

Advanced Placement

U.S. History, Book 3

**American Imperialism (1900) to
War and Terrorism (2000s)**

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Student Edition



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Contents

	Page
Introduction	v
 Part 1: Imperialism to Economic Depression, 1898–1940	
1 A Splendid Little War	8
2 An Interview with Booker T. Washington.....	13
3 Business and Political Terms.....	22
4 Primary Sources: A Sampling of Government Laws and Political Cartoons.....	23
5 Brainstorming Questions: Factory Role-Play.....	34
6 Formation of Labor Unions: Support and Opposition	35
7 Propaganda Posters for World War I	42
8 Reactions to War.....	44
9 The Literature of the 1920s	50
10 Eyewitness Accounts of the 1920s.....	53
11 Terms Related to the Start of the Great Depression.....	63
12 Causes of the Depression.....	64
13 Twentieth-Century Cultures Clash	68
14 Foreign Policy in the 1920s	77
 Part 2: Decades of Uncertainty, 1940–1970	
15 Causes of World War II	84
16 Could World War II Have Been Avoided?.....	86
17 1945: The Decision to Drop the Bomb	92
18 Analyzing the Conferences of World War II.....	100
19 Truman vs. MacArthur.....	115
20 Three American Presidents Face a Conflict in Vietnam	120
21 The Vietnam War: What Would You Do?	123
22 Understanding the Cold War	127
23 The Atlantic Charter	129
24 The Truman Doctrine.....	133
25 Foreign Policy of the Truman Administration	137
26 An Informed Look at the Truman Doctrine.....	138
27 McCarthyism	142

28	Rebellious Voice: J. D. Salinger	150
29	“Young, Gifted and Black”: Lorraine Hansberry	151
30	Opposing Paranoia: Arthur Miller.....	152
31	Historical Court Cases Dealing with School Segregation.....	157
32	Case Summary: <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>	159
33	Social Reactions to <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>	160
34	Postwar Wage-Price Policy	163
35	The Economy after World War II	166
36	Kennedy and Johnson: Domestic Agendas.....	174
37	Successors to the New Deal.....	177
38	An Interview with Malcolm X	182
39	Legal Terms	191
40	Notable Cases Decided by the Warren Court	192
41	Five Landmark Cases of the Warren Court.....	195
42	The Evolution of Political Parties	208
43	The Formation of the Modern Parties.....	210
44	Who Am I?.....	211

Part 3: One Century Ends, Another Begins

45	Great Society Programs, Critique, and Aftermath	217
46	1970s Role-Play	219
47	Legacies of the Great Society.....	220
48	A Trip to China	224
49	Reagan Pros and Cons.....	231
50	The Reagan Legacy.....	233
51	Left and Right Movements.....	245
52	Social, Political, and Economic Reform Movements.....	248
53	What Would You Do?.....	249
54	General Secretary Gorbachev: A New Beginning or a Return to Socialist Values?	253
55	What Should the United States Now Do?	255
56	President Clinton’s Domestic and Foreign Policies.....	261
57	Selected Documents Related to the War in Iraq	265

Introduction

The lessons in *Advanced Placement U.S. History, Book 3* will require you to process information in order to understand continuity and change in American history. You will learn to use a variety of sources to develop reasoning and critical thinking skills. It is important to focus on understanding the relationships among common themes and concepts in American history. You will analyze documents, read historical interpretations, and write thesis sentences, short essays, and document-based responses. These historian's skills will help you to understand how America has changed and adapted to meet needs that emerged during various periods in the country's development.

The development of certain skills such as reading, writing, mapping, and critical thinking are vital to your growth as a student of history. You must understand that there are basic assumptions which define the core principles of social studies. The historical process has evolved over time and is based on recurring themes and concepts which have developed from these core principles. Concepts represent things, thoughts, or actions which have certain characteristics in common and usually reflect some form of mental or physical interaction. Themes demonstrate relationships between and among concepts and often can be traced over time. Recorded history preserves the human experience for posterity and reflects the problems and successes people and nations have encountered over time.

The book is divided into three parts. In Part 1, you will examine America's struggle to make a transition to modernity in the first half of the twentieth century. This section considers the problems involved in emerging as a world power and how that new power shaped U.S. foreign policy. This part also focuses on domestic concerns, as Americans faced economic, social, and political crises. Part 2 examines the uncertainty in a world torn apart by World War II, as well as the problem of keeping the peace after the war. The America emerging from four years of war faced new demands for equality regardless of race, color, or creed. Part 3 considers issues such as the end of the Cold War, the rise of the conservative right, and the war in Iraq, as well as the dawn of the twenty-first century.

Part 1

Imperialism to Economic Depression, 1898–1940

New problems faced the country as it struggled to make a transition to modernity and emerge as a world power. That new power helped to shape foreign policy. Interest in expanding American economic influence beyond the borders began to grow, and the country sought to establish mutually beneficial trade agreements while providing coaling stations for a newly expanded naval fleet.

Since the sixteenth century, Spain had imposed colonialism on its possessions around the world. Fueled by the American jingoism of dueling New York newspaper syndicates under the control of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, Americans took up the humanitarian cause of the Cuban people and sympathized with their desire for freedom from Spain's oppressive domination. American companies had extensive business interests in the Caribbean, that were endangered by the possibility of open warfare. The publication of the de Lôme letter, which insulted and questioned the effectiveness of President William McKinley, further enraged Americans. Allegations of atrocities, concentration camps to re-educate Cuban rebels, and the inability of Spain to put down the insurrection, coupled with the destruction of the USS *Maine* in Havana harbor, led to war. This conflict marked the rise of America as a world power and its establishment as a global presence. Expansion beyond its continental borders was fueled by a need for overseas markets and a desire to imitate European colonial settlement.

While most history books record the achievements of white men during this time, two prodigious African-American educators, Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, also rose to prominence. Born a slave in rural Virginia, Washington struggled for his education and lived in desperate poverty. Du Bois was born a free man in Massachusetts and grew up in a relatively comfortable home. Washington attended Hampton Institute during Reconstruction, while Du Bois was educated at Fisk University in Tennessee and eventually became the first African American to earn a Ph.D. from Harvard University. Washington devoted his life to the establishment and success of Tuskegee Institute, while Du Bois taught at several universities and was a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

By the late nineteenth century, the United States had joined its European rivals as a great economic power. Industrialization flourished, as did the growth of large urban centers; yet concurrently the wealth and power

of key monopolists—Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Cornelius Vanderbilt, George Pullman, and others—grew. Critics focused on the vast differences in wealth and comfort of the few and the poverty and discomfort of many. Major economic catastrophes during this time accentuated critics' fears about the negative consequences of economic growth. Politicians' attempts to limit the power of a few wealthy individuals failed, and widespread corruption increased, raising questions about the nature of democracy in the United States. America had to decide what kind of a country it was to become.

The country began to focus on problems on the domestic front, including economic, social, and political crises. By the dawn of the twentieth century, more people lived in cities than in small towns. Thousands of Americans from rural areas and immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe, searching for a better way of life, came to live in large industrial centers. This change was seen as a fundamental challenge to the country's customs and traditions. Rural Americans saw the city as a place of violence, alcoholism, prostitution, materialism, immorality, and, worst of all, a new ideology which challenged traditional values and Christianity. To the urban dweller, the city represented freedom, progress, technological advancement, and a new intellectualism.

The growth of industry in America was facilitated by new inventions, such as improvements to the processes of refining oil and producing steel. The concurrent growth of monopolistic capitalism contributed to the development of a profit-driven atmosphere. As a result, a competitive ethos developed in most workplaces, where workers had few choices for employment and, as a result, were faced with innumerable problems: extensive hours; pay scales determined by skill, age, and gender, where women and children earned far less than men; onerous and rigorous discipline; tedious, repetitive, machine-driven work; employment which was subjected to variations in business cycles; ethnic rivalries often encouraged by prejudiced owners; dangerous and poorly ventilated factories. To combat the problems engendered by rapid and largely uncontrolled industrial growth, American workers turned to unions to defend their interests, often angering their employers, losing their jobs, and endangering their lives.

European powers spread their influence in Africa and Asia and established alliances in Europe, which led to a world war. By 1917, the United States had actively become involved in that devastating conflict. While some U.S. officials had already indicated their bias toward the Allied side and U.S. arms manufacturers were selling weapons to the Allied powers, the United States was officially neutral. Once the United States declared war on Germany, the situation became clear for officials and ordinary people alike: Americans were to assist the Allies in stopping expansionist Germany. Advocates of American participation in the conflict used propaganda to gain support for the war. While thousands of troops were

sent to Europe, few Americans were actively engaged in combat; however, American monetary aid, arms, and supplies greatly improved the Allies' chances of winning the conflict.

Alienation overtook some Americans after World War I, the power and strength of organized labor increased, and American isolationist policies were strengthened as another world war loomed ahead. Expatriation, especially in Paris, attracted many intellectuals and artists of the postwar period whose works tended to be characterized by disillusionment and alienation. Others gathered in New York's Greenwich Village or Harlem. Newcomers to the country gloried in possibilities unknown in the "Old Country." Some people expressed nostalgia for the rural America of another era, while still others found much to criticize in values prevalent at the time. The decade of the 1920s was an era during which the cult of personality came to the forefront. Journalistic reporting developed at a rapid pace, and daily newspapers were cheap and readily available. They provided readers with "you are there" accounts of significant historical events much as the Internet does today.

Believing that the United Nations was essential to prevent a repetition of the international anarchy that led to World War I, President Woodrow Wilson insisted that the Allies include the League charter in the Treaty of Versailles; however, opposition at home, both from extreme isolationists and from modern reservationists, led the Senate to reject the treaty, and with it, U.S. membership in the League of Nations. This ended Wilson's dream of American leadership in his proposed organization to encourage disarmament and settle international disputes peacefully. Some saw the final rejection of the Treaty of Versailles as the signal for a return to America's usual peacetime isolation.

A Splendid Little War

Directions: Use your textbook as well as print and online sources to develop the presentation on the topic assigned to you. Discuss and reach consensus for each part of your group's presentation.

Group 1

Develop a presentation discussing the factors that led to each of the following philosophies and views of the era: imperialism, colonialism, social Darwinism, the extension of Manifest Destiny, Josiah Strong's "Our Country," Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan's "Sea Power," and the annexation of Hawaii. Give an overview of America's rise as a global power, and link it to the other issues listed above. Provide background for an understanding of the reasons America became involved in the Spanish-American War.

Group 2

The yellow journalism style of reporting sensationalizes and exaggerates every aspect of a story in order to generate public sentiment and increase sales. Find political cartoons and images from media at the end of the nineteenth century to create a presentation on support and opposition to the Spanish-American War. Concentrate on reports of Spanish outrages and atrocities, internment camps, the *Maine* explosion, debate for war in Congress, supply problems, the Battle of Manila Harbor, San Juan Hill and Teddy Roosevelt, and the naval battle that destroyed the Spanish fleet in Cuba. Create an original political cartoon depicting the Spanish and American positions.

Group 3

Discuss the Philippine insurrection, its significance in America's role in the world, and its reflection of America's future aims. Decide what the United States should do with the territories gained from the Spanish-American War.

Group 4

Research and summarize the position of each of the following on the establishment of an American empire: Josiah Strong; Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge; Senator Albert Beveridge; President William McKinley; Teddy Roosevelt; William Jennings Bryan; Mark Twain; and the Anti-Imperialistic League.

An Interview with Booker T. Washington

Directions: The imaginary interview that follows will expose you to some of the thoughts of Booker T. Washington. All of his responses are from his autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1903), and from his later thoughts in *My Larger Education* (1913). As you read, take notes in the margins to summarize the positions that Washington develops. Be prepared for discussion.

Interviewer: Mr. Washington, you have been an outstanding leader in your community for many years, most notably for the success of Tuskegee Institute. You and Mr. Du Bois are often portrayed as being at odds about how to forge progress for the Negro. Unlike Mr. Du Bois, you spent the early part of your life in slavery. Would you say that your experience of slavery has had an impact on your life and development, specifically your thoughts on education? Are you angry?

Mr. Washington: In my early life I used to cherish a feeling of ill will toward any one who spoke in bitter terms against the Negro, or who advocated measures that tended to oppress the black man or take from him opportunities for growth in the most complete manner. Now, whenever I hear any one advocating measures that are meant to curtail the development of another, I pity the individual who would do this. . . . I pity him because I know that he is trying to stop the progress of the world. . . .

Interviewer: I see. In your famous “Atlanta Compromise Speech,” you advocated a number of things relevant to your educational philosophy. Many have argued that your ideas make you an Uncle Tom. What exactly did you say to Negroes about how they should improve their lots?

Mr. Washington: To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbour, I would say: “Cast down your bucket where you are” —cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded. Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man’s chance in the commercial world. . . . Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper

in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

Interviewer: Yes, but did you have any equivalent advice for whites?

Mr. Washington: To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labour wars, tilled your fields, . . . builded your railroads and cities, . . . and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them . . . to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen.

Interviewer: So your advice to both peoples seems to be similar, to root themselves in the concrete historical reality in which they find themselves, take practical stock of the reality, and then move forward by means of mutual cooperation. But what of the recent case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*? How can it be possible in a society where there is no social integration for real progress to take place?

