**THE MAKING OF A SUPERPOWER USA: 1865-1975**

**PART ONE 1865 - 1920**

**RECONSTRUCTION**

**USA by the 1860s:**

* Population in 1840 was 17 million, by 1860 it was 31 million
* Railroads and steamboats – infrastructure, build new towns, trade and Vanderbilt was building the railroads
* ‘People of Plenty’ – The American Dream
* Enormous reserves – lots of gold, silver, coal and oil (Rockefeller), natural resources, steel (Carnegie)
* Industrial revolution
* Unequal distribution of wealth
* Tenement blocks with landlords, overcrowding and disease in the cities

**African Americans and Slavery:**

* In 1860, 4 million slaves in Southern States
* 1 in 4 southern families owned slaves
* 50% of slave owners owned up to 5 slaves
* More than 50% of slaves lived on plantations with over 20 slaves
* Most slaves were held by around 10,000 families
* 50% worked in cotton production, 10% in tobacco, sugar, rice and hemp production
* In 1860, there were 250,000 free African Americans in the South
* 250,000 lived in the North where they suffered discrimination
* 10% lived in towns working in a variety of industries
* The South relied on slaves for agriculture, they were a measure of wealth and status
* North believed slavery went against the ‘Declaration of Independence’

**Why the South feared the abolition of slavery:**

* ‘King Cotton’ was making them a fortune (In 1793, the cotton Gin was invented)
* They didn’t have to pay labour costs for slaves
* Deep rooted racism
* They say slavery as a benevolent institution – they gave slaves food and a home
* 1857 – Dred Scott Decision – Slaves were seen as subhuman and property, no legal means of protest
* Abolitionist movement and the underground railroad
* They were threatened by Lincoln
* The South were very dependent on agriculture as they had not yet been industrialised
* WASPs and White Supremacists

**The North vs the South:**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| ////////// | NORTH | SOUTH |
| Cultural | Better education | Resent change |
|  | Open to new ideas | Bible Belt |
|  | Free Labour and Liberty | Fundamental Christians |
|  |  | ‘Code of honour’ – Duals |
|  |  | WASPs |
| Political | Federal government > States’ rights | States’ Rights > Federal government |
|  | Republican | Democrat |
|  |  | Solid South |
| Economic | Growing population | Cotton industry but growing competition from Egypt |
|  | Immigration | Made 10% of the nation’s goods |
|  | Cities expanding | Agricultural |
|  | Internal and foreign trade |  |
|  | Tariffs |  |
|  | Industrial |  |

**The Civil War (1861-1865):**

* South – the confederacy, North – Unionists
* Over 620,000 killed
* Families and friends divided
* Vast areas of the country devastated, especially the South
* Freedom for more than 4 million slaves
* The North’s economy was growing faster than ever, the South was suffering significantly
* The South had been split into military districts; South saw them as ‘the army of occupation’

**Reconstruction (1865-1877):**

* Rebuilding and reuniting the country
* Integration of 4 million freed slaves
* Relevant Presidents – Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Hayes

**Abraham Lincoln, Republican (1861-1865):**

* 10% plan – 10% of the electorate for each of the rebel states in the south had to pledge allegiance to the union
* Wade Davis Bill – 50% of the electorate has to pledge allegiance – never implemented
* Freedmen’s Bureau - helping former slaves integrate into society, offered housing, education and health for African Americans
* 13th Amendment
* The assassination – 14th April 1865, John Wilkes Booth shot Lincoln in Ford’s theatre in Washington DC 5 days after confederate General Lee surrendered in Virginia – made Andrew Johnson president

**Problems Reconstruction faced:**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Economic: | Political: | Social: |
| Jobs for freedmen were limited – they only had skills in farming | Problem of how the new federal government will be run and how to reunite the country | Families were left fatherless |
| Most slaves were uneducated and could not read or write | Andrew Johnson was a southern Democrat, a former slave owner and a white supremacist | Cities were destroyed |
| Property investments lost value and small farms were ruined | Johnson’s vetoes and his all-white cabinet | Wounded soldiers were returning, they were not fit to work or build |
| Southern government also put an increase on taxes | The Redeemers in the South wanted to free them from federal control | In the South there was extreme poverty |
| Plantations were replaced with sharecropping | Intimidation and violence forced many African Americans not to vote, 1868 Louisiana (1000+ killed) | The South still clung to very racist values |
| Carpetbaggers – northerners coming to the south to enter politics or business  Scalawags – Southerners who worked with Carpet baggers | Extensive electoral fraud | The KKK was on the rise – set up in 1865 in Tennessee |
|  | Amnesty Act 1872, Ex-confederates allowed to return to political life | Emancipation received a lot of obstacles, especially in the South |
|  |  | 1873 – Colfax Massacre, several 100 African Americans killed |
|  |  | Mississippi, Alabama and Arkansas were redeemed disenfranchisement with literacy tests, the grandfather clause, voting ID etc. |

**Andrew Johnson, Democrat (1865-1869):**

* Attempted a shortcut to reconciliation but he failed
* Southern sympathiser (from Tennessee)
* Attempted to veto the Civil Rights Bill
* 14th Amendment
* Black Codes – can’t own property in certain places, can’t testify in court
* Race riots and mass murders – tension in Memphis and New Orleans
* Military Reconstruction Bill – Divides the south into 5 military districts to protect African Americans
* Command of Army Act – Part of the MRB
* Tenure of Office Act
* Impeachment – he was acquitted by one vote

**Radical Republicans:**

* Led by Thaddeus Stevens but he dies in 1868
* Wade Davis bill
* Wants to be tough on the South and clash with Andrew Johnson

**Presidential Reconstruction (1865-1867):**

* Radical Republicans thought this was too soft on the South
* New state governments were still dominated by the same Southern Elites
* Representatives in Congress were former military officers or politicians from the South
* South brought in Black Codes (basically Slave Codes)
* Johnson attempted to veto – the Freedmen’s Bureau, Civil Rights Act of 1866 and another Freedmen’s Bureau Act
* The 13th Amendment (emancipation)
* Howard University set up in 1867
* Former slaves were promised 40 acres of land and a mule – did not receive it

**Congressional/ Radical Reconstruction (1867-1877):**

* 14th Amendment (citizenship)
* Reconstruction Act
* Tenure of Office Act – what they tried to impeach Andrew Johnson for as he sacked Edward Stanton without consulting Congress
* Abandoned Reconstruction under President Hayes

**Ulysses Grant, Republican (1869-1877):**

* Faced fierce opposition from the South
* Corruption – Tweed Ring, Black Friday Scandal, Whiskey Ring
* James Fisk and Jay Gould cornered the Gold Market and inflated the prices – Grant was friendly with them
* The Whiskey Ring – Distilleries not paying their taxes
* Credit Mobilier Scandal – The railroads were selling stocks and shares to congressmen so that they could make money and in return, railroad companies were given land to build on
* Carpetbaggers and Scalawags
* 1873 Economic crash – stock market panic and the railroads were blamed
* 15th amendment (vote)
* 1870 and 1871 Enforcement Acts
* KKK, the White League and ‘white terror’
* 1875 – Civil Rights Act, intended to guarantee equal treatment
* Liberal Republicans didn’t like the use of troops to enforce reconstruction and they didn’t support Grant as he was seen as corrupt
* Amnesty Act 1872, Ex-confederates allowed to return to political life
* 1876 – The Black Hills War, Native Americans forced onto reservations in Dakota but gold was found there and so they were forced to move again, war broke out
* Supreme Court Cases that fuelled anti progressivism:
* The Slaughterhouse cases (1873) The privileges and immunities protected by the 14th amendment were limited to those who the constitution said are citizen, not up to states
* The civil rights cases – 1883 – the 13th and 14th amendments did not empower Congress to outlaw racial discrimination by private individuals
* US v Cruikshank (1875/6) – the Bill of Rights does not apply to private actors or state governments despite the 14th amendment (because of Colfax Massacre)
* 2000 African Americans held office – Pinkney Pinchback became governor of Louisiana

**The Compromise of 1877:**

* Election between Samuel Tilden (Democrat) and Rutherford Hayes (Republican)
* Election deal meant that Hayes won but under the conditions that military was removed from the South
* End of Reconstruction

**Why Reconstruction failed:**

* Actions of US presidents
* White segregationists
* Radical Republicans- too harsh, caused Republican party to divide
* Southern Democrats
* Treatment of African Americans
* Other reasons like Supreme Court judgements

**The KKK:**

* Set up in 1865/66
* Beating and lynching
* Peaked in 1869-1871 – First wave of the Ku Klux Klan
* If Klansmen were arrested, witnesses were frightened to testify and if a Klansman was on the jury it was impossible to convict them
* The White League was also set up in 1873 after the Colfax Massacre

**WESTWARD EXPANSION**

**Manifest Destiny:**

* John O’Sullivan – ‘The fulfilment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions’ (1845)
* Belief that the US has a god given right to expand west
* A radical doctrine of white supremacy/ American exceptionalism
* Louisiana purchase and other deals/methods to acquire land
* Idea of reviving old Europe and democracy
* Invoked the Indian Removal Act and the Trail of Tears – Genocide of Indian tribes – lots of sectional violence
* Inspired the Mexican American War

**The Railroads:**

* 1862 – Pacific Railroad Act – Railway companies given 100 million acres of land to complete the transcontinental railroad
* Between 1860 and 1880 – The miles of railroad tripled
* 1869 – Transcontinental Railroad complete – A 5 month journey now took 6 days
* Some states nearly went bankrupt financing railroads
* Transport of goods and people

**Government initiatives and policies:**

* 1862 – Homestead Act – Divided 2.5 million acres of plains into homesteads of 160 acres – 1.5 million people joined the scheme to buy land cheaply
* 1873 – Timber and Culture Act – Land for cheap if the landowner plants trees
* 1877 – Desert and Land Act – Land for cheap if landowners irrigate the soil
* 1862 – Pacific Railroad Act – 100 million acres given for the transcontinental railroad
* 1889 – Oklahoma Land Rush – 50,000 people lined up for the 2 million acres available

**Technology:**

* Telegraph – communications
* Barbed Wire – keep predators out and keep livestock in
* Dry Farming – little water required – use of damp deep soil – planting wheat, corn or potatoes
* Steel Plough – breaks through topsoil
* Beef cattle raising – Texas grass was perfect for cattle and beef could be sold at a high price
* Mechanical Reaper – Reduced farm labour and increased wheat and grain production
* Windmills – water pumping
* Sod houses – easy to build, durable and well insulated (very cheap)

**The Economy:**

* Railroads provided easy access to the West, goods could be transported and people can travel to work in the new lands
* Rugged individualism on the rise
* Territories growing – major states increased in size (e.g. Texas and California)
* Controversy over slavery
* By forcing people to settle on the land they expanded states and provided more area for work and therefore income

**The land of vast resources:**

* The American dream was built on this idea
* Vast amounts of land for farming and lumbering
* 1848 Gold Rush – Gold found near the Sierra Nevada mountains and San Francisco was the gateway to the Gold as it was the nearest harbour – 1000 San Franciscan residents grew to 30,0000 in 2 years
* New discoveries of resources – oil in Pennsylvania, coal in Appalachian Mountains, iron ore

**Immigration:**

* Drawn to the land of opportunity
* Conflict between new and old immigrants – ethnic neighbourhoods
* Attacks on the Chinese – 1877 there was an attempt to destroy Chinatown
* Immigrants were a ‘cheap, endless supply of labour’
* Irish and Chinese immigrants worked on the railroads
* 1882 – Chinese Exclusion Act
* High taxes on foreign miners – especially the Chinese

**African Americans:**

* Freely owned new land – the Exoduster Movement
* Segregated from whites
* Sharecropping
* Lots of racism, disrespect and ill treatment
* Black Cowboys made up ¼ of all cowboys

**Native Americans:**

* They relied heavily on bison as a source of food, clothing etc.
* US armies and railroad companies killed the bison
* 1862 – Dakota Sioux Uprising – in Minnesota, the Dakota Sioux weren’t paid their annuity on time and so they took revenge – 300 tribe members were sentenced to death
* Assimilation – ‘kill the Indian, save the man’ – sent to boarding schools where they were taught by missionaries to be more American
* 1887 – Dawes Act – Aim to make Native Americans more like white Americans – took Native Americans out of their reservations and onto allotments were families had to support themselves (white farmers would take the land f it was not adequately used)
* The Dawes Act failed because some land could not be farmed on and some refused to adopt a new way of life, some even sold their land to white settlers
* Only some Native American cultures were based on farming and only some built permanent homes
* Battle of Little Bighorn, 1976 – Defeat of Custer
* The Wounded Knee Massacre – The Sioux Tribe felt that their culture was destroyed as they were now financially dependent on the US government
* Their Ghost Dance offered hope and was a sense of culture and community for them
* US troops were threatened by their large gatherings and so they fired on their Ghost Dance, killing many in the tribe. Took the strength from the Native Americans.

**Euro Americans:**

* Wanted land for farming, ranching and mining
* They believed that uncultivated land with no permanent homes were wasted pieces of land
* Felt superior to other races and so were racist to non-WASPs
* Advertisements to encourage NW European farmers to come to America

**THE GILDED AGE**

**An Age of Political Stagnation:**

* ‘Gilded Age’ comes from a book by Mark Twain, a satire of the era
* Some argue the two political parties were almost identical, some argue they were very different

**Rutherford Hayes, Republican (1877 – 1881):**

* 1876 – disputed election victory – electoral fraud in Louisiana, Florida
* The Compromise – end of reconstruction
* 1878 – Democrats control both houses resulting in a lack of executive power

**James Garfield, Republican (1881):**

* Assassinated after 200 days
* A Unionist
* 1880 – won by 10,000 votes defeating Democrat, General Hancock
* Strengthened federal authority over the New York Customs House
* Spent his short presidency organising the Cabinet
* Split in the Republican party over political patronage – Stalwarts (in favour of political machines and the spoils system) and Half Breeds (want civil service reform and a merit system in place)
* July 2nd, 1881 – Charles Guiteau fired 2 shots at Garfield because he was a half breed - ‘I am a Stalwart and Arthur is president now’
* Leader of the Stalwarts was Roscoe Conkling – Garfield had submitted a list of appointments to the Senate including many of Conkling’s friends, but he named his arch rival William H Robertson to run the Customs House, Conkling protested and persuaded the senate to block it, even appealing to the Republican caucus but Garfield did not listen – Conkling resigned

**Chester Arthur, Republican (1881-1885):**

* Strong believer in the Spoils system but eager to prove himself above machine politics
* Staffed the customs house with more employees than necessary; they were appointed based on loyalty not capability
* Chinese Exclusion Act 1882 – prohibited all immigration of Chinese Labourers – built on the Page Act of 1875 which banned Chinese women from immigrating to America
* The Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act 1883 – government positions must be awarded based on merit – ended the spoils system
* Tariff Act, 1883 – lowered duties on a few items by an average of 1.47% but increased tariffs on most manufactured goods – emergence of tariffs as a major political issue between democrats and republicans

1870 -1890 Economy growing by an annual rate of 3.8% (GDP almost doubled)

**1884 Election – Blaine v Cleveland:**

* Blaine had been charged with corruption involving railroad interests
* Suspected of an anti-Roman Catholic bias
* Mugwumps in the Republicans favoured the ‘honest Democrat’ Cleveland

**Cleveland, Democrat (1885-1889 and 1893-1897):**

* Had the support of Democrats and reform Republicans (‘mugwumps’ – Republicans who didn’t like Republican candidate James Blaine)
* 1887 – Texas Seed Bill vetoed – the bill offered $10,000 to distribute grain amount drought-stricken farmers
* Vetoed many private pension bills to civil war veterans
* The railroads – he ordered an investigation of western lands and forced them to return 81 million acres
* Interstate Commerce Act – first law attempting federal regulation of the Railroads

**Harrison, Republican (1889-1893):**

* ‘front porch’ campaign
* 1889, received 100,000 fewer popular votes than Cleveland but had a majority in the electoral college
* Tariffs created issues – high tariffs created a surplus which was argued to have hurt business
* McKinley Tariff, 1890 – meant to protect domestic industries from foreign competition
* Sherman Antitrust Act, 1890 – Outlawed trusts, monopolies and cartels
* Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 1890 – hoped to increase the demand for silver
* The Valparaiso Incident, October 1891 – Chile V US due to growing US influence in the Latin American region on the Pacific Coast

**McKinley, Republican (1897-1901):**

* A reluctant imperialist
* Election victory helped by industrialist Mark Hanna – spent $3 million on campaign V WJB
* Supported strong tariffs to protect US domestic market
* Focused on Foreign Policy – Spanish American War

**Gilded Age Politics:**

* Voting turnout reached an all-time high
* North West dominated the support of the republicans
* Yellow press sensationalised the news
* Grant’s scandalous presidency
* The Spoils system
* Native Plutocracy – wealthy white Americans controlled the US government

**Economic development:**

* Factors: immigration, Rich industrialists, government policy
* By 1890, America was ahead of Germany, Britain and France in manufacturing output
* Wealth of the US growing by annual rate of 3.8%, per capita income 50% than Britain
* GDP almost doubled, capital investment

**Big Business and Rich Industrialists:**

**Vertical Integration** – control all process from production to extraction to the finished product)

**Horizontal Integration** – owning companies that are similar to your industry at a similar point on the supply chain

* Unscrupulous methods
* Robber Barons
* Captains of Industry
* Vast influence in government
* Interstate Commerce Act
* Sherman Anti-Trust Act

**Carnegie:**

* Steel production – born in Scotland, from rags to riches
* Bessemer process/ Bessemer converters
* Rail demand increased
* Machinery, wires, pipes and US navy armour
* Monopolised steal production (vertical integration)
* Achieved horizontal integration and vertical integration
* Philanthropist, described as a socialist and was criticised for exploiting his work force – ‘Gospel of Wealth’ book published 1889
* Set up the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for research and the advancement of knowledge
* 1900, he sold his empire to J.P Morgan for $480 million

