

- American and National Identity
- Politics and Power
- Work, Exchange, and Technology
- American and Regional Culture
- Social Structures
- Migration and Settlement
- Geography and the Environment
- America in the World

Themes:

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## Chapter 16: Industrial America: Corporations and Conflicts

- **The Rise of Big Business**
- **Innovators in Enterprise**
  - Management revolution - separated the executives at the top from the day-to-day workers (enforces early ideals of a capitalist society)
  - Production and Sales
    - Gustavus Swift - assembly line
      - Vertical integration, company controls all aspects of production from start to end
      - Predatory Pricing - lower prices to eliminate competitors (again enforcing the capitalist economic structure and a free market)
  - Standard Oil and the Rise of Trusts
  - John D. Rockefeller used vert. and horizontal integration
    - Horizontal integration - merge competing companies with one's own
    - Trust - small group holds stock from competing firms, controlling all of them (another early example of the formation of a capitalist structure)
  - J.P. Morgan eventually bought Andrew Carnegie's Steel company, 1st billion dollar company
- **Assessing the Industrialists**
  - Carnegie's "The Gospel of Wealth, corporate titans get their wealth through talent, and thus deserve their success
  - "Robber Barons vs Industrial Statesmen"
  - Depending on the economy, views could change
    - In poor times, many industrialists were "robber barons" benefitting from the poor while they suffered, but in good times, they were "industrial statesmen".
  - National Consumer Culture

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  - Increased spending incentivizes companies to invest in research expansion, and a better consumer experience (chemistry, research labs, railroads, more stores (another capitalist tenant that when corporations succeed, the people do too))
  - Leads to the department store in 1875, displacing small shops
  - Increase in marketing
- **The Corporate Workplace**
  - "White Collar workers" - professional positions
  - "Blue-Collar Workers" - manual laborers
  - Managers and Salesmen
    - "Middle Managers" emerged, handled goods and labors (creating this tiered system in workplaces likely leads to the development of solidly defined classes in society, hence the workplace leading to social structures)
    - Sales positions emerge
  - Women in the Corporate Office
    - Beneath the middle managers, but still relatively well regarded was a new class of women workers
    - End of 1800s, 77% of stenographers were women and by 1920 women held half of low-level office jobs (likely an effect of an increased need for blue-collar workers, often fulfilled by men who at the time were considered better suited for the role)
    - Clerks and Secretaries were largely female, and paid better than many domestic opportunities women were previously delegated to
    - 4 million women worked by 1900
  - On the Shop Floor
    - The Deskilling of Labor - the developments of the assembly line and mass production placed less autonomy on the worker, requiring less skill on the worker's end
    - Scientific Management - Frederick Taylor (Taylorism) Used strict rules to organize work in order to get the maximum output from each worker, while increasing efficiency and decreasing cost
  - Health Hazards and Pollution
    - Many industries were extremely dangerous, 1/20 Illinois Central Railroad workers were killed or permanently disabled on the job
    - Mining was 50% more dangerous in the US than Germany (both enforce the idea that though profits and efficiency were being maximized, it came at the expense of safety)
  - Unskilled Labor and Discrimination

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- With the deskilling of labor, more women and children entered the workforce, and both groups were usually low paid.
- Women were discriminated against by men
- African Americans were often paid the least
- After reconstruction, the “New South” developed, which, though more economically diverse, had an even greater need for unskilled laborers, leading to more child labor
- Nonetheless, these groups continued to work because they were usually poor, and needed to work frequently to sustain themselves on such low salaries

- Immigrants, East and West

- The ideal labor force, abundant, worked for cheap, hard to unionize, language barriers

- Newcomers from Europe

- Ellis Island after 1892
- New Immigrants largely came from South and East Europe, 3 million were Jews
- Many took low paying jobs

- Asian Americans and Exclusion

- Extreme Chinese prejudice outwest
- Worked restaurants and laundries
- 1882 - Chinese Exclusion Act (Drew a line that divided “Whiteness” from asian immigrants, a spawn of clearly racist sentiment)

- Labor Gets Organized

- The Emergence of a Labor Movement

- The Great Railroad strike of 1877, wage cuts lead to protests across the country, more than 50 deaths
  - Workers were blacklisted and prevented from being hired in the future
- Farmer's plight
  - Farmers hated tariffs and claimed that the R.R.'s exploited them with high shipping rates compared to the industrialists (again enforcing class division)
- Granger Movement
  - National Grange brought farmers together
- Greenback Labor Party - national movements that brought blue-collar workers together seeking better working conditions
- Granger Laws, state laws to regulate RRs, many were overturned
- Knights of Labor - 1869, advocated for employee owned shops

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  - Open membership (skilled and unskilled, women, and African Americans)
  - Looked for workplace safety, eliminate child labor, higher income tax, public ownership of RRs (incredibly radical ideals at the time)
  - Leads to “Producerism”, which claims that the physical laborers create the economic wealth, and the white-collar workers get their wealth from these “producers” (once again, emphasizing a strong divide between classes throughout industrialization and onwards)
  - Haymarket Square Riot - meeting devised to gain an 8-hour workday
    - Bomb is thrown and many anarchists are found guilty and sentenced to death
    - The Knights of Labor were associated which leads to their downfall
  - Farmers and Workers: The Cooperative Alliance
    - The “Farmers’ Alliance” tried to establish cooperative stores (modern day farmers markets) and eliminate the middleman
      - Additionally, a separate Colored Farmers’ Alliance was formed
    - Eventually morph into the “Populist Party”
    - Interstate and Commerce Act, creates the Interstate Commerce Commission and allows the government to investigate RR’s (largely unenforced until much later)
  - Another Path: The American Federation of Labor
    - Comprised of skilled workers only, unlike the knights
    - Led by Samuel Gompers
      - Sought many similar things to the knights, like better pay and shorter work hours
      - More widespread than the knights with up to just over 2 million members

## Chapter 17: Making Modern American Culture 1880-1917

- **Science and Faith**
  - Darwinism and Its Critics
    - Herbert Spencer created the idea of Social Darwinism - survival of the fittest
      - Used by the wealthy to justify their wealth by claiming they were “naturally selected” and fit to be so wealthy
    - Eugenics, prevent certain individuals from reproducing

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- The target of this was often African Americans and others considered “lower races”

- Religion: Diversity and Innovation

- Immigrant Faiths

- Catholic and Jewish immigrants struggled to keep their traditions while becoming more “American”
    - Italians + Poles established their own parishes and schools to maintain their culture

- Protestant Innovations

- The American Protective Association (APA)
    - Very similar to the Know-Nothing party from 1940-1950, attempted to maintain the American culture while avoiding immigrant culture
    - Staunchly against Catholics, Italians, Poles, Jews, and wanted to keep them out of office

- The Social Gospel

- Protestant Church Movement to improve society by ending injustice and improve social welfare in order to renew religious faith
    - Provided many services to the needy, including making them literate and caring for their children

- Salvation Army - established soup kitchens and shelters

- Fundamentalism - strict interpretation of the Bible

- Realism in the Arts

- Realism attempted to show things as they truly were

- Mark Twain coins the term the “Gilded Age”

- Anti imperialist and critical of American progress

- Around 1910, modernism grows in popularity as the stark contrast to realism, rejecting its tenants

- Commerce and Culture

- Consumer Spaces

- Businesses aimed to attract middle-class women

- Women usually could not reach high ranking positions, as men did not want women to be their lawyer or doctor, instead secretaries and nurses

- Nonetheless many defied the norm of women staying in the home to become reformers

- Effect of changing social and economic conditions (younger children in school, housework became less tedious thanks to tech

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- Such as P.T. Barnum's Circus
- Department stores (including store credit)

■ Electricity leads to new appliances (aimed towards women who made household decisions)

■ Women were still the primary consumer in America

- Washing machines, vacuum cleaners, etc.

■ Pullman Palace Cars (Lavish train cars)

■ Plessy V. Ferguson (1896) upheld segregation, as long as the accommodations were equal (separate but equal)

- Upheld Jim Crow Laws

- Segregated facilities appeared all across the South

■ 1954 - overturned Plessy in Brown v Board of Education

○ Masculinity and the Rise of Sports

■ Baseball

- Originally the only distinctively American game was Native American Lacrosse, but during and after the Civil War baseball became the nation's biggest game

■ Rise of Negro Leagues

- African Americans were excluded from baseball, leading to leagues for only black people

■ American Football surged during this time

- Collegiate football as well, popular under Walter Camp of Yale who used scientific management

○ The Great Outdoors

■ Sierra Club - aimed to preserve mountain ranges

■ 1872 - Yellowstone became the first national park

■ National Park Service of 1916 gave oversight to National Parks

■ Antiquities Act of 1906 allowed the president to establish objects as national monuments

- **Women, Men, and the Solitude of Self**

○ Changes in Family Life

■ Childbearing decreased dramatically (possibly a result of increases in women in the workforce)

■ People married later and contraceptives became widely available

■ Comstock Act of 1873 - prohibited distribution of information on sex and birth control

○ Education

■ By 1900, more than 70% of Americans 5-18 attended school

■ The Tuskegee Institute

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- Founded by Booker T. Washington, offered black people vocational training

- Atlanta Compromise - 1895 address by Washington which argued for equal economic opportunity for black people

- Women's education also increased

#### ○ Women's civic Activism

- Maternalism - justified women's involvement in reform movements

- Argued that women should contribute to civics and politics with their talents as mothers

- Women's Christian Temperance Union

- Founded in 1874 by Frances Willard, aimed to challenge alcohol and domestic violence (temperance was one of many movements spurred on by the second great awakening)

- Alcohol was connected with prostitution, family instability, poor productivity in the workplace, so temperance movements believed banning alcohol would end this issue

- The WCTU became the world's largest women's organization

- Movement was divided on religious ethnic and class lines

#### ○ Women, Race, and Patriotism

- United Daughters of the Confederacy

- Made monuments, gave out flags, attempted to paint not all confederates as bad in order to reshape the image of the civil war

- National Association of Colored Women

- Reform organization that focused on orphans, elderly, and temperance

- Ida B. Wells, journalist who wrote about the terrors of lynching

#### ○ Women's Rights

- National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1890 (NAWSA) advocated for women's suffrage, after the split in the movement during reconstruction

- Many western states (Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah) began providing women's suffrage

- Many women believed that by gaining suffrage state by state, eventually federal government would give full suffrage

- 1920 - 19th amendment guaranteed all women the right to vote

- African American women still (continuation) dealt with grandfather clauses, poll taxes, literacy tests

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“Civilization’s Inferno”: The Rise and Reform of Industrial Cities

- **The New Metropolis**
  - The Landscape of the Industrial City
    - Steam engines replace water power (leads to more inland cities no longer needing to be connected to water)
    - Mass Transit
      - Trolley cars, subways, and elevated railroads appear
    - Skyscrapers
      - First appeared in Chicago
      - A Chicago School appeared, which was a school of architecture led by Louis Sullivan
      - Allowed owners to make money on small plots of land by building vertically
    - The Electric City
      - Electricity emerges in cities in the late 19th century
  - Newcomers and Neighborhoods
    - Men and women moved away from rural areas to cities looking for financial opportunity
    - Immigrants lived in the same communities (ethnic clustering)
    - Institutions often served these communities like newspapers, singing groups, ethnic theaters
      - Mutual benefit societies formed where the immigrant groups would pool their funds to help another in a time of need
    - African Americans began moving to cities more after WWI
    - All faced discrimination, very few jobs
    - Race Riots, where African Americans were attacked by white mobs, were frequent (continuation from previous history)
    - Tenement Housing
      - 5-6 story cramped apartments, many families in few rooms
  - City Cultures
    - Urban Amusements
    - Vaudeville theater: music, skits, magic
    - Nickelodeons, 5 cent movie theaters
    - Amusement parks, Coney Island inspired amusement parks across the country
    - Music
      - Ragtime - popular among all races and classes



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- City blues - appealed to city workers, originated in the south, especially among black workers

#### ■ High Culture

- The rich promoted museums (some felt obligated to, like described in the gospel of wealth)
- Andrew Carnegie created over 1000 libraries

#### ■ Urban Journalism

- Yellow Journalism, sensationalized stories to sell newspapers
  - Major cause of the Spanish-American war
- Muckrakers - coined by Teddy Roosevelt to describe journalists that exposed corruption

### • Governing the Great City

#### ◦ Urban Political Machines

##### ■ Tammany Hall NYC

- Controlled much of city government
- Provided jobs, food, money, to constituents in exchange for support
- Welcomed immigrants to turn them into loyal voters

#### ◦ Limits of Machine Government

- Urban problems became clear with widespread economic depression and unemployment
- To regain the loss in support from these issues, politicians:
  - Mayors built public pools, gyms, playgrounds, and more spaces
  - Fought for lower fares on streetcars

### • Crucibles of Progressive Reform

#### ◦ Fighting Dirt and Vice

##### ■ Cleaning up Urban Environments

- Disease ran rampant in cities, especially due to unclean water, which led to cholera and typhoid fever
- New sewage and drainage systems were established
- The "City Beautiful" movement increased and improved park spaces (Central Park in NY)
- Closing red light districts (areas with prostitution)

#### ◦ The Movement for Social Settlements

##### ■ Social Settlements - community welfare centers that investigated the struggles of the urban poor and helped fix those problems

##### ■ Hull House, social settlement in Chicago 1889, founded by Jane Addams

- Helped poor women, immigrants, and children
- Provided baths, day care, and more

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  - Inspired other social settlements
  - Became instrumental in social work and the Progressive movement
- Margaret Sanger
  - Advocated for birth control (though she did support eugenics in order to keep the black population down)
- Cities and National Politics
  - Upton Sinclair's The Jungle (1906) (advocated for workers rights, but ended up having more of an effect on food safety, causation to the FDA)
  - Inspired the Meat Inspection Act and Pure Food and Drug Act
  - Women's Trade Union League - labor organization that brought together all classes of women as allies to support union organizing in garment factories
  - National Consumer's League advocated for laws to protect workers
    - Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire, led to 146 dead due to no fire escapes
    - Alfred Smith - NY legislator who established a commission to investigate to fire
  - Frances Perkins - saw the fire from Columbia University
    - First woman appointed to the presidential cabinet