Mr. Washington: In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress. There is no defence or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. . . . Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand per cent interest.

Interviewer: You yourself have argued, however, that there is a great injustice in how Negro schools are funded in the South. Is that true?

Mr. Washington: More money is paid for Negro convicts than for Negro teachers. . . . I do not mean to say that conditions are as bad everywhere as these that I refer to. Nevertheless, when one speaks "of the results of Negro education" it should be remembered that, so far as concerns the masses of

the Negro people, education has never yet been really tried. . . . Many of the Negro colleges have so burdened themselves with the work of an elementary grade that they are actually doing no college work at all, although they still keep up the forms and their students still speak of themselves as “college students.”

Interviewer: Yes, so how can one make sense of just what Negro education should look like? Mr. Du Bois advocates, at least for some, a classical education. Is that a good approach?

Mr. Washington: We have had some experience at Tuskegee of this lack of cooperation among the different types of Negro schools. For some years we have employed as teachers a large number of graduates, not only from some of the better Negro colleges in the South, but from some of the best colleges in the North as well. . . . Some of the schools of the strictly academic type have declared that their purpose in sticking to the old-fashioned scholastic studies was to make of their students Christian gentlemen. Of course, every man and every woman should be a Christian and, if possible, a gentleman or a lady; but it is not necessary to study Greek or Latin to be a Christian.

Interviewer: So you don't agree with Mr. Du Bois, and those like him?

Mr. Washington: Perhaps there were too many institutions started at that time for teaching Greek and Latin, considering that the foundation had not yet been laid in a good common-school system. It should be remembered, however, that the people who started these schools had a somewhat different purpose from that for which schools ordinarily exist today. They believed that it was necessary to complete the emancipation of the Negro by demonstrating to the world that the black man was just as able to learn from books as the white man, a thing that had been frequently denied during the long anti-slavery controversy. . . . We should not forget that as a rule in the South it is not the educated Negro, but the masses of the people, the farmers, labourers, and servants, with whom the white people come in daily contact. If the higher education which is given to the few does not in some way directly or indirectly reach and help the masses very little will be done toward making Negro education popular in the South or toward securing from the different states the means to carry it on.

Interviewer: But surely you are aware that there are many, Mr. Du Bois included, who believe that your arguments diminish the Negro. Should there be political and social equality?

Mr. Washington: The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. . . . It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges.

Interviewer: Well, that makes good sense, but how shall the Negro achieve political equality if he is not offered social and educational equality? Shall all the gains of Reconstruction be merely cast aside?

Mr. Washington: My own belief is, although I have never before said so in so many words, that the time will come when the Negro in the South will be accorded all the political rights which his ability, character, and material possessions entitle him to. I think, though, that the opportunity to freely exercise such political rights will not come in any large degree through outside or artificial forcing, but will be accorded to the Negro by the Southern white people themselves, and that they will protect him in the exercise of those rights. Just as soon as the South gets over the old feeling that it is being forced by “foreigners,” or “aliens,” to do something which it does not want to do, I believe that the change in the direction that I have indicated is going to begin. In fact, there are indications that it is already beginning in a slight degree.

Interviewer: There may be, but the Negro was granted freedom in 1865, full rights and citizenship in 1868, and voting rights in 1870. How can it be that separate but equal can prevail in this land? Why not demand full equality now, decades after the Congress of the United States made that the law of the land?

Mr. Washington: I believe it is the duty of the Negro . . . to deport himself modestly in regard to political claims, depending upon the slow but sure influences that proceed from the possession of property, intelligence, and high character for the full recognition of his political rights. I think that the according of the full exercise of political rights is going to be a matter of natural, slow growth. . . . I do not believe that the Negro should cease voting, for a man cannot learn the exercise of self-government by ceasing to vote any more than a boy can learn to swim by keeping out of the water, but I do believe that in his voting he should more and more be influenced by those of intelligence and character who are his next-door neighbours.

Interviewer: Mr. Washington, after more than thirty years do you still believe that the Negro does not have the good sense to vote according to his own insights, especially given the incredible success of Reconstruction?

Mr. Washington: As a rule, I believe in universal, free suffrage, but I believe that in the South we are confronted with peculiar conditions that justify the protection of the ballot in many of the states, for a while at least, either by an educational test, a property test, or by both combined; but whatever tests are required, they should be made to apply with equal and exact justice to both races.

Interviewer: So voting limitations are legitimate so long as they are applied without regard to race? That is a bit more nuanced position than you are frequently given credit for making. But how shall the Negro make progress? Things appear to be moving in exactly the wrong direction.

Mr. Washington: I think that the whole future of my race hinges on the question as to whether or not it can make itself of such indispensable value that the people in the town and the state where we reside will feel that our presence is necessary to the happiness and well-being of the community. No man who continues to add something to the material, intellectual, and moral well-being of the place in which he lives is long left without proper reward.

Interviewer: Thank you for your time, Mr. Washington. This has been rather informative. It seems that your message may have been greatly oversimplified in the press. Do you have any final words that you might offer to our readership?

Mr. Washington: In the last analysis, the work of building up such a school system as I have suggested must fall upon the industrial normal schools and colleges which prepare the teacher, because it is the success or failure of the teacher which determines the success of the school. . . . I believe the state governments in the South are going to see to it that the Negro public schools get a much fairer share of the money raised for education in the future than they have in the past. . . . The higher and normal schools can greatly aid the Negro people in raising among themselves the money necessary to build up the educational system of the South if they will prepare their teachers to give the masses of the people the kind of education which will help them to increase their earnings instead of giving them the kind of education that makes them discontented and unhappy and does not give them the courage or disposition to help themselves.

Business and Political Terms

Directions: Define the following terms, and identify the problems that may have developed in the late nineteenth century as a result of each.

Term	Definition	Problem
1. Agreement		
2. Pool		
3. Interlocking directorates		
4. Trust		
5. Business cycle		
6. Bland-Allison Act of 1878		
7. Pendleton Civil Service Act of 1883		
8. McKinley Tariff of 1890		

Primary Sources: A Sampling of Government Laws and Political Cartoons

Part A.

Directions: Read the following documents, summarize their major points in your own words, and consider potential problems.

Document 1

Excerpt from the Interstate Commerce Act (1887)

That the provisions of this act shall apply to any common carrier or carriers engaged in the transportation of passengers or property wholly by railroad, or partly by railroad and partly by water when both are used, under a common control, management, or arrangement, for a continuous carriage or shipment, from one State or Territory of the United States, or the District of Columbia, to any other State or Territory of the United States, or the District of Columbia, or from any place in the United States to an adjacent foreign country, or from any place in the United States through a foreign country to any other place in the United States, and also to the transportation in like manner of property shipped from any place in the United States to a foreign country and carried from such place to a port of trans-shipment, or shipped from a foreign country to any place in the United States and carried to such place from a port of entry either in the United States or an adjacent foreign country. . . .

All charges made for any service rendered or to be rendered in the transportation of passengers or property as aforesaid, or in connection therewith, or for the receiving, delivering, storage, or handling of such property, shall be reasonable and just; and every unjust and unreasonable charge for such service is prohibited and declared to be unlawful. . . .

That it shall be unlawful for any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act to enter into any contract, agreement, or combination with any other common carrier or carriers for the pooling of freights of different and competing railroads, or to divide between them the aggregate or net proceeds of the earnings of such railroads, or any portion thereof; and in any case of an agreement for the pooling of freights as aforesaid, each day of its continuance shall be deemed a separate offense. . . .

That a Commission is hereby created and established to be known as the Inter-State Commerce Commission, which shall be composed of five Commissioners, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. . . . No person in the employ of or holding any official relation to any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act, or owning stock or bonds thereof, or who is in any manner pecuniarily interested therein, shall enter upon the duties of or hold such office. Said Commissioners shall not engage in any other business, vocation, or employment. . . .

That the Commission hereby created shall have authority to inquire into the management of the business of all common carriers subject to the provisions of this act, and shall keep itself informed as to the manner and method in which the same is conducted, and shall have the right to obtain from such common carriers full and complete information necessary to enable the Commission to perform the duties and carry out the objects for which it was created; and for the purposes of this act the Commission shall have power to require the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of all books, papers, tariffs, contracts, agreements, and documents relating to any matter under investigation, and to that end may invoke the aid of any court of the United States in requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of books, papers, and documents under the provisions of this section.

Document 2

Excerpt from the Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890)

Trusts, Etc., in Restraint of Trade Illegal; Penalty

Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, at the discretion of the court.

Monopolizing Trade a Felony; Penalty

Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons, to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Document 3

Theodore Roosevelt, “The Square Deal” (September 7, 1903)

In speaking on Labor Day at the annual fair of the New York State Agricultural Association, it is natural to keep especially in mind the two bodies who compose the majority of our people and upon whose welfare depends the welfare of the entire State. If circumstances are such that thrift, energy, industry, and forethought enable the farmer, the tiller of the soil, on the one hand, and the wage-worker on the other, to keep themselves, their wives, and their children in reasonable comfort, then the State is well off, and we can be assured that the other classes in the community will likewise prosper. . . .

Side by side with this increase in the prosperity of the wage-worker and the tiller of the soil has gone on a great increase in prosperity among the business men and among certain classes of professional men; and the prosperity of these men has been partly the cause and partly the consequence of the prosperity of farmer and wage-worker. It cannot be too often repeated that in this country, in the long run, we all of us tend to go up or go down together. . . .

The failure in public and in private life thus to treat each man on his own merits, the recognition of this government as being either for the poor as such or for the rich as such, would prove fatal to our Republic, as such failure and such recognition have always proved fatal in the past to other republics. A healthy republican government must rest upon individuals, not upon classes or sections. As soon as it becomes government by a class or by a section, it departs from the old American ideal. . . .

The outcome was equally fatal, whether the country fell into the hands of a wealthy oligarchy which exploited the poor or whether it fell under the domination of a turbulent mob which plundered the rich. In both cases there resulted violent alternations between tyranny and disorder, and a final complete loss of liberty to all citizens—destruction in the end overtaking the class which had for the moment been victorious as well as that which had momentarily been defeated. . . .

The reason why our future is assured lies in the fact that our people are genuinely skilled in and fitted for self-government and therefore will spurn the leadership of those who seek to excite

this ferocious and foolish class antagonism. The average American knows not only that he himself intends to do what is right, but that his average fellow-countryman has the same intention and the same power to make his intention effective. He knows, whether he be business man, professional man, farmer, mechanic, employer, or wage-worker, that the welfare of each of these men is bound up with the welfare of all the others; that each is neighbor to the other, is actuated by the same hopes and fears, has fundamentally the same ideals, and that all alike have much the same virtues and the same faults. Our average fellow-citizen is a sane and healthy man, who believes in decency and has a wholesome mind. . . .

The good citizen is the man who, whatever his wealth or his poverty, strives manfully to do his duty to himself, to his family, to his neighbor, to the State; who is incapable of the baseness which manifests itself either in arrogance or in envy, but who while demanding justice for himself is no less scrupulous to do justice to others. It is because the average American citizen, rich or poor, is of just this type that we have cause for our profound faith in the future of the Republic. . . .

In his turn, the capitalist who is really a conservative, the man who has forethought as well as patriotism, should heartily welcome every effort, legislative or otherwise, which has for its object to secure fair dealing by capital, corporate or individual, toward the public and toward the employee. Such laws as the franchise-tax law in this State, which the Court of Appeals recently unanimously decided constitutional—such a law as that passed in Congress last year for the purpose of establishing a Department of Commerce and Labor, under which there should be a bureau to oversee and secure publicity from the great corporations which do an interstate business—such a law as that passed at the same time for the regulation of the great highways of commerce so as to keep these roads clear on fair terms to all producers in getting their goods to market—these laws are in the interest not merely of the people as a whole, but of the propertied classes. For in no way is the stability of property better assured than by making it patent to our people that property bears its proper share of the burdens of the State; that property is handled not only in the interest of the owner, but in the interest of the whole community. . . .

Finally, we must keep ever in mind that a republic such as ours can exist only by virtue of the orderly liberty which comes through the equal domination of the law over all men alike, and through its administration in such resolute and fearless fashion as shall teach all that no man is above it and no man below it.¹

¹Theodore Roosevelt, "At the State Fair, Syracuse, N.Y., September 7, 1903," in *A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches of Theodore Roosevelt, 1901–1905*, ed. Alfred Henry Lewis (Washington, D. C.: Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1906), 497–505.

Part B.

Directions: Analyze the political cartoons by answering the following questions.

1. In each cartoon, what is being criticized?
2. How does the cartoonist use symbols?
3. What are the cartoonists' biases?