**Vanderbilt:**

* Railroads
* In 1862, his steamboat operations were worth $11 million
* His wealth grew to $100 million
* Aggressive tactics
* Monopolised the railroad industry
* 1877, died the richest man in America
* Brutally handled strikes

**Rockefeller:**

* Oil – found money in oil refining
* 1862 – bought an oil refinery
* 1870 – Standard Oil Company founded
* Ruthless tactics
* 1880 – he controlled 85% of American oil production (horizontal integration)
* 1899 – fortune was $200 million
* He expanded into iron, copper, coal, shipping and banking
* 1913 – becomes the first billionaire
* Philanthropist – gave $550 million to medicine and charity
* His critics claim there were secret arrangements with railroads to prevent free and fair competition

**J.P Morgan:**

* Inherited $12 million
* Skilful financer
* 1871 – Morgan started his own private banking company, J.P Morgan & Co
* Criticised for creating monopolies
* Criticised for his love of the high life and flaunting his wealth

**Immigration:**

* 27.5 million immigrants in America by 1895
* End of the century, peaked at 1 million immigrants a year
* 12 million came between 1870 and 1900
* Immigrants helped strengthen and grow America’s economy – most immigrants were farmers – a cheap, endless source of labour BUT also bring new ideas, skills, entrepreneurs
* They were manipulated by politicians – Tammany Hall
* Irish dominated Boston
* Czechs and Poles went to Chicago
* Italians went to Brooklyn and New York
* Increased tensions between new and old immigrants – ethnic neighbourhoods
* Push factors – famine, economic dislocation, shortage of lands and jobs, antisemitism (pogroms) in USSR
* Pull factors – Economic opportunity, rapid growth in American industry, jobs in factories, mills and mines, advertisements, ‘the America Dream’
* New Immigrants worked for lower wages, they were unskilled and so were given manual work with little pay but long hours – worker exploitation
* 56% of the workforce in key industries were immigrants
* Chinese Exclusion Act 1882
* Native Plutocracy – Wealthy white Americans who controlled the US government
* In 1910 – 1/3 of the population of the 12 largest US cities were first generation immigrants, another 1/3 were second-generation immigrants
* They were drawn to the Democrat party – the Republicans were becoming linked to prohibition and the racial undertones that accompanied it
* Immigrants were blamed for the ills in society as they were an easy scapegoat

**William Boss Tweed:**

* Head of Tammany Hall (Democrat HQ)
* Control over political patronage in New York City
* Convicted of stealing between $25 and $45 million from NYC taxpayers (later estimates are close to $200 million)

**Trade Unions:**

* 1866 – National Labour Union founded – remained the only prominent trade union
* 1873 – Depression drove millions to unemployment – TU membership falls
* 1877 – Trade unions very weak
* July 16th 1877 – National Railroad Strike – The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company announced a 10% pay cut on railroad workers in Martinsburg, West Virginia (it was the second cut in under 8 months) – wages cut, railroads sent strike breakers who were very violent - $10 million worth of damage, 25 killed – 100,000 on strike (The Great Upheaval)

Blacklists were created of those who went on strike

* Knights of Labour trade union represented everyone, by 1885 it claimed 100,000 members, later grew to 600,000. (By 1886 it was in decline)
* 1885 – American Federation of Labour led by Samuel Gompers
* Later in 1905 the Industrial Workers of the World set up by Eugene Debs (also a candidate for the Socialist Party of America as he ran for president)
* May 4th 1886 – Haymarket bombing – began peacefully as a strike for 8 hour working days, the next day the police got involved and around 10 police and civilians killed and 100 injured– a riot broke out
* 1886 – Nationwide rail strike, 12,000 companies, 340,000 people – wages had been cut!
* Anarchism was on the rise – government and the wealthy were worried

**The Transcontinental Railroad:**

* Pre-Civil War travel was dangerous
* George Westinghouse invented the air brake – braking systems now safe
* Pullman sleeping and dining cars made rail travel comfortable and enjoyable
* 1869 – Transcontinental Railroad completed – led to rapid settlement in the west – transportation of goods now easier – a 5 month journey was cut to 6 days
* 200 million acres
* Corruption from Vanderbilt and Jay Gould, Credit Mobilier Scandal
* By the end of the Civil War there was 35,000 miles of railroad
* 1900 there was 193,000 miles
* 60% of domestic steel was used on the railroads
* Farmers went into debt because they couldn’t afford to send crops on the railroad

**Farmers:**

* Debt – small time farmers suffer from high railroad rates
* Cash crops
* Some farmers less self-sufficient and many still lived meagre lives, sharecroppers
* Mechanisation allowed for faster harvest, farm hands not needed
* Bonanza farms – development of agribusiness
* West coast had orchards, e.g. Orange country, Mid America the plains, South – King Cotton

**Industrial Revolution:**

* Shift from agriculture to industry – rapid industrial revolution
* New York, Boston, Philadelphia, St Louis and Chicago increase in population – mass urbanisation
* By 1900, 40% of Americans lived in major cities
* Cities were unprepared and housing was limited – tenement blocks and slums
* Inventions helped to usher in modern America – electricity, cars – ‘the horseless carriage’
* Bridges, canals, elevators and skyscrapers, trolley lines and subways
* 1876 – Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone (By 1900, there are over a million telephones sold
* Little changed for the poor
* Steam engines introduced – effective but expensive, impact on industry with steam powered machines

**Urbanisation:**

* Mechanics, factory workers, unskilled workers all travelled into cities
* It was mostly disillusioned workers or young fortune seekers
* New York’s population doubled
* Philadelphia doubled in size
* Tenement housing – impact on living conditions, over crowding

**Income Inequality:**

* Working class often below poverty level – 60% on or below the poverty line
* Sweatshops
* Social Darwinism, rugged individualism, low wages for unskilled immigrant workers

**Muckrakers:**

* Exposing corruption and helped spur on the Progressive Era
* 1890 – Jacob Riis – Photographed slums – ‘How the Other Half Lives’ (book) – prompted improvement of tenement blocks
* 1902 – McClure Magazine journalist Lincoln Steffens exposed corruption in article ‘Tweed Days in St Louis’
* 1902 – Ida Tarbell – investigated Rockefeller in a 19-part series in McClure Magazine – led to the breakup of Rockefeller’s monopoly
* 1906 – Upton Sinclair wrote ‘The Jungle’ – meatpacking industry – led to Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act

**Women:**

* Upper class women compared to ‘dolls on display dressed in resplendent finery’
* Louise Whitfield Carnegie – charitable woman
* Abby Aldrich Rockefeller – created hotels for women, solicited funds to create the New York Museum of Modern Art
* Margaret Olivia Sage – her husband gave away $45 million of her $75 million inheritance to support women’s causes, educational institutions and the Russell Sage Foundation for Social Betterment, directly helped poor people
* Jane Addams – philanthropist, 1889 and Ellen Gates Star established a secular settlement house in Chicago, known as Hull House. 1931 – she received the noble peace prize – Half way houses
* Carrie Nation – Temperance leader, famous for smashing up saloons with a hatchet, she was a strong voice for the suffrage movement. She was convinced God had instructed her to do whatever was in her power to close bars in Kansas. She was beaten, mocked and jailed
* Carrie Chapman Catt – campaign for suffrage – 19th Amendment 1920

**Native Americans:**

* 250,000 between the great plains and the mountains
* Outgunned and outmanned
* Bison were killed to near extinction
* Forced to live in reservations
* 1876 – Battle of Little Bighorn – death of Custer
* 1890 – South Dakota – cavalry opened fire killing 250 Native Americans – Massacre at Wounded Knee
* Forced into the Black Hills of Dakota only to be forced out when gold was found
* Western Frontier saw violent conflicts between white settlers and the US army against Native Americans – The Indian Wars
* Native Americans forced off land onto reservations
* 1890, Western Front declared closed

**African Americans:**

* 1870 Hiram Revels became first black senator (left in 1871)
* Pinckney Pinchback – Governor of Louisiana (only for 2 years)
* In the south, blacks outnumbered the whites in some states – hence voting restrictions
* Tax on African Americans to vote, literacy tests, lynching and political violence, the Grandfather Clause
* Plessy vs Ferguson 1896 – ‘separate but equal’ – Supreme Court back segregation
* Jim Crow laws
* Exoduster Movement – 330,000 Southern Black people moved North to cities like New York and Chicago

**The Influence of the Victorians:**

* Newfound wealthy class
* Appearance became very important – clothes, homes
* Beards popular, as were tea parties
* Boys were dressed by their mothers
* European high culture
* Sporting events become popular – e.g. baseball
* PT Barnum’s Circus and Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show
* Newspaper advertisements, dodgy tonics and medicines – ‘dodgy dealings’ – no restrictions
* Golden Age of American Literature
* Theatrical industry and Silent Pictures in Hollywood

**Foreign Policy:**

* Monroe Doctrine, 1823, opposed European colonialism in North and South America
* Isolationism before 1890 – defensive – like a jellyfish
* Anti-Empire and focusing on Westward Expansion
* Pacifists at the time – William Jennings Bryan, Mark Twain

**Factors explaining why the USA became more proactive in terms of foreign policy:**

* Politicians and influential leaders – Teddy Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge – Republican Senator, pro intervention, an expansionist and an imperialist (blocked US joining the League of Nations as he hated Wilson), Mahan and naval power – the great white fleet,

Albert J Beveridge – the Philippines are ‘not a self-governing race’

* Bases in Guam, Philippines, Hawaii – trade, refuelling and military positioning
* American exceptionalism – a civilising mission
* Fear of Japan and growing empires (Yellow Peril)
* The economy – mercantilism – trade with China, Panama Canal (8-10 day travel) – 1893 depression – John Hay’s Open Door policy
* Security - Spanish American War – shows the need to protect the sphere of influence
* Rapid Industrialisation – had the resources to expand, markets at home were saturated so there was a need to expand – China buying steel to build railroads
* Dominate where the Spanish Empire used to be
* 1900 – Boxer Rebellion in China – attacking foreign traders, America realise the importance of China and fear rise of Japanese Empire

**How Teddy Roosevelt changed foreign policy:**

* Platt Amendment 1901 – troops out but still allows US intervention in Cuba and Latin America, maintain control over Guantanamo Bay
* Panama Canal 1903 – Panama and Colombia
* Roosevelt Corollary and ‘speak softly and carry a big stick’

**The American Empire:**

* Isolationist 🡪 a world power
* Mahan – Great White Fleet – ‘influence of sea power upon history’
* 1893 – Western frontier closed – Turner Thesis – natural progression to go further afield
* 1887 – Pearl Harbour is acquired – becomes naval base
* 1898 – Spanish American War – short war – Teddy Roosevelt and the Rough Riders
* 1901 – Roosevelt becomes president - expansionist
* Factors: Accidental Empire, Progressive Imperialism, Mercantilism, End of westward expansion, preclusive imperialism (wanting to take over colonies before other countries did), American Exceptionalism

**Growth of the Navy:**

* 1882 – William Hunt advocated naval expansion as only 42/140 ships were operational
* Alfred Mahan ‘Influence of Sea Power upon History’, 1890 – The Great White Fleet

**Latin America:**

* In the 1880s, interest was growing in the region ‘own backyard’
* October 1889 – Pan America Conference in Washington, 18 countries met and an international bureau of American Republics ‘Pan America Union’
* 1898 – Puerto Rico acquired through Treaty of Paris (Spanish American War)

**Cuba:**

* Spanish American War – build up of USS Maine explosion and letter from Spanish Ambassador criticizing McKinley – Yellow Press sensationalised
* April 1898 – Teller Amendment– USA would not annex the island, given independence
* 1901 – Platt Amendment – gave the USA control of Cuban foreign, financial and commercial affairs, US given the right to intervene in Cuban affairs, sugar and tobacco tied to US markets
* 1902 US troops out of Cuba and then return in 1906

**Panama Canal:**

**Why build the Panama Canal?**

* Engineering success (France had failed before – USA looks great)
* Make trade easier and faster
* Make a show of their naval power (Mahan delighted)
* Exert authority over central America
* American exceptionalism
* Removed a dangerous route
* 1904 – Roosevelt Corollary – allows US to interfere in the region
* Helped Panama gain independence from Colombia

**The Canal:**

* In 1860s, US secretary of state William Seward had tried to begin negotiations with Colombia – Senate stopped him
* Colombia demanded $15 million from US government and $10 million from the New Panama Canal Company to build the canal across Panama
* 1903 – Panama revolts to gain independence from Columbian rule
* 1903 – Panama land acquired, and a US protectorate formed
* Panama achieved independence and accepted $10 million for a 16 km strip of land for the canal to be built
* 1914 – Panama Canal completed and within a year, over 1,000 ships were using it annually

**Nicaragua:**

* Close to America and a high level of economic investment
* President – Jose Santos Zelaya was anti American and in 1909 he cancelled economic privileges previously granted to US mining concerns
* Taft sent in marines to install a pro American president Adolfo Diaz
* Philander C Knox extended American Influence by providing huge loans
* US controlled the Nicaraguan National Bank
* 3000 US troops sent in
* USA set up a protectorate and occupied the country for 10 years.

**Dominican Republic:**

* 1869 – Congress refused to colonise the Dominican Republic – 1870 they tried and failed
* 1903 – Republic defaulted on the repayment of $40 million worth of American loans
* Roosevelt was reluctant to invade
* 1904 – took control of the customs revenue of the Dominican Republic – used it to pay off the debt – ‘big stick policy’
* 1905 – US marines sent into the Dominican Republic
* Called them ‘savages’ – American exceptionalism

**Hawaii:**

* Important stopping station on way to China and Japan – US missionaries
* Economically dependent on the USA – sugar cane
* 1887 – Pearl Harbour naval base built – sign of friendship
* 1898 – rebellion of new leader and people ask USA for help USA annexed Hawaii to become a territory

**Pacific Islands and Alaska:**

* 1867 – US acquire Midway Island
* 1867 – Alaska purchased for $7.2 million – ‘Seward’s folly/Ice Box’
* 1890 – Protectorate over Samoa, after the Samoan Civil War
* 1898 – US annexed Hawaii
* 1898 – Treaty of Paris – US purchase the Philippines

**South East Asia:**

**China:**

* 1868 – Burlingame Treaty – outlines a friendly relationship between China and USA – gave US and China the rights to move freely in each other’s respective countries, trade
* USA had no desire to expand territory to China as happy trading steel
* 1900 – John Hay’s Open Door policy
* 1900 – Boxer Rebellion directed against foreigners broke out in China – US send a small number of troops to Peking to rescue foreign embassies – second open door note asserted the principle of equal and impartial trade in all of China, not only in the foreign spheres of interest, it also said the US government would protect US citizens living in China

**Japan:**

* Tense relations – a rising empire and threat to the USA over China
* Japanese immigration to Hawaii
* 1900 – openly racist legislation against Japanese immigration
* Japan’s navy was growing
* 1904-1905 – Russo-Japanese War, Japan defeated Russia
* Treaty of New Hampshire/Portsmouth – Roosevelt acted as mediator and awarded Nobel Peace Prize
* 1908 – Root Takahira Agreement – Japan and USA to respect each other’s interest in China

**The Spanish American War:**

* The turning point from isolationism to interventionism
* Cuba is on America’s doorstep (only 90 miles away) ‘own backyard’
* Acting in accordance to the Monroe Doctrine, 1823
* The incidents – Letter from Spanish Ambassador in Washington accusing McKinley of being ‘a weak bidder for the admiration of the crowd’ was stolen and printed – yellow press.

