president of the United States, the burden on Obama seemed immense. A nation that a mere two generations ago would not allow black Americans to dine with white Americans had elected a black man to the highest office. Obama himself was less taken with this historic accomplishment—which was also part of his deliberate strategy to downplay race—than with developing a plan to deal with the nation’s innumerable challenges, both at home and abroad.
   e. With explicit comparisons to Franklin Roosevelt, Obama used the “first hundred days” of his presidency to lay out an ambitious agenda: an economic stimulus package of federal spending to invigorate the economy; plans to draw down the war in Iraq and refocus American military efforts in Afghanistan; reform of the nation’s health insurance system; and new federal laws to regulate Wall Street.
   f. In February 2009, Congress passed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, an economic stimulus bill that provided $787 billion to state and local governments—one of the largest single packages of government spending in American history. Congress then passed the Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act, a complex law that added new regulations limiting the financial industry and new consumer protections. Political debate over both measures was heated.
   g. Obama allowed congressional Democrats to put forth their own proposals on health-care reform, in an attempt to avoid the top-down approach taken by President Clinton. As debate dragged on, a powerful new far-right oppositional group emerged, the Tea Party. None of these developments derailed the legislation, but when the president signed the final health-care reform bill on March 23, it contained enough compromises that few could predict its long-term impact.
   h. Although the legislative process stalled after Democrats lost control of the House of Representatives in 2010 and failed to regain it in 2012, Obama used executive authority to advance his broader agenda. For example, he repealed the military’s “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy in 2011. He also appointed Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan, two committed liberals, to the Supreme Court.

2. War and Instability in the Middle East
   a. The president began in 2010 to draw down troops stationed in Iraq and the last convoy of U.S. soldiers departed in late 2011.
   b. Disengaging from Afghanistan proved more difficult. In 2009, the president ordered an additional 30,000 Americans troops to parts of the country where the Taliban had regained control—a “surge” he believed necessary to avoid further Taliban victories. Securing long-term political stability in this fractious nation, however, has eluded Obama. He pledged the withdrawal of all U.S. units by 2014.
c. The Middle East remains a volatile region. In late 2010, a series of multicountry demonstrations and protests, dubbed the Arab Spring, toppled autocratic rulers in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Yemen. In May 2011, U.S. Special Forces found and killed Osama bin Laden. The president’s use of “drone” strikes to assassinate Al Qaeda leaders and other U.S. enemies in the region remains a controversial issue.

3. Climate Change
   a. Scientists have known for decades that the burning of carbon-based substances, especially coal and oil, increases greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, warming the earth. Higher temperatures will produce dramatically new weather patterns and rising sea levels. How to halt, or at least mitigate, climate change is one of the issues facing the Obama administration.
   b. Oil company lobbyists, defenders of free-market capitalism, and conservatives who deny global warming altogether have been instrumental in blocking government policies. The United States did not sign the Kyoto Protocol designed to reduce carbon emissions, cap-and-trade legislation has stalled in Congress, and a tax on carbon emissions has likewise gained little support.
   c. There is little doubt, however, that global climate change, and the role of the United States in both causing and mitigating it, will remain among the most critical questions of the next decades.

4. Electoral Shifts
   a. It remains unclear how the Obama presidency will affect American politics. From one vantage, he looks like the beneficiary of an electoral shift in the liberal direction; he received a greater share of the popular vote than Clinton or Gore and defeated Mitt Romney in 2012 with a comfortable margin of 5 million votes.
   b. From another vantage, any electoral shift toward liberalism appears temporary and fragile. Even with Democratic majorities similar to what Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson enjoyed, he could not generate political momentum to pass legislative advances as they did. The history of Obama’s presidency, and of the early twenty-first century more broadly, continues to unfold.