## Chapter 19: Whose Government? Politics, Populists, and Progressives, 1880-1917

### Reform Visions, 1880-1917

- **Electoral Politics after Reconstruction**
  - Labor Unions and Farmers Groups took the lead in demanding change
  - More middle and elite class Americans took up the cause eventually
    - Labeled "Progressives"
    - "The New Middle class"
    - Education + time + money
      - Valued school educated professionals
      - Leads to rise in expectations for professionals and standards + regulations
    - American Medical Association, Bar Association
  - Control of congress shifted often
    - More voters were showing up during 1876-1892 than ever before
    - Presidents could not be radical, as they often won by slim margins and had to work with congresses opposite their party

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- Though the gilded age was great economically, politically it was a mess with corruption and a large gap between rich and poor
- *New Initiatives*
  - James Garfield's assassination in 1881, causing a reform of the spoils system (the then believed cause of the assassination)
  - Pendleton Act (1883) created a civil service test for most government positions
  - Liberal Republicans (Mockingly: Mugwumps) helped elect Democrat Grover Cleveland
    - 2 terms, vetoed more than anyone
    - Signed the Interstate Commerce Act (pressured by farmer labor advocates)
- *Republican Activism*
  - 1890 - Sherman Antitrust Act passed by Republican controlled congress
    - Though difficult to enforce, it limited corporations and dangerous mergers
      - (First effort in this department)
    - Pres. Benjamin Harrison sought to protect Black voting rights
      - Lodge Bill - created by Henry Cabot Lodge, allowed for 100 citizens in any district appealed for intervention, a bipartisan board would investigate elections. Did not pass the Senate.
- **The Populist Program**
  - The Farmers Alliance was formed in largely rural areas, especially Kansas, though it remained largely unable to get many of its points heard
  - They joined with the Knights of Labor to form the People's Party, and captured 1/3 of the lower house of Kansas legislature, and much of Kansas's congress seats.
  - Electrified workers and farmers
  - 1892 - the group formally met at Omaha and formed the National People's Party (Known as the Populists)
    - Called for stronger government
    - Represented a grassroots uprising from everyday people, and received much ridicule from the northeast
  - Their "Omaha Platform" requested public ownership of RR, federal income tax on rich, looser monetary policy, protection of land from monopoly

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- **The Political Earthquakes of the 1890s**

- **Depression and Reaction**
- 1893 - European investors pull out of American investments, leading to high unemployment and bank failures
  - Stock market crashed, depression ravaged the land
  - Fearing that workers would turn to promoting socialism, the first “Red Scare” was propagated by conservative commentators
- 1894 - Radical businessman Jacob Coxey proposed that the US should hire unemployed to repair roads
  - Led unemployed in a peaceful march to Washington to appeal
- Cleveland was fairly inept at dealing with the depression, refusing to loosen the monetary supply
  - “Free Silver” advocates believed it would encourage borrowing and stimulate industry, but it was shot down by Republicans who maintained the gold standard
- **Democrats and the “Solid South”**
- The Democratic party dominated in the South, crushing the People’s party
  - After reconstruction, African Americans voted en masse, and the Populist Party catered to them, proposing measures to help farmers and build cross racial ties
  - Democrats begin to call themselves the “white man’s party”, denouncing Populist beliefs
    - Many white farmers ignored this and supported Populists
  - Democrats looked for various ways to prevent black votes and in 1890 introduced an “understanding clause” (essentially a literacy test (continuation))
  - After a populist uprising, these measures spread to other states, SCOTUS struck down the Louisiana grandfather clause
    - But in 1898, the case Williams v. Mississippi allowed poll taxes and literacy tests to stand, and by 1908 every southern state implemented them
    - (Causation) Black voting plunged and lynchings surged during this time
- **Republicans Retake National Control**
- After defeats outside of the South, Democrats embraced parts of the Populist’s radical farmer-labor program.
- Nominated William Jennings Bryan, a free-silver advocate, endorsed by populists, by Bryant ran as a Democrat
  - Populists begin to decline and by 1900 fade away

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- However in 1896 William McKinley (Republican) defeated Bryan
  - McKinley dominated the election

- Democratic participation was enhanced during this time, including from the 17th amendment which required voters, not state legislators, to choose Senators

- SCOTUS proved hesitant to approve reforms, as in *Lochner v NY* it overturned a law that limited bakers' workdays to 10 hours

- **Reform Reshaped 1901-1912**

- **Theodore Roosevelt as President**

- 1900 - McKinley easily won a second term, but a few months in he was assassinated

- Roosevelt, focused on reform and with a lengthy political background, blended reform with the needs of private firms

- In the 1902 Anthracite Coal Strike - Roosevelt threatened to take over mines if owners didn't negotiate

- Roosevelt sought better enforcement of the Sherman Antitrust Act and the Interstate Commerce Act

- 1903 - pushed the Elkins Act which ended discriminatory railroad prices

- Created the bureau of corporations, which investigated business practices

- 1904 - won the election by promising every American a "Square Deal", corporate regulation and consumer + environmental protection

- Three C's: Control corporations, consumer protection, conservation of natural resource

- 1906 - Hepburn Act, allowed the ICC to set shipping rates

- 1911 - SCOTUS forced the breakup of Standard Oil, spurring massive breakups of monopolies and trusts

- **Environmental Conservation**

- Roosevelt executed 51 orders to create wildlife refuges, 3 national parks, and frequently used the antiquities act (Grand canyon)

- Increased land in federal forest reserve, and gave the land to a new independent US Forest Service

- Supported the 1902 Newlands Reclamation Act, promoted economic development in the west and allowed Gov to sell public land to expand irrigation systems in arid land

- Roosevelt left a lasting effect that made it seem like the president had a little more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  power in the government

- Roosevelt believed in "Anglo-Saxon" superiority, but did invite Booker T Washington to the White House

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- Was succeeded by Taft, who won comfortably over Williams Jennings Bryan

- However, rising pressure for reform divided the Taft era Republicans, eventually leading to disaster for Taft

- Taft seemed like he would be a miniature version of Roosevelt

- **Diverse Progressive Goals**

- Republican Wisconsin governor Robert La Follette advocated for the "Wisconsin Idea"

- Greater gov. Intervention in the economy, reliant on experts
- Also restricted lobbying, and allowed voters to "recall" unpopular politicians
- Referendum - citizens voted directly on laws
- Initiative - citizens can propose laws

- **Protecting Labor**

- Robert Hunter's 1904 piece *Poverty* highlighted that the struggles of the poor were due to social problems, not laziness
- National Child Labor Commission was founded to expose the dangers posed to children working in mines. Hired photographers to document.
  - Inspired Roosevelt to have the first White House meeting on child welfare issues in 1909, and in 1912 led to the Child's Bureau in the US labor department
- Muller v. Oregon - upheld an Oregon law that limited women's workday to 10 hours
- Workmen's compensation laws - by 1917 all industrial states enacted insurance laws for on the job accidents

- **The Wake of Modern Civil Rights**

- A new generation of African American leaders emerged to challenge Booker T. Washington's leadership (accommodationist, push only as hard as white people allowed, wait for the sentiment to change)
- Harvard educated WEB Du Bois (wanted rights now, change from accommodationist Washington) called for a "talented tenth" of educated black men to develop new strategies
  - Called for a meeting at the Canadian side of Niagara falls (Niagara movement) because no US hotel would admit black people
  - Called for full voting rights, end to segregation, equal economic opportunities

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- Not long after, Springfield, IL experienced a violent race riot, prompting Mary White Ovington called a group of progressives, who in turn formed the NAACP (1909)
- White men still maintained a strong majority in politics, and those in southern states would not pass laws to help black people, making it largely the most ignored movement during the time

#### ○ Labor Militancy

- Labor advocacy became increasingly radical during this time
  - The Western Federation of Miners, led by the fiery William “Big Bill” Haywood, created the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)
    - Supported the Marxist class struggle and wanted to overthrow capitalism
    - Declined after WW1

#### ○ The Election of 1912

- Roosevelt, after a 1 year safari in Africa, looked to reenter politics
  - Made the case for a new nationalism including more child labor laws, recognition of labor rights, and a national minimum wage for women
  - Endorsed women’s suffrage
  - Ran as a Republican, sparking a fierce battle in the party against Taft, and Taft eventually won
  - Roosevelt created the Progressive party and ran under its banner
  - Socialist Eugene V. Debs also ran against them, founder of the American Railway Union, which held a strike against the Pullman company, which was eventually put down by Cleveland’s administration.
  - New democratic leader - Woodrow Wilson, former NJ gov, and won the 1912 Democratic nomination
    - Wilson, with just over 40% of votes, won the election, though almost certainly would have lost had Roosevelt not run

#### ○ Wilson’s Reforms

##### ○ Economic Reforms

- Wilson was a democrat, making farmer’s rights very important, however Democrats did not address African American needs
- 16th amendment in 1913 created the Progressive Income tax
- 1917 inheritance tax

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- Both caused tariffs to stop being the main source of revenue for the government
  - Also passed the Federal Reserve Act
    - New central banking system, controlled the supply of money, set interest rates
  - Clayton Antitrust Act (1914)
    - Relied heavily on Louis D Brandeis to argue against monopolies
    - Amended the Sherman Act by loosening the definition of a trust, giving government more control over trusts
  - Adamson Act
    - Established 8 hour workday for RR workers
  - However, none of this applied to African Americans, and Wilson rolled back some Republican reforms, as well as supporting "Birth of a Nation" which promoted the KKK
- Progressive Legacies
  - Post civil war, the gov needed to adapt to an industrial society
  - Whenever reformers passed an important law, they were often struck down by courts
    - The Progressive Era was stunted due to racial prejudice and elitism warped reform

## Chapter 20: An Emerging World Power

- From Expansion to Imperialism
- Foundations of Empire
  - Many sought overseas markets to improve the US economy
    - Two books two know
      - *Our Country* - Josiah Strong
        - Advocated for the spread of Christianity overseas
        - Followed the ideology of American exceptionalism, which was an idea that the US had a unique destiny to foster democracy and civilization
      - *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* - Alfred T. Mahan
        - Argued that naval power was a key to strong empires
        - Had the effect of the US building a new strong navy
        - Believed colonies would serve as naval bases
    - Belief that the frontier was "closed" also encouraged overseas expansion (Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis) (continues later to the space race)
  - Additionally, the Depression of 1890s created a need for new markets to absorb overproduction. (industrial output exceeded domestic need)



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  - Economic instability led to social unrest
- European Imperialism was another cause (America didn't want to be "left out")
- Social Darwinism, white races should take control over non-white nations
- Nationalism + jingoism
  - Jingoism was an extreme version of nationalism where people highly touted American citizenship (usually warhawks)
- American imperial stirrings begin to take form in the 1880s
  - Pan American Congress (1889), American politicians attempted to convince other parts of America that they did not need European interaction
- War of 1898
  - Causes
    - Spanish placed Cubans in concentration camps as Cuba attempted to fight for independence
    - Cubans had been largely separated from each other through class, but leader Jose Marti united Cubans
    - Yellow Journalism - Exaggerated General Valeriano "Butcher" Weyler, who notices that Cuban citizens were helping the revolutionaries, which leads him to place the Cubans in concentration camps and leave them to die
    - USS Maine (sent into Cuba as a show of American support after fields were burned): US ship that mysteriously exploded (due to a mistake onboard) in Havana, the Spanish were blamed in the press
    - DeLome letter - Spanish born minister essentially trash talked Pres. McKinley
    - Cuba wanted America to sympathize with them, and see themselves in their place, but America didn't want to interfere, until the economy was damaged
      - Thus, Cuban revolutionaries set American plantations on fire (scorched earth), leading to American businessmen to try to get McKinley to at least support Cuba
    - Democrats did not necessarily want to go to war, and neither did Cleveland, McKinley on the other hand was pressured to do something, and ordered a ceasefire between Spain and Cuba,
  - American army was a ragtag group, using old weapons, non-cohesive uniforms, old food/little rations, poorly prepared generally

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- America occupied Puerto Rico peacefully for about 4 months, and then the war ended
- Effects - US win in 4 months, Spain had been declining in the past century
- Teller Amendment passed, promising independence to Cuba after the war
- US gains control of Guam, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines
- Essentially America's debut on the world stage
- Secretary of State John Hay: "Splendid little war"
- Brought light to serious military problems, shortage of modern rifles, inadequate medical services, poor food, too small an army, racial tensions
- Spoils of War
  - Debates over Philippines (differed from P.R)
    - McKinley annexes the Philippines
    - Anti-Imperialist league - Mark Twain, Jane Addams, Samuel Gompers, and others spoke out against the move
    - Emilio Aguinaldo
      - Led a rebellion against the US in the Philippines
        - Similar to Cuba, Philippines were using civilian supplies, and, similarly to the Spanish, America placed these civilians in concentration camps and practiced scorched earth
      - After the insurrection, Taft was appointed civil governor of Philippines
      - Millions of \$ were poured into improving the islands' infrastructure
      - Strong economic ties (sugar trading)
      - Processes of "Americanization", similar to Native Americans, to erase Filipino culture
      - Eventually on July 4th 1946 the Philippines gains independence
  - McKinley claims to have had a dream where God told him it was America's job to civilize/annex the Philippines
  - The Insular Cases, 1901 SCOTUS decisions, declared that those in acquired territories were not immediately granted citizenship
  - In an agreement to withdraw from Cuba, the 1902 Platt Amendment was forced into the Cuban constitution that prevented them from making a treaty any country but the US and gave the US the right to intervene with Cuban affairs
    - Continuation of the Monroe Doctrine (would protect Cuba from outside invasion, America would have a naval station in Cuban territory)

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- Cuba was willing to accept this relationship, but it would not last. They knew that in their infancy they needed to rely on the US, but eventually as they grew as a nation they become resentful)
- Foraker Act - previous to 1900, US military controlled the island, but this act established a formal colonial gov.
  - American government, 2 house legislature
  - Suppose house members selected by US
  - Lower house elected by Puerto Rican people
  - US could amend and veto legislation
- Jones Act - 1917, declare Puerto Rico a US protectorate, made all P.R. US citizens (no voting privileges)
- 1898 - Treaty of Paris formally ended the war, gave Cuba, P.R. and Guam to the US quickly, Spain eventually accepted \$20 million for the Philippines