Document 1

The Poms and Vanities of Our National Capital

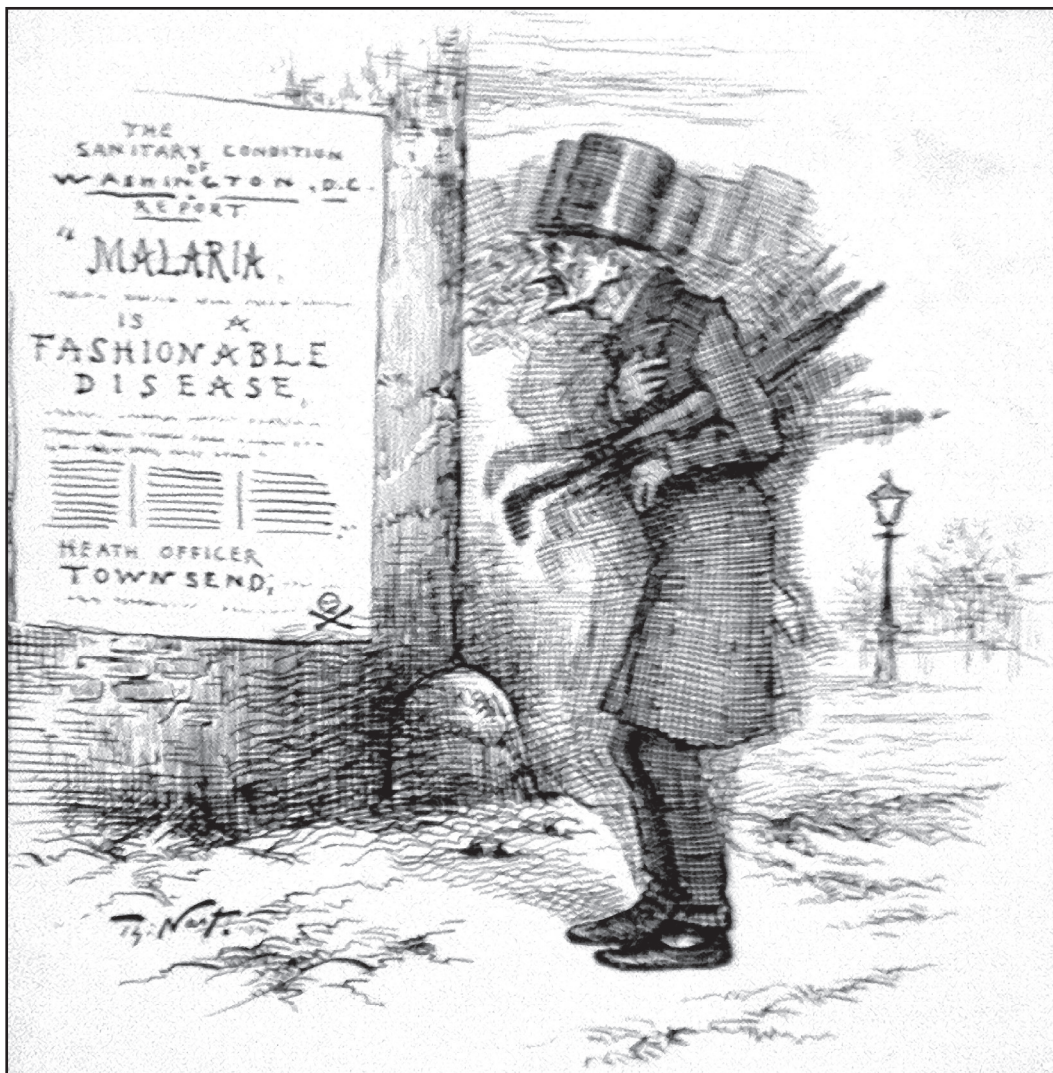


Fig. 3.1.

Fig. 3.1. Cartoon by Thomas Nast, 1881. The Granger Collection, New York.

Document 2

Thanksgiving Day, 1884



Fig. 3.2.

Fig. 3.2. Cartoon by Bernhard Gilliam, 1884.

Document 3
King of the World



Fig. 3.3.

Fig. 3.3. Cartoon from *Puck*, 1901.

Part C.

Directions: Use at least two written documents from part A, at least two political cartoons from part B, and the following quotation from historian Carl Guarneri to answer this question: In what ways did business and/or political leaders contribute to the economic crisis of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Remember to structure your essay around the documents and to focus on developing main ideas. Be sure to assess the authors' biases, audiences, and purposes.

. . . Unhampered by old distribution networks, aggressive antitrust prosecution, or gentlemanly restraint, American companies waged price wars on competitors or gobbled them up by buying their stock (which they held as trustees rather than as legal owners—hence the name “trusts”) on the way to building near-monopolies. . . . Applying these methods ruthlessly, a few dozen companies controlled their industries nationwide and pulled strings in government to augment their advantages. The nation’s largest business, J. P. Morgan’s U.S. Steel, was capitalized at \$1.4 billion in 1901, an amount three times bigger than the federal budget.²

²Carl Guarneri, *America in the World: United States History in Global Context* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2007), 173.

Brainstorming Questions: Factory Role-Play

Directions: Imagine that you work in one of the new industries of the late 1800s and early 1900s—meatpacking, refining oil, producing steel, or building railroads—owned by one of the monopolists of the period. Answer the following questions based on your experiences.

1. Are you most likely a male or a female employee? Why?
2. What do you expect from your employer?
3. What do you experience in your workplace?
4. Are your expectations similar to or different from the expectations of the so-called “Lowell Girls” earlier in the century?
5. If your expectations are not being met, what can you do about the situation?
6. Do you expect the U.S. government to help you? Why or why not?

Formation of Labor Unions: Support and Opposition

Directions: Answer the following questions about the three most popular unions of the late 1800s and early 1900s: the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, and the Industrial Workers of the World.

The Knights of Labor

1. When was the union started?
2. What was its view as to the problems that needed to be corrected?
3. Who could join?
4. What were its goals?
5. What were its methods?
6. By 1910, what did it accomplish for its members?
7. How did employers respond?
8. How did the federal government respond?
9. What was the apparent bias of the press?
10. What were the union's limitations?

American Federation of Labor

1. When was the union started?
2. What was its view as to the problems that needed to be corrected?
3. Who could join?
4. What were its goals?
5. What were its methods?
6. By 1910, what did it accomplish for its members?
7. How did employers respond?
8. How did the federal government respond?
9. What was the apparent bias of the press?
10. What were the union's limitations?

Industrial Workers of the World

1. When was the union started?
2. What was its view as to the problems that needed to be corrected?
3. Who could join?
4. What were its goals?
5. What were its methods?
6. By 1910, what did it accomplish for its members?
7. How did employers respond?
8. How did the federal government respond?
9. What was the apparent bias of the press?
10. What were the union's limitations?

Propaganda Posters for World War I

Directions: Study the following posters, and consider how they encouraged the war effort.

Document 1



Fig. 5.1.

Fig. 5.1. Poster No. 4-P-58, "Be patriotic; sign your country's pledge to save the food," ca. 1917–ca. 1919. Records of the U.S. Food Administration, 1917–1920, Record Group 4; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Md. Available through the online catalog at <http://www.archives.gov/research/arc>; ARC ID 512497.

Document 2

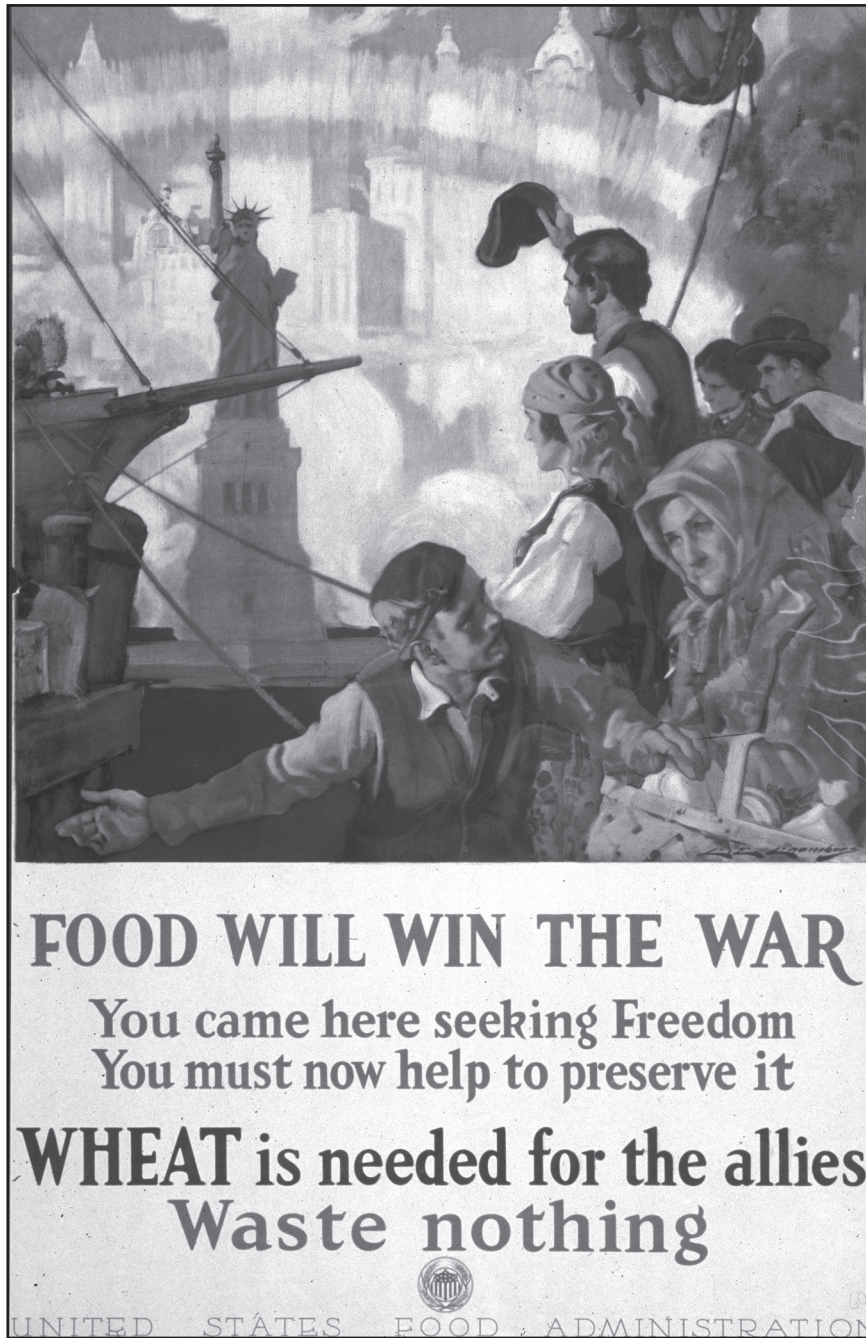


Fig. 5.2.

Fig. 5.2. Poster No. 4-P-60, "Food will win the war. You came here seeking Freedom. You must now help to preserve it. WHEAT is needed for the allies. Waste nothing," ca. 1917–ca. 1917. Records of the U.S. Food Administration, 1917–1920, Record Group 4; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Md. Available through the online catalog at <http://www.archives.gov/research/arc>; ARC ID 512499.

Reactions to War

Part A.

Directions: “Poem Read by Four Minute Men” was created by the Committee on Public Information to gain support among the population for the war. Read it, and answer the questions that follow.

Poem Read by Four Minute Men

Attention, Mr. Farmer Man, and listen now to me,
and I will try and show to you what I can plainly see.
Your Uncle Sam, the dear old man who’s been so good to you,
is needing help and watching now to see what you will do.
Your Uncle’s in the great world war and since he’s entered in
it’s up to every one of us to see that he shall win.
He’s trying hard to “speed things up” and do it with a dash,
and so just now he’s asking you to aid him with your cash.
Remember, all he asks of you is but a simple loan,
and every patriot comes across without a single moan.
Should Uncle Sammy once get mad (he will if you get lax),
he then will exercise his right, and make you pay a tax.
Should Kaiser Bill and all his hordes, once get across the Pond,
d’ye think he’ll waste his time on you, and coax to take a bond?
Why no, siree. He’d grab and hold most everything he saw.
He’d take your farm, your stock and lands, your wife and babies all.
He’d make you work, he’d make you sweat, he’d squeeze you till you’d groan.
So be a man, and come across. Let Uncle have that loan.¹

1. What emotions were the writers trying to create among the listeners?

2. What sacrifices were expected of young men and their families?

3. What is the poem’s message?

¹Committee on Public Information, *Four Minute Men News, Edition E* (October 1918), in Alfred E. Cornebise, *War as Advertised: The Four Minute Men and America’s Crusade, 1917–1918* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984), 27.

Part B.

Directions: Locate and read Alan Seeger’s poem “I Have a Rendezvous with Death” and George M. Cohan’s song “Over There.” Answer the following questions.

1. Alan Seeger’s poem was written shortly before he died. What feelings and ideas does the poem convey?

2. What feelings does George M. Cohan convey through the lyrics to “Over There”?

The Literature of the 1920s

Directions: Prominent writers of the 1920s did much to illuminate the mood and philosophy of the decade. Research one of the following writers and his or her key work (as listed below), and prepare a short oral report that addresses the following points:

- What biographical data about the author helps to put his or her writing in historical context?
 - What themes are covered in the author’s key work? (Try to convey to your audience a sense of the work you are describing.)
 - How does the writer’s work help to characterize one aspect of American life in the 1920s?
1. F. Scott Fitzgerald (*The Great Gatsby*)
 2. Ernest Hemingway (*The Sun Also Rises*)
 3. Sinclair Lewis (*Main Street* and *Babbitt* in particular)
 4. Langston Hughes (poems such as “The Negro Speaks of Rivers,” “Negro,” “Harlem,” and “Weary Blues”)
 5. Anzia Yeziarska (*The Bread Givers*)

Eyewitness Accounts of the 1920s

Directions: Read the following excerpts. For each, determine who wrote the excerpt, what it is about, and when and where it was written. For what audience was the writer writing? Was the person writing at the time of the event or at a later date? Determine the intent of the writer. Is the writing about an interview or an event the author actually witnessed? Does the account contain humor or satire? In your opinion, is the account historically accurate?