Explosion of the Battleship Maine – 266 crew members killed, US press immediately blamed the Spanish and claimed it was sabotage (it was actually an explosion in the engine room)

**Why Get Involved?:**

* Economic advantage – America needed the new markets
* Yellow Press and sensationalism – William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer competed to print the most thrilling stories
* Desire to become a world power
* McKinley wanted to protect US interests
* Misrule of the Spanish, closeness of Cuba, Monroe Doctrine
* Fears that the US could not control an independent Cuba

**Defeating Spain:**

* Within a few weeks of fighting in Cuba, the Spanish were forced to surrender
* 379 US soldiers were killed, over 5,000 suffered from yellow fever
* The USA ignored the support of the Cubans and claimed an ‘American Victory’

**Results of the war:**

* Treaty of Paris, August 1898 – Cuban independence was recognised but the USA was given Guantanamo Bay
* Spain lost its last parts of the American Empire, ceding Puerto Rico to the USA
* USA purchase the Philippines for $20 million – Philippines war – ‘splendid little war’, John Hay and ‘little brown brothers’
* Led to the USA fighting the Filipinos for 3 years, brutal war and Philippines lose
* Spain ceded Guam to the USA

**The end of the Gilded Age:**

* 1893 – Philadelphia and Reading railroad and the National Cordage Company failed – this set up an economic depression
* Banks and business folded; the stock market crashed
* Millions unemployed
* In some states, up to 50% were unemployed
* Panic lasted 4 years
* Lower and middle-class Americans were fed up with corruption and social inequality
* Teddy Roosevelt entered office in 1901, initiating the progressive movement
* Roosevelt supported corporate America but also federal controls

**THE PROGRESSIVE ERA and WW1**

**The Presidents:**

1901 – McKinley, Republican - assassinated

1901-1909 – Teddy Roosevelt, Republican

1909-1913 – William Taft, Republican

1913-1921 – Woodrow Wilson, Democrat

Robert La Follette – most progressive politician and Senator of Wisconsin (most progressive state)

**The Populist Party:**

* The People’s Party - formed in 1891 – Omaha Platform Manifesto in 1892 with Weaver
* For the agrarian workers and working class – there was an unequal distribution of wealth as 1/3 of the nation’s wealth was going to the top 5%, 60% were on or below the poverty line
* Anti-urban movement
* Hostile to big business
* Pro-federalism
* Silver coinage
* Want railway regulation
* Want graduated income tax
* Want an 8 hour working day
* Want regulated farm prices
* Prohibition
* Primary elections
* Championed and overshadowed by William Jennings Bryan in 1896
* By 1908 – Democrats had swallowed up the Populist party
* 11 points of populism (old republic)

**O**maha Platform (1891 and 1892) – James Weaver 8.5% of vote and 5 states

**L**abour movement support – 8 hour working day

**D**emocratic Party merge in 1896 – WJB

**R**ailroads, telegraphs and telephones

**E**astern Elites – farmers to pay higher rates on loans and trains

**P**eople’s party – farmer’s alliance and the knights of labour

**U**nrest – low agricultural prices in the south and west (panic in 1893)

**B**anks and Bimetallism – silver coinage

**L**ost Identity

**I**ncome Tax

**C**ivil service and political reform – Primary elections

**The Socialist Party:**

* Had 150,000 members by 1912
* Eugene Debs ran from Jail in 1912 and got 900,000 votes

**Teddy Roosevelt:**

* Roosevelt’s Square Deal – 3 Cs – Conservation, control corporations and consumer protection
* Over 80% of business was owned by trusts
* Wanted to enforce the 1890 Sherman Anti-Trust Act
* Northern Securities – first huge trust to be busted
* 40 trusts were busted (including American Tobacco and Standard Oil)
* 1906 – Hepburn Act – Regulation of railway prices
* 1906 – Upton Sinclair writes The Jungle
* 1906 – Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drugs Act
* 1908 – National Conservation conference held
* Conservationism – set up 5 national parks, removed 148 million acres of land from public sales, set up 50+ wildlife sanctuaries, hired Gifford Pinchot to organise forests and national parks
* 1903 – Department of Commerce and Labour Act, created a new Department of Commerce with a cabinet secretary, regulated business that showed signs of price fixing or monopolising industry
* 1902 – Anthracite coal strike – striking for better wages and an 8-hour working say – Roosevelt threatened to sending troops – the employers settled to a rise in wages and a 9 hour working day

*The Republican Party was divided between the Progressives and the Conservatives*

**Taft:**

* Trust busting continues - 80 anti-trust suits under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act
* 8-hour day for government employees
* Mine safety legislation
* Gave power to the Interstate Commission to set railroad rates
* Introduced federal income tax and corporation tax
* Direct election of Senators (17th Amendment)
* Sacked Gifford Pinchot – Teddy Roosevelt unhappy
* 1909 – Payne Aldrich Act – tariffs
* Conservative approach disappointed many

**Roosevelt’s Progressive Party:**

* The Bull Moose Party – idea of ‘New Nationalism’
* Speech in Kansas attacked the trusts and urged the need for social reform and greater federal power
* He split the Republican vote which meant the Democrats won in 1912
* The progressive era created a conflict between government for the people and by the people and a government good at governing
* Later Robert La Follette ‘Fighting Bob’ would run for the Progressive Party in 1924

**Why progressivism emerged:**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Political | Economic | Social | Media | Revolution |
| * Dissatisfaction * Democrats deeply conservative * Republicans the party of big business and banks * Want primary elections * Demand for federal control * Opposed to machine politics | * Recession in 1893 * Unemployment at 12% * Cut wages * Collapsed banks * Savings lost * Small time farmers and NE working class | * Poverty * Terrible living and working conditions * Overcrowding * Inadequate sewage disposal * Lack of clean water * 6 day working week, 72 hours | * Muckrakers * 1904 – McClure Magazine selling 750 copies * Ida Tarbell * Lincoln Steffens * Upton Sinclair | * Fear of socialism and radicalism * Trade union strength * Militant strike action * 1892 – steelworkers strike in Pittsburgh * Middle class movement |

**Aims of Progressivism**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Political | Economic | Social |
| * Change the constitution – women’s vote, primary elections, direct election of senators * Federal control of economy, regulate big business * Remove wealthy businessmen from big/ main parties | * Regulate business * Control banks, insurance and stock market * Trade union recognition * Regulate working standards * Adulterated food regulation * Silver coinage * Pensions and benefits | * Female emancipation – 1890 – National American Suffrage Association * Improve living and working conditions * Abolish manufacture and sale of alcohol (1893 – Anti Saloon League) * Help African Americans escape southern poverty |

**Amendments from the Progressive Era:**

* 16th Amendment – income tax (Taft – 1913)
* 17th Amendment – Direct election of senators (Wilson – 1913)
* 18th Amendment – Prohibition (Wilson – 1920)
* 19th Amendment – Women’s suffrage (Wilson – 1920)

**Henry Ford:**

* In 1914 – Ford paid his workers $5 an hour on average because better paid workers, 8 hour working day, shift system
* Ford’s annual output rose from 34,000 cars to 730,000 between 1910 and 1916
* Prices fell from $700 - $316 – cheaper and more affordable cars: The Model T Ford

**Trade Unions:**

* Industrial Workers of the World set up by Eugene Debs in 1905 – supporting every wage worker – radical socialists – also known as The Wobblies or IWW
* American Federation of Labour set up by Samuel Gompers in 1886 – The Wobblies or AFL

**Wilson:**

* Enters America into WW1 in 1917
* Wilson’s 14-point plan
* Wilsonian Idealism
* New Freedom – ‘the triple wall of privilege’ and focuses on trusts, tariffs and banks
* Federal Reserve Act, 1913 – 70% of the nation’s banking taken under federal control. 12 districts created. Aimed to control inflation – America’s first centralised banking system
* Federal Trade Commission – stop illegal activities – still in use today
* Clayton Anti-Trust Act 1914 – More power given to the Sherman anti-trust Act
* Revenue Act and the 16th amendment – first ever income tax
* Reorganised the Department of Agriculture
* Federal Farm Loan Act, 1916 – low-cost loans to farmers
* Underwood Tariff, October 1913 – reduce duties on food, wool, iron and steel
* 17th amendment – direct election of senators
* 18th Amendment – Prohibition (after the Volstead Act of 1919)
* 19th amendment – Suffrage – women get the right to vote
* Federal Child Labour Act, 1916 (Photographer Lewis Hein – took photos of children working)
* Workmen’s compensation act, 1916
* Appeasement of Conservative Southern voters
* Segregationists in charge of the federal agencies
* 1913 – Coalminer’s strike in Colorado – Colorado National Guard called in and gunmen fired on tents -26 people killed

**WORLD WAR ONE**

**Why America entered the war:**

* Zimmerman Telegram, 2nd April 1917– Germany tells Mexico to invade America in return for Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, Britain intercept and America find out – THE TRIGGER!!!
* 1915 – Lusitania sunk killing 1200 people
* The Special relationship between USA and Britain
* German U-boat activity in the Atlantic
* Fall of the Tsar in Russia
* Wilson wanted to make the works a ‘safer place for democracy’ with a ‘war to end all wars’
* WJB resigned in 1915 (he held an anti-war stance)
* Pressure internally – Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge
* War profiteering
* Economic and geographical factors

**Why did it take so long for America to ender the war:**

* Neutrality and isolationism
* European issue – avoid foreign entanglements, alliance system in Europe
* 1914 – Wilson said ‘we Americans must be neutral in policy and in name’
* No tradition of a standing army
* Anti – imperialism (with WJB and others who wanted to avoid war)
* Resented the British Naval blockade (British were blocking supplies to Germany, including from USA)
* Dislike of European powers among immigrants (that’s why they had fled to the USA)

**America at war:**

* 2nd April 1917 – America declares war
* May 1917 – Selective Service Act – increased armed forces size from 120,000 to nearly 5 million (conscription)
* War bonds – liberty war bonds
* USA becomes a creditor nation and an economic giant
* $33.5 billion and $7 given in loans
* War Industries board set up in 1917 – wartime production
* US steel prospering, Railroads centralised
* Herbert Hoover becomes Food Administrator
* National War Labor Board – 1918
* Full employment – women recruited into war work
* 50,000 African Americans migrated North
* Segregated army
* Rise in black consciousness during the war
* Federal Bureau of investigation – J.Edgar Hoover – tracked down disloyal African Americans
* Espionage Act -1917 and Sedition act – 1918
* Eugene Debs ran for president in 1920 from prison and got around 900,000 votes

**After the war:**

* Treaty of Versailles – Wilson’s 14-point plan (included the League of Nations, self-determination and freedom of the seas)
* Chaos in Europe – new German government struggling, attempted coups
* Lenin’s world revolution – fear of communism spreading to the USA
* KKK peaking at 5 million (William Joseph Simmons, 1915 – the Birth of a Nation Film – Fiery Cross magazine) and number of lynchings increase (yet Anti-lynching bill not passed)
* 4 million demobilised soldiers – hasty demobilisation causes problems
* Strikes – Seattle 1919– 35,000 workers in shipyard on strike, Boston 1919 – police on strike
* April bombings (1919) – Anarchist terrorism, Palmer – Hoover raids
* Italian anarchist Luigi Galleani, Sacco and Vanzetti (trail with Judge Webster Thayer, Felix Frankfurter demands retrial, Sacco and Vanzetti executed, ‘red hysteria rampant in courtroom) Andrea Salsedo suspicious fall out of FBI building
* 1919 – 3,600 strikes by 4 million workers
* Xenophobia and lynching
* Harding wins the election in 1921 – Return to Normalcy

**REVISION BOOKLET PART 2: 1920 – 1975**

**THE ROARING 20s**

**Key terms/names:**

* Andrew Mellon – Secretary of the Treasury – big business friendly Republican
* Frederick Winslow Taylor – Pioneered modern methods of industrial management pre ww1
* Taylorism – importance of systematic work schedules and worker cooperation with management
* Henry Ford – ‘put America on wheels’
* Model T Ford – 1 car every 3 minutes, 15 million were made in 9 years
* GDP – grew by 2% a year
* Staple Industries – declining industries e.g., coal, rail, ship building, textiles
* Securitisation – Having something to back up a loan
* Easy Credit – Easily borrowing loans (buying goods on credit)
* Great Bull Market – A rising market (opposite is Bear market), share values were rising
* Speculative bubble – caused by gambling on stocks and shares – inflation of stock market prices was above their real worth, buying on the margin.

**PRESIDENTS AND THEIR DOMESTIC POLICIES**

**The Presidents:**

**Harding (1921-1923)**

* Republican
* Return to Normalcy
* Scandals – Teapot Dome and Elk Hills (Oil) – Albert Fall sells oils reserves secretly to Doherty and Sinclair, they gave lots of money and herd of cattle in return – the SC said it was illegal
* Veteran Bureau Scandal – Charles Forbes in charge of the Bureau and stole $250 million
* 1921 – Immigration Quota Act – reduced immigration to 3%
* 1921 - Sheppard Towner Maternity Aid Act – encourage states to build infant and maternity health centres
* 1921 - Budget and Accounting Act – control government spending from $5000 million in 1920 to $3,333 million by 1922
* 1922 – Fordney McCumber Act – Tariffs on imports, protectionism on domestic industry
* The Ohio Gang – appointing his friends into political politicians
* Little Green House – code for alcohol to enter the White House
* Andrew Mellon appointed Secretary of the Treasury – introduced the Mellon Plan (low tax for big business)
* Herbert Hoover appointed Secretary of Commerce and Charles Hughes appointed Secretary of State

**Coolidge (1923-1929)**

* Was Harding’s Vice President and took over when Harding died in 1923
* Given credit for the booming economy and isolationist policy
* Carried on with the laissez faire policies and Mellon Plan
* ‘The Business of America is business’
* Criticised for his low work rate and lack of personality– ‘Silent Cal’

**Hoover (1929-1933)**

* The Depression (see later section for details of his Presidency)
* Hoovervilles and Hoover blankets etc.

**SOCIAL**

**The KKK in the 1920s:**

* 1915 – Second Wave of the KKK - revival in Georgia by William Joseph Simmons
* 1915 – Birth of a Nation film – glorifies the Klan
* Anti-black, anti-Roman Catholic, anti-Jewish and anti-foreigners. Also, against organised labour and alcohol (support Prohibition)
* Post WW1, labour tensions rise as veterans tried to re-enter the workforce
* At its peak, the KKK had 5 million members nationwide
* Memphis and Atlanta saw high membership rates
* Fighting for ‘native white, protestant supremacy’
* Leader was a dentist called Hiram Evans, known as the Imperial Wizard
* Lynching and violence were their main strategies, also tar and feathering
* July 27th, 1919 – 17 year old Eugene Williams (African American) murdered after violating the unofficial segregation of Chicago’s beaches, he was stoned by a group of white youths – his death sparked a week of rioting between white and black gang members in Chicago
* Tulsa Race Massacre, May 31st-June 1st, 1921 – KKK attacked residents, homes and businesses in Tulsa, Oklahoma – 36 killed (including 10 whites)
* Elizabeth Tyler – public relations professional, she expanded the KKK’s list of those to target because she knew it would gain traction in the north – She was the true head of the Klan
* In 1925, Grand Wizard David Stephenson was convicted of a sexually motivated murder – the Klan went into decline
* Scandalous behaviour of Klan leaders caught in corruption, bribery and drunkenness, sexual immorality and even murder contributed to its decline – by 1930, membership was estimated to be around 30,000

**African Americans: (this covers pre 1920 too)**

* Booker T Washington and Tuskegee Institute (had been set up in 1881)
* W.E.B Dubois – Niagara Movement
* Ida B Wells attempts to pass anti-Lynching Bill passed but it was rejected by Congress
* Jim Crow Laws embedded (Plessy Vs Ferguson Case (1896)
* NAACP founded in 1909 – gathering in support, rise of black consciousness (DuBois and Wells)
* Representation from Trade Unions was limited
* Voting restrictions and use of white violence
* Armed forces were segregated
* Sharecropping still around – unequal distribution or wealth, majority below poverty line
* Howard University (influence of Du Bois and early student activism)

**Women:**

* In the 1920s, about 20% of women made up the labour force
* ‘female professions’ – clerical, teaching, nursing, stereotypical roles
* 1920 19th Amendment – right to vote
* Women Christian Temperance Union (campaigns for Prohibition)
* First wave of feminism
* Flapper girls – change in fashion, jazz, smoking, drinking, driving, advertising targets
* National League for Women’s Voters
* American Birth Control League led by Margaret Sanger
* Divorce laws were made easier
* Jane Addams, Carrie Chapman Catt
* Sheppard Towner Act, 1921 – healthcare for pregnant women
* Medical schools only 5% women
* Only 24% of the workforce was women
* Employment in Hollywood – Gloria Swanson

**Native Americans:**

* 1924 Indian Citizenship Act – gave Native Americans citizenship though lack of vote
* Yet still an era of discrimination – boarding schools still in operation, 10, 000 children
* Tribes forced to convert to Christianity, wearing of traditional clothing banned
* 1928 – Meriam Report – living conditions terrible, recommends changes
* Illiteracy common, alcohol and drug abuse, life expectancy low, unemployment high

**Religion:**

**The Monkey Trial 1925**

* The State of Tennessee VS John Scopes
* Highlighted the difference between the beliefs of rural and urban America
* Towns and cities accepted Charles Darwin’s Theory of Evolution
* In Bible Belt states and rural areas, the Theory of Evolution was sacrilegious
* ‘Fundamentalists’ were those who stayed true to the biblical account of Genesis
* 6 states banned the teaching of evolution, they were led by WJB and the WCFA
* Biology teacher at Dayton High School John Scopes decided to challenge the ban and deliberately taught evolution in his class in Tennessee in order to get a court case
* Clarence Darrow was Scopes’ lawyer
* Scopes was convicted of breaking the law
* The trial was a disaster for the public image of fundamentalists and for WJB
* WJB was presented as confused and ignorant whilst the media continued to mock the beliefs of the Fundamentalists
* The ACLU defended Scopes

**The ACLU**

* Non-profit legal organisation aimed to protect the constitutional rights of Americans
* Lobbying and legal action
* Founded in 1920
* Formed during the first Red Scare
* Began as the NCLB (National Civil Liberties Bureau) but this was dissolved and reformed in response to the Palmer Hoover Raids of 1919 and 1920
* ACLU documented and publicised the government’s unlawful activities during the raids and ordered the release of hundreds of anti-war activists

**WCFA (World Christian Fundamentalists Association)**

* 1919 Fundamentalist organisation
* Challenged the theory of evolution
* Rallied against science and modernist trends
* Militant – undermined its effectiveness and caused it to lose momentum in the late 1920s
* Originally led by William Bell Riley
* Railed to offer an alternative to modernist ideas

**Aimee Semple McPherson**

* Pentecostal Evangelist
* A radio preacher
* She established the Church of the Foursquare Gospel which brought her wealth, notoriety and mass following
* The church appealed to migrant southerners and mid westerners who were frustrated by the complexities of life in urban southern California
* She wrote many books and sermons
* She was frequently in newspaper headlines – in 1926 she claimed to have been kidnapped after disappearing for several weeks

**The Angelus Temple**

* Founded by Aimee Semple McPherson
* Set up in LA and the first megachurch seating 5,300
* First 7 years – received 40 million visitors
* Peak membership was 22,000 and services 3 times a day and 7 days a week
* Opened other branches of the church in US and Canada
* 200 missionaries abroad

**Immigration:**

* Xenophobia and nativism were at the forefront of society
* WW1 Fuelled anti-European feelings and anti-German feelings
* Boston – Irish, Chicago – Czechs and Poles, Brooklyn – Italians
* Immigration was the largest factor in American urban growth, by 1910, 1/3 of the population of 12 largest cities were immigrants (another 1/3 were the children of immigrants)
* Immigrant ghettos emerged in the North – ethnic neighbourhoods
* Immigration Act, 1917 – immigrants excluded if they could not read or write in English
* Quota Act 1921 – Reduced immigration to 3% of the 1910 intake, favoured British and Western Europeans
* National Origins Act, 1924 – reduced the quota to 2%, no Asians allowed in the country
* Ellis Island was used for immigration arrivals and processing

**The Growth of Cities:**

* Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, the Dakotas and Nebraska increased in size
* 1880 – 20% of population lived in cities by 1928 – 68% lived in cities
* Brooklyn and Manhattan had 4 million people each
* The rich and the poor lived in very close proximity

**The Red Scare:**

* 1919-1920
* ‘Red Summer of 1919’
* Russian Revolution – 1917 – Lenin’s world revolution
* Spartacists in Germany
* Seeping into the shores of America
* Luigi Galleani – most dangerous anarchist in USA, was deported to Italy
* Andrea Salsedo – anarchist fell 14 floors to his death

**Palmer Hoover Raids:**

* Targeted suspected communists, anarchists (threats to the government)
* The Red Ark – deportation of the ‘aliens’
* Trade unionists and socialists also targeted
* Raided offices, trade unions, publishers
* Increased tension and hysteria and many lost their jobs with insubstantial evidence
* Palmer claimed there would be a huge communist revolution on the 20th of May 1920 – nothing happened! Decline of Palmer’s influence. J Edgar Hoover went on to head the FBI

**The Boston Police Strike:**

* 1919
* Boston Immigrant Community
* No police = chaos
* Claims that the police were tainted by communism

**Sacco and Vanzetti:**

* Italian anarchists who on 5th May 1920 – arrested and charged with the murder and robbery
* They had ties to Luigi Galleani (known anarchist)
* Trial begins in May 1921 – lasted 45 days
* 14th July – found guilty by judge Webster Thayer
* ‘the red hysteria was rampant in the courtroom’
* Felix Frankfurter wrote an article in the Atlantic Monthly saying there needed to be a re-trial
* Lowell Commission reviewed the case – still found them guilty
* Demonstrations were held in their support as it was seen as a miscarriage of justice
* Executed August 1927 – controversial as showed American justice system as unjust!