- **A Power Among Powers**

- The Open Door in Asia
  - Secretary of State John Hay had an “open door” policy that sought opportunity for all countries to have access to trade in China
  - At the time, Russia, Britain, and Germany had rights to trade with China.
    - China was politically weakened (very rural people did not necessarily respect the leader) and the trade was oppressive, America wanted in on the deal (rather ignorantly, as much of American technology would not fit in with China (electricity))
    - Sec of State John Hay sends the “Open Door” note which suggests that Europe should respect chinese rights and the ideal of fair competition
      - Massive change, as 50 years ago no European power would ever agree, however all powers, but Russia, eventually agreed
  - Russo-Japanese War (1905)
    - Naval battle in Japan embarrassed the Russians
    - Teddy Roosevelt mediates a peace agreement between the two, understanding that Japan was becoming a major power
    - Roosevelt wanted to send a message to the Japanese what America was
    - The treaty of Portsmouth ended the war, Portsmouth New Hampshire had a massive naval fleet there, which Roosevelt flexed on the Japanese
    - First example of a US prez as a diplomat, giving him the Nobel peace prize, but generally the treaty was poor

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  - Root-Takahira Agreement recognized Japan's jurisdiction in Manchuria (ceding some ground to the Japanese)
- US and Latin America
  - Roosevelt's "Speak softly and carry a big stick" - the US would use its navy if necessary to protect its land in the Western hemisphere (continuation of Monroe Doctrine)
    - Roosevelt used advanced navy tech to create a, though smaller, more powerful navy than the UK
  - US gained authorization to build the Panama canal and controlled it in the 20th century
  - This general policy is called the "Roosevelt Corollary"
    - Extension to the Monroe Doctrine, added a clause that if Europe came to us, we would fight back
    - US became a "policeman" in Latin America/Caribbean region
      - For example: in Venezuela, the US intervened and threatened Britain with war if they would not forfeit (under McKinley)
- Mexican revolutions
  - Beginning in 1911, Mexico underwent a lot of different leaders
  - Wilson was caught in the middle through his support or opposition of various leaders
- Wilson (1913) criticized his predecessors' foreign policy, and wanted the US to never again attempt conquest
  - However, when push came to shove, and when American interests called for it, he would be present in foreign conflict once again during the Mexican revolution
- Roosevelt-Big Stick diplomacy, only use military force when necessary
- Taft-dollar diplomacy, pay the nations to make them more likely to accept us
- Wilson-Evaluate the character of leaders and only give the good ones money

Chapter 20 ctd. 653-668

### **United States in WWI**

- MAIN causes, militarism, alliances, imperialism, nationalism
  - US initially looked for neutrality (continuation of staying away from Europe)
  - Struggle to remain neutral, both sides tried to coerce America's support (change)
    - Traded more with allied powers than Central powers, which becomes a point of contention between the two sides. Britain had control of the seas between the English channel, and often prevented American ships from reaching Germany, which Germany sought to end (very similar to 1812 when Britain constrained US trade)

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- America pretty much let it happen and didn't complain because they didn't face a downside. Germany argued that the US was violating international laws, but America argued that that it was British policy preventing the trade
- Germany's U-Boat presented an issue for America in trading with Europe
  - Wilson, taking a risk, did not think Germany would sink the "neutral ships", but eventually they did
    - Lusitania (British ship with Americans on board) sunk on May 7, 1915 by the Germans
      - Wilson still really did not want to get into the war, arguing that American officials warned the passengers against taking that journey
      - Berlin pledges to not sink unarmed and unresisting passenger ships without warning
    - 10 months later they torpedoed the unarmed French passenger ship, Sussex, and Wilson demanded they never do it again
    - Wilson and Germany come to the agreement of the Sussex Pledge - Germany promised to not sink merchant and passenger ships without warning
  - 1916 election - Wilson runs as an anti-war candidate "I will not send your son to die in Europe" against the warhawk Republican Charles Evan Hughes
  - Wilson just squeaked by a victory with 23 more electoral votes
  - January 1917 - Wilson speaks on recommitting to neutrality and his aim for a post-war agency to maintain global peace
    - Wilson wants to be part of the peace treaty at the end of the war, but he can't do that unless America becomes involved in the war (essentially Wilson kind of wants to get into the war, but needs the spark to allow him to)
  - Germany, understanding America was soon to enter, began unrestricted submarine warfare, sinking any and all ships in the warzone
  - Wilson still wanted to maintain neutrality, unless Germany took obvious and clear action against America
    - Wilson asked for Congress to allow authority to arm American merchant ships
- February 25th, Britain intercepts the Zimmermann Telegram
  - Germany told Mexico they would help regain land lost to the US in Mexican-American war if they fought the US

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- Led to public outcry, continuation of yellow journalism
- Despite the fact that Mexico was all but unable to wage war with the U.S., Americans were still outraged and it indicated German desperation to keep America away from them

- In the first 2 weeks of March, Germany clearly defied America and sunk 4 merchant ships
- America was enraged

- **"Over There"**

- April 2, 1917, with his hand forced, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war. Americans join the war
- He declared that America was embarking on a mission to spread democracy to Germany (who was straying away from it at the time)
- America starts out by shipping materials to allies
  - Eventually when they announce they were out of money and soldiers, which calls in America
  - Congress institutes conscription (the draft act/selective service), which created the American Expeditionary Force (AEF)
    - There was not a lack of volunteers, but the generals at the time believed that the war would last until at least 1920, thus needing more soldiers
    - For the first time, women were allowed into the armed forces (though limited and not in actual firefights)
  - US joins the battle in 1917
- Bolshevik revolution (1917)
  - Russia becomes communist and withdrew from the war after Lenin rises to power
  - Leads to a sense of urgency to get American soldiers to Europe
- Late May 1918, 30,000 American soldiers relieve the French soldiers at the western front
- July 1918, a massive influx of a million American troops reach Europe and a successful counteroffensive is staged
- 11/11/1918, armistice to end fighting
- America's main contribution was food, munitions, economic aid, not necessarily battlefield power
- The potential of an onslaught of American troops who were fresh to the war was what forced Germany's hand, not their battle prowess

- **The American Fighting Force**

- 4 million men were in the military, 10% were African American
  - Fought in segregated units, excluded from victory parade in Paris

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- At the end of the war, Influenza killed as many as 50 million

## War on the Home Front

- Outburst of patriotism across America, including floods of enlistment and national pride
- **Mobilizing the Economy**
  - Despite ample warning, America was largely industrially unprepared, leading to the
  - War Industries board, July 1917, directed military production
    - Such as bringing mechanical production to Ford factories, everything needed for the war was produced by free-owned factories
    - Supply thus decreased and the price increased
  - Workers were motivated by the government's threat to "work or fight"
  - National War Labor Board, worked to prevent labor disputes that might harm the war effort
    - 8-hour workdays for war worked and overtime, kept the workers from striking
    - Though there were some strikes still, they were viewed as anti-patriotic, as they are now not producing much needed supplies for the war effort
  - Food Administration
    - Herbert Hoover led the organization, supported farmers by allowing them to sell to Europe (very short lived time for farmers, as right after the war and right before they struggle)
- Promoting National unity
  - Committee on public information (Creel Committee)
    - Led by George Creel and "Four Minute Men"
      - Promoted war effort on the home front, gave 4-minute speeches promoting war bonds
      - Government became a massive employer during this time period, and this, though decreasing slightly, remained as a long lasting effect
    - Sedition act of 1918 (Wilson), made it illegal to criticize the war effort
    - Upheld by Schenck vs. US
  - Great migrations, large movement of African Americans from the south to the north
  - Red Summer of 1919, race riots in many northern cities
- Women's Voting Rights
  - NAWSA grows incredibly strong
  - Carrie Chapman Catt - supported the war effort in hopes to gain suffrage



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- Women take over many roles of men during the war effort, making denying women's suffrage incredibly difficult after the war
- National Woman's Party
  - Alice Paul - Picketed the White House, went on a hunger strike, two groups looking for the same outcome, but two different methods
- Wilson eventually turned around to female suffrage, and in 1920 the 19th amendment was ratified. (usually republicans were in support)
- To finance the war, government used
  - Liberty bonds
  - Increased taxes
- America focused on feeding itself and its allies, not just food but steel, chemicals, etc. as well
- America thus needed surpluses of food to keep up production, leading to things like wheat-less wednesday, leading to many Americans making their own gardens
- Hoover's strategy was used often, such as the Fuel administration with "heatless Mondays, lightless nights, and gasless Sundays"

- **Catastrophe at Versailles**

- Wilson's 14 points
  - Open diplomacy, arms reduction, free trade, sovereignty, etc.
  - Article X called for the creation of the League of Nations (if any member nation is attacked, all member nations will assist in whatever means necessary)
    - Drastic change from Washington's Farewell Address as America is now getting involved in Europe
  - The Fate of Wilson's Ideas
- Russia and Germany were not present at Versailles
  - Germany was heavily punished for the war (\$33 billion in reparations)
  - Wilson was regarded as a God in Europe, but he was really not prepared to dictate terms of peace when Britain and France were already decided what they were going to do with the Middle East colonies
  - Wilson also only brought Democrats with him, making it very unlikely that his treaty would be approved by Senate
  -
- Congress Rejects the treaty



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  - Irreconcilables - people opposed to the treaty due to foreign affairs (believed it took away right to American sovereignty (especially the League of Nations)
    - League of Nations found its way into all 14 points, and Cabot, now more powerful due to Wilson's stroke and mental breakdowns, stomps the treaty down
  - Many also believed that blaming Germany was wrong and dangerous
  - Henry Cabot Lodge despised Article 10 (League of nations), would limit Congress' war making powers
  - Ultimately, the US did not ratify the treaty, Wilson goes around the country to promote it, but he had a stroke that led to his failure (no public appearances, extremely debilitated, paralyzed largely)
- Hatred of all things "german" swept across the nation
  - Less German music, German books, German classes were ended, even some German beers
  - Espionage act of 1917 and Sabotage and Sedition act of 1918 both showed these fears
  - Criticism of the president, government, or war effort was censored and punished
  - Though many claimed this violated the 1st amendment, SCOTUS disagreed (Schenk v. US)
  - Citizen groups emerged to root out disloyalty in communities
- The US did NOT return to isolationism after WW1, they simply edged back into "non-interventionism" and focused on the domestic goal of "returning to normalcy"

## Chapter 22: Unsettled Prosperity: From War to Depression 1919-1932

- Resurgent Conservatism
- The Red Scare
  - Great migration - mass movement of African Americans from South to North
    - Red Summer of 1919 (race riots) lead to 120 deaths
    - Black Americans competed with white americans for jobs and housings
    - Southern lynchings rise from 1917-1919
  - Unions were often associated with radicalism and socialism
  - Many incoming immigrants had socialist views
  - The **Bolshevik Revolution** in Russia frightened many Americans
    - This feat in Spring 1919 grew into national alarm as a series of parcel bombs exploded in cities across America

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- Alexander Mitchell Palmer (attorney general), in the first Red Scare, cracked down on radical organizations after a parcel bomb was sent to his home
    - **Palmer Raids** - over 6000 arrested, leads to the creation of the FBI
  - Americans strongly believed in capitalism as a system, and viewed Bolsheviks (who become communists) as the opposite of Americans
    - Palmer encouraged neighbors to spy on neighbors, watching what newspapers and magazines they read
    - In schools “subversive” books were destroyed, “radical” faculty members were fired
    - This sentiment of 100% Americanism is repeatedly shown in America (Japanese, German, Middle East)
  - Sacco and Vanzetti, accused murderers, were sentenced to death, but likely not provided a fair trial due to being Italian immigrants.
  - Society began to question whether the fear of radicalism had become radicalism itself
  - The “Red Scare” was much less a fear of communism as it was a fear of radicalism
- American Business at Home and Abroad
    - After a wave of strikes in 1919, many American businesses employed the American Plan of enforcement, which had no negotiation with unions and denied workers the right to organize
    - Coronado Coal Company v. United Mine Workers of America in 1922 ruled that the striking union would be penalized for illegal restraint of trade.
    - These two events led to a membership decrease in unions of 5.1 million in 1920 to 3.6 in 1929
    - With the union decline, the 1920s was marked by welfare capitalism, which stressed a company’s responsibility to its workers
      - One example is Ford, who gave generous wages and a profit sharing plan
      - Nonetheless similar efforts were few and far between, and Ford would eventually cut back on his wages as well
    - By the late 1920s, Dollar Diplomacy (using American dollars to stabilize foreign economies to benefit American trade interest) was on the decline due to poor results
  - Government and Business Entangled
    - Warren G. Harding dominantly wins presidency in 1920, first Republican president in a while, by promoting a “return to normalcy”
      - Appoints Hoover commerce secretary

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- Aimed to create an Associated state - cooperation between government and business leaders

- Teapot Dome Scandal

- Secretary of Interior, Albert Fall leased gov. Land to private companies in exchange for 300K in bribes
- Teapot dome was oil-rich
- Generally, the public did not trust Harding's cabinet

- After Harding died of a heart attack, Calvin Coolidge took presidency
- Coolidge and Secretary of Treasury Andrew Mellon advocated tax cuts for businesses
- Lobbying becomes rampant

- **Republican Decade**

- All 3 1920 pres' are Republicans
  - Harding, Coolidge, Hoover
- Principles: gov. Should interfere as little as possible (a change from the massively overbearing government during WW1)
  - Reduce many taxes
  - Government agencies should assist businesses, not regulate them (laissez faire)

- **Making A Modern Consumer Economy**

- **Postwar Abundance**

- 1921-1922 is a short recession while the economy reforms itself
  - After wartime production, economy had to change back to civilian focused
- 1922-1929 become a period of prosperity
- Manufacturing efficiency boomed, assembly line, mechanization, electrification all made production soar
- Per capita income boomed (60% per capita income)
  - Negligible inflation
- Causes: Rebuilding of Europe
  - New Technology
    - Automobiles especially, thanks to the assembly line
    - Radios become a popular mode of mass communication
      - Including a mode of advertisement
      - Radios were very easy to get, with both cheap and expensive variants
      - First radio station (NBC) was formed in Pittsburgh 1927
      - Self-regulated content to avoid government interference
    - Commercial aviation