Excerpt 1

Babe Ruth

Babe Ruth, who was also an exceptional hitter, had been a very successful pitcher for the Boston Red Sox, who traded him to the New York Yankees. Shortly after the trade, the Yankees converted Ruth to an everyday player to take advantage of his ability to hit home runs. However, not everyone in baseball, including the New York Giants manager, John McGraw, respected Ruth's home run hitting ability. Heywood Broun was a newspaper reporter who covered sports for the *New York World*. His columns were syndicated in newspapers across the country. Below is an excerpt of a column he wrote about the 1923 World Series game in which Ruth hit two home runs, to tie a baseball record.

The Ruth is mighty and shall prevail. He did yesterday. Babe made two home runs, and the Yankees won from the Giants at the Polo Grounds by a score of four to two. This evens up the World Series with one game for each contender. . . .

Victory came to the American League champions through a change in tactics. Miller Huggins [the Yankees' manager] could hardly fail to have observed Wednesday that terrible things were almost certain to happen to his men if they paused anyplace along the line from first to home.

In order to prevent blunders in base running he wisely decided to eliminate it. The batter who hits the ball into the stands cannot possibly be caught napping off any base. . . .

Though simplicity itself, the system worked like a charm. Three of the Yankees' four runs were the products of homers and this was enough for a winning total. . . .

For the first time since coming to New York, Babe achieved his full brilliance in a World Series game. Before this he has varied between pretty good and simply awful, but yesterday, he was magnificent. . . .

In the fourth inning Ruth drove the ball completely out of the premises. McQuillan was pitching at the time, and the count was two balls and one strike. The strike was a fast ball shoulder-high, at which Ruth had lunged with almost comic ferocity and ineptitude.

Snyder peeked at the bench to get a signal from McGraw [the Giants' manager]. Catching for the Giants must have been a terrific strain on the neck muscles, for apparently it is etiquette to take the signals from the bench manager furtively. The catcher is supposed to pretend he is merely glancing around to see if the girl in the red hat is anywhere in the grandstand, although all the time his eyes are intent on McGraw.

Of course the nature of the code is secret, but this time McGraw scratched his nose, to indicate: "Try another of those shoulder-high fast ones to the Bib Bam and let's see if we can't make him break his back again."

But Babe didn't break his back, for he had something solid to check his terrific swing. The ball started climbing from the moment it left the plate. It was a pop fly with a brand-new gland and, though it flew high, it also flew far.

When last seen the ball was crossing the roof of the stand in deep right field at an altitude of 315 feet. We wonder whether new baseballs conversing together in the original package ever remark: "Join Ruth and see the world."

In the fifth Ruth was up again, and by this time McQuillan had left the park utterly and Jack Bentley was pitching. The count crept up to two strikes and two balls. Snyder [the Giants' catcher] sneaked a look at the little logician deep in the dugout. McGraw blinked twice, pulled up his trousers, and thrust the forefinger of his right hand into his left eye. Snyder knew what he meant, "Try the Big Bozo on a slow curve around his knees and don't forget to throw to first if you happen to drop the third strike."

Snyder called for the delivery as directed, and Ruth half topped a line drive over the wall of the lower stand in right field. With that drive the Babe tied a record. Benny Kauff and Duffy Lewis were the only other players who ever made two home runs in a single World Series game.

But was McGraw convinced and did he rush out of the dugout and kneel before Ruth with a cry of "Maestro" as the Babe crossed the plate? He did not. He nibbled at not a single word he has ever uttered in disparagement of the prowess of the Yankee slugger. In the ninth Ruth came to bat with two out and a runner on second base. By every consideration of prudent tactics an intentional pass seemed indicated.

Snyder jerked his head around and observed that McGraw was blowing his nose. The Giant catcher was puzzled, for that was a signal he had never learned. By the process of pure reasoning he attempted to figure out just what it was that his chief was trying to convey to him.

"Maybe he means if we pitch to Ruth we'll blow the game," thought Snyder, but he looked toward the bench again just to make sure.

Now McGraw intended no signal at all when he blew his nose. That was not tactics, but only a head cold. . . .¹

Excerpt 2

The Scopes Trial

In 1925, John T. Scopes, a high school science teacher, was charged with teaching evolution in his classes at the Dayton, Tennessee, high school. Scopes was defended by the famed criminal defense attorney Clarence Darrow, while the famed orator and populist William Jennings Bryan was the prosecuting attorney. The Scopes Trial in Dayton, Tennessee, was covered by H. L. Mencken for the *Baltimore Sun*. Mencken was considered a powerful influence on the intellectuals of his time and frequently targeted rural America in his writings. In the following excerpt, Mencken describes the atmosphere surrounding the trial.

. . . the whole town was still gathered in the courthouse yard, listening to the disputes of theologians. The Scopes trial had brought them in from all directions. There was a friar wearing a sandwich sign announcing that he was the Bible champion of the world. There was a Seventh Day Adventist arguing that Clarence Darrow was the beast with seven heads and ten horns described in Revelation XIII, and that the end of the world was at hand. There was an evangelist made up like Andy Gump, with the news that atheists in Cincinnati were preparing to descend upon Dayton, hang the eminent Judge Raulston, and burn the town. There was an ancient who maintained that

¹Heywood Broun, *New York World*, October 12, 1923, in *Eyewitness to America*, ed. David Colbert (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 396–98.

no Catholic could be a Christian. There was the eloquent Dr. T. T. Martin, of Blue Mountain, Miss., come to town with a truck-load of torches and hymn-books to put Darwin in his place. There was a singing brother bellowing apocalyptic hymns. There was William Jennings Bryan, followed everywhere by a gaping crowd. Dayton was having a roaring time. It was better than the circus. But the note of devotion was simply not there; the Daytonians, after listening a while, would slip away to Robinson's drug-store to regale themselves with Coca-Cola, or to the lobby of the Aqua Hotel, where the learned Raulston sat in state, judicially picking his teeth. The real religion was not present. . . .²

Excerpt 3

The First Rocket Flight

Robert Goddard is considered the "father of American rocketry." Most of his early claims were regarded with skepticism. The following selection is Goddard's account from his personal diary of the first rocket flight in Massachusetts in 1926.

The first flight with a rocket using liquid-propellants was made yesterday at Aunt Effie's farm in Auburn.

The day was clear and comparatively quiet. The anemometer on the Physics lab was turning leisurely when Mr. Sachs and I left the morning, and was turning as leisurely when we returned at 5:30 P.M.

Even though the release was pulled, the rocket did not rise at first, but the flame came out, and there was a steady roar. After a number of seconds it rose, slowly until it cleared the frame, and then at express train speed, curving over to the left, and striking the ice and snow, still going at a rapid rate.

It looked almost magical as it rose, without any appreciably greater noise or flame, as if it said "I've been here long enough; I think I'll be going somewhere else, if you don't mind." . . .

The sky was clear, for the most part, with large shadowy white clouds, but late in the afternoon there was a large link cloud in the west, over which the sun shone.

One of the surprising things was the absence of smoke, the lack of very loud roar, and the smallness of the flame.

The first flight of a liquid-propellant rocket is of very considerable significance, inasmuch as it demonstrated the possibility of using liquid propellants to secure actual flight, thereby making possible a rocket which could be simple in construction, and of small weight compared to the weight of the propellant.³

²H. L. Mencken, "Among the Believers," *Baltimore Sun*, July 14, 1925, in *Eyewitness to America*, 403-4.

³"First Rocket Flight," in *Eyewitness to America*, 404-5.

Excerpt 4

The First Television

This account by an anonymous *New York Times* reporter refers to the first live television broadcast in 1927 when a signal was sent from New York City to Washington, D.C. Participating in the broadcast was the then secretary of the interior and later president of the United States, Herbert Hoover.

Herbert Hoover made a speech in Washington yesterday afternoon. An audience in New York heard him and saw him.

More than 200 miles of space intervening between the speaker and his audience was annihilated by the television apparatus developed by the Bell Laboratories of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and demonstrated publicly for the first time yesterday.

The apparatus shot images of Mr. Hoover by wire from Washington to New York at the rate of eighteen a second. These were thrown on a screen as motion pictures, while the loud-speaker reproduced the speech. As each syllable was heard, the motion of the speaker's lips and his changes of expression were flashed on the screen in the demonstration room of the Bell Telephone Laboratories at 55 Bethune Street.

When the television pictures were thrown in a screen two by three inches, the likeness was excellent. It was as if a photograph had suddenly come to life and begun to talk, smile, nod its head and look this way and that. When the screen was enlarged to two by three feet, the results were not so good.

At times the face of the Secretary could not be clearly distinguished. He looked down as he read his speech, and held the telephone receiver up, so that it covered most of the lower part of his countenance. There was too much illumination also in the background of the screen. When he moved his face, his features became clearly distinguishable. Near the close of his talk he turned his head to one side, and in profile his features became clear and full of detail.

On the smaller screen the face and action were reproduced with perfect fidelity. . . .⁴

⁴*New York Times*, April 8, 1927, in *Eyewitness to America*, ed. David Colbert (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 407–8.

Excerpt 5

Al Capone

Al Capone is probably the best known gangster in America. Claud Cockburn, a reporter for the *Times* of London, interviewed Capone in Chicago in 1929 and later recorded the occasion in his memoirs.

“Listen,” [Capone] said, . . . “Don’t get the idea I’m knocking the American system. The American system . . .” As though an invisible chairman had called on him for a few words, he broke into an oration on the theme. He praised freedom, enterprise and the pioneers. He spoke of “our heritage.” He referred with contemptuous disgust to socialism and anarchism. “My rackets,” he repeated several times, “are run on strictly American lines and they’re going to stay that way.” This turned out to be a reference to the fact that he had recently been elected the president of the *Unione Siciliano*, a slightly mysterious, partially criminal society which certainly had its roots in the Maffia. Its power and importance varied sharply from year to year. Sometimes there did seem to be evidence that it was a secret society of real power and at other times it seemed more in the nature of a mutual-benefit association, not essentially much more menacing than, say, the Elks. Capone’s complaint just now was that the *Unione* was what he called “lousy with Black Hand stuff.” “Can you imagine,” he said, “people going in for what they call these blood feuds—some guy’s grandfather was killed by some other guy’s grandfather, and this guy thinks that’s good enough reason to kill the other.” It was, he said, entirely unbusinesslike. . . .⁵

⁵Claud Cockburn, *A Discord of Trumpets* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956), 217–18.

Terms Related to the Start of the Great Depression

Directions: Define the following terms.

1. Speculation
2. Overproduction
3. Underconsumption
4. Buying on margin
5. Tariff
6. Capital
7. Credit
8. Stock market crash

Causes of the Depression

Part A.

Directions: Below are eleven generally recognized causes of the Great Depression. Brainstorm evidence that each helped to cause the Depression. Then rank the causes in order, with 1 representing the strongest factor and 11 the weakest.

_____ Misdistribution of income and purchasing power

_____ Overexpansion of agricultural production

_____ Overproduction of industry

_____ Automation

_____ Unregulated banking practices

_____ American tariff policy

_____ Impact of European and world economies

_____ Monopolistic pricing

_____ Philosophy and policies of the Hoover Administration

_____ Overexpansion of credit

_____ Stock market speculation and crash

Part B.

Directions: Identify three points at which some specific intervention might have slowed, halted, or reversed the Depression. Write a short essay defending your selections.

Twentieth-Century Cultures Clash

Part A.

Directions: Read the following sermon by William A. (Billy) Sunday, and answer the questions. Be prepared for class discussion.

We are reminded by this that there are in the midst of years many things that remind us that the sands in the hour glass of time are fast sifting for many of us; your hair is growing gray, your eyes are dim; it takes you longer to go a block, and you live to sit in front of the fire and doze. There is the retrospective view of life, the introspective and the prospective. If you discover anything in the introspective that has made you ashamed and disgusted with the retrospective, resolve to make the prospective better by contrast.

Away with this twentieth century tommyrot that the way to elevate the people is to mix up with them. That will not elevate them; no, you will sink in the mud as deep as they are. If you want to elevate them, you've got to live better than they do.

There are people in your city who will always suppose, because they are fools, that the only way to promote religion is for religion to move uniformly in the same old rut.

The only difference between a grave and a rut is that the grave is a little deeper than the rut, but they are both for the same purpose. Some people are afraid, scared to death to introduce innovations in religion; they are scared that God Almighty might do something out of the ordinary and arrest attention of the man who is going to hell on high gear. However sound their line of reasoning may be, the old methods are all right, science is not worth a snap of your finger . . . unless they deliver the goods, express charges prepaid.

So, what's the nature of a revival? He was praying for a revival. As a nation we are facing the danger of the domination of the material over the spiritual; we are commercially drunk. Take a bushel of nickels and walk down the street of the average town and you can lead that grasping bunch so close to hell they can smell the brimstone and sulphur. . . .