**Prohibition:**

* 18th Amendment – Jan 1920
* The Volstead Act of 1919
* The ‘noble experiment’ that became one of the most flouted laws in American history
* ‘Dries’ were in favour of Prohibition – Women’s Christian Temperance Union, Anti Saloon League, National Prohibition Party, Henry Ford was pro-prohibition
* KKK blame immigrants – drinking culture, cities of sin
* Speakeasies were set up and protection rackets were formed
* Medicinal whiskey could be obtained on prescription legally
* Backhand bribery and corruption rife
* Chicago Mayor Big Bill Thompson was bribed by Al Capone
* Created a gangster culture – rise of organised crime
* Al Capone was worth $60 million
* St Valentine’s Day Massacre – 14th Feb 1929 – Capone vs Bugs Moran (6 of Bugs Moran’s men were killed)
* Reasons for banning alcohol: Religion, protect future generations, fear immigrants, alcoholism and disorderly behaviour, wives feared for their husbands, WW1 soldiers going off the rails, anti-German feeling (Budweiser)
* Moonshine made out of corn – illegal homebrew
* Bootlegging – smuggling alcohol, Rum Row
* Commissioner Kramer – only 3000 agents to enforce the law (though 1/10 of his agents were done for corruption) An impossible task
* The Untouchables – led by Eliot Ness – brought down Al Capone for tax evasion
* Capone in Alcatraz prison for 11 years
* Some parts of the USA upheld the law

**Agriculture and Farmers:**

* Unequal distribution of wealth – farmers in South Carolina were earning 10% of their counterparts in California
* Over production due to mechanisation – led to falling prices
* Farmers borrowed $2000 million in mortgages; it was easy to obtain but impossible to pay back
* Many farmers were evicted, and their workers were sacked
* 1929 – farmers earn $273, the national average was $750
* Farming workforce was reduced by 5%
* The 1922 Fordney McCumber Act raised the protective tariff
* 1923 – Agricultural Credits Act – low interest loans available

**Decline of Old Industries:**

* Over production and under consumption
* Coal was producing too much and so prices fell
* Ship building in decline
* Synthetic fibres such as rayon were developed and became a substitute for cotton – Rayon required fewer workers and so many lost their jobs
* Construction workers wages only increased by 4% during the 1920s
* African Americans were the first to be sacked and many were not given the share of the crop they deserved ‘last to be hired and first to be fired’
* Most immigrants were not educated – low paid and unskilled
* Immigrants were willing to work for lower wages and so they were given jobs, falling wages was blamed on the immigrants as they enabled businesses to pay lower wages
* 25% more women were employed by 1929 – most women were in the textile industry and were poorly paid, nearly half of what men got

**ECONOMIC**

**Consumerism in the 1920s**

**Factors increasing the demand of consumer goods:**

* Growth in electricity – 1912 only 16% of housed were powered by electricity, by 1927, it was 63% - encouraged the use of electrical goods
* Rise in oil and gas usage
* Growth in female employment – higher demands for labour saving devices
* Popularity in entertainment (1920, 60,000 radios were owned, by 1929 it rose to 10 million)
* Wage increases and low taxation levels, between 1923 and 1929, incomes rose by 8%
* Credit and hire purchase – about 50% of goods sold were paid for by hire purchase

**Media and marketing:**

* Cinema was still effective
* Radio allowed for streaming news, entertainment, sport and advertising in the home
* Mass ownership of radios
* New York Times, Washington Post

**Advertisement:**

* Psychologists were hired to design campaigns
* Specific groups were targeted – particularly women – ‘lucky strike’ encouraged smoking in public as ‘torches of freedom’
* Slogans, brand names and celebrity endorsement all added to the boom of consumerism
* Growth in industrial production raised demand, people wanted to buy what was new and on trend
* By 1929, companies were spending $3 billion a year on advertising (5x more than the amount spent in 1914)

**Workers and unemployment:**

* From 1922, annual unemployment figures never rose above 4%
* Mechanisation took away 2 million jobs a year
* By 1932 – unemployment reached 25%

**Entertainment**

**Hollywood:**

* Hollywood’s rise is down to economic prosperity
* 85% of US movie production was made in or around Hollywood in the 1920s
* ‘picture palaces’ – could seat 1000-2000 guests at a time
* Nickelodeons – cheap cinemas and for some a great way to escape harsh reality of life
* Around 800 films were released a year
* ‘factory system’/ ‘assembly line’ approach was used to mass produce films
* Hollywood attracted 83 cents out of every dollar an American spent on leisure/ entertainment
* ‘The Big Five’ – Warner Bros, Paramount, MGM, RKO Radio Pictures and 20th Century Fox – produced 90% of fiction films – used vertical integration
* The Golden Era of Hollywood
* ‘The Jazz Singer’ – the first talkie – released in 1927, directed by Alan Crosland, starred Al Jolson and produced by Warner Brothers
* Steamboat Willie – 1928, Walt Disney studios – it was the first fully synchronised sound cartoon and the first cartoon to feature a fully post-produced soundtrack
* Actors: Rudolph Valentino, Gloria Swanson, Douglas Fairbanks, Charlie Chaplin
* First Academy Awards was held in 1929

**Music:**

* Jazz Age – Louis Armstrong, Harlem Renaissance
* The Charleston

**Sport:**

* Baseball
* Babe Ruth

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| BOOM | BUST |
| * GDP rose from $73.3 billion in 1920 to $104.4 billion in 1929 * Strength of industry and big business * Urbanisation – markets expand * Ford put ‘America on wheels’ (Model T Fords only $400) * Cinema * Unemployment never passed 4% * Inflation never rose above 1% * Average industrial working week reduced from 47 hours to 44 hours between 1920 and 1929 * GDP grew by 2% a year * Real wages went up by 30% * Expansion of energy industry * Easy credit * Consumer boom * Innovation in production methods * Synthetics * Communications revolution * Skyscrapers and highways * Consumer durables/ electrical goods * Stock market * In 1929 350,000 homes had radios – source of advertisement * US corporations saw a 62% rise in profits | * Decline of staple industries * Technological unemployment – mechanisation took away an estimate of 2 million jobs * United Mine Workers had 5 million members in 1920 but only 75,000 by 1928 * AFL lost 1.7 million members * Problems in agriculture * Wheat prices fell by more than 50%, similar decline in the livestock, cotton, wool and corn industries * Value of farmland fell by more than 30% * Little securitisation * Easy credit * 1928 – Federal Reserve system had barely $200 million of government securities ($8 billion worth of loans were outstanding) * Cartels, trusts and monopolies * Stock exchange * Poor black Americans |

**Mass Production and the Assembly line:**

* Increased production – more efficient, use of shift work to keep the line going
* Encouraged consumer spending
* Lower prices of consumer goods

**Factors contributing to the 1920s boom:**

**Size and Wealth of the USA**

* Immigration – immigrant workforce
* Growth in population, by 1920 it was at 106.4 million – increased purchasing power
* Natural resources – Texas oil reserves, Oklahoma oil, Kentucky Coalfields, West Virginia and Pennsylvania coal, Iron, lead, tin, copper and metals as well as timber from the Pacific North West. Southern states - King Cotton
* Great Plains now inhabited – land acquired through Westward expansion
* Urbanisation and expansion of markets – overseas trade

**Impact of WW1**

* Demand for supplies and armaments high, America provided for Europe
* By 1918 – The USA was the world’s largest industrial power
* Benefitted from European self-destruction

**The American Entrepreneurial spirit**

* Keen inventors – electrical light bulb, sewing machine, telephone – Edison and Bell
* ‘rugged individualism’, belief in Social Darwinism
* ‘American Dream’
* Large source of cheap labour
* Communications revolution and advertising
* John Styth Pemberton developed the formula for Coca Cola – the soft drink industry took off

**Republican Government Policy**

* Easy credit/ hire purchase
* Laissez Faire economics (Mellon Plan)
* 1922 – Fordney McCumber Tariff Act placed import duties on all manner of foreign produce – protectionism
* Cut taxes, 1921 to 1926 – tax on the rich reduced from 50% to 20% (Mellon Plan)
* Encouraged investment into developing industries
* Legislation against trade unions – ‘Yellow Dog Contracts’ (no strike agreement) were upheld in court, management given greater control over their workforce

**Progress in technology and industrial technique**

* Assembly line – unskilled workers easily trained
* Innovation in production methods
* Development of synthetics
* Ford $5 wages a day – in return, workers couldn’t join a trade union
* 1921 - Federal Highways Act boosted the motor industry as federal government could now build roads (during the 1920s, 10,000 miles were built a year on average)
* 1927 – Spirit of St Louis – Charles Lindbergh flew across the Atlantic solo

**New Business Methods**

* By 1929, the 200 largest corporations controlled 20% of the USA wealth and 40% of its business wealth
* Specialist workers, entrepreneurs and easy investments from loans
* Herbert Hoover (Secretary of Commerce) encouraged trade association growth
* Criticism came from the fact that they looked very similar to the pre-war trusts
* Advertising and marketing

**Growth of Credit**

* Made sure domestic spending was possible
* Hire purchase introduced
* Between 1919 and 1929 – the amount of consumer credit grew from $32 billion to $60 billion

**Weaknesses of the American Economy:**

**Agricultural industry**

* WW1 saw massive growth – prices rose by 25%, demand quickly fell after WW1
* Prohibition cut the demand for grain
* Higher living standards – more meat, less cereals
* Price of bread fell from $2.50 to $1
* Synthetics> cotton
* 1920s – 13 million acres of farmland were taken out of production, yet output increased by 9%
* Technology increased efficiency but it meant that food was over produced, prices dropped, and workers were laid off
* 2/3 of farms were working at a loss
* Sharecroppers and small time farmers suffered
* 1923 – Agricultural credits Act, funded 12 intermediate Credit Banks to offer loans to cooperative farms – little use to small farms
* 1921 and 1922 – tariffs did protect from foreign markets
* President Coolidge vetoed 2 proposals to set a fixed price on goods

**Uneven distribution of income**

* Average wage was $921 in the North and East, in the South East it was $365
* African and Native Americans were suffering
* Native Americans had infertile reservation land – caused starvation
* African Americans were concentrated in the poor south east
* 1/3 of the nation’s wealth was going to the top 5%
* 60% were on or below the poverty line
* Hoboes – travelling seasonal workers

**International debt**

* America wanted money back, they had leant a significant amount to Europe during WW1 – but Europe was in debt
* American tariff policy made it hard for Europeans to pay them back as they could not export goods to the USA in large enough quantities to earn the money
* Europe was relying on the German reparations bill (Treaty of Versailles)
* America was loaning the money to Germany so effectively they were paying themselves back (Dawes and Young Plan)

**Falling Demand**

* High tariffs in Europe
* Small businesses were struggling
* For every 4 successful businesses, 3 failed
* After 1926 – demand for new construction projects fell – reduced demand for materials, workers and transport
* Over production and market saturation
* Sign of gathering storm – house prices drop, car sales dropping, increase in wages slows

**Speculation on the Stock Market**

* Easy credit led to debt
* Get rich quick schemes
* Florida Land Boom – sudden increased demand for land in Florida – a swindle
* Large scale developments, increased opportunities
* A land boom can only be sustained as long as there were more purchasers than sellers
* Many people were scammed
* 1926 – hurricanes in Florida killed 400 people and left 50,000 homeless
* ‘buying on the margin’ – high risk
* Radio Corporation of America rose from 85 cents to 420 cents – inflated prices
* Banking system was out of date
* 30,000 banks were open, many were very small and unregulated

**Henry Ford:**

* Assembly line (1913) – lowered costs from $850 to $310
* Decreased production time from 12 hours to 2.5 hours
* ¾ cars were bought on instalment plans
* 1914 – set wages at $5 for an 8-hour day – kept workers loyal
* Kept good working conditions though still uses strike breakers
* Shift work pattern
* Model T Fords ‘put America on Wheels’, they were ‘horseless carriages’
* The car industry was a symbol of the transition between agricultural America and industrial America
* Ford Motor Company, 1903 – by 1908 output was at 100 cars a day
* By 1926 – 1 Model T Ford every 10 seconds
* By 1929 – motor industry employed 7% of all American industrial workers and therefore payed 9% of all industrial wages
* Indirectly created jobs in rubber, steel, paint, timber and electrics
* Ford Hunger March 1932 – in Detroit there were high levels of unemployment

**Wall Street Crash and the Depression:**

* 24th October 1929
* Mellon says don’t spend your way out of a depression (bad advice)
* ‘In Hoover we trusted, and now we’ve busted
* Shrewd investors sold shares, triggered a panic
* Unregulated stock market

**Reasons why**

* Buying on the margin
* Easy credit and hire purchase
* Tariffs
* Rapid selling of shares/ panic selling/ shrewd investors
* Banks going bankrupt
* Over speculation – inflated prices
* Decline in traditional industries, car sales slowed down, saturated market
* Supply and demand, the housing market
* People not paying back their loans
* Government economic policy
* Low taxation and stagnation of wages
* High unemployment and poverty
* Farming in decline

**Impact**

* Companies close
* 12 million out of work
* 25% unemployed
* 12,000 made unemployed a day
* 20,000 companies go bankrupt
* 1616 banks go bankrupt
* 1 in 20 farmers evicted
* 23,000 committed suicide in one year
* The Great Depression

**FOREIGN POLICY**

**Post WW1:**

* ‘return to normalcy’
* Isolationism back (or was it?)
* Maintain their naval power and stop a naval arms race
* Restrain Japanese naval expansion in the West Pacific and prevent the renewal of an Anglo-Japanese alliance
* Four Power Treaty – countries agreed to respect each other’s interests in the Far East as well as China’s open-door policy
* Japan promised to remove troops from Shantung and the US agreed not to strengthen its military presence in Guam
* Fear of communism
* 1924 – Dawes Plan – reduced loans to £50 million a year – making it easier for Germany to pay reparations
* 1928 – Kellog Briand Pact – an international agreement to outlaw war
* 1929 – Young Plan – aimed to reschedule both reparations payments and repayment die to public loans (never really executed)
* US investments in Latin America doubled from 1924-1929 from $1.5 billion to $3 billion
* US gave Colombia $25 million for their support in Panama’s independence
* Ongoing dispute with Mexico after US intervened in their territory
* Disputes in Nicaragua

**THE GREAT DEPRESSION to WW2**

**Effects of the Great Depression:**

* Dust Bowls – drought in the Great Plains in the 1930s effecting 1 million acres
* Black Sunday April 14th, 1935 – storm very damaging to agriculture – winds of 60mph
* 200,000 Hoboes
* 1932 – Pecora Commission established by the Senate to study the causes of the Wall Street Crash
* Unemployment at 25% (11 million) – 1932, 15 million in 1933
* Lack of demand – failing old industries
* 85,000 businesses left bankrupt
* Banks going bankrupt

**Hoover and The Great Depression:**

* Hoovervilles – shanty towns
* Hooverblankets
* Soup Kitchens
* ‘prosperity is just around the corner’ – claims by Hoover
* Pro-rugged individualism
* Feared the loss of individualism
* Merge the private and public sector

**Volunteerism: persuade businesses to take action to deal with the crisis, no laws passed**

* Business leaders – sent to the White House and asked to pledge an oath to maintain wages and employment
* State governments were asked to create public works projects e.g. dig a ditch, making a dam
* Emergency Committee for Employment – October 1930 – Coordinated voluntary relief agencies, relying on charity – people lost their fortune so how were they to pay?
* Taxes – cut by 2/3 but unemployment was so high that it was ineffective
* Government spending was increased to $2.2 billion in 1931
* Republicans lost 8 senate seats and the House in the 1930 midterms

**Why Volunteerism failed:**

* Business broke their pledges - US Steel, General Motors and others cut their wages in 1931
* Unemployment continued to rise
* Dependency and charity not working – In Philadelphia, 300,000 were unemployed but relief payments were cut to $4.23 per family per week, in June 1932 – they were suspended all together
* Too little too late