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- Initially delivered mail, but pressurized cabins led to human passengers
    - Electronics, home appliances, plastics and synthetic fibers
    - Telephones, 25 million (1 per 6 people)
    - Early computers and genetic research
  - This increased productivity and wages meant an increased consumption, and spending led to an economic boom until the Great Depression in 1929
  - Though other sectors boomed, like DuPont in chemicals and General Electric in appliances, others, like the agriculture industry, never fully recovered from the postwar recession
  - Agriculture was still impacted by agriculture
    - More land cleared, more crop, fewer workers
    - After Europe recovered, American demand for crop did not match supply
    - Massive price decreases, about 3 million leave agriculture
    - Many who remained lost farms and equipment to banks
  - Farmers demand government intervention (in protest to laissez-faire)
    - Wanted parity pricing, tariffs on foreign agriculture goods, McNary-Haugen bill passed by Congress to this goal, but shot down by Coolidge
    - Issues in agriculture were not addressed, eventually contributing to the Great Depression
- **Consumer Culture**
- New consumer products like vacuum cleaners and fridges
  - Advertising began to sell “hope” of an easier life
  - Goods were purchased more on credit
    - The frequent use of consumer credit worsened the crash that led to the Great Depression
  - Automobile surged (1 car for 6 Americans)
    - Hurt railways, increased highway constructions
    - Hotels, restaurants, gas stations were all built
  - Hollywood - SoCal provided land, good weather, and nice scenery, leading it to become the world’s movi capital
  - Flappers emerged, with shorter dresses and short hair
    - Smoked, drank, danced in public, presenting a massive change in women’s roles
- For some Americans, the sense of materialism was a source of criticism
  - Disappointed in the immorality and willingness to break the law (18th amendment)
  - Writers, like Hemingway and Fitzgerald criticized this era of idealism and policy

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- 1920s become the decade of wants, not needs
  - Increased growth of a national identity, fueled by messaging via mass media
  - Even if people couldn't afford what they wanted, the advent of credit allowed them to purchase it nonetheless
- Automobiles provided a massive social impact in the form of a sense of independence
  - Leads to the growth of suburbs
  - Vacations become more affordable
  - New way to escape parents for children
- Advertising booms during this time thanks to the WW1 style propaganda
  - Now not just informational, but persuasive and emotional as well
  - Mass media provided the means for this (Hollywood movies, magazines, radio)
    - Saturday Evening Post (rural)
    - Reader's Digest (condensed literary works)
    - Time Magazine (brief, easily accessible news)
  - Gov wanted to avoid getting into the business of films, leading to the Motion Picture Association, which set standards for movies
- **The politics and culture of a diversifying nation**
- Women in a new age
  - Many progressives at the start of the 20s hoped women would use their new political power on social welfare issues
  - Veterans of reform movements (settlement houses) banded together and created groups like the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, who created the first federally funded health care legislation, **Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act**, which provided federal funds for medical clinics, prenatal education, and visiting nurses
  - Other women focuses on securing legal equality with men
    - Alice Paul created the National Woman's Party, and tried to persuade congressional allies to ratify an Equal Rights Amendment in 1920s
    - Not ratified until 1970s
  - Jane Addams led the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
    - Criticized imperialism and militarism
  - Margaret Sanger founded the American Birth control League, renamed Planned Parenthood in 1942
  - National Association of Colored Women (NACW)
    - Leader Addie Hunton and 60 other black women urged the National Woman's Party to work against Jim Crow laws, but Alice Paul refused
- Marriage and motherhood is redefined
  - Behaviorists challenge the natural capacity for motherhood

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- Dependency turned into companionship, romance became the focus of marriage, not procreation
- Birth control begins with some success in the middle class
- Though women's groups eventually end, advocacy does not

- **Culture Wars**

- Even though racism and xenophobia continued to divide people, mass media and radio creates a sense of a unified culture
- Wealth gap became much larger, companies paid to produce for the war made massive money, while the workers were largely unbenefited
  - Nonetheless, because the middle class looked pretty good overall, many of which thus did not notice how struggling the truly poor were
  - The truth was 66% of Americans were living at the absolute minimum comfort level/poverty level
  - Most skilled workers in unions saw wage increases, still however below the rate of profit
    - Employers often offered benefits to avoid unrest (welfare capitalism)
    - Through the American Plan, employers incentivized workers to leave unions, increasing tension between the groups
  - Government intervention tended to favor owners, further eroding union power
  - Women become concentrated in what are known as "pink-collar jobs"
    - Sales clerks, teachers, nurses
  - Many black workers were unskilled workers without union protection
  - West+Southwest, most unskilled non-unionized workers were minorities
    - California had Asians (mainly Filipino) and Southwest-Mexicans
    - Immigrant communities grew
    - Discrimination and hostility increased
- Prohibition
  - 18th amendment, passed in part to
    - Anti-German sentiment during WW1 (german beer)
  - Frequently broken (speakeasies) and not adequately enforced
  - Organized crime grows as a result
  - Volstead Act of 1920, officially the National Prohibition Act, passed by Congress to enforce prohibition
- The Scopes "Monkey" Trial
  - Conflict between science and religious fundamentalism after a school teacher went against a Tennessee law that prohibited teachings against the Bible

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- The American Civil Liberties Union formed during the red scare to promote free speech and criticized the act
- ACLU and Clarence Darrow defended Scopes
- Nativism
  - “New” immigrants were often Catholic and Jewish from South and Eastern Europe
  - Gentlemen’s agreement between Teddy and Japan agreed to limit Japanese immigration 1907-1908
  - Emergency Quota Act of 1921 restricted European immigration
  - Post WW1, nations were in massive turmoil in Europe, leading many to look to the US to immigrate to
  - National Origins Act (1924) restricted all East Asian immigrants, and European quota reduced to 2% of what it was in 1890 (aimed to exclude even more immigrants)
    - Europe becomes a target at this time, when previously it was mostly just East Asia
    - A labor issue in America after the war led to massive resentment for immigrants for whom many believed would take their jobs
  - Some native-born Protestants pointed to immigration as the cause for “moral decay” in American Culture
  - Coolidge adds to this sentiment by saying “America must be kept American”
- The National Klan
  - Birth of a Nation (1915) glorified the KKK, leading it to resurge in the 1920s
    - It became not just Southern Anti-Black, but nation-wide Anti-Non-American
    - Used George Creel-type propaganda to influence and recruit
  - The new Klan targeted not only Black people, but Catholics, Jews, and immigrants
  - Membership expanded rapidly (1924 - 4 million)
- Election of 1928, Democrats nominated NY governor Al Smith, the first Catholic Presidential nominee (very tough nomination, but the Klan began to decline)
  - Nonetheless he still lost to the absurdly popular Herbert Hoover
- Harlem Renaissance - flourishing of African American artists, writers, intellectuals, social leaders in the 1920s. Focused in Harlem NY
  - Poet Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston’s short stories encompassing Black folklore, songs, and beliefs
  - Jazz - major part of the Harlem Renaissance, artists like Armstrong and Ellington

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- Jazz moved north with the great migration, and though adopted by white people, was still somewhat looked down upon
- Jazz becomes an element of national pop culture

- Marcus Garvey and the UNIA
  - Universal Negro Improvement Association formed out of Harlem
    - Led by Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey, aimed to mobilize African Americans in the workplace
    - Published the “Negro World” newspaper
    - After Garvey was deported, the movement collapsed
    - Nonetheless it contributed to an emerging and lasting pan-Africanism in America

## **Chapters 21-22, Great Depression & New Deal Pages 697-700 702-732**

- The Coming of the Great Depression
- From Boom to Bust
  - Loads of Americans bought stock in the 1920s
    - Practice of buying on margin, putting little money down to purchase a stock, and buying the rest with credit, thought to be very safe when the market goes up
  - Suddenly the Stock Market crashed in October 1929, farming, construction, and industries saw plummeting supply and price
  - Banks closed, savings were not guaranteed
  - Charities had a difficult time keeping up
- Not all were devastated by the Great Depression, as the middle class remained and the rich still lived lavishly, but the effects were certainly felt by all
- October 29th, “Black Tuesday”, all efforts to save the plummeting market failed

### **Causes**

- Lack of diversification in economy
  - Too dependent on steel, oil, coal, automobiles, and construction, once these failed, the rest of the economy did as well
  - New industries were not established enough to offset these losses
- Unequal distribution of wealth and purchasing power
  - Most Americans were too poor to buy the goods being produced, more supply than demand



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- Credit payments begin to dry up
  - Farmers are deeply in debt
  - Can't pay back the small banks they took the loans from, so the small banks take out loans from bigger banks
    - Big banks had made risky investments and loans, and were already in trouble
  - The small banks don't get payments, and thus the big banks aren't getting their payments, once the stock market crashed, there was barely any physical money to give out and many banks closed
- International trade
  - Euro demand for American goods was declining, and Euro nations, especially Germany, could not afford to buy goods overseas
  - Foreign nations were unable to pay off their debts to the US, instead America loaned more money to European governments, who used that money to repay, meaning old debts were repaid by new debts
  - When banks failed, we weren't able to keep loaning the European nations
  - Tariffs made it difficult to sell goods in US markets

## **Chapter 22 - Managing the Great Depression, Forging the New Deal**

- Early Responses to the Depression 1929-1932
  - People escaped in various ways from the Depression
    - Books like Grapes of Wrath
    - Films like The Wizard of Oz
    - Invention of Mickey Mouse - Steamboat Willie
    - Staples of Depression era broadcasting were escapist comedies like "Amos 'n' Andy", "Superman", "Dick Tracy", and the "Lone Ranger"
- Many leftist groups emerge believing that capitalism had shown itself to fail
- Herbert Hoover
  - Believed volunteerism and hard work would alleviate the depression, very laissez-faire focused
  - Did not take the US off the gold standard
  - Signed the **Smoot-Hawley Tariff**
    - Significantly raised tariff rates, retaliatory rates from other countries, significant change from previous tariffs which had always helped bolster US economy
  - Created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation
    - Provided federal loans to businesses, but it was not aggressive enough and did not provide enough
    - Spent too little and was too cautious

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- Rising discontent
  - Hoover becomes a symbol of the suffering
    - “Hoovervilles” or Shantytowns became the term for homeless areas where people lived in cardboard boxes
    - Hoover blankets were newspapers put over people
    - Hoover handkerchiefs were your pockets inside out
  - Very young men were sent out of home to find jobs and support themselves, showing a pattern of how young people become some of the most socially active
  - Bonus Army
    - 15000 WW1 veterans demanded earlier bonus
      - Shot down by congress and Hoover
      - Hoover sends in the army to tear gas the veterans
- 1932 Election
  - Hoover (Republicans knew they would get slaughtered, so Hoover went down with the party), versus FDR
  - Democrat Roosevelt absolutely slaughtered Hoover in the election
  - People wanted FDR in so much, that instead of new president entering in March, it moved to January
  - Roosevelt promised to take more action than Hoover
- Roosevelt and the First 100 Days
  - FDR begins the **Fireside chats**, presidential addresses via radio
    - Roosevelt understands the importance of keeping the public informed and thus on his side, and continues the Fireside Chats throughout the war
  - FDR hid the fact that he had polio from the entire country, helping him to win
  - “**Brains Trust**” - group of unofficial cabinet members of intellectuals who helped advise Roosevelt
    - Frances Perkins was the first female cabinet member during this time
  - **100 Days** - legislation that focused on 4 major areas: Banks, Agriculture, business, and unemployment
- Banking Reform
  - Bank Holiday - closing of banks, could not reopen until they proved to be sound (Emergency banking Act)
  - Glass-Steagall Act - created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), which ensured bank deposits up to 2,500
    - Also prevented banks from putting money into stock market/risky investments (repealed later)
- Agriculture and Manufacturing
  - Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) - sought to rectify overproduction of farm goods in order to raise prices and increase farmers income

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- Ended up benefitting large land owners, but not sharecroppers (major criticism of New Deal, which much of the New Deal focused on big business, not the little man)
  - National Recovery Administration (NRA) - Encouraged industries to agree on prices, wages, and minimize competition
  - Both the AAA and NRA are declared unconstitutional, saying the gov. Can't set prices or tell people to not produce
- Unemployment Relief and Housing
  - Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) - provided federal \$ to states for relief programs
    - Many men felt ashamed to take the money
  - Public works administration (PWA)
    - Originally made to administer NRA spending, relatively ineffective at distributing the 3.3 billion dollars however
    - Provided construction projects to men
    - Built the Boulder Dam (now Hoover Dam) among other large projects
  - Civil Works Administration (CWA)
    - Provided 4 million jobs to Americans in winter of 1933-1934. Construction projects like roads and bridges
  - Civilian conservation corps (CCC)
    - Outdoor work, conservation, planting trees. Mostly younger men who sent money back home to families
    - Very similar structure to prepare for an army
- Housing Crisis
  - 500000 families lost their home
  - Federal Housing Administration (FHA)
    - Helped regulate interest rates for mortgages and helped refinance loans
- New Deal Under Attack
  - SEC formed to regulate the Stock market
- Critics on the Right
  - Liberty League - argued that the government spending (deficit spending) was unprecedented
  - National Association of Manufacturers
    - Used radio and media to criticize Roosevelt
  - Schechter Poultry v US and Butler v US declared the NRA and AAA unconstitutional
    - Congress responds by passing the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act (essentially the same as the AAA)
- Critics on the Populist Left

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- Francis Townsend proposed giving 200 dollars a month to seniors over 60
  - Influenced Social Security later on
- Huey Long
  - “Share our Wealth” program essentially called for a socialist system.