We have got a wonderful country; wonderful. The American advances in industry, but I am mighty sorry to say we have not had a corresponding advance in the morality and decency of the country.

Andrew Carnegie can build libraries on every street; you can build high schools in every block; you can build a university in every town, but you cannot save the people or the country without religion.

If this country has the sins of Babylon, she will go to hell like Babylon. Education will not save you; nothing will save you but the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The pursuit of money and business is pulling your men away from the church. We are facing the constantly growing danger of dominance of the material over the spiritual. This is a busy age in which we live. . . .

This is the day of isms and schisms and ologies, fol-da-rots, tommyrot and heresies to lead people astray. It is an axiom that the measure of your preparation will determine the measure of your success—in religion, politics, anything else. . . .

I want to say to this audience tonight, before I forget it, that I believe that the bible is the Word of God from cover to cover. Not because I can understand it, for I cannot. Not because I understand its philosophy, speculation or theory. I cannot; wouldn't attempt it, and I would be a fool if I tried. I believe it because it is from the mouth of God, the mouth of God has spoken it.

4. What does Sunday's language reveal about the growing tensions between rural and urban America in the early part of the twentieth century?

5. What did Sunday see as the major ills facing modern America, and what did he recommend?

Part B.

Directions: Read the following column by H. L. Mencken, and answer the questions. Be prepared for class discussion.

Such obscenities as the forthcoming trial of the Tennessee evolutionist, if they serve no other purpose, at least call attention dramatically to the fact that enlightenment, among mankind, is very narrowly dispersed. It is common to assume that human progress affects everyone—that even the dullest man in these bright days, knows more than any man of, say, the Eighteenth Century, and is far more civilized. This assumption is quite erroneous. The men of the educated minority, no doubt, know more than their predecessors, and of some of them, perhaps, it may be said that they are more civilized. . . but the great masses of men, even in this inspired republic, are precisely where the mob was at the dawn of history. They are ignorant, they are dishonest, they are cowardly, they are ignoble. They know little if anything that is worth knowing, and there is not the slightest sign of a natural desire among them to increase their knowledge.

. . . Every step in human progress, from the first feeble stirrings in the abyss of time, has been opposed by the great majority of men. Every valuable thing that has been added to the store of man's possessions has been derided by them when it was new, and destroyed by them when they had the power. They have fought every new truth ever heard of, and they have killed every truth-seeker who got into their hands.

The so-called religious organizations which now lead the war against the teaching of evolution are nothing more, at bottom, than conspiracies of the inferior man against his betters. They mirror very accurately his congenital hatred of knowledge, his bitter enmity to the man who knows more than he does, and so gets more out of life. Certainly it cannot have gone unnoticed that their membership is recruited, in the overwhelming main, from the lower orders—that no man of any education or other human dignity belongs to them. What they propose to do, at bottom and in brief, is to make the superior man infamous—by mere abuse if it is sufficient, and if it is not, then by law. . . .

This simple fact explains such phenomena as the Tennessee buffoonery. Nothing else can. We must think of human progress, not as of something going on in the race in general, but as of something going on in a small minority, perpetually beleaguered in a few walled towns. Now and then the horde of barbarians outside breaks through, and we have an armed effort to halt the process.

That is, we have a Reformation, a French Revolution, a war for democracy, a Great Awakening. The minority is decimated and driven to cover. But a few survive—and a few are enough to carry on.

The inferior man's reasons for hating knowledge are not hard to discern. He hates it because it is complex—because it puts an unbearable burden upon his meager capacity for taking in ideas. Thus his search is always for short cuts. All superstitions are such short cuts. Their aim is to make the unintelligible simple, and even obvious. So on what seem to be higher levels. No man who has not had a long and arduous education can understand even the most elementary concepts of modern pathology. . . .

The popularity of Fundamentalism among the inferior orders of men is explicable in exactly the same way. The cosmogonies that educated men toy with are all inordinately complex. To comprehend their veriest outlines requires an immense stock of knowledge, and a habit of thought. It would be as vain to try to teach them to peasants or to the city proletariat as it would be to try to teach them to streptococci. But the cosmogony of Genesis is so simple that even a yokel can grasp it. It is set forth in a few phrases. It offers, to an ignorant man, the irresistible reasonableness of the nonsensical. So he accepts it with loud hosannas, and has one more excuse for hating his betters. . . .

What all this amounts to is that the human race is divided into two sharply differentiated and mutually antagonistic classes, almost two genera—a small minority that plays with ideas and is capable of taking them in, and a vast majority that finds them painful, and is thus arrayed against them, and against all who have traffic with them. The intellectual heritage of the race belongs to the minority, and to the minority only. The majority has no more to do with it than it has to do with ecclesiastic politics on Mars. In so far as that heritage is apprehended, it is viewed with enmity. But in the main it is not apprehended at all.

That is why Beethoven survives. Of the 110,000,000 so-called human beings who now live in the United States, flogged and crazed by Coolidge, Rotary, the Ku Klux and the newspapers, it is probable that at least 108,000,000 have never heard of him at all. To these immortals, made in God's image, one of the greatest artists the human race has ever produced is not even a name. So far as they are concerned he might as well have died at birth. The gorgeous and incomparable beauties that he created are nothing to them. They get no value out of the fact that he existed. They are completely unaware of what he did in the world, and would not be interested if they were told.

The fact saves good Ludwig's bacon. His music survives because it lies outside the plane of the popular apprehension, like the colors beyond violet or the concept of honor. If it could be brought within range, it would at once arouse hostility. Its complexity would challenge; its lack of moral purpose would affright. Soon there would be a movement to put it down, and Baptist clergymen would range the land denouncing it, and in the end some poor musician, taken in the un-American act of playing it, would be put on trial before a jury of Ku Kluxers, and railroaded to the calaboose.²

1. What, if anything, do H. L. Mencken's family background and place of origin reveal about his philosophical outlook on life?

²H. L. Mencken, "Homo Neanderthalensis," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, June 29, 1925, in *H. L. Mencken on Religion*, ed. S. T. Joshi (New York: Prometheus Books, 2002), 165–68.

Foreign Policy in the 1920s

Directions: For several decades, our history books have taught that the United States evaded its responsibilities after World War I. As evidence, authors stress repeated failures of the United States to join the League of Nations and state that the consequent withdrawal from world affairs formed a foreign policy of isolationism. Research each of the following events to determine the country's actions and the extent to which each suggests a return to isolation.

1. Ratification of the League Covenant, Article X
2. The Washington Conference, 1921
3. Geneva Conference, 1927
4. War Debts: The Dawes and Young Plans
5. Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, 1928
6. Relations with Asia: The Four and Nine Power Pacts
7. The Caribbean: The Clark Memorandum, December 17, 1928

Part 2

Decades of Uncertainty, 1940–1970

The 1930s were marked by economic collapse and recovery, changing mores and intellectual philosophies, and war-generated tensions. The seeds of World War II came from the Treaty of Versailles, which imposed harsh reparations that led to the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the dismemberment, disarmament, and economic destruction of Germany. The Weimar leadership led the German people to believe that they had agreed to the more lenient plan proposed by American President Woodrow Wilson. In reality, the harsh, final version of the treaty was a “stab in the back,” from which the Republic never recovered. The Great Depression led to hyperinflation in Germany, while the failure of the Treaty of Versailles, the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy, the policy of appeasement in Europe, the rise of communism in Russia, and the extreme nationalism which consumed Japan, combined with the failure of the world economy and the rise of the charismatic leader Adolf Hitler, created the firestorm that became World War II. The United States tried to maintain neutrality, but an attack on Pearl Harbor led to American involvement in the war.

After almost ten years of bloody conflict in Europe, Asia, and Africa, Allied bombers conducted air raids against key German cities which resulted in huge losses of life among civilian populations and led to the fall of Nazi Germany in April 1945. During the 1930s, physics research indicated that a bomb with immense power might be created from fission, the process of splitting the atom. Albert Einstein, fearful that Germany was constructing such a weapon, urged President Franklin D. Roosevelt to begin research. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, under the leadership of Leslie Groves, started the Manhattan Project; over a period of three years, nearly \$2 billion was spent to develop the bomb. The research team included refugees from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. While some were on faculties at major universities, most lived under tight security near Alamogordo, New Mexico, in the Sangre de Cristo mountains, where an entire community of scientists and their families gathered under the leadership of Robert Oppenheimer. By July 16, 1945, the first atom bomb had been tested successfully in New Mexico.

Allied leadership met at Potsdam after the surrender of Nazi Germany and agreed that the only acceptable response from Japan would be unconditional surrender. President Harry S. Truman threatened the use of “prompt and utter destruction” if Japan refused to agree to surrender by August 3, 1945. Japan’s hard-line generals refused, and Truman authorized the use of atomic bombs on two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki,

resulting in approximately 100,000 to 180,000 dead in Hiroshima and between 50,00 to 100,000 dead in Nagasaki. Finally, the “hot war” was over, but the “cold war” had just begun.

Expressing themselves in literature and music, the Beat Generation rose out of the ashes of World War II; America’s youth, straining against the bonds of conformity that had normalized their parents’ lives after the war, embraced the new spirit and made it their own. American life was overshadowed by the threat of nuclear war, as both America and Russia developed nuclear weapons programs. President Harry Truman struggled to keep the peace, while at the same time asserting America’s position as a world power. Some historians believe that the roots of the Cold War can be found in wartime conferences which, while vital to Allied victory, concealed East-West mistrust and permeated American foreign policy during the postwar period. This foreign policy, combined with a desire to contain and stop the spread of communism and deter what many specialists regarded as a possible “domino effect,” led to American involvement in military actions in Korea in the 1950s and later in Vietnam. Korea had split along ideological lines after World War II. The Korean peninsula had been controlled by China or Japan for hundreds of years. After the war, China occupied North Korea and encouraged its leaders to move to control the southern peninsula. United Nations troops, led by American forces, pushed more than one million Chinese and North Korean forces back and struggled to maintain a line of defense. President Truman was afraid that the fall of South Korea would lead to the spread of communism in Asia. His military commander, General Douglas MacArthur, favored strong military action against both North Korea and China. Truman was afraid that this action would result in another global conflict and sought to achieve a peaceful settlement. MacArthur was openly defiant of the president. As commander-in-chief, Truman used his constitutional powers to remove MacArthur as commander of American forces in Korea for what he believed were reckless and dangerous military actions.

Most Americans regarded the Soviet Union, with its singular aim of imposing its brand of communism on Eastern Europe, as the principal threat to American security. In response to what they regarded as a major threat to world peace, Americans believed that any country which practiced any form of communism was an enemy. This led to the application of the policy of containment in Southeast Asia in order to keep that area from falling to communist control. Vietnamese who were close allies of the communist Soviet Union and ardent nationalists fought the Japanese occupation during the war and in the 1950s sought to stop France from re-establishing its colonial hold on Southeast Asia.

Three American presidents—John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon—faced difficult choices in Vietnam. Kennedy’s predecessor, Dwight D. Eisenhower, increased aid to the French but resisted sending American troops to Southeast Asia. After the disastrous defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu, a peace conference in Geneva, Switzerland,

resulted in the partition of the country and scheduled elections. The United States encouraged the establishment of a stronger government in the south to counteract the communist regime in the north. The failure of this government to build its economy or maintain internal security, coupled with the creation of the National Liberation Front by the communists, led Kennedy to attempt to contain Ho Chi Minh and the Vietminh front created during the early years of World War II. He sent the first American advisors to Southeast Asia. Lyndon B. Johnson succeeded the assassinated Kennedy and did not want to be the American president who would “lose” Vietnam.

By 1965, Johnson escalated American involvement in the conflict; he authorized limited bombing raids on North Vietnam and increased American troop commitments. He poured millions of dollars of aid into Southeast Asia, funds which could have been used to support Johnson’s plan for the creation of a Great Society. Johnson wanted to secure passage of programs for which Kennedy had fought, including the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and Medicare. Eventually, as deaths and defeats continued to mount, Americans began to realize that there would be no easy end to this military action. Protest movements demanding an end to American involvement began to grow around the country. Johnson’s successor, Richard M. Nixon, began to withdraw American troops from Southeast Asia slowly, but increased the bombing of enemy supply routes along Vietnam’s borders. Nixon established lines of communication with the North Vietnamese government, and secret negotiations resulted in a peace treaty which was signed in 1973 and resulted in the withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam, the release of American prisoners of war, and a cease-fire.

During the 1960s, the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act encouraged two prominent African-Americans leaders—Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X—to stand against racial injustice in the United States. Dr. King espoused the practice of nonviolence in response to injustice and organized the black community into a force willing to endure violence so that the injustice of the perpetrators might be exposed for all to see. Malcolm X was famous for his disinclination to allow anyone but blacks to work with the black community. He expressed a deep suspicion of whites, and in his early works, compared the white man to the devil. Malcolm encouraged the use of the ballot to achieve social and political equality, but he also proposed the use of the bullet when the government failed to protect the black community.

As American inclination to legislate for racial equality strengthened in the 1960s, judicial views also began to change. In 1953, Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed Earl Warren as the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. Warren had served as attorney general in California, and his court would change the structure of America’s legal and judicial systems. When he joined the Court, Warren allied himself with the activist justices; in 1962, the retirement of two justices, both of whom supported judicial

restraint, provided the opportunity to achieve a solid activist majority and paved the way for several landmark cases which would change the face of the American legal system.