**Intervention taken by Hoover:**

* RFC (Reconstruction Finance Corporation) – makes loans to large economic organisations
* Glass-Steagall Act, 1933 – Gave $750 million of government gold reserves for loans to private business
* Public Works – January RFC gave $2 billion to state and local governments to initiate public works programmes – funded from taxation – aimed to get people back to work, payments would encourage spending and stimulate growth
* October 1930, Emergency Committee for Employment set up to co-ordinate voluntary relief agencies
* 1931 – National Credit Corporation set up but largest bankers – led money to smaller banks to make loans to businesses

**Why the initiatives failed:**

* Failed to stop a rapid rise in unemployment
* Too little too late
* Lack of support
* Keep financiers investing government money into private enterprise
* Republicans believed in the balanced budget and low taxes – not helping anyone – Andrew Mellon stood by this

**Hoover needed:**

* State governments to keep up their spending
* Farmers cutting production
* Employers keeping employees on payroll
* Banking system reform and regulation

**Smoot-Hawley Tariff – 1930:**

* Raised entry tax on more than 20,000 items
* Sponsored by Senator Reed Smoot of Utah and Willis C Hawley of Oregon
* Reduced American imports and exports by more than 50%
* May 1930, 1028 economists petitioned for Hoover to veto the bill; Henry Ford campaigned for the veto
* Hoover did not like the bill, but he yielded to pressure and signed it into law
* FDR would use it against him

**Reconstruction Finance Corporation:**

* Giving loans to big companies
* Railroads, insurance, banks
* 50% of money went to the 7 largest banks

**Emergency Relief and Reconstruction Act:**

* Money/ loans given to the states to run public works schemes

**Federal Home Loan Bank Act:**

* Loans to help people pay for mortgages
* Only 50% given

**Moratorium and the NCC:**

* June 20th, 1931 – Hoover moratorium, proposal for a 1-year halt in reparation payments by Germany to France and payments of Allied war debts to the US
* France and others say no
* 15 nations supported it
* December – earned congressional approval
* June 16th-19th 1932 – Lausanne Conference in Switzerland to find a solution
* Hoover urged the major US banks to form a consortium known as ‘National Credit Corporation (NCC)’ in 1931 – volunteerism
* Federal Home Loan Bank Act – too little too late

**Final Attempts:**

* 1931 – unemployment at 24.9%
* More than 5,000 banks had failed
* Top rate of income tax had been cut from 73% to 24% under Mellon
* Revenue Act of 1932 increased income tax to 63%, estate tax was doubled, and corporations were taxed at 14%

**Hoover’s Economic Problems:**

* Maladministration of resources – Republicans, rugged individualism, free market
* Production capacity raced ahead of buying power – car sails, the housing market
* Too large a share of profits went to too few pockets
* 27,000 families with incomes under $1500 – Poverty
* High Earners received very little taxation – creates extreme wealth/ class divide
* Inability to invest productively
* ‘unstable foundations’ - buying on credit/ on the margin/ easy term loans/ hire purchase/ non regulated banking system/ laissez faire economics (Andrew Mellon)/ saturated markets/ tariffs/ supply and demand
* Wages not increasing
* Rich industrialists
* Unequal distribution of wealth – 60% on or below the poverty line, 1/3 of wealth goes to top 5%
* The Stock Market was unstable and there was a lot of over speculation

**But**

* Not all classes invested in the stock market
* Not totally the government’s fault

**The Bonus Marchers:**

* By Spring of 1932, anger and resentment were mounting in the unemployed
* Veterans of WW1, without work and food
* March on Washington demanding their veteran’s bonus of $3.5 billion paid now not in 20 years (1924 World War Adjusted Compensation Act)
* Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) pressed the federal government to allow early redemption of certificates due to the depression
* January 1932, 25,000 - ‘Cox’s army march on Washington’ (led by James Renshaw Cox)
* 20,000 marched in Mid-June – ‘the bonus expeditionary force’
* They set up tents and packing crates on Anacosta flats, in the South West of Washington DC
* Accused of being a part of a communist conspiracy
* Congress supported immediate payment – Hoover and Republican congressmen did not
* 15th June – Patman Bonus Bill passed by the House to move forward the payment, but the Senate defeated the bill
* 28th July, Attorney General William Mitchell ordered their removal - Hoover approved of a plan to evict them, General Douglas MacArthur and Dwight Eisenhower sent in, Major George Patton led the attack
* MacArthur was ordered to assemble infantry and cavalry – families were attacked
* Smedley Butler – a retired marine corps major general, very popular military figure encouraged the protesters
* Used tear gas, tanks and machine guns
* 2 veterans were killed and a thousand were injured
* Damaged Hoover in the 1932 election
* 1933 – smaller Bonus march was diffused with an offer of jobs to veterans in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) as Fort Hunt, Virginia – lasted until 1942
* 1936 – Congress override Roosevelt’s veto and paid the veterans their bonuses early

**The Human Toll of the Depression**

* Racism and discrimination
* Migrant workers
* Hoovervilles, dust bowls, homelessness and hoboes
* Even a Hooverville in central park
* Hoover flags – empty pockets turned out
* Hoover leather – cardboard used to fix warn out shoes
* Hoover wagon – automobiles without fuel, pulled by horses
* Soup kitchens invented by Benjamin Thompson
* New Deal – Federal Transient Service (FTS) 1933-35 – relief for the homeless
* 1934 – Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act and Taylor Grazing Act prevented farms from failing
* The 1940s saw an improvement in the economy and an eradication of shanty towns

**The Dust Bowl**

* Bad weather, poor agricultural practices
* Southern and mid-western great plains
* 1 million acres
* Panhandles of Texas and Oklahoma
* New Mexico, Colorado and Kansas
* ‘Dirty Thirties’
* 1934 – estimated 75% of US effected by storms – In New England, red sow fell
* ‘black blizzards’ and ‘black rollers’
* 350 houses torn down after 1 storm; 500,000 left homeless
* Revenue fell by 50%
* Dust pneumonia and malnutrition
* 7,000 deaths

**Farmers:**

* Over production (after WW1)
* Bonanza farms
* Mechanisation leading to unemployment
* Sharecropping
* Can’t afford rent
* Dust Bowls
* Hoboes heading West to fruit farms e.g. in California (Orange County)
* Migrant workers

**Migrant Labour**

* By 1940 – 2.5 million had moved out of the plain states
* 200,000 moved to California (Orange County)
* Accused of taking jobs
* Low income
* Jobs hazardous, housing and health was poor
* Most from Oklahoma ‘Okies’

**Discrimination:**

* Unemployment among black workers at 50% by 1932
* 1929 to 1935 – 82,000 Mexicans deported, 500,000 returned by choice or through trickery/threats
* Sexism – women stealing jobs
* 1930-1931 – 77% of schools refuse to hire married women, 63% fired women who were married

**Mexican Repatriation:**

* 1929-1936 – forced migration over the southern border
* Estimated between 500,000 and 2 million
* AFL and National Club of America for Americans said deportation would free jobs for ‘real Americans’
* Less than 10% of people on welfare were Mexicans
* US secretary of Labour, William N Doak planned to deport foreigners – Hoover endorsed him

**Was Hoover responsible for the Great Depression?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **YES** | **NO ‘the great innocent bystander’** |
| * He was a strong believer in rugged individualism * Smoot Hawley Tariff Act, 1932 (made foreign trade harder) * Hoovervilles – lack of provision for the poor * Bank Failures * Volunteerism did not work as it relied on state support, business cooperation and charity * RFC – only top 7 banks got 50% of the money | * Wall Street Crash (4 months after he was elected) * Unemployment already high * Fordney McCumber Act of 1922 (Harding) had raised Tariffs already * Already an uneven distribution of wealth * Some effort to introduce public works and loans – Reconstruction finance Corps, Emergency relief and reconstruction Act, Federal Home Loan Bank Act * Farms and traditional industry already declining (WW1 recovery) * Dust Bowls – weather not controllable * Banks unregulated * Unstable stock market * Increased government spending by $2.2 billion (Glass Steagall Act, 1933) * Republican policies * Volunteerism was an attempt to fix the problem * Foreign loans – 1924 and 1929 to Germany |

**Escaping Hard Times:**

**Music:**

* Big band and Jazz music
* New Orleans musicians – New York, Chicago Jazz
* Cab Calloway and Chick Webb
* White American Jazz artists received more airtime – Louis Armstrong, Jelly Roll Morton, Joe ‘King’ Oliver
* James Reese in Europe
* Fletcher Henderson – NY
* Duke Ellington and his big band – ‘It Don’t Mean a Thing (If it Ain’t Got That Swing)’

**Radio:**

* ‘A Potter Palm’ – amateur concert and big band jazz performances live from New York
* Newscasts – radio theatre – soap operas and religious sermons
* FDR’s Fireside chats
* ‘Amos ‘n’ Andy’ – popular (though racist) comedy
* NBC radio – 40 million listeners in 1930- 1931
* Bing Crosby Singer
* Abbott and Costello – comedy duo – ‘The Kate Smith Hour’ 1938
* The Grand Ole Opry – country music – November 28th 1925 launched
* Barn Dancing – Nashville, Tennessee
* Hank Williams, Patsy cline and Dolly Parton
* ‘Little Orphan Annie’ for children – Annie pins became popular merchandise, 6 million listeners

**Films:**

* The Big five are still as popular as ever – MGM, Paramount, RKO, Warner Bros, 20th Century Fox
* Frankenstein, 1931
* Wizard of Oz, 1939
* It Happened One Night, 1934
* Gone With The Wind, 1939
* Charlie Chaplin – City Lights, 1931, Modern Times, 1936
* Marx Brothers – Monkey Business, 1931, Duck Soup, 1933
* Of Mice and Men (Book and Film)
* Walt Disney – Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937)

**Lame Duck Months:**

* November to March
* Hoover tried to revive the economy and made many promises about banks, loans and tax cuts
* Unemployment reached 15 million
* Wages were cut
* Strike action spread
* Companies were going bankrupt
* Run on the banks

**FDR 1932 Election win:**

* Offered a change
* Three R’s – Relief, Recovery and Reform
* New Deals – 1933 and 1935
* Ready to experiment with policies
* Toured the USA
* Confidence and optimism
* Good orator
* Fireside Chats – Radio – very effective
* Promise to end prohibition – ‘it’s time for a good beer’
* Hoover had poorly handled the Wall Street Crash and the Depression
* ‘anyone but Hoover’
* FDR campaigned for ‘a crusade to restore America’ and ‘a call to arms’
* He won 42 out of the 48 states
* First speech ‘the only thing we have to fear, is fear itself’
* Brain Trust group of advisers
* The Roosevelt Coalition – alignment of interest groups and voting blocs in the US that supported the New Deal and voted Democrat

**The First Hundred Days:**

* The Recovery Programme
* Took the nation off the gold standard – allowed budget deficits and disliked concessions of labour – made businessmen and bankers angry
* Shut the banks for 4 days
* New Deal promoted social security, put heavier taxes on the wealthy, put new controls on banks and public utilities, put enormous work relief programme in place for the poor
* Nearly 1/3 of people were relying on charity handouts
* Evictions were common
* 13 million unemployed
* No benefits system was in place
* 21st Amendment – repealed the 18th amendment – prohibition over
* 15 Alphabet agencies in the first 100 days
* Fireside chats
* Use of Executive orders

**Aims of the New Deal (1st – 1933-1935, 2nd 1935-WW2)**

* Relief, Recovery and Reform
* Improve trust in banks – ensure savings are made again
* Take the country out of the Great Depression
* Bring prosperity back to farmers and workers
* Banking reform
* Unemployment tackled
* End prohibition
* Public works schemes
* Increase power given to the federal government

**Context to the New Deal:**

Banking:

* 75% of banks were shut
* 38 states had proclaimed indefinite bank holiday

**Unemployment:**

* Toledo, Ohio was at 80%
* 90% in Lowell, Massachusetts
* Aim was to get the USA ‘back to work’

**Farmers:**

* Dust Bowls, drought
* Can’t afford mortgages
* Over production
* Mechanisation
* Migrant camps in California
* Okies and Hoboes

**Workers:**

* Migrant workers
* High unemployment
* Limited rights – Trade Unions

**Opposition to the New Deal**

**The Left:**

* Not gone far enough
* 11 million still unemployed in mid 1934
* Dr Francis Townsend – retired doctor from California, wanted state Pensions of $200 a month – had the support of half a million old age pensioners in his Townsend Clubs across the country
* Father Charles E. Coughlin – radio priest with 35 million listeners – supported FDR originally but was angry when he believed FDR was too friendly with the banks. In 1934, founded the National Union of Social Justice and claimed that FDR had been influenced by the banking community – advocated monetary reform and using silver coinage and inflation 🡪 lost support as he became increasingly anti-Semitic and started admiring European fascists
* Huey Long – ‘the kingfish’ – ‘share the wealth campaign’ – wanted to increase tax to reduce wages – shot and killed in November 1936. A threat to FDR
* Upton Sinclair – End Poverty in California, 1934 – called for a massive public works programme, tax reform and guaranteed pensions
* American Liberty League – Founded in 1934 by Al Smith – formed by wealthy business elites and political figures – conservatives opposed to the New Deal

**The Right:**

* Gone too far
* Interventionism was bad
* The Supreme Court declared many acts unconstitutional
* ‘the sovietisation of America’
* ‘the Red Deal with the soviet seal’
* Opposition came mostly from the Republican Party
* Liberty League

**Supreme Court:**

* Very conservative chief justice Charles Evan Hughes
* 1935 – ‘sick chicken case’ found NRA unconstitutional
* 1936 – AAA found unconstitutional
* 11 new deal acts unconstitutional
* FDR threatened a court packing bill
* Post 1935, their opposition builds and builds
* Th SC did switch and uphold a minimum wage act and the Wagner Act
* In 1937, Judge Willis Van Devanter retired so FDR could nominate his own justice

**‘Everyone is against it except the voters’ - FDR**

**Women and the New Deal**

* Women held important posts in government during the New Deal era
* Eleanor Roosevelt was one of the most politically active first ladies
* Frances Perkins – Secretary of Labour from 1933 to 1945
* Ruth Bryan Owen – first female ambassador (to Denmark) in 1933
* The New Deal itself did little for women
* 1993 – Economy Act forbade members of the same family from working for the federal government – 75% of those who lost their jobs were married women
* NRA codes allowed for unequal wages
* CCC barred women entirely
* 1940 – 90% of jobs were filled by men
* In the 1930s women earned half of what men earned

**African Americans and the New Deal**

* No civil rights legislation
* FDR needed the support of Southern Democrats
* AAA worked against African Americans
* ‘last to be hired, first to be fired’
* NRA codes allowed unequal wages
* Some African Americans called the NRA the ‘Negro-run-around’
* CCC was run by a southern racist
* 1934 and 1937 – anti lynching bills introduced to congress, but FDR did nothing to support either and both were defeated
* However, there were more African Americans in government
* Mary McLeod Bethune at the National Youth Administration
* An ‘African American Cabinet’ was an exaggeration
* In the civil service, the number of African Americans triples between 1932 and 1942 to 150,000
* Some evidence of ‘positive discrimination’

**Native Americans and the New Deal**

* John Collier made Commissioner for the Bureau of Indian Affairs – he was determined to reserve government policy towards Native Americans and abolish assimilation
* Indian Reorganisation Act, 1934 – encouraged Native American culture
* Tribes were reorganised into self-governing bodies
* They could control land sales on the reservations while new tribal corporations were established to manage tribal resources
* Some argued that respect for Native American culture undermines the efforts to modernise America and bring Native Americans into mainstream society
* 75/245 tribes vetoes when asked to vote on the measures
* Native American poverty still around – often among the poorest in America

**The Second New Deal:**

* 1935 onwards
* Smith Connally War Labour Disputes Act, 1943 – gave the president power to seize all factories on strike and made it an offence to encourage strikes
* Creation of the Executive Office of the Presidency 1938

**1936 election:**

* Won by a landslide – 11 million more votes (all but 2 states)
* Alfred Landon Vs FDR
* Landon ‘work and extravagance does not create jobs’
* FDR given a mandate to launch attacks against the Supreme Court
* FDR – ‘the forces of organised money are unanimous in their hate for me – and I welcome their hatred’

**Roosevelt Recession:**

* 1937-1938
* October 19th 1937 – Black Monday – worse than any day of the 1929 crash
* Sit down strikes
* Big loss in confidence in the US economy
* Steel, car and rubber industries
* All union members were labelled communist and treated poorly by strike breakers
* Unemployment rose in 1938
* Benefits system was being put in place
* Social security – homes, roads, schools and hospitals
* Industrial production fell by 33%
* National income fell by 10%
* Unemployment at 20% - 11.5 million
* Near the 1938 mid-terms, FDR reversed laissez faire policies and increased government spending at the expense of increasing debt – spent $3.75 billion for relief and public works

**Unemployment**

* 1932 – 23.6%
* 1938 – 19%
* 1940 – 14.6%

**Hollywood:**

* Fred Astaire and Ginger Rodgers
* Nickelodeons still running

**FDR’s foreign policy:**

* ‘Good Neighbour policy’ – economic relations with Latin America
* Neutrality Acts, Cash and Carry Act and Lend Lease Act
* ‘moral force’ for good
* ‘arsenal of democracy’
* 1937 – Quarantine Speech – planting a seed for Congress and the public to change their mind, encouraging intervention and swaying public opinion – warning of the rise of dictators in Europe/Asia
* Gallop Poll in 1937 – 70% thought WW1 was a mistake, 95% were against involvement in future wars

**WW2:**

* Cost $37 billion
* Churchill – ‘give us the tools and we’ll finish the job’
* Hawks and Doves in Cabinet during war time
* America enter the war in December 1941
* War in the Pacific – Island hopping war – General Douglas Macarthur in charge
* General Eisenhower in charge of the war in Europe
* Vietnam was occupied by Japan
* Axis Powers – Japan, Italy and Germany
* June 1942 – Battle of Midway – 300 Japanese aircraft shot down, US victory
* War in Asia meant Americans were fighting in new, unfamiliar terrain
* 6th August 1945 – America nuclear bomb Hiroshima
* 9th August – America nuclear bomb Nagasaki