- **The Second New Deal and the Redefining of Liberalism 1935-1938**

- Influenced by leftist thinkers like Townsend and Long, Roosevelt began to take into consideration their ideas
- **The Welfare State Comes into Being**
- 1st New Deal = economic recovery      2nd New Deal = Social Justice and Safety Nets
- Wagner Act and Social Security
  - With the NRA declared unconstitutional, unions lost many rights
  - With workers being undervalued, FDR was pressured to pass the National Labor Relations Act (1935), aka the Wagner Act which gave workers the right to join unions and couldn't be fired for joining one
  - The Social Security Act provided pensions for retired workers and compensation for the unemployed and disabled workers
- The ideals behind the second new deal became known as “New Deal Liberalism”
  - Classical liberalism was associated with free markets
- **1936 Election**
  - Works Progress Administration (WPA) employed 8 million workers
  - Republican Alfred Landon challenged FDR and got blown out in the election with just Maine and Vermont
- Court battle and Economic Recession
  - In reaction to the court declaring various new deal programs unconstitutional, FDR aimed to:
    - Appoint a new justice for every judge over 70 (6 judges then)
    - This court packing plan was overwhelmingly rejected
  - “Roosevelt Recession” - FDR had to cut back on spending as the economy improved
  - Keynesian Economics - Gov. must spend \$ during a depression to stimulate the economy
  - A final New Deal Legislation was passed by congress - Fair Labor Standards Act, which outlawed child labor, standardized the forty-hour workweek, mandated overtime pay, and made a minimum wage
- Organized Labor
  - Union membership increased to 23%
  - Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) - organized workers within an industry regardless of skill

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- Depression families
  - Many families had to retreat from the 20's standard of living
  - Made due with less, made their own clothes, and often took in struggling relatives
  - Families had nearly all but stopped divorcing, unable to pay for the legal process, nonetheless many families were extremely fractured, more than before
  - Many men were unable to live with seeing the faces of their struggling families, and left to find work out of home
- Women and the New Deal
  - **During** - economic crisis strengthened the notion that women belonged in the home, not the workplace
    - Despite public disdain, many women remained in pink collar jobs (affected differently than industrial jobs)
    - Black women suffered massive unemployment
  - Gender inequities persisted - women not allowed to join CCC
  - Eleanor Roosevelt
    - Acted as the eyes and ears of FDR, due to his polio, and reformed what the First Lady's image was
- African Americans and the New Deal
  - Racial violence before the New Deal had escalated to new heights, and with half of all black Americans living in the South as farmers, many of them were left without jobs
    - Over half of African Americans were unemployed (national average 25%)
    - Similar patterns of discrimination for Mexican and Asian-Americans
    - With so few jobs, white men often argued they deserved the work more
  - Resettlement Administration - helped small farmers buy land
  - African Americans began to vote overwhelmingly Democratic
    - CCC segregated blacks however most new deal legislation treated them equally
  - Lynchings persisted
    - Scottsboro boys - 9 African Americans charged with sexual assault of 2 white women on a train, 8 were sentenced to death which were eventually overturned
  - AAA did not help sharecroppers
- Indian Policy
  - John Collier becomes commissioner of Bureau of Indian Affairs
  - Indian Reorganization Act (Indian New Deal)
    - Reversed the assimilation policy of the Dawes Act
    - Many natives received religious freedom and semi-sovereign nation status

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- Struggles in the West
  - Mexican Americans benefited from the WPA and CCC
  - Most Chinese were excluded from New Deal acts
- **Reshaping the Environment**
- The Dust Bowl
  - Impacted mostly the Great Plains region, took a massive toll in the area
  - Over-cultivation affected the farmland
  - “Okies” fled to California work camps to pick peaches or grapes
- Harnessing Nature
  - Tennessee valley authority
    - Focused on flood control, electricity development
    - Provided a significant amount of electricity to farms, homes, factories
      - Massive new deal success
  - Rural Electrification Administration
    - Provided electricity to rural areas
  - Grand Coulee Dam
    - Became the largest electricity producer in the world
- New deal and the arts
- Over 20,000 writers, artists, and musicians were employed
- Federal Writers Project, part of the WPA, provided jobs for out of work writers
  - Such as Zora neale Hurston
  - Photographers like Dorothea Lange, Artur Rothstein and Walker Evans documented the Depression
  - Many writers continued to act as muckrakers (Erskine Caldwell's *Tobacco Road*, Richard Wright, an African American writer, *Native Son*, John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*)
- Legacies of the New Deal
  - Millions paid taxes into social security
  - 1/3 of population received federal government assistance
  - New Deal was criticized by both right and left
  - Change in voting patterns
    - Unions, African Americans, and many immigrants began voting Democrat

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### **Chapter 23, "The World at War", pages 734 - 766**

- The Road to War
- Rise of Fascism
  - Authoritarian government with nationalism and militarism
  - Japan and Italy
    - Both were expanding
      - Japan looking for raw materials and markets
      - Invade Manchuria in 1931, seen as a threat to many British, American, and French interests
      - Italy invades Ethiopia in 1935
        - League of Nations does not intervene in either case
    - Hitler granted dictatorial powers after Hindenberg makes him chancellor
    - Sought to expand (lebensraum) and persecute Jews
    - Rome-Berlin Axis - Alliance between Mussolini (Italy) and Hitler
- War approaches
  - Nye Committee (1934) - alleged US became involved in WW1 for money for munition companies
  - Inspired Neutrality Act of 1935, US couldn't sell weapons to warring countries
    - American people did NOT want to go to war
  - The Popular Front
    - Small but significant number of Americans
    - Advocated European intervention against fascism
    - Left-leaning, supported loyalists (communists) in the Spanish civil war
  - The Failure of Appeasement
    - September 29, 1938 - Munich Conference - Germany was given the Sudetenland
    - PM Chamberlain proclaimed "Peace for our time"
    - Hitler knew Europeans were not going to stand up to him, and continued to push
    - Sept 1, 1939 Germany invaded Poland, violating Munich agreement
    - Significant majority of America supported Britain and France
    - April 1939, Hitler threatens invasion of Poland
      - GB and France promise aid to Poland if he does
    - August 1939 - Stalin + Hitler agree to 5 year non-aggression pact
      - Hitler wanted to avoid a two-front war, Stalin wanted time to implement his 5 year program without interference
  - Isolationism versus Internationalism
    - Committee to Defend America By Aiding the Allies

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- Advocated US aided allies
  - America First Committee
    - Isolationists - Charles Lindbergh
  - FDR traded destroyers with Great Britain for military bases
  - 1st peacetime draft in 1940
- America aimed to try some elements of both isolationism and internationalism
  - 1933 - FDR recognized Stalin's communist gov. (short-lived trade increase)
  - 1933 - Good neighbor policy, increased trade with Latin America
  - 1934 - No US bank transactions with debtor nations from WW1
  - 1934 - Reciprocal Trade Agreement lowers Smoot Hawley tariffs as much as 50%
  - 4 Freedoms Speech
    - Freedoms everyone should enjoy: speech, want, worship, fear
    - Linked war with democracy
  - Lend-Lease Act:
    - US could lend military supplies to countries deemed vital to US security (Britain)
  - Atlantic Charter signed between FDR and Churchill
    - Focused on post-WW2 goals, economic cooperation, self-determination, political stability
    - Influenced by Wilson and 14 points after WW1
  - 1937 "Quarantine" Speech
    - FDR encouraged economic sanctions against Japan in response to China invasion
    - American people were extremely against this idea, forcing him to give another speech backpedaling what he said
      - New speech argues that Japan should simply have to pay the family of American soldiers they killed
  - December 1937, Japan bombed and sank US gunboat in broad daylight
    - "Test" of US neutrality
    - Isolationists urge FDR to accept an apology
  - September 1941 - German U boats begin direct assault against American vessels, FDR orders American ships to fire at U boats "on sight"
- Road to Pearl Harbor
  - Sept 1940, Japan, Germany, Italy sign Tripartite Pact
  - Japan continues expansion into Vietnam
  - Having cracked Japanese code, US knows next target is Dutch East Indies
    - FDR warns Japan, who does not respond, leading him to embargo steel and oil



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- Japan could either attempt to repair relations with US and back off, or find an alternate way to find steel and oil so they didn't have to
    - Japanese public sentiment begins to turn towards war
    - Japanese leader, Hideki Tojo, strings together diplomatic agreements which go nowhere, while Japan planned an attack
  - December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor attack
    - Three days later Guam fell, and later Hong Kong, Singapore, Dutch East Indies, and Burma all surrendered
    - May 1942, Filipino + American troops surrender the island
    - Japanese war tactics were extremely aggressive, including killing women and children
      - Bataan Death March
  - America joins war shortly after
    - With shifting American opinion surrounding the war, FDR asks for declaration of war and is granted it
- Organizing for a Global War
- Financing the War
  - Revenue Act of 1942 - increased number of Americans paying taxes
    - In addition, government borrowed \$ to pay for war
  - War Productions Board:
    - Encouraged businesses to begin military production (GM + Ford)
  - Eventually, the War Production Board struggles to control contract disputes between large and small producers, and was replaced by the Office of War Mobilization
  - Henry Kaiser - contractor, employed Ford's mass production style to ship production
    - % of all war contracts were awarded to large corporations, thus the birth of the military-industrial complex
- Mobilizing the American Fighting Force
  - 15 million Americans joined the armed forces (especially due to the fervor spawned after Pearl Harbor)
  - African Americans remained segregated (last war for this)
  - Native Americans played a role as Code talkers
  - Women primarily did clerical, communications, and healthcare work
- Workers and the War Effort
  - Rosie the Riveter
    - Encouraged women to help in the war effort
    - Often paid less than men
    - 350K women served in limited roles (nurses, cargo pilots)

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- Could not command men or participate in combat
  - “Government Girls” in Washington D.C.
  - Post-WW2 women were once again encouraged to go back home
- Wartime Civil Rights
  - Double V Campaign
    - Victory abroad against Fascism
    - Victory at home over racism
  - A. Philip Randolph
    - Planned a march on Washington to forbid discrimination in defense industries based on race (Executive Order 8802)
      - Executive Order because he did not want the Democrats to stand in the way of this
      - Only affected domestic, but gave power for Truman to later desegregate the army
  - Congress of Racial Equality
    - Created in 1942, became influential in the 60s, advocated for civil rights
  - Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) is established
- Organized Labor
  - With so many Americans joining the Armed forces, America faced a labor shortage, specifically Agriculture
  - National War Labor Board - established pay, hours, and working conditions
  - Unions solidified their positions as the most powerful voice of the workers
    - Major unions agreed to a no-strike pledge
    - Defiantly, the United Mine Workers strike in May 1943, causing the
  - Smith-Connally Act - prohibited strikes in defense industries
  - Bracero Program - brought hundreds of thousands of Mexican workers to usually oppressive farm/agricultural work
  -
- Politics in Wartime
  - Servicemen’s Readjustment Act (G.I. Bill)
  - Provided education, loans, mortgages for returning soldiers
- Life on the Home Front
  - “For the Duration”
    - Americans helped by recycling, building “victory gardens”, rationing
    - Shortage of consumer goods, encouraged savings
    - Black markets developed for coveted items (meat, gasoline, cigarettes)

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  - Migration and Wartime City
    - 15 million Americans moved during the war
    - Took jobs in factories
    - California had massive migration and benefitted more than any other state
  - Racial Conflict
    - Great migration of southern African Americans continued
    - “Zoot Suit” - popular clothing worn by Mexican American teenagers
    - Zoot Suit Riot - Conflict in SoCal between servicemen and Mexican Americans
  - Gay and Lesbian communities
    - Strong gay communities emerged in large cities (60s and 70s)
- Japanese Removal (Executive Order 9066)
  - Forced removal of Japanese Americans on west coast to relocation camps during the war
  - America did not feel they had the time to figure out who was a spy or not, and instead simply imprisoned every Japanese person as a spy
  - ⅔ were American born citizens
  - Upheld in Korematsu vs US (1944)
- Chinese-Americans actually were uplifted in legal and social status, as China was America’s ally during WW2
  - Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was repealed in 1942
- Wartime Aims and Tensions
  - Big 3 = FDR, Churchill, Stalin
  - Tehran Conference, Churchill and FDR agreed to open 2nd front in France
  - Divides existed:
    - Stalin disagreed with Churchill and FDR on capitalism
    - Stalin not party to the Atlantic Charter
    - After Nazi troops pushed into Leningrad, Stalin proposed that allies open a second European front in Nazi-controlled France
      - Roosevelt informally agreed to do this soon, but Churchill opposed the hasty invasion
      - Eventually in 1943 the Tehran Conference sets this invasion up
    - Generally, America was strong allies with England, but only allies by circumstance with Russia
- D-Day
  - June 6, 1944 - invasion of Normandy by allies

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- The Holocaust
  - 6 million Jews killed
  - SS St. Louis, US turned away a German ship with 100 Jewish refugees
    - American immigration from Europe was extremely strict during this time
    - Only 21,000 Jewish refugees were allowed to enter US during the war
    -

#### War in the Pacific

- Battle of Midway - turning point in Pacific war
- Yalta Conference - last meeting of the big 3 (before FDR dies)

#### The Atomic Bomb, Soviet Threat, and End of the War

- Manhattan Project - 2 billion dollar project to build atomic bomb (J. Robert Oppenheimer)
- July 16, 1945, Trinity Test in NM
- Hiroshima (August 6) and Nagasaki (August 9)
  - Many believed a Japanese invasion would cost up to a million Allied lives
- Potsdam Conference (July 1945) - Allies called for unconditional surrender of Japan
  - Truman up to this point had no knowledge of the Manhattan project, symbolizing the large jump he had from vice president to president

#### ● Postwar

- US emerged from WW2 in a position of unprecedented power and prestige
  - Great Depression was fully ended, US industrial output and economy was past pre-Depression levels
  - Self image and global image had radically changed after the war
    - Resourceful, tough adaptable,
    - Best military leadership
    - Unrivaled (nuclear) power, now a “superpower” (only held by us for 4 years until Soviets get bomb)
    - Unrivaled material output
- 1944, Western Allies establish the International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- Founded the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), promoted economic growth in war-ravaged + underdeveloped nations
- In contrast to WW1, America took the lead in creating these bodies

### Chapter 24: The Cold War Dawns 1945-1963

- Origins of the Cold War
  - Yalta conference
    - Last meeting of the big 3

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- Stalin promised “free and unfettered elections in Poland at a later date (never happened)”
  - Germany divided into 4 sections
  - UN was agreed upon
- Potsdam Conference:
  - Truman replaces FDR and Churchill out
  - Stalin did not allow self-determination in East Europe
  - Churchill’s “Iron Curtain” speech, said East Europe was divided by capitalist vs communist
- Many Americans feared WW2’s abrupt end would kickstart back into the depression
  - Drop in military spending, however, was largely offset by increased consumer spending
  - General tax cut meant more money in circulation
  - Unions took this as an opportunity to demand higher pay and the like
    - Truman threatens to take over coal mines
    - Truman was willing to threaten the union workers in vital organizations and replace them with trained military officers
- The Containment Strategy
  - Truman concerned by 3 issues
  - 1. Soviet Union wanted oil through Iran and Mediterranean through Turkey
  - 2. Civil war in Greece - communist vs monarchists
  - 3. Communist party increased in popularity as the European economy suffered
  - Toward an Uneasy Peace
    - 1. George Wallace argued for cooperation and compromise
    - 2. \*\*\*\*George F. Kennan\*\*\*\* - urged the “containment” of the Soviet Union through counterforce
      - Truman sides with Kennan, who was in the US embassy in Moscow
    - Truman Doctrine - 400 million in aid to Greece and Turkey to resist communism
    - Marshall plan - Sec. of State George Marshall’s proposal to offer 1.3 billion to rebuild wartorn Europe
      - Soviet Union rejected the aid and forbade Eastern Europe countries from accepting it as well
  - East and West
    - Berlin Blockade 1948 = stopped all ground connections between East and West Europe
    - America responds with Berlin Airlift, transfer food and supplies to Berlin for 321 days until May 12, 1949 when the blockade ended