America's political parties evolved into the Republicans and Democrats of today. As our country expanded and matured and democratic rights were extended to all citizens, political parties also evolved to reflect changes in society. Like living organisms responding to competition and seeking to survive, both political parties evolved as they sought new voters and new coalitions. These new voters would also change the direction of the parties.

Causes of World War II

Directions: Match the countries, leaders, and terms with the descriptions or definitions. Write the words in the spaces provided. Some words may be used more than once, and some items may have more than one answer.

France	Great Depression	Neville Chamberlain
Germany	Kellogg-Briand Pact	Adolf Hitler
Italy	League of Nations	Joseph Stalin
Great Britain	Disarmament Conferences	Fascism
United States	Dawes Plan	Young Plan
Soviet Union	Treaty of Versailles	
Japan	Collective Security	

- _____ 1. Victorious in World War I, both countries suffered great losses and were opposed to another war that might be worse.
- _____ 2. This country not only believed that the Versailles Treaty was unfair but also was willing to use appeasement to maintain the peace.
- _____ 3. Its effect on the world economy made it difficult to prepare for another war.
- _____ 4. These countries were known for extreme nationalism and desire for the restoration of national pride; they were known for aggression and expansion.
- _____ 5. This country relied on the flawed Maginot Line to serve as a defense against invasion by Germany.
- _____ 6. This country believed that participation in World War I was a mistake and that the motivation for war was based on industrialists who sought profits from armament sales.
- _____ 7. This country never joined the League of Nations and remained committed to neutrality as a way to avoid war.
- _____ 8. This nation was mistrusted by Western democracies, which failed to support it against fascist aggression.

- _____ 9. This person skillfully manipulated other Western nations into giving in to his demands while claiming peaceful intentions.
- _____ 10. This man, feeling uncertain about British support, signed a secret nonaggression pact with Hitler over Poland.
- _____ 11. This person believed that a policy of appeasement with Germany would “bring peace in our time.”
- _____ 12. This country ignored the United States’ Open Door policy in China and launched an invasion of resource-rich Manchuria.
- _____ 13. This became increasingly discredited in the 1930s when it could not respond to the aggressive actions of Germany, Italy, and Japan.
- _____ 14. This outlawed war as an instrument of national policy for those who signed it.
- _____ 15. These programs loaned money to Germany to help with payment of war preparations.
- _____ 16. These agreements about armaments were ignored by various countries, including Germany, Italy, and Japan.
- _____ 17. These were agreements by various European states to defend each other against any aggressor.
- _____ 18. Hitler blamed this agreement for the humiliation of the German people.
- _____ 19. This advocated extreme nationalism and, in the case of Germany, “racial purity.”
- _____ 20. This country was ready to exact revenge on those who participated in the Treaty of Versailles.

Could World War II Have Been Avoided?

Directions: Consider the world situation between World War I and World War II. Try to determine whether there was any way that World War II could have been avoided.

Scenario 1

Consider post–World War I conditions in Germany and the rise of Adolf Hitler, who promised to restore national pride. Hitler blamed Germany’s problems on Jews and Communists. Other European nations agreed that Germany was treated too harshly by the Versailles Treaty. Hyperinflation because of the Great Depression created conditions that led to the need for a strong leader like Hitler who promised to restore Germany’s former glory. Hitler tested other countries’ resolve to maintain the peace. He first reindustrialized and rearmed, then reoccupied the Rhineland and Austria. When Great Britain and France responded weakly, he accelerated his aggression. Discuss the conditions that would have had to change to alter the outcome. Suggest ways that war could have been avoided.

Scenario 2

Japan needed raw materials and had a rivalry with the United States. It saw China as its manifest destiny. Japan disregarded the United States’ Open Door policy in China. The United States opposed Japan’s war effort and refused to trade strategic commodities such as oil and steel. Japan’s leaders believed that a quick strike at Pearl Harbor would keep the United States out of the war long enough to accomplish their goals. Was it necessary for Japan to attack the United States at Pearl Harbor in order to reach its objectives in Asia and the Pacific? How could we reconcile our Open Door policy in China with Japan’s dismemberment of it? How could war have been avoided?

1945: The Decision to Drop the Bomb

Directions: Study the following documents, and write your response to each. Consider how each document illuminates the decision to drop the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, whether the source is reliable, and what additional issues each document raises. You may also use the space to write additional questions and observations.

Document 1

Conventional Bombings (Including Incendiaries) by Allied Forces in World War II (Estimated)

Date	Event
July 24–August 3, 1943	Allied bombing of Hamburg kills 40,000 to 50,000 and leaves one million homeless.
June 15, 1944	First B-29 precision bombing raid on a factory takes place in Japan. Precision bombing fails because of erratic weather conditions and poor visibility.
January 1945	Curtis LeMay takes command, switches to using incendiaries and antipersonnel bombs in strategic night raid against Japan.
February 3, 1945	Allied bombing of Berlin kills approximately 25,000. Bombing of Kobe takes place; 159 tons of incendiaries burn more than a thousand buildings. Heat reaches 1,000 degrees.
February 13–14, 1945	Allied firebombing of the medieval city of Dresden occurs with casualties estimated between 35,000 and 100,000.
March 9, 1945	Firebombing of Tokyo kills 100,000; one million are left homeless; area of 16 square miles of city is incinerated.
March–July 1945	American bombers hit 66 Japanese cities; estimates for Japanese deaths range from 500,000 to 900,000.

Document 2

No Innocent Civilians, According to Le May

Major General Curtis LeMay said after the March 9–10, 1945 Tokyo bombing, “There are no innocent civilians. . . . The entire population got into the act and worked to make those airplanes or munitions . . . men, women, and children.”¹

Document 3

Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson on the Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb (1947)

The conclusions of the [Interim] Committee were similar to my own, although I reached mine independently. I felt that to extract a genuine surrender from the Emperor and his military advisers, they must be administered a tremendous shock which would carry convincing proof of our power to destroy the empire. Such an effective shock would save many times the number of lives, both American and Japanese, than it would cost.”²

Document 4

Scientists’ Petition to the President of the United States (July 17, 1945)

Discoveries of which the people of the United States are not aware may affect the welfare of this nation in the near future. The liberation of atomic power which has been achieved places atomic bombs in the hands of the Army. It places in your hands, as Commander-in-Chief, the fateful decision whether or not to sanction the use of such bombs in the present phase of the war against Japan.

We, the undersigned scientists, have been working in the field of atomic power. Until recently, we have had to fear that the United States might be attacked by atomic bombs during this war and that her only defense might lie in a counterattack by the same means. Today, with the defeat of Germany, this danger is averted and we feel impelled to say what follows:

The war has to be brought speedily to a successful conclusion and attacks by atomic bombs may very well be an effective method of warfare. We feel, however, that such attacks on Japan could not be justified, at least not unless the terms which will be imposed after the war on Japan were made public in detail and Japan were given an opportunity to surrender.

If such public announcement gave assurance to the Japanese that they could look forward to a life devoted to peaceful pursuits in their homeland and if Japan still refused to surrender our nation might then, in certain circumstances, find itself forced to resort to the use of atomic bombs. Such a step, however, ought not to be made at any time without seriously considering the moral responsibilities which are involved.

The development of atomic power will provide the nations with new means of destruction. The atomic bombs at our disposal represent only the first step in this direction, and there is almost no limit to the destructive power which will become available in the course of their future development. Thus a nation which sets the precedent of using these newly liberated forces of nature for purposes of destruction may have to bear the responsibility of opening the door to an era of devastation on an unimaginable scale.

¹Curtis LeMay, quoted in A. C. Grayling, *Among the Dead Cities: The History and Moral Legacy of the WWII Bombing of Civilians in Germany and Japan* (New York: Walker & Co., 2007), 142.

²Henry L. Stimson, “The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb,” *Harper’s Magazine* (February 1947), in Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), 617.

If after this war a situation is allowed to develop in the world which permits rival powers to be in uncontrolled possession of these new means of destruction, the cities of the United States as well as the cities of other nations will be in continuous danger of sudden annihilation. All the resources of the United States, moral and material, may have to be mobilized to prevent the advent of such a world situation. Its prevention is at present the solemn responsibility of the United States—singled out by virtue of her lead in the field of atomic power.

The added material strength which this lead gives to the United States brings with it the obligation of restraint and if we were to violate this obligation our moral position would be weakened in the eyes of the world and in our own eyes. It would then be more difficult for us to live up to our responsibility of bringing the unloosened forces of destruction under control.

In view of the foregoing, we, the undersigned, respectfully petition: first, that you exercise your power as Commander-in-Chief, to rule that the United States shall not resort to the use of atomic bombs in this war unless the terms which will be imposed upon Japan have been made public in detail and Japan knowing these terms has refused to surrender; second, that in such an event the question whether or not to use atomic bombs be decided by you in light of the considerations presented in this petition as well as all the other moral responsibilities which are involved. [Leo Szilard and 69 cosigners]³

Document 5

A Statement from Eisenhower on the Situation

During his recitation of the relevant facts, I had been conscious of a feeling of depression and so I voiced to him my grave misgivings, first on the basis of my belief that Japan was already defeated and that dropping the bomb was completely unnecessary, and secondly because I thought that our country should avoid shocking world opinion by the use of a weapon whose employment was, I thought, no longer mandatory as a measure to save American lives. It was my belief that Japan was, at that very moment, seeking some way to surrender with a minimum loss of “face.” The Secretary [Stimson] was deeply perturbed by my attitude, almost angrily refuting the reasons I gave for my quick conclusions.⁴

³Petition to the President of the United States, July 17, 1945. Miscellaneous Historical Documents Collection, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, Mo.

⁴Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953–1956* (New York: Doubleday, 1963), 380.

Document 6

Comment from Truman Regarding the Final Decision

I wanted to save a half million boys on our side. . . . I never lost any sleep over my decision.⁵

Document 7

Assessments by Scholars

Over the last decade, scholars of very different political orientations, including Barton Bernstein, Rufus Miles, Jr., and John Ray Skates, have all separately examined World War II U.S. military planning documents on this subject. These documents indicate that if an initial November 1945 Kyushu landing had gone forward, estimates of the number of lives that would have been lost (and therefore possibly saved by use of the atomic bombs) were in the range of 20,000 to 26,000. In the unlikely event a subsequent full-scale invasion had been mounted in 1946, the maximum estimate found in such documents was 46,000.⁶

⁵Alfred Steinberg, *The Man from Missouri: The Life and Times of Harry S. Truman* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1962), 259.

⁶Gar Alperovitz, "Hiroshima: Historians Reassess," *Foreign Policy* 99 (Summer 1995): 15.

Analyzing the Conferences of World War II

Directions: Use the following description of World War II conferences to analyze Allied cooperation during and after the war. Answer the questions, and be prepared for class discussion.

International Conferences, Declarations, and Agreements, 1941–1945

1941

- 22 Dec. Prime Minister Winston Churchill arrived in Washington for a series of conferences with President Roosevelt. The fundamental basis of joint strategy was affirmed: to concentrate upon the defeat of the Axis in Europe (which was viewed as the decisive theater of war), and to follow a policy of containment in the Far East until military successes in Europe or mounting Allied resources permitted stronger blows against Japan. The last of this series of conferences was held on 14 Jan. 1942. The Declaration of the United Nations was drafted and the Combined Chiefs of Staff and the Munitions Assignment Board were set up.

1942

- 1 Jan. UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION was signed at Washington. Twenty-six nations, including the U.S., Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, affirmed the principles of the Atlantic Charter, pledged the employment of their full military and economic resources against the Axis, and promised not to make a separate armistice or peace with the common enemy.
- 27 Jan. Anglo-American Combined Raw Materials Board established at Washington.
- 6 Feb. Joint Anglo-American War Council established at Washington. . . .
- 29 May The Soviet foreign minister, Vyacheslav M. Molotov, arrived in Washington for conferences with President Roosevelt and other high U.S. officials. Among the results of the meetings was a new Lend-Lease protocol with Russia. The agreement provided that materials or data received from the U.S. would not be transferred to other parties without U.S. consent and that materials still available at the end of the war would be returned to the U.S. The new agreement went into effect on 1 July. . . .
- July The Combined Chiefs of Staff, meeting in London, decided to invade North Africa and to postpone a second front in Europe, as well as the Pacific offensive.
- 12–15 Aug. 1ST MOSCOW CONFERENCE. Principal participants were Soviet Premier Joseph V. Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill, and W. Averell Harriman, who represented President Roosevelt. Churchill, with the support of Harriman, informed Stalin that it was not possible to open a second front in Europe in 1942. . . .