**Japan:**

* Emerging as an economic power
* Emperor Hirohito wanted to have Japan catch up with the west
* September 1931 – Japan invaded Manchuria
* By March 1932, Manchuria was fully under Japanese control
* China appealed to the League of Nations, but nothing happened
* Japan invades China
* July 1937 – Japan-China war – Japan takes control of China’s coast
* US cut trade with Japan, Japan suffers at the loss of an oil supply
* Japan wanted to take control of South East Asia
* Japan was on a collision course with the USA
* October 1941 – US order Japan to withdraw from Asia so they stopped shipping oil
* 7th December 1941 Pearl Harbour – Japanese bomb Pearl Harbour
* Kamikaze pilots
* March 1945 – US deploy firebombs on Japanese cities – bombed civilians
* At the Potsdam Conference, Japan was asked to surrender – they refused

**Philippines:**

* February 1942 – Singapore captured by Japanese – Singapore was a part of the British Empire – they also took the Philippines (controlled by USA) Showed expansionist threat of Japan and they swept across SE Asia
* By October 1944 – US forces were back in the Philippines
* Island hopping
* General MacArthur in charge of troops in Pacific

**Wartime propaganda:**

* ‘Casablanca’ film
* The ‘Good war’
* Fireside chats
* The victory in Midway inspired the film ‘Midway’
* ‘Meet Me in St Louis’ film

**War Production Board**

* Supervised wartime production
* $182 billion worth of weapons and supplies
* 40% of the worlds output of munitions overseen

**Mini Timeline:**

1935 – First Neutrality Act

1937 – Quarantine Speech

Munich Agreement – Hitler takes Czechoslovakia

1939 Nazi-soviet Pact – Hitler promises not to invade the Soviet Union – they invade Poland together

1939 Germany invades Poland

1939 Cash and Carry Act

1940 Battle of Britain

1941 Lend Lease Act

1941 Atlantic Charter – FDR and Churchill plan post war Europe

1941 Germany invades the Soviet Union – Operation Barbarossa, Soviet Union join Britain, Lend Lease is extended

1941 Pearl Harbour – USA enters the war

**Opposition to WW2:**

* 95% don’t want war
* Pacifists opposed engagement oversees
* Irish or German loyalties opposed to a UK-US alliance – Southern Ireland stayed Neutral
* Some congressmen thought they were tricked into WW1 due to profiteering, banks and business
* Father Coughlin – personal attacks on FDR, strongly isolationist
* America First and Charles Lindbergh (admired the Third Reich – FDR was convinced he was a Nazi) – backed by the Chicago Tribune Newspapers, late 1930s he made several visits to Germany, Powerful weapon against FDR, had 850,000 members

The Neutrality Acts 1930s:

* Congress in 1933 was dominated by anti-war/ anti interventionist politicians
* In Europe – Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin taking over
* 1935 Neutrality Act
* Prohibited the exports of ‘arms ammunition and implements of war’
* Extended in 1936 to prohibit America from extending loans to belligerent nations
* Arms manufacturers in US needed an export license
* FDR originally opposed but gave in due to congressional and public opinion
* 1937 Neutrality Act
* Spanish Civil War 1936 and fascism in Europe – increased support for extending the NA
* US citizens were forbidden from travelling on belligerent ships
* American merchant ships prevented from transporting arms to belligerents
* Export embargo can be expanded to any additional ‘articles or materials’
* Civil wars included
* Gave the president a greater role
* ‘cash and carry provision’ – US provision can be given (not arms) if it was immediately paid for
* Cash and carry only lasted 2 years
* 1939 Neutrality Act
* Germany occupy Czechoslovakia in March 1939
* Congress refuses to renew Cash and Carry
* The act lifted the arms embargo and put all trade with belligerent nations under the terms of ‘cash and carry’
* American ships still barred from transporting goods to belligerent ports
* September 1939 – Hitler invades Poland
* May 1940 – Hitler has western Europe – Blitzkrieg tactics

Impact of WW2:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Political | Economic | Social – African Americans |
| * Increased federal intervention * Smith Act, 1940 – eliminating threats to the governments * 1940 – conscription * Office of war mobilisation – control supplies and prices * National War Labour Board – set wages * War Management Board – 1942 – recruit workers * Office of scientific Research and Development – weapons * Elections of 1940 and 1944 – FDR continues to win (dies April 1945) | * Control inflation by freezing prices * Rationing of petrol, coffee and sugar * 90% subject to price control so no fluctuation * 1941 – 9 million unemployed, 1942 – effectively no one was unemployed * War Production – tanks, rifles and aircraft (Boeing) * Farming income up by 250% * GNP 1939 - $91.3, 1945 - $166.6 billion * National Debt – 1941, $41 billion, 1945, $260 billion * Taxes increase – top rate was at 94% * Cured the depression * rationing | * Double V campaign – victory at home (civil rights) and abroad (win the war) * Philip Randolph – he was going to march on Washington, but he called it off when FDR introduced the FEPC * FEPC (Fair employment practice committee) – companied like Boeing were threatened if they didn’t hire African Americans – investigated Boeing * Mostly had reserve roles * Armed forces were segregated but for the first time, African Americans were able to be pilots (The Tuskegee airmen) – could train as officers * Navy was the worst in terms of discrimination – given very limited positions * Inferior training * Explosion in the Navy killed over 200 African Americans – media highlighted the segregation * CORE – congress of Racial Equality – Civil Rights organisation * Direct Action in protests * In some ghetto areas there were race riots – in 1943 in Detroit, 40 were killed and millions worth of damage was caused |
| Social – Japanese Americans | Social - Women | Social – Trade Unions |
| * Internment camps set up * John Dewitt (Chief of army in the West Coast) responsible for internment camps * 150,000 were sent to the 10 internment camps * Armed guards and barracks * Internment ended in 1944 * Divided into Issei (Japanese immigrants) and Nissei (Japanese born in America) * The FBI under J Edgar Hoover investigated Japanese Americans (spy hunting) – they found no one * Houses and businesses were raided * There was ‘yellow fear’ | * Rosie the riveter * 13 million increased to 19 million women in work * 60% of women weer employed * Eleanor Roosevelt encouraged women * Munitions factories offered jobs * Equal pay in some states (short-lived) * African American women neglected * Majority gave up their roles at the end of the war * 350,000 women fought in WW2 | * More workers * American Federation of labour – Samuel Gompers * Promised not to strike – wages were increasing * TU membership was increasing * Congress of industrial organisations |
| Social – Social mobility and urbanisation | | |
| * Increased * Increased wages * Increased saving * Affluent society * African Americans move to cities * 27 million moved during the war * Population of rural areas decreased by 20% | | |

Why was there mistrust between the allies during WW2?:

* 1939 Nazi Soviet pact – Stalin given time to prepare because he knew Hitler wanted the USSR
* June 1941 – Germany invaded the Soviet Union
* December 1941 – USA enter the war
* 1944 – In Warsaw, Poland, German forces slaughter the polish citizens, the Red Army (the USSR) go in to help but they were too late
* USSR claim they were resting their troops
* USA think the soviets wated to cease Poland
* June 1944 – delayed landing in France – USA tell USSR it would happen in Early Spring – this was manipulative – the USSR say they did it on purpose, but USA say it was because of the weather
* Soviet Union lost 27 million people – ‘they gave blood’
* April 1945 – FDR died
* May 1945 – War in Europe over
* Stalin finds out about the atomic bomb through spies
* Hungary controlled by Rakosi (Rakosi was trained in Moscow)

Why did Truman drop the Atomic Bomb?:

* End the war against Japan – estimated that 1 million more would die
* Retaliation for Pearl Harbour
* Truman resentful of Japanese brutality – ‘when you have to deal with a beast, you have to treat him as a beast’
* At Potsdam they told Hirokito to surrender – he said no
* The Manhattan Project – creation of the bomb – Robert Oppenheimer (chief scientist) – ‘I am become death, the destroyer of worlds’
* $2 billion hidden from congress
* Bargaining tool with Soviet Union
* New dominant world power – show the world their scientific developments
* China turns communist in 1949

The Conferences

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | TEHRAN | YALTA | POTSDAM |
| WHEN | November 1943 | February 1945 | July 1945 |
| WHO | FDR, Stalin, Churchill | FDR, Stalin, Churchill | Truman, Attlee, Stalin |
| WHAT | * Second front – D-day landings * Stalin had bugged FDR’s room | * Decided to split Germany into 4 * Joint allied commission * Stalin demanded reparations and dismantled East German factories * Free and fair elections in Eastern Europe * United Nations * War against Japan * Germany to be demilitarised | * Germany split into 4 * Stalin enters the war on Japan * Eastern Europe – free and fair elections not happening * Pressure on Japan to surrender * ‘new weapon’ hidden from USSR * Nuremburg trials * Atomic monopoly |
| RELATIONSHIP STATUS | Good working relationship  ‘marriage of convenience’ – they had a common enemy | Starting to get a bit rocky | Borderline abusive and very toxic  Hiding secrets from one another  No longer have a common enemy and their ideologies are clashing |

1945-1975

Post WW2:

* Baby boom
* Affluent society
* America had 7% of the world’s population but 42% of global income
* Per capita income was as much as the UK
* GI Bill of Rights – demobilisation done much better than WW1
* Investment in schools and roads
* North South divide becomes more prevalent – By 1946, 33% of Southern homes had no running water
* Car industry booming
* Facilities – Holiday inn 1952, McDonalds 1955 (Idaho)
* Interstate Highway Act – road building
* 1946 – 2.1 million cars owned, 1955 – 7.9 million

Achieving victory on all fronts:

* Stopped the Japanese
* Success for women
* Double V campaign
* Economic gain – recovery from the Great Depression
* Became a creditor nation
* Mainland USA was not destroyed
* Biggest war industry
* Battle of Midway
* Protection of convoys (merchant ships) – impact of new technology
* War in Pacific
* Superiority of air power – 1943 bombing raids
* Develop vast war machine – military at 11 million
* 1943 – Stalingrad and Kursk
* D-Day 1944
* Stalin ‘British gave time. Americans gave money. Soviet Union gave blood’
* Arsenal of democracy – global policeman – made the world safe for democracy
* FEPC
* Shaped the post war world

**Truman:**

* During WW2 – he headed the Truman commission which investigated fraud in defence contracts – saved the government millions of dollars
* FDRs VP
* Democrat

Full Employment Bill, 1945:

* Declared employment to be a right and required the government to ensure that jobs were available
* Increased the dole (unemployment benefit)
* Included a higher minimum wage
* Farm price supports
* public works programme
* Congress watered down many proposals

Labour relations:

* Inflation encouraged union leaders to call strikes demanding wage increases
* Called a special labour-management conference in November 1945 – attempted to prevent further strike action
* Conference ended without agreement
* April 1945, The United Mine Workers came out on strike for a pay increase
* May 1945 – railroads hit by strikes
* Truman decided on firm action and announced that he would conscript the railroad workers and have the army run the railroads
* Wanted to introduce legislation that would restrict the right to strike against the government and would impose penalties
* He demonstrated the hostility between the federal government and labour unions
* In 1946 mid-terms – Republican won the House and the Senate
* When congress proposed the Taft-Hawley Bill which made unions liable for violations of contracts and prevented them from insisting that all workers must join a union as a condition of employment, Truman vetoed the bill, but congress overturned the veto
* In 1948 – Truman tried to call congress into special session and tried unsuccessfully to pass New-Deal type legislation

1948 Election:

* Truman expected to lose
* Democrats split
* Henry Wallace set up the Progressive Party
* Strom Thurmond, southern conservative, disliked Truman’s support for civil rights and stood against Truman
* Thomas E. Dewey was the Republican candidate
* Truman promised New-Deal type measures and went on a 30,000-mile whistle stop tour of the USA defending his achievements
* Criticised the Republican ‘Do-Nothing’ congress
* Truman won over a 2 million vote majority
* Democrats regained control of congress

The Fair Deal:

* 1949 - ‘every segment of our population and every individual has right to expect from our government a fair deal’
* Tried to introduce welfare measures – but many were blocked
* He succeeded in raising the minimum wage, extending the Social Security act and he passed an act to assist slum clearance and to provide housing for the poor

**Eisenhower:**

* He headed Operation Torch – the successful allied invasion of North Africa and Sicily and the Italian mainland in 1943
* Made a full general in 1943
* Led successful D day landings
* Critics accused him of being too conservative, a do-nothing president who spent too much time golfing
* Accused of representing big business as his cabinet was composed of mostly millionaire businessmen
* Showed little sympathy for civil rights
* ‘safe pair of hands’
* Insisted leadership only works through ‘persuasion and conciliation and education and patience’
* Worked well with congress
* ‘hidden-handed presidency’.

Domestic achievements:

* ‘Dynamic conservatism’ programme
* ‘Conservative when it comes to money and liberal when it comes to human beings’
* Wanted to reduce the role of the federal government
* He ended wage and price controls and reduced farm subsidies
* Continued the New Deal and Fair Deal programmes and strengthened the Social Security Programme
* He increased minimum wage
* Created the Department of Health, Education and Welfare
* 1956 – Eisenhower created the Interstate Highway system, the single largest public works programme in US history – constructed 41,000 miles of road across the country
* Huge sums of money spent completing the St Lawrence Seaway linking the Great lakes with the Atlantic

**Kennedy and the New Frontier:**

John F Kennedy:

* Served in the US navy and was badly wounded but decorated for his bravery
* 1947 – elected as a democratic congressman
* 1952 – became a US senator
* 1953 – ‘Profiles in Courage’
* 1960 – chosen as the Democrat candidate for election
* Public perceived him to have a very happy marriage to Jackie Kennedy but they were unaware of his extra-marital affairs

1960 election:

* Kennedy (Dem) vs Nixon (Rep)
* Closest election since 1888
* JFK got a majority of just 118,574 votes

Why was Kennedy victorious?

* Kennedy was Catholic
* He was the son of the richest man in the USA – Joseph Kennedy
* Youthful image (43 years old) – Good looks and a glamorous wife
* Desire for change after the complacency of the Eisenhower administration
* Sputnik launched in 1957 by the USSR – Kennedy promised to beat communism
* He took advantage of the popularity of MLK – October 1960 – MLK arrested for trying to desegregate a restaurant in Atlanta. JFK phones MLK’s wife stating his support and his brother, Robert Kennedy, used his influence to obtain MLK’s release, well publicised and ensured African American support
* TV – 70 million viewers watched the 4 televised debates and were more impressed with JFK than with Nixon – Those who listened to the debates on the radio believed Nixon had won

The New Frontier:

* At first it was just a slogan used to inspire and unite young Americans
* Became a programme for reform and change
* Equal rights for African Americans
* ‘New Frontiersmen’
* Major changes to the central government
* Gathered a team of the brightest young experts from American universities – ‘The Brains Trust’ - Kennedy hoped that because they were young and fresh, they would come up with new ideas for tackling the problems in the USA

Civil Rights:

* Mixed Record
* Before 1963 – hesitant – did not wish to alienate conservative southerners because he needed their vote to get other legislation through
* Appointed 5 federal judges including Thurgood Marshall (a leading Civil Rights Activist)
* Threatened legal action against Louisiana for refusing to fund schools that were not segregated
* October 1962 – 23,000 federal troops sent to the University of Mississippi to make sure that James Meredith (a black student) could study there
* Civil Rights Bill introduced to congress in Feb, 1963 - Wanted to give African Americans equality in housing and education – the bill was defeated
* 1963 – March on Washington

The Economy:

* General tax cut as more spending means more goods sold
* Public works cost $900,000,000 – new roads and public buildings
* High tech companies given money to invest in high tech equipment to train workers
* Increased spending on defence and space technology – secured and created jobs
* Promised that the USA would put a man on the moon by the end of the decade
* Limited prices and wages to ensure inflation did not spiral out of control
* Unemployment in traditional industries like coal, iron and steel
* Unemployment twice as high among African Americans
* Boom was heavily dependent on government spending

Social reform:

* Increased minimum wage from $1 to $1.25 an hour
* Manpower and Training Act – retraining for the long term unemployed
* Area Redevelopment Act – fed govt give loans and grants to states with long-term unemployment
* Housing Act – Cheap loans for the redevelopment of inner cities
* Social Security Act – financial help given to the elderly and unemployed
* Social security benefits were extended to each child whose father was unemployed
* Limitations on Medicare (cheap system of state health insurance) – congress voted against it
* Slum clearance created housing shortages in inner-city areas
* Minimum wage increase only helped those who had a job already -poorest people could not afford to pay back the housing loans

Opposition:

* Criticised for being pre-occupied with foreign policy
* Lacked a clear and coherent programme
* Piecemeal proposals blocked by conservatives
* Southern Congressmen, even Democrats opposed his commitment to civil rights – feared that equal rights to African Americans would lose them the vote of whites in the South
* Some were opposed to increased power of the federal government and greater central government spending – many still wanted ‘rugged individualism’

**Johnson and ‘The Great Society’**

* 1963-1968

Civil rights:

* 1964 – Civil Rights Act – banned discrimination in public places, in federally assisted programmes and in employment
* 1965 – Voting Rights Act – appointed agents to ensure that voting procedures were carried out properly
* 1967 – Supreme Court declared all laws banning mixed race marriages had to be removed

Economy:

* Cut taxes – consumers spend more – businesses grow and jobs are created
* Appalachian Recovery Programme – federal funds given for the development of the Appalachians
* Office of Economic Opportunity set up schemes to help poor people in inner cities – funded new education and community projects, provided loans for local schemes
* ‘war on poverty’
* Manufacturers and shops had to label goods fairly and clearly
* Consumers had the right to return and exchange faulty goods
* $1.5 billion spent on the Head Start Programme to get teachers to provide additional education for the very young and very poor children