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- Leads to Nato - peace time alliance, “an attack on 1 is an attack on all”
- Soviet Union responds later with Warsaw Pact
- US military maintained near war levels in 1947 and 1948
- 1947 - congress passes the National Security Act creating the Department of Defense (Pentagon)

- 1950 - NSC-68

- Painted the USSR more dangerous than Kennan imagined
- Led to drastic building of military spending and power
- Showed that US could no longer rely on other nations to resist communism
- US must establish itself as the active and firm leader of the non-communist world
- US must stop communist expansion anywhere it occurred, regardless of strategic or economic value of the lands in question

- Containment in China

- Communists - Mao vs Nationalists - Chiang Kai-Shek
- Truman eventually cut off aid to Kai-Shek, and China falls to communism
  - Truman is heavily criticized for “losing” China
- Korea divided at the 39th parallel, US supported South, USSR the North
- North Korea attacked South in June 1952
  - Truman fires MacArthur for criticizing the attempt to negotiate peace as the war reached a stalemate
  - War fought without congressional approval; desegregated units
  - War ended with Eisenhower’s administration
- The Munich Analogy - American leaders feared that appeasing Russian leaders would be the same outcome of trying to appease Hitler

- Cold War Liberalism

- Preservation of New Deal programs, as well as containment policy
- **Truman and the end of Reform**
- Many union members went on strike post-WW2
  - Taft-Hartley Act - allowed non-union workers to work in union jobs, restricted the 1935 National Labor Relations Act
  - Truman (Democrat) vetoed, but the house (Republican) managed to pass it
- 1948 election
  - Democrat party was split, southern democrats form the Dixiecrat Party
  - Strom Thurmond ran under the “Dixiecrats”, segregationist platform
  - Truman defeats Thomas E. Dewey in an upset

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- The Fair Deal - Proposed health insurance, \$ for education, increased Social Security, raised minimum wage
- Most of his proposals rejected (except increased SS and raised minimum wage)
- Passes the Fair Labor Act in the form of Executive Order 8802, desegregating the military and preventing discrimination in government hiring
- The Red Scare
  - Some gov. Employees and aides to FDR provided Soviets with information
  - Loyalty-Security Program
    - Executive Order 9835 - gov employees could be investigated for subversive activity
  - HUAC - House Un-American Activities Committee
    - Nixon = member
    - Held public hearings on suspected communists
      - Including the "Hollywood 10", who were asked about their political beliefs
    - Alger Hiss - convicted of perjury, 5 years in jail
  - McCarthyism, led by Wisc. senator Joseph McCarthy
    - Accused over 200 gov. Officials of being communist
    - His (republican) charges were often aimed at Democrats
    - McCarthy's downfall was contributed to by the Army-McCarthy hearings, where he criticized the army and was seen as a bully
    - Despite Truman's Veto, in 1950 the McCarran Act passed, requiring all communist organizations to register with US gov. Including providing all names of party members
  - In 1951, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were the first and only people in US history to be executed in peacetime for espionage (charged of passing atomic secrets, little evidence but still executed)
    - Think Sacco and Vanzetti
- Modern Republicanism and the Liberal State
  - Modern Republicanism = moderating new deal policies
  - Eisenhower was a moderate, elected in 1952, first republican pres in 20 years
  - Eisenhower's policies:
    - "New Look" defense policy - increased military buildup (hydrogen bomb, bomber planes)
    - Massive Retaliation - US would escalate their response to being attacked immediately
    - Does not give in to party pressure to dismantle Cold War policies
- **Containment in the Postcolonial World**
- 3rd world countries were often seen as pawns for the Sov Un

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- The Cold War and Colonial Independence
  - Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO/Asian NATO)
  - Truman and Eisenhower sometimes supported repressive governments as long as they opposed Communism
  - CIA overthrew Mohammad Mossadegh (elected in Iran) and Jacob Arbenz Guzman in Guatemala
- Vietnam
  - Once a French colony, Ho Chi Minh (Commu) sought to unite Vietnam
  - Dien Bien Phu - French defeat in 1954, left Vietnam, concerned US, so they increased their presence to try to prevent Communism from spreading into the South
- Mid East
  - US recognizes Israel almost immediately
  - Egyptian Pres. Nasser nationalized Suez canal, Brit + France attacked, Eisenhower helped end the conflict
  - Eisenhower Doctrine - America will help Mid East nations if they aimed to combat communism
- JFK and Renewed East-West Tensions
  - The Election of 1960 and the New Frontier
    - New introduction of televised debates, Nixon was slightly better spoken, but looked poor on camera, making a divide between radio listeners and TV watchers
    - JFK wins in an extremely close election
    - "New Frontier" - called for advancements in science and for Americans to reach their fullest
  - Crisis in Cuba and Berlin
    - Fidel Castro overthrew Batista in 1959
    - Bay of Pigs Invasion - CIA operation to overthrow Castro, enormous failure
  - Krushchev began construction of the Berlin wall in 1961 to keep east berliners from fleeing
  - October 1962 - Cuban Missile Crisis - closest to war the two sides came to yet
    - US agrees to remove missiles from Turkey, USSR promised to remove from Cuba
- Kennedy and the World
  - Peace Corps - 2 year commitment by Americans to volunteer in world regions
    - Teaching, social, and economic development
    - Hoped to promote America and democracy
  - Alliance for Progress - Latin America (Kennedy Doctrine)



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  - Agency for International Development (AID), coordinates foreign aid
  - Sputnik in 1957 and Yuri Gagarin on April 12, 1961
    - Led to massive US spending on science and education
- Making a Commitment in Vietnam
  - JFK increased military aid to South Vietnam
  - Special forces trained South Vietnamese troops

### **Triumph of the Middle Class 1945-1963**

- **Postwar Prosperity and the Affluent Society**
  - Between 1945-1960, GDP grew by 250%
  - Unemployment remained at or below 5%
- **Economy: From Recovery to Dominance**
  - Organizations set up to stabilize world economy
  - The Bretton Woods System:
    - Bretton Woods - International conference in New Hampshire July 1944 that established World bank and IMF
    - Creation of the World Bank - loans to countries in the 3rd world and those destroyed by war
    - IMF - international monetary fund, established to stabilize currencies around the world
  - The Military Industrial complex
    - Industries that benefitted from gov contracts for military supplies
      - Boeing, General Electric
    - Eisenhower in farewell address warned of the dangers of this
    - Military spending increasingly consumes more of nation's GDP
      - Launch of Sputnik → Space Race → Increased spending
        - National Defense Education Act - 1958 provided millions to American universities (effect of 1957 Sputnik)
  - Corporate power
    - Corporations grew in power and had a large share of their markets
    - Mechanization replaced factory workers (continuity)
      - The "white collar worker" becomes the symbol of the corporate economy
        - Promotes conformity and regulation, stifles creativity
    - To avoid strikes, business leaders made concessions to unions
      - Automatic cost of living increases (GM)
      - Continued wages even during layoffs (Ford)
      - Paid holidays, paid vacations, medical insurance

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- Union power and participation remained strong
- The Economic record
  - The Affluent Society - argued that the poor were not the focus of politicians and economists
  - The Other America - 1962 book by left-wing critic Michael Harrington, focused on the poor in America
    - Similar to Muckrakers: "How the Other Half Lives"
  - Influenced LBJ's Great Society later on
- A nation of Consumers
  - New consumer products, media (tv), and mass consumption
    - Similar to 1920s
  - G.I. bill (Servicemen's readjustment Act of 1944) provided education opportunities
    - Over 7 million veterans attended college or a trade school in 1950s → higher paying workforce
  - Veterans Administration (VA)
    - Provided home loans for veterans
  - Trade unions
    - Union membership increased drastically in 1940s
    - Income rose for many workers in 1950s
  - Houses, cars, and Children
    - Many families purchased homes and cars in the 1950s
      - Often 2 cars
    - 25 million homes between 1945 and 1970
    - "Baby Boom" between 1945 and 1965, peaking in 1957 with 4.3 million births
    - Most homes had TV's which promoted consumer product
  - Television
    - TV shows focused on:
      - White, mid class, suburban families, where mothers were housewives
      - Leave it to Beaver, Father Knows Best
- Youth Culture
  - Teens often targeted by advertisers
  - Movies glorified young, rebellious men - Rebel Without a Cause
  - Rock n' roll
    - Alan Freed played "race" records over Cleveland airways
    - Some of Elvis' songs were covers of black artists
  - Cultural Dissenters

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  - Beats (Beatniks, Beat generation)
    - Writers that criticized middle-class values and cultures
    - Similar to Lost Generation of 1920s
    - Jack Kerouac - On the Road
  - Religion and the Mid Class
    - Billy Graham - influential evangelical preacher of 1950s
    - Argued materialism was not incompatible with a moral life
    - In 1954, "Under God" was added to the pledge of allegiance, largely from anti communist sentiment
- The Modern Nuclear Family
  - The Baby Boom
    - 1945-1964 (1964 = birth control pill)
      - Drop in divorces + end of war + younger marriage age
    - Impact:
      - Tighter job markets in 70s
      - Long term = health care and Social Security issues today
  - Health and Education
    - New medical advancements reduced mortality rates
      - Penicillin, streptomycin, cortisone
    - Polio vaccine from Dr. Jonas Salk (gives away for free)
  - Dr. Benjamin Spock:
    - Wrote the Common Sense Book of Baby Child Care
      - Argued mothers should be available for their children
  - Women
    - Women had an increased presence in the household, but many found the work unrewarding/unfulfilling
      - Though female employment rose, it was still generally relegated to lower level positions
- Challenging Middle Class Morality
  - 1945-1965 was largely culturally conservative
  - Alfred Kinsley
    - Studied sexuality for males and females, represented a massive change in taboos like homosexuality and marital infidelity
    - Confirmed a quiet sexual revolution that was underway
  - The Homophile Movement
    - Kinsley also suggested homosexuality was more common than thought
      - These reports encouraged a continued development of gay and lesbian communities
      - Laid out groundwork for gay rights movements in 1970s

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- Media and Morality

- Traditional values prohibited discussion of sex, but this era represented a significant change
  - Playboy magazines

- A Suburban Nation

- Postwar Housing Boom

- 1/3 americans lived in suburbs by 1960s
  - Aided by cars and highways
- William levitt and the FHA
  - Introduced mass production (like Ford) of houses
    - Cheap, similar houses, excluded African Americans
  - FHA/Federal Housing Administration
    - Provided mortgages with little \$ down
    - Increased home ownership drastically

- Interstate highways

- National Interstate and Defense Highways Act
  - Created under Eisenhower's administration
    - Over 42000 miles of highways, would aid in nuclear attack

- Fast Food and Shopping Malls

- Ray Kroc - Purchased McDonald's - used Taylorism to mass produce hamburgers

- Rise of the Sunbelt

- States located in South and Southwest portion of US
- Industries blossomed (especially military bases) - warm weather and low taxes
- WW2 leads to a massive increase in population in Sunbelt states

- Two Societies: Urban and Suburban

- As many whites move to suburbs ("White-flight"), African Americans moved to cities
- Kerner commission - gov commission that stated that the country is "Moving towards two societies, one black, one white, seperate and unequal"

- Urban Crisis:

- Many African Amiercans lived in cities with old apartment buildings and low paying jobs
- Urban renewal - push to destroy old buildings

- Urban immigrants

- Chinese Exclusion Act repealed in 1943

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  - Many Mexicans from Bracero program remained in US after it ends in 1964
  - Puerto Ricans migrated to US in large numbers
  - After Fidel Castro gains power in 1959, many Cubans fled to US, especially Miami.

### **The Civil Rights Movement Chapter 26: 1941-1973 (834-868)**

- The Emerging Civil Rights Struggle, 1941-1957
  - Rights Liberalism - Gov. must protect people from discrimination
  - Life under Jim Crow
    - Still persistent in many areas of the south
      - Poll taxes, literacy tests, "White primaries" (only allowed whites to vote in primaries)
    - Housing in north was heavily segregated
    - Violence was used in north to prevent blacks from living in white neighborhoods
  - Origins of the Civil Rights Movement
    - Nazi racism was attacked during WW2
    - Cold war aided Civil Rights, US wanted to show that they were better than russia
    - African American college students played a large role in the movement
    - TV showed demonstrations and violence against black people
  - WW2: The Beginnings
    - Executive order 8802: A Philip Randolph proposed a march on Washington
    - 8802 prevented discrimination in defense industries
    - Double V campaign
      - Victory against fascism and Victory over Racism
    - James Farmer - founding member of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
      - Many African American veterans benefited from the GI bill
  - Cold War Civil Rights

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- “To Secure These Rights” - gov report under Truman administration that advocated gov involvement to ensure equality
  - Truman passes Executive Order 9981. Desegregated military
    - Korean War first fought with desegregated
  - States’ Right Democratic Party (Dixiecrats)
    - Segregationist party, led by Strom Thurmond
- Race and Anticommunism
  - Racism in US aided Soviet in the cold war
- Mexican and Japanese Americans
  - Mexican americans faced similar discrimination - poll taxes, poor + rundown neighborhoods
  - Caesar Chavez - led United Farm Workers
  - Mendez v. Westminster
    - Ruled segregated Mexican Schools not allowed
  - California’s Alien Land Law was overturned, spurred by the Japanese American Citizens League
    - Forbade Japanese immigrants from owning land
  - 1948 - American GI Forum formed to protest poor treatment of Mexican American soldiers
  - Activists in LA created the Community Services Organization to address similar injustices
- Fighting for Equality Before the Law
  - Thurgood Marshall - NAACP Lawyer, future justice of Supreme Court
  - Argued many cases in front of Supreme Court, lead attorney in Brown v Board, and argued Smith v Allwright which ruled white primaries unconstitutional
- Brown v. Board
  - Overturned Separate but Equal set by Plessy
  - Led to southern resistance
    - Forged the concept of rights liberalism
      - The idea that individuals are entitled to state protection from discrimination
    - Massive Resistance - schools would shut down rather than desegregate
    - The Southern Manifesto - argued that the Supreme Court overstepped its power
    - Little Rock Nine
      - Eisenhower used troops to protect 9 black students at Little Rock High School