1943

- 14–24 Jan. CASABLANCA CONFERENCE was held in French Morocco. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill declared that the war would be fought until the “unconditional surrender” of the enemy had been secured. Agreement in principle was reached on a second front, but not on its location. U.S. officials favored an invasion of the Continent through France. The British urged an assault on the “soft underbelly”

- of Europe (i.e., Italy and the Balkans). A compromise was reached on the invasion of Sicily and Italy without prejudice to the ultimate invasion of Europe from the west. No agreement was worked out on the conflicting claims for leadership of Gens. Charles de Gaulle and Henri Giraud, who also attended the conference. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower was placed in supreme command of the North African theater.
- 25 Apr. The Soviet Union broke off relations with the Polish government-in-exile.
- 12–25 May ANGLLO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE (TRIDENT) at Washington planned global strategy and the opening of a second front in Europe. President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, the Combined Chiefs of Staff, and many U.S. and British officials took part. The date (1 May 1944) for the Normandy invasion was definitely set and the seizure of the Azores authorized unless Portugal could be persuaded by negotiation to grant the use of bases on the islands. The conference also agreed to step up the quantity of aviation gasoline being flown over “the hump” from India to China. . . .
- 22 May Moscow announced the dissolution 15 May of the Third International (Comintern). . . .
- 11–24 Aug. 1ST QUEBEC CONFERENCE (QUADRANTS) attended by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and top-ranking advisers including the Combined Chiefs of State, reaffirmed 1 May 1944 as the target date for the Normandy invasion (OVERLORD), which was to be supplemented by landings in Southern France (ANVIL, later DRAGOON). Agreement was reached on stepping up military operations in the Far East, particularly in Burma, and a Southeast Asia Command was established, with Lord Louis Mountbatten as Supreme Allied Commander. The Chiefs of the Naval Staffs reported that the Battle of the Atlantic against the U-boat had turned in favor of the Allies.
- 19–30 Oct. MOSCOW CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS was the first Allied 3-power meeting of World War II. It was attended by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Foreign Minister Anthony Eden, and Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov, together with U.S., British, and Soviet military officials. The most controversial point in the discussions involved the status of the Polish government-in-exile at London, which the Soviet Union refused to recognize. The U.S. and Great Britain assured the Russians that preparations for opening a second front in Europe were under way. Stalin made an unconditional promise that after Germany’s defeat Russia would enter the war against Japan. The conference established a European Advisory Commission for the purpose of formulating a postwar policy for Germany. The Moscow Declaration issued at the close of the conference recognized “the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.” . . .

22–26 Nov. 1ST CAIRO CONFERENCE. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill conferred with Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek regarding the war in the Far East. The Declaration of Cairo (1 Dec.) affirmed that the 3 powers would prosecute the war against Japan until her unconditional surrender and that they had no desire for territorial expansion; that Japan should be deprived of all Pacific islands acquired since 1914, whether by capture or League of Nations mandate; that all territories which Japan had taken from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, should be restored to China; and that the 3 powers were “determined that in due course Korea should become free and independent.”

At the 2d Cairo Conference (4–6 Dec.) Roosevelt and Churchill held discussions with the president of Turkey, Ismet İnönü. This conference affirmed the alliance between Great Britain and Turkey and noted “the firm friendship existing between the Turkish people,” the U.S., and the Soviet Union. As a result of military decisions taken at the second Cairo Conference, the command of the invasion of Western Europe was conferred on Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

28 Nov.–1 Dec. TEHERAN CONFERENCE, held at the capital of Iran, was attended by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin. It was the first 3-power war conference in which Stalin took a personal part. The chief subject of the meeting was the projected Anglo-American invasion of Western Europe, supported by a flanking invasion through Southern France, and the timing of this assault with the Soviet offensive against Germany. Stalin reaffirmed his promise to enter the war against Japan. The conference formulated a plan for an international organization to keep the peace. . . .

1944

27 July The Polish Committee of National Liberation, organized at Moscow, was recognized by the Soviet government. The committee, which later transferred its headquarters to Lublin, was entrusted with administrative control of Polish areas taken by the Red Army.

21 Aug.–7 Oct. DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE, held near Washington, D.C., was attended by representatives of the U.S., Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China (with the last 2 meeting separately, since Russia was still at peace with Japan). The conference discussed the draft of a charter for a permanent postwar international organization for maintaining world peace and security. The tentative proposals (known as the Dumbarton Oaks Plan) served as the basis for the Charter of the United Nations. Agreement on the veto issue could not be reached, Russia refusing to agree to bar a member of the Security Council from voting on a question to which it was itself a party.

11–16 Sept. 2D QUEBEC CONFERENCE, attended by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, considered strategic plans for final victory over Germany and Japan. The chief subjects of the conference were the demarcation of the zones of occupation following the conquest of Germany and the policy governing the postwar treatment of that nation. The Morgenthau plan (sponsored by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr.) for reducing Germany to an agrarian economy was tentatively approved at this conference, but was rejected by President Roosevelt a month later.

9–13 Oct. 2D MOSCOW CONFERENCE, attended by Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Joseph Stalin, divided the Balkans into spheres, Russia to predominate in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, Great Britain in Greece, with Yugoslavia to be shared. It was generally agreed that the Curzon Line should bound Poland on the east and the Oder River on the west. Roosevelt, who was not a party to these arrangements, let it be known that he would not be bound by them.

1945

Jan. MALTA CONFERENCE. Combined Chiefs of Staff planned final campaign against Hitler.

4–11 Feb. YALTA CONFERENCE, held in the Crimea, was attended by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin, together with their top diplomatic and military advisers. Most of the important agreements remained secret until the postwar period. In exchange for her pledge to enter the war in the Far East, Russia was given the Kurile Islands, the southern half of Sakhalin, and an occupation zone in Korea, and was granted privileged rights in Manchuria and in the Chinese cities of Dairen and Port Arthur. In addition, the U.S. and Great Britain agreed to recognize the autonomy of Outer Mongolia, which had severed its connections with China and come under Soviet influence. The U.S. and Great Britain also agreed to award eastern Poland to the Soviet Union. Poland's eastern border was fixed on the Curzon Line; and that nation was to receive territorial compensation in the north and west at the expense of Germany. Agreement was reached for reorganizing the Polish (Lublin) government on a broader democratic basis. The Russian demand of \$20 billion in reparation payments from Germany, to be taken out of current production, was referred to a reparations commission. The 3 powers reaffirmed the "unconditional surrender" formula and issued a Declaration of Liberated Europe pledging the Big Three to support postwar governments in the liberated states which would be representative of the popular will through free elections. The conferees announced they had worked out a formula for voting procedure in the Security Council and that a conference to elaborate the United Nations Charter would convene at San Francisco on 25 Apr. It was secretly agreed that the Ukraine and Byelorussia would be accorded full and equal membership in the United Nations organization on the footing of independent nations.

5 Apr. The Soviet Union denounced its 5-year nonaggression pact with Japan.

21 Apr. The Soviet Union concluded a 20-year mutual assistance pact with the Polish Provisional Government (the Lublin regime).

25 Apr.–26 June UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, attended by delegates of 50 nations, assembled at San Francisco to draft the Charter of the United Nations Organization (UNO). Deadlock at San Francisco between U.S. and U.S.S.R. over use of veto by Big Five (U.S., Great Britain, U.S.S.R., France, and China) was broken when President Truman directed Harry L. Hopkins, then in Moscow, to take the issue to Stalin, who agreed that the veto should not be used to prevent discussion. Following the announcement (7 June) of this compromise, a draft charter was worked out. The charter of the United Nations provided for 6 chief organs: (1) a General Assembly of all member nations as the policy-making body;

(2) a Security Council of 11 members in continuous session for deciding diplomatic, political, or military disputes, the Big Five to have permanent seats, the other 6 to be held for 2-year terms; (3) an Economic and Social Council of 18 members; (4) an International Court of Justice (sitting at The Hague) for dealing with international legal disputes, its 15 judges to be elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council; (5) a Trusteeship Council made up of states administering trust territories, the permanent members of the Security Council, and members elected by the General Assembly for a 3-year term; and (6) a Secretariat, headed by the Secretary-General, for performing the routine administrative work of the UNO. The charter was unanimously approved on 25 June and signed on the following day. By charter amendments effective 31 Aug. 1965, Security Council membership was increased to 15; Economic and Social Council membership was increased to 27, and voting procedures were changed accordingly.

5 June EUROPEAN ADVISORY COMMISSION established German occupation zones, assigning eastern Germany to Russia, dividing the south between the U.S. and France, and placing Great Britain in charge of the west. Berlin, situated in the heart of the Soviet zone, was shared among the occupying powers, leaving all ground approaches dominated by the Russians. The administration of Berlin was entrusted to a military Kommandatura.

17 July–2 Aug. POTSDAM CONFERENCE, held near Berlin, was attended by President Harry S Truman, Prime Minister Churchill (who after 28 July was replaced by the newly chosen British prime minister, Clement R. Attlee, head of the Labour government), and Premier Stalin. Also present, in addition to other top-ranking officials, were Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden (who after 28 July was replaced by Ernest Bevin), and Foreign Secretary V. M. Molotov. The first declaration issued by the conference was the “unconditional surrender” ultimatum (26 July) presented to Japan. The chief questions before the conference were the plan for the occupation and control of Germany and the settlement of various European problems. A Council of Foreign Ministers, its members drawn from the Big Five, was established and entrusted with the preparation of draft treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Finland, and with the proposal of settlements of outstanding territorial questions. The council was also authorized to negotiate an agreement with a central German government whenever the latter should come into being. The occupation authorities were to conduct programs designed to denazify, decentralize, disarm, and democratize Germany, which was to be treated during the occupation period as a single economic unit. Provision was made for the trial of war criminals (shortly after the conference an International Military Tribunal was set up). Final delimitation of the Polish-German frontier was left to the peace treaty. The Soviet Union abandoned its \$20-billion reparations demand in exchange for a reparations schedule based on a percentage of useful capital equipment in the Western zone and materials in the Eastern zone. The conference agreed that Germany should make good for losses suffered at its hands by the United Nations. Provision was made for the mandatory transfer of 6,500,000 Germans from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland to Germany. Economic agreements were reached concerning German industry, foreign trade, finance, communications, and transportation. At the earliest practicable date the German economy was to be decen-

tralized for the purpose of eliminating excessive centralization of economic power as exemplified by cartels, syndicates, and trusts. Primary emphasis in the German economy was to be given to the development of agriculture and peaceful domestic industries.

14 Aug. The Sino-Soviet treaty signed at Moscow formalized China's consent to the concessions granted to the Soviet at the Yalta Conference.¹

1. What basic wartime strategy was decided at the meetings of Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Franklin D. Roosevelt which began December 22, 1941?
2. What possible reason could the Soviets give for breaking off relations with the Polish government-in-exile in April 1943?
3. What issue remained unsettled after the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers?
4. What decision at the first Cairo Conference apparently caused the Japanese to fight with more zeal?

¹“International Conferences, Declarations, and Agreements, 1941–45,” in *Encyclopedia of American History*, 7th ed., ed. Richard B. Morris and Jeffery B. Morris (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 428–34.

9. In spite of the news of the formation of the United Nations, what controversies remained between the West and the Soviet Union?
10. What were the most awkward decisions made by the European Advisory Commission on June 5?
11. What countries were not mentioned at the Potsdam Conference?
12. What evidence is there that the West had reasons to mistrust the Soviets? Think about further problems or puzzles that remained unanswered, such as Poland and the United Nations.

Truman vs. MacArthur

Part A.

Directions: Read the following documents, and summarize the content of each one.

Document 1

Statement by President Harry S. Truman on the Violation of the 38th Parallel in Korea (June 26, 1950)

... In accordance with the resolution of the Security Council, the United States will vigorously support the effort of the Council to terminate this serious breach of the peace.

Our concern over the lawless action taken by the forces from North Korea, and our sympathy and support for the people of Korea in this situation, are being demonstrated by the cooperative action of American personnel in Korea, as well as by steps taken to expedite and augment assistance of the type being furnished under the Mutual Defense Assistance Program.

Document 2

Cabinet Meeting with President Truman (June 30, 1950)

[President Truman] wanted all of the gentlemen present to know . . . that what we had done was being done under the auspices of the United Nations; and that offers of help which had come from countries like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand of sending military forces to help General MacArthur were being made for the United Nations. . . .

Senator Connally then said that he was pleased that the President was permitting American forces to operate when necessary north of the 38 degree parallel. . . .

Senator Connally said he wanted every other nation to understand very clearly that MacArthur was the boss [of all military forces]. . . .

The President pointed out that we had not yet committed any troops to actual combat and that our present plan was just to send base troops to Pusan to keep communications and supply lines open. . . .

Senator Gurney said he hoped the Administration realized that we must completely support the Southern Koreans. Now that we were in this, there could be no backing down. . . .

Document 3

Message to General Douglas MacArthur from the Joint Chiefs of Staff (July 31, 1950)

In accordance with previously-approved long-range plans, formulated prior to the Korean incident, for dispersed storage of non-nuclear components for atomic bombs, 10 such components will be placed in storage on Guam. . . . Shipment of nuclear components, requiring 72 hours, plus Presidential decision authorizing use would be necessary before atomic bombs could be employed.

Sources: Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, *The Korean War and Its Origins, 1945–1953* (http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/koreanwar/index.php); *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Harry S. Truman, 1945–1953* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966); *A Soldier Speaks: Public Papers and Speeches of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965).