Social:

* Medical Care act – Medicare (for the old) and Medicaid (for the poor) – attempt to ensure all Americans had equal access to health care
* Elementary and Secondary Education Act – first major federal support for state education, federal money provided to ensure there was an equal standard of education across states
* Model Cities Act – urban renewal – federal funds for slum clearance and the provision of better services
* Minimum wage increased from $1.35 to $1.40 an hour

Opposition:

* Republicans accused him of wasting money on welfare programmes and undermining rugged individualism
* Vietnam was met with much opposition – too costly, spending diverted from the great society to military spending
* His decision not to run for president in 1968 was met with celebration
* Late 1960s – lots of violence in cities – often regarded as evidence that the Great Society had failed, In Detroit 100+ cities were burning
* ‘The Credibility Gap’ -the difference between a politician’s promises and their actions – Johnson’s credibility gap widened

Successes:

* Millions benefitted from the education and health care programmes
* 25 million were given access to decent health care
* The number of African Americans living below the poverty line fell by over 50%
* Johnson believed his greatest achievement was in civil rights

**Nixon**

1968 election:

* Nixon vs Herbert Humphrey (had been VP under LBJ)
* 500,000 votes victory for Nixon – 302 electoral college votes to Humphrey’s 191
* Nixon appealed to ‘middle America’ – ‘the silent majority’
* ‘Peace with Honour’ with Vietnam – Vietnamisation
* Nixon held secret talks with South Vietnam, telling them to wait until he was voted in to do a deal with the USA
* Southern Strategy
* Humphrey campaigned to continue the war in Vietnam and the Great society – the Democrat convention in Chicago highlighted the divisions in the party and there were violent clashes between the police and protestors
* The Chicago Seven – Anti Vietnam protests, Mayor of Chicago was Mayor Daley – he let the police force lose which led to lots of violence. Attorney General John Mitchell wanted them all prosecuted
* Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy also ran for president in the Democrat party
* Independent party – George Wallace (racist Mayor) gained 11 million votes and won 5 states

Domestic Achievements:

* Limited – he was more interested in foreign policy and the Democrats controlled congress
* Conservative by nature and wanted to win the support of Middle America (who tended to be opposed to feminism, the student movement and the radical changes in the Great Society)
* Little interest in civil rights
* By 1971 – 13 black congressmen and 81 black mayors
* Family Assistance Plan (FAP) – attempted to replace the range of benefits in the Great Society with a direct grant of $1600 to poorer families – rejected by congress
* Increased spending on social programmes

Economic achievements:

* Problems faced: a rise in prices
* Tried to reduce the problem through strict control of borrowing by the US people and business – did not work
* So in 1971 – a 90 day wage and price freeze was introduced
* Reduction in income tax
* Hoped to encourage the purchase of consumer goods
* Pay Board introduced – kept wage increases down to 5.5% as well as Price Commission which limited price increases to 2.5% and devalued the dollar
* Led to a temporary boom

1972 election:

* Won the election convincingly
* Nixon Vs George McGovern
* Nixon won 47 million votes to McGovern’s 29 million
* Factors contributing to Nixon’s win: Temporary boom in the economy, Vietnam War seemed to be coming to an end and other achievements in foreign policy such as visits to China and the USSR

WATERGATE:

The events:

* 1972 election build up – Nixon scared he won’t be re-elected
* CREEP set up (Committee to Re-Elect the President)
* CREEP was encouraged to use whatever methods necessary to ensure his re-election
* $350,000 was set aside for ‘dirty tricks’
* 17th June 1972 – 5 members of CREEP were arrested for breaking into the Watergate offices of the Democratic Party – they were planning on planting bugging devices
* Washington Post reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward discovered that all 5 burglars were employed by CREEP and that the CREEP fund was controlled by the White house – a secret source (called Deep throat) had told them that it all trails back to the white house
* Nixon denied any involvement by himself and his advisers
* January 1973 – Watergate burglars went on trial and were all convicted
* March 1973 – James McCord (one of the convicted) claimed in court that there had been a White House cover up (Nixon denied any knowledge of this)
* He did admit that two of his top advisers – Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman – had been involved so they resigned
* Investigation of a senate committee set up to investigate the scandal was televised between May and November 1973 – became increasingly obvious that the White House had been involved
* John Dean claimed Nixon knew everything and covered it up
* One White House Aide told the Senate Committee that in 1971 Nixon had installed a tape-recording system in the White House and that all the president’s conversations had been taped
* At first, Nixon refused to produce the tapes however eventually he handed over 7 out of 9 (but they had been heavily edited- one was missing 18 minutes)
* Nixon was forced to hand over the tapes in their entirety – they showed he had been involved in the ‘dirty tricks campaign’ and had repeatedly lied through the investigation
* The tapes were also shocking due to the foul language used – any foul language was indicated by ‘expletive deleted’ which occurred at regular intervals
* John Dean – top aide
* Attorney general Mitchell imprisoned for 4 years
* ‘Tricky Dicky’ nickname

Effects of the scandal:

* July 1974 – congress decided to impeach Nixon
* ‘I’m not a crook speech’
* 8th August 1974 – Nixon resigned to avoid impeachment
* Gerald Ford (his successor) pardoned him for any criminal acts that he had taken part in
* Previous presidents had used similar tactics so it is possible that Nixon was just unlucky to be caught out
* He had abused power much more than his predecessors
* 31 of Nixon’s advisors went on to serve prison terms for Watergate related offences
* It destroyed Nixon’s reputation
* He was seen as untrustworthy and was given the nickname ‘Tricky Dicky’
* The Watergate scandal overshadowed his other achievements
* The powers of the executive were reduced in a series of measures
* Election Campaign Act of 1974 – set limits on election contributions to prevent corruption
* War Powers Act of 1973 – required the president to consult congress before sending American troops into combat
* Privacy Act of 1973 – allowed citizens to have access to any files that the government may have on them
* Congressional Budget Act, 1974 – the president could not use government money or his/her own purposes

**Society in the 1940s and 1950s:**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **FACTOR** | **KEY NOTES** |
| **GROWTH OF SUBURBS** | * Construction of homes in the suburbs began during the war years * 1944 = 114,000 family homes built * 1950 = up to 1.7 million built * Percentage of people living in suburbs rose from 17% in 1920 to 33% by 1960 * % of Americans owning their homes increased from 50-60 from 1945 to 1960 * Federal Housing Administration (Veteran’s Administration) = govt. sponsored mortgages. Offered mortgages up to 90% of the cost price. * Critics complained the suburbs all looked the same * Urban centres: restaurant + cinema owners complained of a lack of business, conditions deteriorated as the residential areas were left to the poor (often ethnic minorities) * ‘White Flight’ * ‘Flight of the middle classes’ = those who paid taxes in the poor residential areas were leaving --> lost funding * New facilities e.g. malls built in suburbs * 1946 - 8 malls * Late 1950s up to over 4000 = disastrous for small shopkeepers – death of small-town America? * Increased car ownership |
| **THE CONSUMER SOCIETY** | * Result of a huge consumer boom and WW2, during which Americans had saved billions of dollars * The exploitation of the war production meant that industries were reorganised to cope with demand. * America became a creditor nation * Much wealth was built on the introduction of hire purchase * Wages were rising - by 1953, average annual family income had reached $4,011. * This increase in disposable income meant people were demanding more. * The ‘patriotic citizen’ spent their money * Furthermore, growth of advertising (fuelled by growth of televisions, 50 million in the USA by 1960) fuelled the 'consumer society’ even further. * By 1955, businesses were spending $8 billion a year on ads that encouraged consumption. * Baby boom meant that there was a lot more demand for nappies, cribs, baby powder, etc. (Nappies became a $50 million per year industry) * Between 1945 and 1949, Americans purchased 20 million refrigerators, 21.4 million cars, 5.5 million stoves. This trend continued into the 50s. * By 1956 many people were spending more time watching TV than working. * By 1951 90% of families had had fridges and 75% had washing machines and telephones (these were paid for via credit). * The first diners club cards were introduced in 1950 and were made of carboard. They became plastic in 1955. * Another method was to offer consumers easier ways to buy, through schemes like buy now and pay later. * Large stores issues ‘charge cards', which allowed customers to charge goods to an account rather than pay for it by cash then and there. * By 1960s, Sears has more than 10 million accounts. In 1958, American Express launched the first all-purpose credit card. * Growth of planned obsolescence also encouraged the consumer society. Businesses using this method looked for ways to make what a consumer bought one day obsolete after a while. For example, clothing companies did this by introducing new fashions every season. Car companies did the same by changing the style of cars every year. * Domestic spending in America was closely linked with Pragmatism * The growth in suburban areas also stimulated demand for things such as cars and TVs * The lack of consumer goods during the war meant that many people were eager to spend especially due to the increase in young couples who had children. * Divorce rate fell from 17.9 per 1000 marriages in 1946 to 9.6 by 1953 * The USA consumes 33% of all the good in the world and controlled 66% of the world productive capacity. |
| **THE POSITION OF WOMEN** | * 4 US states made equal pay for women compulsory * 1940, women made up 19% of the workforce * 1950, women made up 28.8% of the workforce * The media enforced stereotypes – presented as homemakers * ‘Ladies’ Home Journal’ and ‘McCall’s’ - full of articles on cooking, fashion, homecare and keeping husbands happy. * Dr Spock – popular book on childcare * Working class and ethnic minorities largely ignored in the media * Mrs Dale Carnegie - ‘there is simply no room for split-level thinking – or doing – when Mr and Mrs set their sights on a happy home, a host of friends and a bright future through success is HIS job’ * Seeds were being sewn for the 1960s women’s liberation movement * Betty Friedan conducted research into the subsequent careers of former students of the exclusive all-female Smith College in 1957 and found that 89% were homemakers. * HOWEVER, women in the labour force increased during the 50s from 33.8% to 37.8% by the end of the decade. * Opportunities for jobs had not noticeably changed. * Unions still did not favour women in the workforce, although they did support a campaign for better working conditions for waitresses. * Increase in women working was seen more in married women- 36% in 1940 to 60% by 1960 – money was necessary to support household. * New gadgets and advertising seen as necessities * Women who went out to work were viewed with suspicion – social problems of the 50s blamed on women e.g drinking and delinquency. * Women were better educated so could have a professional career * 1950, 721,000 women at university. By 1963, there were 1.3 million * However, they had a limited choice in career as they were expected to devote their time and energy to their husband and children - many became bored and frustrated with the life as a suburban housewife. * Female teens influenced by the freedom of the “swinging sixties”- encouraged them to challenge traditional attitudes and roles * ‘Modern Woman: The Lost Sex’ - a book that blamed career women for the social problems in the 1950s. * Life as a suburban housewife was no longer fulfilling |
| **CULTURAL CHANGE** | * Cinema was still popular, however attendance decreased due to the influence of television. * Cinema attendance fell from 90 million weekly to 47 million weekly, from 1946 to 1956. Following the war, people wanted more rebellious symbols in film and television which saw the rise of actors like Marlon Brando and James Dean in Hollywood. * Drive in Cinemas * Anti-hero storylines became more popular due to the demands of teenagers who looked for more rebellious symbols after the Second World War. This shifted away from typical movies which were seen as easily anticipated. * The number of television sets sold grew from 60,000 in 1947, to 37 million by 1955. The industry was booming and by 1956, Americans had spent $15.6 billion on the sale repair of TV sets. By 1960, watching television was the most popular leisure activity in America and was the favourite of over half of Americans. * I Love Lucy – 1953 – almost 72% of all American TV sets tuned in to watch Lucille Ball’s character have a baby * Many sitcoms celebrated the American family as the heart of the USA. Family values and the position of the sexes was always reinforced with the mother as the homemaker, and father going to work. * 1954 – arrival of TV dinners * In 1960, 44.5 percent of the population was under 24 * Teenagers seemed to have the same interests and concerns. Young people in the 50s had far more money than any generation previous and many companies targeted products towards them because of this. * Cinema drive-ins became more popular in the 1930s having 4,000 drive-ins across the country * Beat Generation in literature – rejection of mainstream American values * Elvis Presley |
| **YOUTH CULTURE** | Reasons for the growth of youth culture   * In the 1950s, 41.6 per cent of the population was under 24 and in 1960s it was 11.5%. * Teenagers were a discrete group who shared common interest and concerns. * Young people in 1950s had increased amounts of disposable income. Teenagers' annual spending power surged to $25 billion in 1959. * Many teenagers were inspired by the youth films of the 1950s and the establishment of rock and roll music was a huge landmark. * The increasing popularity of television also played an important role. * Teenager rebellion: Evidence showed that gang fights, teenage drunkenness and disrespectful behaviour against parents was on the rise. * The average age of marriage reduced even lower to 20.3 years * The teenage market was worth $10 billion per year by 1955 * WW2 baby boom created a fortunate generation who had missed the Great Depression and the Second World War * Easy access to higher education * Idealistic views at the time – Kennedy’s New Frontier and Johnson’s Great Society   Youth interests:   * Rock and Roll – Elvis, the Beatles * Drugs – hippie movement * Sex – contraceptives * Involvement in protest culture: * Against older generations, social conservatism, discrimination, Vietnam, ‘police brutality’ and Nixon * 1968 protest at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago was run by students and led by Tom Hayden   Young Women:   * Jane Fonda (who married Tom Hayden but was famous in her own right) led radical movements – She went to North Vietnam in 1972 * “Hanoi Jane” photographed sitting on an anti-aircraft gun – she became a hate figure for republicans * Hillary Rodham (later Clinton) inspired young women |
| **MASS MEDIA** | Protests that were covered by mass media:   * ‘I have a dream’ speech * Selma marches * Johnson’s Voting Rights Act Speech * Positive role models in movies – To Kill a Mockingbird * Kent State Massacre * My Lai Massacre and the subsequent trials * Tet Offensive * The Vietnam was shown in colour   The impact of the media:   * 1945 – less than 10,000 own a TV * 1960 – 60 million own a TV * TV identified problems in society and supplied political information |

The Civil Rights Movement:

**1948**

Desegregation of the army

**1954**

Brown vs Board of Education, Topeka, Linda Brown, led to the desegregation of schools

**1955**

Montgomery bus boycott (Alabama), MLK came onto the scene, Rosa Parks was a secretary for the NAACP, over 85% of the bus customers were African Americans so they faced near bankruptcy as a result, the buses were desegregated, the boycott lasted nearly a year and received a lot of media attention

Emmet Till – White woman claimed he had whistled at her, her husband and brother-in-law beat him violently to death, the family held an open casket funeral, they got away with it (all-white jury), she said on her deathbed that she had lied

**1957**

Little Rock nine, 9 black students, led by Elizabeth Eckford, attended a newly desegregated school, they were met with protests from white students, parents and governor Faubus. Eisenhower sent in federal troops. To get around the law, schools used entrance exams. It showed that desegregation was going to be a slow process.

SCLS (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) – MLK a member, it was for preachers, ministers and the Christian clergy

**1960**

SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) – Organised sit ins, travelled from North to South, the Freedom Riders on the Greyhound buses, Stokely Carmichael (discredited when he said ‘best place for a woman is on her back’

**1963**

Birmingham Alabama Bombing – 4 children killed in church

(August) March on Washington – MLK demonstrated with non-violent methods – ‘I have a dream’ speech

**1964**

(July 2nd) Civil Rights Act passed

**1965**

(Feb) Malcom X assassinated

(March) March from Selma to Alabama to push for Johnson to pass a voting right act

(August) Voting Rights Act – US department of Justice called it ‘the most effective piece of civil rights legislation ever recorded’

**1967**

Carl Stokes elected mayor of Cleveland, Ohio (until 1971)

**1968**

(April) MLK assassinated

Civil Rights Act

Fair Housing Act

**1970**

Voting Rights Act renewed (Since then it has been amended to ensure the rights of African Americans have been protected)

**1972**

Equal Employment Opportunities Act – set up the Equal Employment Opportunities commission which had the authority to investigate and enforce equality in the workplace.