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- Nonviolent Direct Action

- Montgomery Bus Boycott - yearlong boycott of segregated bus system in montgomery, spurred on by Rosa Parks
  - Ended when Supreme Court declared segregated buses unconstitutional
  - 1960 - Supreme Court expanded on this decision against segregation on interstate buses (Boynton v Virginia)
- Greensboro Sit-Ins
  - Four black college students sat at a white-only part of a bar and waited until they were served
- Ella Baker and SNCC - Baker was inspired by the sit-ins and organized the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, helping create a wave of sit-ins
- Freedom Rides - CORE practiced sit ins on bus lines throughout the south
- The Battle for Birmingham
  - Eugene “Bull” Connor - high ranking official, ordered police to use force against protestors
    - Images appear in newspapers and tv
  - MLK arrested, writes letter from Birmingham Jail
    - MLK justified his approach, influenced by Ghandi and Jesus
  - George Wallace, governor of Alabama, attempted to prevent black people from attending Uni of Alabama
- March on Washington and Civil Rights Act
  - August of 1963 - many, including King (I have a dream) gave speeches
  - Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination based on race, sex, origin, and religion
  - Allowed gov to cut off funding to states that discriminated
  - Established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)

- Freedom Summer

- SNCC, CORE, NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Council (MLK's org) helped register voters in 1964
- Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party - sought to attend DNC in Atlantic City
  - Were not recognized and left out
- Selma and the Voting Rights Act
  - “Bloody Sunday” - attack of marchers from Selma to Montgomery by state troopers
  - Helped lead to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, barred literacy tests
  - Fed gov could also register voters
- 24th amendment barred poll taxes
- Many Southern Whites switched from Democratic to Republican

- Black Nationalism

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- Many meanings - pride, separatism, supporting black businesses
  - Nation of Islam
    - Popular among African Americans in cities
    - Malcom X = key member
      - Urged violence for self-defense
        - Began as a member of the separatist movement, but eventually, after a pilgrimage to Mecca, he saw the diversity of Islam and changed his views on separatism
        - Then formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity
      - Eventually split from Nation of Islam and was murdered in 1965
  - Stokely Carmichael - became leader of SNCC, advocated for Black Power
    - Focused on black pride and strengthening black communities
  - Black Panther Party
    - Founded by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton
      - Urged arming African Americans in pursuit of self-defense
      - Popular in urban areas
        - Focused on community programs - free breakfast for children
  - Young Lords
    - Inspired by panthers
      - Hoped for self-determination for Puerto Ricans in the US
      - Sought to improve conditions, especially East Harlem
  - New Urban Politics
    - Gary, Indiana and Cleveland, Ohio elected black mayors
    - National Black Political Convention - toyed with idea of creating a third party, eventually chose to support democrats
      - Sought national health insurance, elimination of death penalty
- Urban Unrest
  - Watts riot of 1965
    - Weeklong riot where 34 people were killed
  - After more riots in 1967 - Kerner Commission investigated origins of violence
    - Found that the nation was moving toward two societies, black and white, separate and unequal
  - MLK spoke out against war in Vietnam, argued LBJ focused on the war more than poverty and domestic issues
  - April 4, 1968 - MLK assassinated by James Earl Ray
- Rise of the Chicano movement
  - Cesar Chavez helped create United Farm Workers
  - Led a grape picker's strike to bring attention to plight of Mex-American workers



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  - 1968 - 28 day hunger strike, met with Presidential candidate and Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy
  - Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, similar to NAACP
  - Also formed La Raza Unida, a political party as an alternative to Dem + Rep largely for Mexican Americans
- American Indian Movement (AIM)
  - Faced most challenges of any minority group
    - Stunningly high unemployment, poor housing + schools
  - Indians of All Tribes and American Indian Movement formed
    - Used protests to bring attention to their plight
    - In 1969 the IAT took over Alcatraz island
    - Trail of Broken Treaties - protest across the country by many Native American Groups
  - Media attention was widespread

## **Chapter 27 pages 870-902 Liberal Crisis and Conservative Rebirth**

### Liberalism at High Tide

- Great Society:
  - Focus on domestic program including: civil rights, poverty, education under LBJ
    - New Deal + Civil Rights
- JFK's promise
  - JFK proposed health insurance for elderly, antipoverty, tax cuts, and civil rights bill
    - Not alive to see it, but mostly did come to fruition
- Lyndon B. Johnson and Great Society
  - Becomes pres in 63, sought to end poverty
    - 20% lived in poverty, more for african americans and native americans
    - Economic Opportunity Act - Head Start (free nursery school)
      - Free education for poor students, created the Job Corps (training for young people), and regional development programs
      - Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), domestic peace corps'
- 1964 Election
  - LBJ vs Barry Goldwater (very liberal vs very conservative)
  - Goldwater opposed Great Society programs and advocated for a tougher Cold War stance
  - Ronald Reagan gave the "A Time for Choosing" speech, which supported Goldwater at the 1964 Republican convention

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- Great Society Initiatives
  - Elementary and Secondary Education Act - \$1 billion in federal money
  - Medicare - health insurance for elderly
  - Medicaid - health insurance for lower income individuals
  - Housing and Urban Development - newly created department, built public housing
  - Immigration Act of 1965 - reversed discriminatory quota acts of 1920s
    - Allowed relatives of legal immigrants to be admitted regardless of limits
- Assessing the Great Society
  - Health Care for poor and elderly increased
  - Poverty rate for African Americans decreased
    - However, poverty and segregation still remained
- Rebirth of the Women's Movement
  - Labor Feminists
    - 1960s women sought equal pay for equal work and maternity leave
    - 1963 Equal Pay Act - equal pay for equal work
  - 1970s - more women working outside the home than ever before
- Betty Friedan and the National Organization for Women (NOW)
  - Friedan wrote "The Feminine Mystique" (muckraker)
    - Argued that many housewives were not happy and lived unfulfilled lives
  - Birth control pill introduced in 1964 - end of the Baby Boom
  - NOW was modeled after NAACP
    - Helped bring attention to lack of women in certain professions and politics
  - Kennedy appoints the Presidential Committee on the Status of Women in 1961, reported on job and educational discrimination
- The Vietnam War Begins
  - Kennedy did not want to lose credibility by leaving Vietnam (so was Johnson, under the impression that they would be criticized for losing Vietnam, just like Truman was for losing China)
- Escalation under Johnson
  - "I'm not going to be the President who saw Southeast Asia go the way China went"
  - 1964 - Gulf of Tonkin
    - Report that US ship was attacked in international waters by north vietnamese
      - Congress passes the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution - gives LBJ the ability to use any measures necessary in Vietnam, leads to massive increase in American involvement
- New American Presence

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- Operation Rolling Thunder - Bombing campaign against North Vietnam
  - More bombs were dropped on Vietnam than on Europe and Asia combined in WW2
    - North Vietnamese continued to resist and increased morale
  - Vietnam taught the US that better tech does not always win a war
- Public opinion and the War
  - “Credibility Gap” - what Gov said and what actually happened were not always the same
- Rise of the Student Movement
  - Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) - founded in Michigan by students that sought social change
    - Created the Port Huron Statement
      - Criticized the gap between the rich and poor, as well as the nation’s consumer culture
- The New Left
  - Diff from old left, associated with Communism
    - Focused on gay rights, gender issues, and abortion
  - UC Berkely - Free Speech Movement - students sought to use Universities and public spaces for protests
    - 1967 - end of automatic student deferments → allowed College students to be drafted → protests
- Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)
  - Response to the New Left
    - Issued the “Sharon Statement” years prior to the Port Huron statement, inspired many conservatives
- The Counterculture ( Hippies)
  - Inspired by folk music, later the Beatles, Rolling Stones
    - Rejected many values of parents’ generation
    - Used drugs (marijuana + LSD)
    - Helped introduce a sexual revolution
- Days of Rage 1968-1972
  - The Tet Offensive
    - January 30, 1968 (Vietnamese New Years)
      - Surprise attack from North on South
      - Though North defeated, it was a **Watershed** event in the war (massive turning point)
    - Many began to see the war as unwinnable, increasing protest
- Political Assassination
  - 1968 - the year of “shocks

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  - Tet offensive
  - April 4, 1968 - MLK assassinated in Tennessee
  - June 5, 1968 - RFK killed in the midst of the Democratic primary
- Democratic convention 1968
  - Chicago, 1968 - demonstrations outside were broken up by police
  - Richard Nixon wins the Republican primary
    - Focused on northern working class workers and southern whites
  - Third Party Candidate - George Wallace
    - Advocated "Law and Order"
      - Wanted to bomb Vietnam heavily
      - Segregationist platform
- Nixon's Strategy - "Southern Strategy"
  - Sought to win the support of whites in the south
  - Outspoken against the anti war movement, urban riots, and protests
  - With the election of 1968, white southerners begin to abandon the Democratic party
- The Nationalist Turn
  - Chicano Moratorium committee - Mex Americans protesting the Vietnam war
    - Argued that the draft hurt the poor and minorities
- Women's Liberation
  - Feminists tended to be younger, educated and associated with civil rights and antiwar movements
  - Some radical women sought to gain feminist goals through politics
    - Continuation, focus on equal pay
  - Sexual Politics - argued women must have control over their bodies to shape their destinies
    - Focused on access to abortion and awareness for sexual assault and harassment
  - Title IX (1972)
    - Banned discrimination in higher education based on sex, if found, federal funds would be cut off
      - Huge increase in athletics for women
- Gloria Steinem
  - Helped create the National Women's Political Caucus
    - Helped sponsor legislation promoting equal rights
    - 1974 - Equal Credit Opportunity Act - allowed married women to get credit cards in their own names
- Stonewall and Gay Liberation
  - The Stonewall Inn

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- Gay bar in New York that was raided by police in 1969
  - Leads to a 2 day riot which contributed to a rapid rise of a gay liberation movement
- Rise of the Silent Majority
  - Silent Majority was Nixon's belief that many Americans supported his beliefs and the war
- Nixon in Vietnam
  - "Peace with Honor" - Nixon wanted to end the war, but only in a way satisfactory to the US
- Vietnamization and Cambodia
  - Vietnamization - gradual withdrawal and replacement of US troops with South Vietnamese troops
  - April 1970, US began bombing supply lines and bases in neutral Cambodia
    - Believed that North Vietnam had supply lines in Cambodia
    - Led to protests on many college campuses, including Kent State (Kent State Massacre)
- My Lai Massacre
  - Massacre by American soldiers, execution of over 500 South Vietnamese including women and children
- Detente
  - Easing of cold war tensions between US and Soviets
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT 1) - signed by Nixon and Brezhnev
  - Feb 21, 1972 - Nixon visits China
    - Nixon sought to gain an advantage over the Soviet Union and help end the Vietnam war
- Exit America
  - Election of 1972 - Nixon campaigned on "Peace at hand"
  - January 1973 - Paris Peace Accords - ending the war
- The Silent Majority Speaks Out
  - Supreme Court
  - Warren Court 1954-1969
    - Brown v Board
    - Accused of legislating from the bench, rights of accused criminals increased
      - Miranda v Arizona
    - Sanctioned religious practices in public schools were prohibited
- Busing
  - In 1950s - school ordered to desegregate
    - But in 1968 only 1/3 of southern black people attended integrated schools

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  - Busing was used by the Courts to decrease segregation
  - In the mid 1970s, about 86% of southern black students attended integrated schools
  - Growth of suburbs helped increase segregations in the north
- 1972 Election
  - Many Southern whites swap to Republican Party
  - Nixon R vs George McGovern D
    - Nixon wins in an absolute landslide

### **The Search for Order in an Era of Limits 1973-1980**

- An Era of Limits
  - Plagued by stagflation - high interest rates, unemployment, and slow growth
- Energy Crisis
  - Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
    - Many Mid East nations
    - Formed to control the supply and price of oil
  - Yom Kippur War (1973)
    - US Supports America, leads to OPEC embargoing = energy crisis
      - Gas prices soared, long lines at stations
      - Speed limit reduced to 55
      - Smaller cars increased
- Environmentalism
  - Focused on preservation and conservation
  - Silent Spring - written by Rachel Carson, exposed the dangers of pesticides (DDT) on the environment
    - Helped lead to the Environmental Protection Agency
      - Created under Nixon, helped regulate business impacts on the environment
    - Clean Air Act - 1970
      - Allowed EPA to regulate pollution created by companies
    - Nuclear Power
      - Seen as an alternate to other forms, but some fear over the dangers involved
        - Including Three Mile Island, where 100,000 people were forced to flee their homes
- Economic Transformation
  - Vietnam war + Great Society = Deficit and Inflation
  - US transforms from a manufacturing economy to a service economy

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- 1971 - Nixon removed the US from the gold standard
- Deindustrialization
  - Steel production fell drastically, foreign steel was cheaper than American
  - Rust Belt - area in Northeast that saw a decline in industrial production
- Organized Labor on decline
  - The loss of industrial jobs hurt the labor movement
  - Unions turned to saving jobs rather than higher pay
- Urban Crisis and Suburban Revolt
  - An increase in suburbs meant less revenue for cities, many left grappling to pay bills
    - NYC almost declared bankruptcy in 1975
  - Growth of Suburbs leads to growth of shopping centers, businesses moving to suburbs
  - Tax Revolt
    - Major component, and victory, of the conservative movement
    - Proposition 13 helped change taxes
      - Capped property taxes, increased requirements for tax measures to be  $\frac{2}{3}$  approved in legislature
      - Example of a referendum
  - Labor trends
    - Large number of low wage earners, high wage earners at the top, middle decreases
- Watergate
  - June 17, 1972: break in at Democratic National Headquarters at the Watergate Complex
  - Architects of the plan worked for Nixon's Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP)
  - Nixon helped to obstruct the investigation
  - Two journalists, Woodward and Bernstein, blow the top off the scandal
  - August 9, 1974 - Nixon resigns before he could be impeached
  - Gerald Ford, VP becomes President
    - Grants Nixon a pardon
      - Infuriates Americans
      - More distrust of government
        - Ford knew that pardoning Nixon would ruin his public standing, but felt that he needed to in order for the country to move on
  - Limited the power of president
    - War Powers Act (1973)

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- Passed over Nixon's veto, limited pres's ability to send troops to combat
  - Contrast with the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution only 9 years earlier
- Freedom of Information Act
  - Citizens (especially journalists) could file to gain access to government documents
- Ethics in Government Act
  - Required government officials to disclose their financial and employment history and limited lobbying
- Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act
  - Prohibited the wiretapping of foreign citizens without a warrant
- Watergate Babies
  - Many Democrats benefitted in the 1974 midterm election from Ford's pardon of Nixon
  - These elected officials helped reform politics and bring greater transparency:
    - Eliminated HUAC
- Political Realignment
  - 1970s conservatives focused on tax cuts and deregulation to stimulate the economy
  - Deindustrialization led to population growth in the sunbelt
    - States such as NY lost political influence, while CA and TX gained significantly
- Jimmy Carter
  - As governor of Georgia, Carter campaigned as "Washington Outsider"
    - Not associated with scandals and politics in DC
  - Much of the Carter administration was plagued by stagflation
    - Carter was an extremely moral man
      - Mediated a "Framework for peace" between Egypt and Israel
      - Rejected realism in favor of idealism
      - Withdrew US support from authoritarian regimes
  - Iranian Hostage Crisis
    - Carter accepts the Iranian Shah into an American hospital
      - Iranians outraged, hold tens of Americans hostage in the US embassy
      - Refuse to release them until Carter is out (because he wouldn't give over the Shah)
- Civil Rights
  - Affirmative action: sought to combat racial discrimination by taking into accounts minority groups



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  - Advocated by JFK and LBJ
    - Gov contractors were encouraged to recruit racial minorities
    - Upheld the idea in Bakke v University of California, but rejected a quota system for minorities
- The Women's movement and Gay Rights
  - Increased amount of 2 income households
  - Women's Activism
    - Universities like Yale became Co-ed
    - New clinics and rape centers established around the US
  - Equal Rights Amendment
    - Introduced in 1923 by Alice Paul, passed both houses of Congress in 1972
    - Phyllis Schlafly - wanted to stop the ERA
      - Advocated traditional roles for women, feared the amendment would lead to unisex bathrooms and women being drafted
      - Fell 3 states short from being ratified
  - Roe v Wade
    - Throughout the 1960s, abortion had been legal in almost every state
    - Griswold v Connecticut - Supreme Court struck down a law forbidding contraceptives
- Harvey Milk
  - Openly gay candidate, won a city council seat in 1977 San Francisco
  - Became a powerful symbol for gay rights
    - Him and mayor of San Fran were assassinated in 1978
- After the Warren Court
  - Nixon appoints 3 new justices, including Chief Justice Warren Burger
  - Nixon and his supporters hoped this would mean a more conservative court
    - In many ways, the Burger court upheld many ideals of the Warren court
    - Including Roe v Wade
- Navigating the sexual revolution
  - 3 factors that increased discussion of sex
    - Birth control pill
    - Counterculture of the baby boom generation
    - Feminism influence
  - Women's rights focused on a revolution in sexual values, not just behavior
- Sex and Popular Culture
  - Books, movies, and tv shows increasingly focused on sex in the 1970s
- Middle Class marriage
  - A new therapy industry emerged focused on counseling married couples

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- Religions in the 1970s: The Fourth Great Awakening
  - 2nd Great Awakening inspired reform movements
  - Evangelical resurgence
    - Evangelical churches focused on being “Born again”, focused on a strict interpretation of the bible
    - Billy Graham - spent the 1940s and 50s travelling the country giving sermons
    - What led to the revival?
      - Rising divorce rates, social unrest, perceived moral decay
- Religion and the Family
  - Evangelicals focused on the nuclear family (male breadwinner)
  - Evangelicals were alarmed with sex education, abortion, and rising divorce rates

## Chapter 29 Conservative America in the Ascent 1980-1991

- The rise of the new right
  - Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan
    - Reagan became very anti-communist in the 1950s, and supported Barry Goldwater in “A Time for Choosing”
  - *The Conscience of a Conservative*
    - Written by Goldwater
    - Anti New Deal and Anti-communism
  - Grassroots Conservatism
    - Phyllis Schlafly - *A Choice Not an Echo*
      - Anti-moderate Republicans
  - Reagan becomes governor of California in 1966 and 1970
- Free Market and Religious Conservatism
  - Early ideas begin in the *National Review* magazine by William F. Buckley
  - Characteristics:
    - Anti-communist, focus on religion and free rights
      - Milton Friedman linked economic freedom with political freedom
    - Religious Right:
      - Rose to prominence in 1970
      - Saw America as immoral
      - Anti divorce and abortion
  - Why did conservatism appeal to voters?
    - Vietnam war, abortion, riots in 1960s, and increase in size of federal gov

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- Jimmy Carter
  - Washington Outsider
    - Camp David Accords (1978)
      - Brought Egypt and Israel together to sign a treaty
    - Passed SALT II
  - Plagued by the Iranian Hostage Crisis
    - Shah of Iran (backed by US) overthrown in 1979
    - Ayatollah Khomeini becomes leader of Iran
    - US admits Shah for cancer treatment
      - In response, 66 Americans held hostage for over a year at the US embassy
- Carter v Reagan
  - Economy was struggling
    - Stagflation, high interest rates
    - Reagan wins in a landslide
      - Promises to shrink size of gov
- Reagan Coalition
  - Lower taxes, balanced budgets, smaller gov, states rights, tough on crime
  - Southern whites also supported Reagan
    - Similar to Nixon
  - Moral Majority
    - Religious group led by Jerry Falwell
    - Mobilized Christian voters on behalf of reagan
  - Reagan Democrats
    - Many blue-collar Catholics that became weary of protests and dissatisfied with the liberalism of the 1970s and left the Democratic party for Republicans in the 1980s
- Reaganomics
  - Supply side economics - advocated lower taxes and investing in businesses
  - Economic Recovery Tax Act
    - Large tax cut for wealthy individuals
  - Social Security and Medicare remain intact thanks to the elderly being powerful voters
  - National debt increased due to higher military spending
- Deregulation
  - Decreased gov regulation
  - Lower spending by gov
  - At the end of Reagan's presidency, the size of the gov remained largely unchanged

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- Remaking the Judiciary
  - Sandra Day O'Connor - first female supreme justice
  - Under the 1986-2005 Rehnquist court, the Supreme Court did not make major changes in either direction
- HIV/AIDS
  - Nearly 100K americans died in the 80s from AIDS
    - During Reagan's last year in office, the gov devoted resources to treatment
- Morning in America
  - Tax increase in 1982 - high interest rates and unemployment
- Election of 1984
  - Reagan wins against Walter Mondale in a landslide
  - Reagan projected an image of small town America and optimism
    - Reagan's second term was starkly different from his first term
- Return to Prosperity
  - 1985 - first time in 70 years the US imported more than it exported
  - Union job begin to shrink - outsourcing jobs to other countries
  - "Rust Belt" declines
- Culture of Success
  - People celebrate wealth (like 20s)
  - *Wall Street* - movie that advertised that Greed is Good
  - *Lifestyle of The Rich and Famous*
  - Donald Trump - among many real estate Moguls in NYC
- Computer Revolution
  - Rise of Microsoft, Apple, and IBM
    - Computers become more accessible
- The End of the Cold War
  - Reagan saw the Soviets as an "Evil Empire"
  - Reagan no longer wanted containment, but to destroy communism
    - Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars)
      - Plan to destroy Soviet missiles that never came to fruition
    - US supported anticommunism throughout the world
      - Even if regimes weren't democratic
- Iran-Contra
  - US sold weapons to Iran and sent \$ to the Contras of Nicaragua
    - Contras aimed to overthrow the Sandinista gov.
  - Congress forbid providing aid to Contras
    - Reagan is plagued by this in his second term
- Gorbachev and Soviet Reform

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  - Soviet economy weakened in the 80s
  - Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led to a long drawn out war
  - 2 Gorbachev policies
    - Glasnost - allowed more freedoms
    - Perestroika - introduced some elements of capitalism
  - Reagan and Gorbachev pursue Detente
- 1989 - fall of the Berlin wall - symbolic end of the Cold War
- A New Political Order at Home and Abroad
  - Reagan's administration promoted beliefs about prosperity and smaller gov.
- Election of 1988
  - Bush v. Dukakis
  - Bush promotes family values and wins handedly
- Mid East
  - Bush's "New World Order"
    - US and allies play a significant role in global affairs
    - US continues support of Israel
- Persian Gulf War
  - Iraq led by Saddam Hussein invades Kuwait (oil)
  - UN and congress support the use of force and kick of Iraq
  - Led to economic sanctions against Iraq
    - "By God we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all"
      - Belief that America could get into a war quickly and avoid a drawn out war like - bush

### Chapter 30 National and Global Dilemmas

- Globalization: interdependence, connection between countries and businesses → increased trade
- World Trade Organization: regulates trade between nations
- Rise of EU and China
  - EU - made up of dozens of countries from Europe, common currency
  - Chinese economy had grown significantly
    - Elements of capitalism within the Communist party
    - Outsourcing of jobs to China becomes a big issue
- International organizations and Corporations
  - G8 - (Group of 8) control most financial organizations (International monetary fund)
  - NAFTA

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  - No tariffs on trade between US, Canada, and Mexico
  - Multinational corporations
- Financial deregulation
  - Many banks and financial institutions saw their industries deregulated
- Revolutions in tech
  - 1990s - growth of PC's and the internet
  - Rise of e-commerce (Amazon)
  - Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET)
    - Decentralized computer network, the internet grew out of ARPANET
- An increasingly plural society
  - New immigrants
    - Between 1970 and 2000, 28 million immigrants
    - Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965
      - Eliminated quota system from 20s
      - Immigrants with skills in high demand could more easily arrive
      - Immediate members of families of legal immigrants could more easily arrive
    - Many immigrants send money back home
- Multiculturalism becomes increasingly popular
  - Proposition 209 - approved by California voters that outlawed affirmative action in 1996
- Clashes over "Family values"
  - The New Right focus on marriage between a man and woman
  - Abortion
    - Major distinction between Dem and Repub
      - Organized protests outside abortion clinics since Roe
- Gay Rights
  - Defense of marriage act - allowed states to not recognize same sex marriage (overturned in 2013)
- Culture Wars and the Supreme Court
  - Webster v. Reproductive Health Services (1989)
    - States could limit funds for abortion
  - Planned Parenthood v Casey (1992)
    - Strengthened Roe
  - Lawrence v Texas (2003)
    - Limited states' ability to prohibit private homosexual activity
- Clinton 93-01
  - Political parties had become more polarized since the 90s
  - Clinton defeats Bush and Perot in 1992

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- New Democrats and Public Policy
  - for universal healthcare
  - 1998: Balanced budget
- Clinton was viewed as a waffler
  - Backed down on allowing gay people into the military
    - “Don’t ask, don’t tell”
  - Backed down on the cabinet members he wanted
  - Also dealt with accusations of sexual harrasment
- The Republican Resurgence
  - Newt Gingrich - speaker of the house
    - Promoted a “Contract with America” - called for tax cuts, reduction in welfare and gov regulations
      - For the first time in American history, Congress appears to be more powerful than the President
        - Clinton takes note, and puts up a fight to prevent the Republican advances, and chooses to move from the Left to the Middle
        - Clinton passes budget reductions, and begins to take Republican ideas as his own, shutting the Republican congress down
- Clinton’s Impeachment
  - Clinton was charged with perjury and obstruction of justice
  - Most Americans opposed impeachment
    - Clinton was not removed from office
- Post-Cold War Foreign Policy
  - NATO expands
  - Including former soviet controlled countries
- Breakup of Yugoslavia
  - Bosnia-Herzegovina declared independence in 1992
  - Slobodan Milosevic committed genocide, ethnic cleansing
    - Leads to NATO bombing campaign against him
- America and Mid East
  - US troops in Saudi Arabia after the Persian Gulf War upsets many in the Mid East
  - 1993 World Trade Center bombed
  - US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed in 1998
  - Bombing of USS Cole in 2000
    - African embassies and Cole were both bombed by Al Qaeda
- The Ascendence of George W. Bush

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  - Election of 2000 - Bush v. Gore
    - Gore won the popular vote but Bush won the electoral vote
    - Supreme Court intervened in recount efforts in Florida
- Tax Cuts
  - Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act
    - Decreased income and estate taxes
  - Federal spending increased
    - Medicare and Medicaid increase at uncontrolled rates
- September 11, 2001
  - 19 terrorists hijacked 4 planes
    - 2 crashed into the World Trade Center
    - 1 crashed into the Pentagon
    - 1 crashed in a field in Pennsylvania
- October 2001 - US fought the Taliban in Afghanistan for hiding Bin Laden
- USA PATRIOT Act
  - Gave the government new power to monitor suspected terrorists and their associates
  - During times of war, personal liberties decrease
- US invaded Iraq in 2003 without a UN resolution
- Abu Ghraib Prison Scandal (2004)
  - Images released of American guard torturing and abusing suspected terrorists
- 2004 Election
  - Bush v John Kerry
    - Kerry was portrayed as a flip-flopper for his position on the Iraq war
    - 11 states passed bans on same sex marriage (later overturned)
- Hurricane Katrina - devastated New Orleans
- 2008 Stock Market tumbled, unemployment reached 10%
  - Great recession also saw housing prices plummet



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## Obama + Trump

- “Remaking America”
- Stimulus package, draw down war in Iraq, refocus Afghanistan, reform health insurance, regulate wall street
  - American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
    - Stimulus bill that provided 787 billion to state and local governments
  - Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act
    - Regulated financial industry and new consumer protections
  - Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act
    - First health care system reform since 1965
    - Helped establish far more universal health coverage
    - Prevented discriminatory healthcare practices
  - Debate emerges in the Tea Party, a collection of far right groups
    - Prevents Obama from further liberal leaning legislation after losing the House and Senate in 2010 and 2014, respectively
  - Appoints Sotomayor and Elena Kagan (both liberal)
- Climate Change
  - 2015 - Obama focuses the EPA to adopt the Clean Power Act
    - Addresses greenhouse gas emissions
    - However, blocked by Supreme Court
- Obama and Mid East
  - Determined to end occupation in Iraq, brought down troops in 2010-2011
  - Kills Osama bin Laden in Pakistan
  - Deployed more troops into Afghanistan, and ends his term with thousands of troops left there
  - Supported “Arab Spring” uprisings, but could not shape events after them
  - The Islamic State terrorizes northern Iraq and Syria, establishing a caliphate
- Black Lives Matter
  - Police officer shoots and kills Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri
    - Weeks of demonstrations emerge after
    - Including BLM, which formed after the 2012 killing of Trayvon Martin
- Nationalism and the rise of Trump
  - Despite losing the popular vote by 2.8 million (roughly 2 percentage points), Trump won
  - Campaigned on a border wall, and tariffs on a variety of goods
  - Cracked down hard on immigration, including bans on 7 primarily muslim nations
  - Economic protectionism, withdrew from NAFTA and trade with East Asia, and imposed tariffs on many former trading partners

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- Tax Cuts
  - Repealed Obama's Clean Power Plan, replaced 3 SCOTUS judges and over 300 federal judges
  - Tax cuts which reduced federal revenue by more than 5 trillion
- Political trend of a democratic majority popular vote being outweighed by the electoral college siding with smaller republican states