Hispanics:

* Hispanics began to migrate in large numbers from Mexico under the Bracero (manual labour) Programme from 1942
* Truman used Public Law 78 to extend the Bracero Programme in 1951 which permitted 200,000 to 400,000 braceros to legally enter the USA
* The Bracero programme as ended in 1954 but immigration still occurred illegally
* 1975 – over 2 million Mexican Americans
* 1968 – American Indian movement was founded to help Indians in urban ghettos
* It encompassed economic independence, revitalisation of traditional culture, protection of legal rights and autonomy over tribunal lands and restoration of illegally seized lands

**Foreign policy 1940-1975**

**The Cold War at Home:**

Red Scare:

HUAC – 1937

* House of un-American Activities Committee
* McCarthyism

Smith Act – 1940

* Like the espionage and sedition act
* Possible attempts to overthrow the government
* Set criminal penalties for advocating the overthrow of the US government by force or violence and required all non-citizen adult residents to register with the federal government

Hollywood 10 – 1947

* HUAC Investigation of Communist undertones in Hollywood movies
* Screenwriters – secret messages for the communists
* They were blacklisted
* E.g. Charlie Chaplain not allowed into America
* Gary Cooper – claimed he turned down communist scripts
* Ronald Reagan – Screen Actors Guild – highlighted a small communist clique
* Robert Taylor – ‘they’d all be sent back to Russia’
* 10 screenwriters claimed the committee had no right to ask about their beliefs
* John Howard Lawson (Screenwriter) included
* Dalton Trumbo (Screenwriter) asked for evidence and why it was relevant to his art
* Asked whether they ever had been members of the communist party
* Hollywood were scared to have anything to do with the 10 and others who had alleged communist ties
* Screenwriters took to using pseudonyms, there were suicides and lots of misery

Alger Hiss – 1948

* Worked for the state department
* Accused of handing over state secrets
* Accused of perjury and sentenced to 5 years
* After the 5 years were over – he was found innocent
* Soviet spy ring found in 1946 – investigators led to Alger Hiss – accused by Whittaker Chambers of passing secrets to the Soviet Union
* Hiss denied he had betrayed his country
* HUAC claimed to have found a film in a pumpkin
* Nixon was convinced Hiss was lying – at the time he was a starting Republican – it started his career

Federal Employee Loyalty Program – 1947

* Investigating 6 million federal workers
* 2,000 dismissed
* Some innocent and falsely accused

McCarran Internal Security Act – 1950

* Communist register
* Communist party eventually banned in the mid 50s

Children’s Crusade Against Communism

* Fight the ‘red menace’

Films

* ‘Red menace’
* The Big Lie – criticising Stalin

Paul Robeson

* Singer – had communist sympathies – he was welcomed in Moscow
* Veterans of the American Legion demonstrated outside a concert Robeson was performing at Peekskill New York
* Police expected trouble
* Demonstrators say go back to Russia – ‘Hitler didn’t finish the job, we will’
* A riot broke out – cars smashed, ‘road slick with human blood’

The Rosenbergs – 1950-1953

* Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
* Accused and were guilty of handing over atomic bomb secrets to the soviets
* They were part of the Manhattan Project
* Sent to the Electric Chair in 1953
* Red Scare
* They had young children
* For some lawyers, the conviction was unconstitutional – Judge Frank ‘when you are as old as I am, you will understand why I cannot do it’ (find them innocent) – Jerome Frank (leading Liberal Judge) terrorised by the country and terrified he would be accused of being a communist

Senator Joseph McCarthy

* Republican
* Claimed he had 205 names of communists in the state department – no one saw this list
* Televised hearings
* Interrogations
* Used HUAC
* Seen as a bully
* Went too far – accused the army of being communist – also accused George Marshall of Treachery
* Friends with Reagan
* ‘one communist is one too many’ – McCarthy
* McCarthyism stained American Democracy for Decades
* McCarthy denounced leading republicans and army officers – went too far, his enemies gained courage to stand up against him
* He badly fought a move to censure him – went against his advisors
* Politicians walked away from him

FBI and J. Edgar Hoover

* Uncovered several soviet spy rings
* Used same methods Hoover criticised the Soviets for using – got parents to talk about children and vice versa – neighbour telling on neighbour

Impact on Politics

* Soft on Communism issue was hurting the Democrats – Republicans (Nixon) took advantage of it
* Leaders of American Communist Party jailed
* 1952 – Eisenhower chose Nixon as his running mate
* Criticised the Democrat’s soft approach
* Eisenhower needed McCarthy’s support – McCarthy called him ‘a great American’ – Eisenhower couldn’t stand McCarthy
* Radical groups indicted
* Labour groups banned
* Anti-communism became the language for a new more defiant America

The Cold War not at home:

Why fight the cold war:

* Breakdown of wartime alliance
* No longer a common enemy
* Events in south East Asia and Europe
* Superpowers
* Clash of ideologies
* Spread of communism
* Role of Truman
* Rivalry between USA and USSE – Britain take a backseat

How the Cold War was fought:

* Proxy wars
* Espionage
* Arms race
* Propaganda
* Economic, political and military alliances

Eastern Europe:

* Buffer zone – satellite states
* Domino effect – recognised by Eisenhower
* Iron Curtain 1946
* Salami tactics

Timeline:

**1940**

Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia become satellite states

**1943**

(November) Tehran conference – Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt (The Big three in ‘a marriage of convenience’) – soviets agreed to help US in their war against Japan, open a second front

**1944**

(-1945) Bulgaria, Romania and East Germany become satellite states

**1945**

(February) Yalta conference – Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt – Germany and Berlin to be divided into 4 and Germany will be demilitarised

(July) Potsdam conference – Stalin, Attlee and Truman – lots of tension, plan to denatzify Germany and make Germany pay reparations, permanent divide in Germany – must be freedom of speech and elections – Truman has the Atomic bomb

(6th August) Atomic bomb dropped in Hiroshima, Japan

(9th August) Atomic bomb dropped in Nagasaki, Japan

United Nations set up

**1946**

Novikov telegram – Soviet ambassador tells Stalin that Truman is hostile towards the USSR and are willing to go to the war with the Soviet Union

(Feb-Sep 1946) Kennan telegram – American ambassador wrote long telegrams to Truman telling him that Stalin wanted to end capitalism once and for all, claimed ‘there can be no permanent peaceful co-existence’

Iron Curtain Speech

**1947**

Truman Doctrine – Iron fist approach, commitment to containment, felt threatened that Greece and Turkey would turn communist, allowed US intervention

(June 5th) Marshall Plan – 16 countries provided with Marshall aid – was it ‘the most unselfish act in history’ or was it ‘dollar imperialism’ – $17 billion given out

Stalin launches Cominform in retaliation to the Truman doctrine

Poland becomes a satellite state

**1948**

Trizonia

(24th June) Berlin Blockade Launched – Stalin blocks road, canal and rail services

Czechoslovakia becomes a satellite state – lasted 10 months

USA (Lucius Clay) launch the Berlin Airlift (275,000 flights sent in – if one plane was shot down, Truman said he would go to war)

**1949**

USA get the atomic bomb

(April) NATO

(29th August) USSR successfully test their atomic bomb

Hungary becomes a satellite state

Comecon – Soviet retaliation to the Marshall plan

**1950-1953**

Korean War

* North Korea invaded South Korea (led by a puppet leader) to expand communism – they get all the way to Seoul
* McArthur leads American troops – they push the Northern troops all the way back
* The South (McArthur) sent back to 38 parallel (back where they started)
* Truman Doctrine being adhered too
* Hot spot in the Cold War
* Showed communism was spreading
* Stalin supported North Korea

**1953**

Stalin dies and Krushchev takes over

Both countries have Hydrogen bombs

**1955**

Warsaw Pact

**1956**

Hungarian uprising

**1958**

Berlin ultimatum

**1961**

(April) USSR puts Yuri Gagarin into orbit – USSR beat the space race as they put the first man into space

(April) Bay of Pigs

* 1960 – Eisenhower started to cut ties with Cuba after pro-US/Capitalist Batista is overthrown by Fidel Castro on the 1st January 1959
* Castro was a Cuban nationalist who had close relations with the Soviet Union who ended up buying 80% of all Cuban exports (sugar)
* Eisenhower wanted to remove Castro from power
* Eisenhower spent $12 million to recruit Cuban exiles in the CIA – this would create a revolutionary force to overthrow Castro (The Brigade 2506) – trained in Guerrilla warfare
* (April 17th) Plan to attack with 6 battalions and 8 B26s
* Castro knew about the attack and so the 1,400 Cuban exiles were met with 20,000 Cuban soldiers
* EMBARRASSING
* Over 100 US soldiers killed, US surrendered in under 24 hours
* 1,113 prisoners were captured during the invasion – the US forced to pay ransom of $53 million
* Operation Mongoose – continued anti-Castro effects through propaganda and assassination – US attacked Cuban industry
* Soviets put bases in Cuba for protection against Kennedy and the US
* (Midnight - August 13th) Berlin Wall goes up

**1962**

(October) Cuban Missile crisis

* Batista was the corrupt dictator of Cuba who the US liked because he sympathised with the US
* In Jan 1959, Castro took over and made Cuba more independent from the USA
* On the 14th October 1962, US discover missile bases in Cuba with their U2 Spy planes
* Kennedy initiates a naval blockade in retaliation to stop Soviet ships from entering Cuba and accessing the missile bases – Khrushchev saw this as an act of war – BRINKMANSHIP
* A U2 spy plane was shot down during negotiations – Kennedy chose to ignore it
* A hotline was put in place between the Kremlin and the White house and conferences began again

**1963**

(August) The Partial Test Ban Treaty – no weapons allowed to be tested in the atmosphere, only underground

**1967**

Outer-Space treaty – banned placement of nuclear weapons in Space and on the moon – space was to remain peaceful and free to all countries to explore

**1968**

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty – stop the spread and development of bases and nuclear weapons, no new bombs or missile bases

Prague Spring – Dubcek takes over from Novotny on 5th January 1968 – initiates a programme of ‘socialism with a human face’

**1969**

(July) Neil Armstrong first man on the moon

**1971**

Détente begins

Seabed Treaty – Banned the placement of nuclear weapons anywhere on the seabed

**1972**

SALT 1 – Nixon visits Moscow and signs the treaty which limited numbers of intercontinental missiles, disallowed ICBMs and submarine launched missiles

**1975**

Helsinki Agreement – Agree to recognise borders, respect human rights and promote cooperation (closer economic, social and scientific links

Space race – Soviet Soyuz and American Apollo land together in Space

**Vietnam**

Why did the US get involved with Vietnam?

* Policy of Containment – aiming to stop the spread of Communism
* Domino theory – If Vietnam turned Communist – it wouldn’t be long until Neighbouring countries like Laos and Cambodia followed
* Pressure on Johnson for not responding properly to the Gulf of Tonkin incident
* But - Korean War has just ended which turned public opinion against him

Who’s who?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| The North | The South |
| * Vietminh (Communist) – became the Viet Cong * Led by Ho Chi Minh (dies 1969) * Supplied by China and USSR * NVA (North Vietnamese Army) | * Led by President Diem (corrupt puppet leader) * Supplied by the USA * ARVN (army of the Republic of Vietnam) |

Key People:

**American Presidents**

Truman 1945-1953

Eisenhower 1953-1961

Kennedy 1961-1963

LBJ 1963-1969

Nixon1969-1974

**Vietnamese Leaders**

Ho Chi Minh

President Diem

Thieu (takes over South Vietnam after Diem is executed)

**Other**

Robert McNamara – Defence Secretary

Tactics:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| USA (and the ARVN) | North Vietnam – The Viet Cong |
| * Bombing * Originally only ‘advisors’ – Marines sent in in 1965 * Napalm and defoliants – e.g., Agent Orange – chemicals used to try and destroy the tunnels and kill the trees – completely destroyed the landscape, poisoned the waters and the people * No Front line * Went rogue a few times – My Lai Massacre * Search and Destroy missions – introduced by US commander Westmoreland – they were nicknamed Zippo raids after the name of the lighters they used to set fire to the thatched houses * Stories of American GIs raping women and children * Operation Rolling Thunder – carpet bombing, more bombs were dropped in Vietnam than by either side in Vietnam * Marines sent in 1965 (1/2 a million there by 1968 – average age was 19) * WHAM (Win the hearts and the minds) of the south Vietnamese – but burning down their villages and making them leave their ancestral homes was not the best way of achieving this * March 1968 – My Lai Village massacre, Lieutenant Calley runs the massacre into a village, babies and Children killed, the government tried to cover it up, images revealed a year later (347 killed) | * Guerrilla tactics * Tunnel system * No Front Line * Ho Chi Minh Trail – supply route for the Vietcong and NVA – ARVN never able to disrupt it * 1968 – Viet Cong invade the US embassy in Saigon * NVA made traps – simple but effective * 1968 – Tet Offensive – NVA and Viet Cong would attack over 100 cities in the South thinking people would join them |

Reaction in America:

* It was the first televised war
* Turning point because people back home in America didn’t like the war
* 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago – lots of student protests
* Seen as baby killers
* Veteran’s protest movement – throwing away their medals
* Propaganda failed

Mass Media and the Vietnam war:

* First televised war
* By 1966 – 93% of homes had a TV – estimated daily audience of 50 million
* By 1967 – 90% of the evening news was dedicated to the war
* No military censorship
* Lightweight cameras meant easy filming
* Later 1960s saw the introduction of colour TV
* The Tet Offensive saw extensive coverage – it portrayed a brutal defeat for the USA
* A particular execution on a street n Saigon was televised in 1968 of a Viet Cong Suspect by the Saigon Chief of Police – not fair trial
* It is debateable whether the media actually changed people’s opinion of the war or whether it reinforced an existing public opinion that the war was bad

Why did the US fail?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Communist strength | USA weakness |
| * Tunnel system – in Saigon alone the tunnel system was 320km * They were the unseen enemy * Willing to fight to the death * Tet Offensive 1968 * Low tech war with successful guerrilla tactics * Tactics suited the jungle terrain * Many in the South supported the North and the Vietcong – some believed in Communism and the reunification of Vietnam while others feared the US tactics and brutality * Support from China and USSR | * Unknown territory * No front line * Troops were very young, inexperienced and untrained in Guerrilla warfare * Most did not understand why they were fighting in Vietnam * Morale was low – many soldiers turned to drugs and brutality – e.g., the My Lai Massacre * Opposition at home * Weak tactics * Unwinnable war |

Why did the US withdraw?

* Never ending war – Tet Offensive showed how badly the US were failing
* 1968 – the ‘wise men’ (a group of senior advisors) advocated a retreat
* Nixon was elected on the promise that he would withdraw from Vietnam
* No clear victory in sight
* People’s war – fight until the end
* USSR and China’s support
* Pressure to leave
* Failure of tactics
* The war was very expensive – in 1964, it cost the taxpayer less than half a billion dollars, by 1968, it was at $26.5 billion, the government had a deficit of $25 billion and inflation was rising

Impact of the war on the USA:

* Economically draining – spent $30 billion a year – undermined Johnson’s Great Society
* Led to a period of Detent in the Cold War
* Increased distrust between people and politicians
* 58,000 US soldiers die vs over a million Vietnamese
* Nixon doctrine – USA expected its allies to take care of their own military defence.

TimeLine:

**1930**

* Ho Chi Minh helped to form the Indochinese Communist Party

**1941**

* Vietminh formed to counter Japanese invasion of Vietnam

**Pre WW2**

* Vietnam was run by the French

**During WW2 – 1940**

* Japan occupy Vietnam as they occupied Indochina

**1945**

* Ho Chi Minh declared the Democratic Republic of Vietnam – French troops arrived back in Vietnam
* French retake Vietnam – Vietminh angry because they wanted independence

**1946**

* War between the French and Viet Minh

**1949**

* China turns communist

**1950**

* Truman refused to recognise the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Communist China whereas the USSR did

**1954**

* Battle of Dien Bien Phu – Vietnamese defeat the French
* Geneva Peace Agreement – Vietnam temporarily split North and South at the 17th parallel – elections to be held in 1956 (never happens)
* `us promise $100 million in aid to the anti-communist Diem

**1956**

* Diem begins to arrest suspected Viet Minhs

**1956**

* Viet Minh start a campaign of Guerrilla warfare in South Vietnam

**1959**

* American military advisors killed – first US casualties
* Ho Chi Minh orders the Vietminh to begin a terror campaign against the South
* Ho Chi Minh Trail first used

**1960**

* National Liberation Front formed in Hanoi – in the South but known as the Viet Cong

**1961**

* Kennedy pledges extra aid to South Vietnam

**1962**

* Number of US advisors in Vietnam increases from 700 to 12,000

**1963**

* JFK increased Spending and sent advisors to the ARVN
* Diem assassinated in a military coup
* 15,000 US advisors in Vietnam
* (November) Kennedy assassinated

**1964**

* (2nd August) US destroyer Maddox was fired at by North Vietnamese patrol boats in the Gulf of Tonkin
* (4th August) Alleged 2nd attack (later evidence shows that this was a falsehood)
* LBJ’s Gulf of Tonkin resolution – LBJ can wage war if another attack took place – authorised ‘all necessary measures’ (supported by 85% of people and only 2 senators opposed the resolution)
* Pleiku Airbase – 8 US marines killed
* Operation Rolling Thunder

**1965**

* US marines sent into Vietnam
* (16th March) My Lai Massacre – ‘Search and destroy mission during the Tet Offensive, Lieutenant Calley and his platoon wiped out the village of My Lai killing 347 men women and children – the military tried to cover it up but in November 1969 the US press got the story from a soldier who heard about the massacre – it was published in Life magazine
* Clash between USA and NVA at La Drang

**1967**

* 500,000 American Soldiers in Vietnam

**1968**

* Robert McNamara resigns (becomes a dove)
* Tet Offensive
* Viet Cong take over the US embassy in Saigon
* LBJ doesn’t run for re-election
* Democratic National convention in Chicago
* Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty with USSR

**1969**

* Ho Chi Minh dies
* Nixon President – initiates a policy of Vietnamisation and ‘Peace with honour’
* (November) Life Magazine publish the story on the My Lai Massacre

**1970**

* Kent State Massacre – 4 students killed protesting the war

**1972**

* Bombing campaign in Cambodia and North Vietnam
* Nixon visits China

**1973**

* (23rd January) Ceasefire agreed to in Paris, four days later there was a formal treaty

**1975**

* USA withdraws
* Paris Peace Agreement – 17th Parallel will stay (lasted 30 mins as the North invaded)
* (April) North and South unite – Vietnam whole and communist
* Cambodia becomes communist

The USA and China

* China becomes communist 1949 – Mao Zedong
* Americans always had special interest in China – People couldn’t understand why – there had to be a conspiracy
* Domino Theory: ‘red ride is spreading’ increased fear – Korea (1950), Vietnam (1954), Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Burma, India
* The US prevented the People’s republic of China from taking its place in the UN – Mao’s cultural revolution had isolated China from the outside world
* Republic of China (ROC) and The People’s Republic of China (PRC)
* 1969 – Sino-Soviet border conflict
* Nixon and Kissinger secretly planned to reapproach China via Zhou Enlai as it was in America’s interest, it would increase their popularity and would prevent the Democrats from pre-empting him.
* Nixon visited China to build a relationship with them – he wanted to bypass the USSR when making deals with China but also get the attention of the USSR (it worked, he was invited to the USSR soon after). He also wanted to resolve the issues that came about after Vietnam
* Joe McCarthy- blamed traitors in the State department for the loss of China – Accused John Service (he denied it – I have never knowingly passed on information’ – he lost his job and struggled to find a home or work again)