Document 4

Statement Regarding Formosa Sent by General MacArthur to the Veterans of Foreign Wars for Use at the VFW's 51st Encampment (August 17, 1950)

Nothing could be more fallacious than the threadbare argument by those who advocate appeasement and defeatism in the Pacific that if we defend Formosa we alienate continental Asia. Those who speak this do not understand the Orient. They do not grasp that it is in the pattern of oriental psychology to respect and follow aggressive, resolute and dynamic leadership. . . . Nothing in the last five years has so inspired the Far East as the American determination to preserve the bulwarks of our Pacific Ocean strategic position from future encroachment. . . . To pursue any other course would be to turn over the fruits of our Pacific victory to a potential enemy. . . .

Document 5

Message to General MacArthur from the Secretary of Defense (August 26, 1950)

The President of the United States directs that you withdraw your message for National Encampment of Veterans of Foreign Wars, because various features with respect to Formosa are in conflict with the policy of the United States and its position in the United Nations.

Document 6

Message to the Joint Chiefs of Staff from General MacArthur (September 15, 1950)

Late in the afternoon troops of the First Marine Div, which this morning captured Wolmi-Do, the island dominating the harbor of Inchon, after heavy Naval and air preparation, successfully landed on the beach of Inchon itself and the beach to the south. They rapidly overcame light resistance and are consolidating the beachhead. . . .

The whole operation is proceeding on schedule.

Document 7

Message to General MacArthur from the Joint Chiefs of Staff (September 16, 1950)

The JCS have noted the following press dispatch:

“With invasion fleet off Korea—General MacArthur hopes that the invasion of Korea at Inchon will save 100,000 American lives. . . .”

Document 8

National Security Council Report 81, “United States Courses of Action with Respect to Korea” (September 1, 1950)

... The political objective of the United Nations in Korea is to bring about the complete independence and unity of Korea in accordance with the General Assembly resolutions of November 14, 1947, December 12, 1948, and October 21, 1949.

... It would not be in our national interest, however, nor presumably would other friendly members of the United Nations regard it as being in their interest, to take action in Korea which would involve a substantial risk of general war. . . .

Document 9

Message to the Joint Chiefs of Staff from General MacArthur (September 28, 1950)

... If the North Korean Armed Forces do not surrender in accordance with my proclamation to be issued 1st October 1950, dispositions will be made to accomplish the military objective of destroying them by entry into North Korea. . . .

Document 10

President Truman’s Outline for the Meeting with General MacArthur at Wake Island (October 13, 1950)

We must do everything we can to localize the conflict in Korea. Politically, we must assure the Chinese and the Soviets that they are not being threatened militarily in Korea but we must also keep before them the recklessness of active intervention on their part. . . .

Document 11

Notes on the Meeting between President Truman and General MacArthur at Wake Island (November 25, 1950)

The General assured the President that the victory was won in Korea, that Japan was ready for a peace treaty and that the Chinese Communists would not attack.

A general discussion was carried on about Formosa. The General brought up his statement to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which had been ordered withdrawn by the President. The General said that he was sorry for any embarrassment he’d caused, that he was not in politics at the time. . . .

Document 12

President Truman's Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East (April 11, 1951)

In the simplest of terms, what we are doing in Korea is this: We are trying to prevent a third world war.

I think most people in this country recognized that fact last June. And they warmly supported the decision of the Government to help the Republic of Korea against the Communist aggressors. Now, many persons, even some who applauded our decision to defend Korea, have forgotten the basic reason for our action.

It is right for us to be in Korea now. It was right last June. It is right today. . . .

The question we have had to face is whether the Communist plan of conquest can be stopped without a general war. Our Government and other countries associated with us in the United Nations believe that the best chance of stopping it without a general war is to meet the attack in Korea and defeat it there.

That is what we have been doing. It is a difficult and bitter task.

But so far it has been successful. . . .

So far, by fighting a limited war in Korea, we have prevented aggression from succeeding, and bringing on a general war. And the ability of the whole free world to resist Communist aggression has been greatly improved. . . .

We do not want to see the conflict in Korea extended. We are trying to prevent a world war—not to start one. And the best way to do that is to make it plain that we and the other free countries will continue to resist the attack.

But you may ask why can't we take other steps to punish the aggressor. Why don't we bomb Manchuria and China itself? Why don't we assist Chinese Nationalist troops to land on the mainland of China?

If we were to do these things we would be running a very grave risk of starting a general war. If that were to happen, we would have brought about the exact situation we are trying to prevent.

If we were to do these things, we would become entangled in a vast conflict on the continent of Asia and our task would become immeasurably more difficult all over the world.

What would suit the ambitions of the Kremlin better than for our military forces to be committed to a full-scale war with Red China? . . .

I believe that we must try to limit the war to Korea for these vital reasons: to make sure that the precious lives of our fighting men are not wasted; to see that the security of our country and the free world is not needlessly jeopardized; and to prevent a third world war.

A number of events have made it evident that General MacArthur did not agree with that policy. I have therefore considered it essential to relieve General MacArthur so that there would be no doubt or confusion as to the real purpose and aim of our policy.

It was with the deepest personal regret that I found myself compelled to take this action. General MacArthur is one of our greatest military commanders. But the cause of world peace is much more important than any individual. . . .

The struggle of the United Nations in Korea is a struggle for peace.

The free nations have united their strength in an effort to prevent a third world war.

Part B.

Directions: Use the documents in part A to answer the following essay question:

Discuss the conflict between President Truman and General MacArthur. Why did Truman believe that MacArthur's strategy was problematic and that he must be fired?

Three American Presidents Face a Conflict in Vietnam

Directions: Three American presidents had to deal directly with the conflict in Vietnam. Each dealt with the war under different circumstances, and their actions resulted in changes in American policy. Use your textbook and other sources to answer the questions about each president’s foreign policy. Be prepared for class discussion.

John F. Kennedy

1. Why did Kennedy support the Diem regime?

2. What led to the creation of the National Liberation Front?

3. Why was the Strategic Hamlet Program unsuccessful?

4. Explain America’s involvement in the assassination of Diem.

Lyndon B. Johnson

1. How did the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution lead to greater commitment of U.S. forces in Vietnam and why was it considered an early turning point in U.S. policy in Vietnam?
2. Why was Operation Rolling Thunder considered a major escalation of the Vietnam War?
3. What was the strategy of the Communist Party in South Vietnam?
4. What is the theory behind a limited war?
5. The Tet Offensive was considered the turning point of the war in Vietnam. Explain.

The Vietnam War: What Would You Do?

Directions: In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson had just begun Operation Rolling Thunder, without much success in affecting the ability of the enemy to resupply the South; the Communist forces were winning battles and increasing their territory in the South. Nearly 50 percent of the South was under their control. At this point, President Johnson had to reexamine his options to be able to succeed. In this exercise, you have four options. Choose one option, and explain why you selected it. What would be the impact of your choice?

Option 1

Win at all costs, increase military to 600,000 men, allow generals complete decision-making on the ground, begin a massive bombing campaign, bomb Hanoi targets, and threaten to use nuclear weapons.

Option 2

Keep pace with the enemy through gradual and limited involvement; hope for little impact on the domestic front.

Option 3

Find an honorable way out, negotiate a peace treaty, give economic and military assistance to the South Vietnamese, and turn the war over to them.

Option 4

Set up a unilateral withdrawal, declare peace, and leave.

Understanding the Cold War

Directions: Analyze the assigned excerpt and use the research suggestions to explore various perspectives of the Cold War. Be prepared to present your findings.

Group 1

1. Read the following excerpt from “The United States in World Affairs Since 1945” by Gaddis Smith.

Man’s understanding of history is always shaped by influences arising in the present. There is no such thing as absolute historical objectivity; only the necessity to seek it. But in no realm of historical discussion is that search more difficult than in contemporary diplomatic history.¹

2. Find articles, cartoons, or personal statements showing how interpretations of current events from 1946 to 1963 colored the thinking of one side in the Cold War toward the actions of the other. Try to find examples from both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Group 2

1. Read the following excerpt from *The Great Transition* by Gerald Nash.

Truman’s diplomatic problems in 1945 were threefold. First, since the prewar collective security system in Europe had been shattered, the reconstruction of American alliances in Europe to preserve a new balance of power there was imperative for American security. Germany was crushed, England and France were exhausted, and in this power vacuum Soviet hegemony seemed virtually unchallenged. Second, the organization of the United Nations required immediate attention. The United States was expected to play a leading role in putting it in operation. A third immediate problem was the rebuilding of many war-ravaged areas in Europe, a task that could be accomplished only if the United States assumed major responsibility.²

2. Following World War II, some people contended that the United States had a primary responsibility for world peace. Research diverse views within the Truman administration, and evaluate the previously stated contention in light of its time.

Group 3

1. Read the following excerpt from *Cold War Diplomacy* by Norman Graebner.

Initially the Cold War resulted from a myriad of major and minor disagreements which flowed from the determination of the victorious allies of 1945 to restore war-torn Europe to a condition which conformed to their perceptions of an ideal world. For the United States and Britain that best of all worlds conformed overwhelmingly to that fashioned at Versailles; for the Soviets the postwar era required, if it would satisfy historic Russian purposes at all, the elimination of the Versailles Treaty’s essential provisions, especially its Eastern European settlements and its reaffirmation of Western predominance in Europe. This massive divergence in purpose, rendered inflexible by a profound conflict over the ultimate intentions implied by competing ideological imperatives, gradually disintegrated into a Cold War.³

¹Gaddis Smith, “The United States in World Affairs Since 1945,” in *The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture*, ed. Richard L. Watson and William A. Cartwright (Washington, D.C.: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), 543.

²Gerald D. Nash, *The Great Transition* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971), 411.

³Norman A. Graebner, *Cold War Diplomacy: American Foreign Policy 1945–1975* (New York: D. Von Nostrand Company, Inc., 1977), iii.

2. Review provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, particularly those dealing with Eastern European settlements and those designed to preserve Western dominance. Explain why the peace of Versailles would have been so beneficial to Britain and the United States and why the same provisions were totally unacceptable to the Soviet Union.

Group 4

1. Read the following excerpt from “American Relations with the Soviet Union” by Clark Clifford.

The primary objective of United States policy toward the Soviet Union is to convince Soviet leaders that it is in their interest to participate in a system of world cooperation, that there are no fundamental causes for war between our two nations, and that the security and prosperity of the Soviet Union, and that of the rest of the world as well, is being jeopardized by the aggressive militaristic imperialism such as that in which the Soviet Union is now engaged.⁴

2. List and explain actions taken by the Soviet Union between 1946 and 1963 that the United States considered aggressive. How did the Soviet Union explain its actions in these instances?

Group 5

1. Read the following excerpt from “The Sources of Soviet Conduct” by George Kennan.

The Russian leaders are keen judges of human psychology, and as such they are highly conscious that loss of temper and of self-control is never a source of strength in political affairs. They are quick to exploit such evidences of weakness. For these reasons, it is a sine qua non of successful dealing with Russia that the foreign government in question should remain at all times cool and collected and that its demands on Russian policy should be put forward in such a manner as to leave the way open for a compliance not too detrimental to Russian prestige.⁵

2. During the period 1946–63, what U.S. actions most threatened the Soviet Union, and why? In which instances did the United States allow the USSR to back down while saving face? Explain your answer.

⁴Clark Clifford, “American Relations with the Soviet Union,” report to the president, September 24, 1946. Conway Files, Truman Papers.

⁵George Kennan, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs* (July 1947), in *America in the Cold War: Twenty Years of Revolution and Response, 1947–1967*, ed. Walter LaFeber (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969), 44.

The Atlantic Charter

Directions: Read the Atlantic Charter, and compile a list of principles on which the United States and the United Kingdom sought to base their foreign policy.

The Atlantic Charter (August 14, 1941)

Declaration of Principles by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

The Truman Doctrine

Directions: Read the following document in preparation for discussion of a historic shift in U.S. foreign policy.

President Harry S. Truman's Message to Congress (March 12, 1947)

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious, peace-loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife. . . .

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in Northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek Army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority to the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek Government.

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece, in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The Government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless, it represents eighty-five percent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British Government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than 1 tenth of 1 percent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

Foreign Policy of the Truman Administration

Directions: Complete the following chart on subsequent U.S. foreign policy moves.

Event or Circumstance	Appropriate U.S. Action, According to the Truman Doctrine	Action Taken
Communist coup d'état in Czechoslovakia, February 1948		
Soviet blockade of West Berlin, June 1948		
China's fall to the Communists, late 1949		
North Korea's invasion across the 38th parallel, June 1950		

An Informed Look at the Truman Doctrine

Directions: Answer the following questions.

1. What did the Truman administration set as its foreign policy goals?
2. To what extent was the United States able to carry out these foreign policy aims?
3. How often did the United States resort to military solutions?
4. Was the Truman Doctrine too idealistic? Explain.
5. Some critics claim the Truman Doctrine put the United States on a path toward overestimating its ability to control foreign affairs and overcommitting resources. To what extent do you agree with this assessment?
6. Would you have supported the Truman Doctrine in 1947?

5. List and explain the four major pieces of anticommunist legislation.
6. To what extent were these laws effective in accomplishing their objectives?
7. Explain the American public's initial faith in McCarthy.
8. Why did the Senate hold the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954?
9. How did the hearings lead to Senator McCarthy's downfall?
10. How has the media portrayed communism since the early 1990s?

“Young, Gifted and Black”: Lorraine Hansberry

Directions: Answer the following questions about Lorraine Hansberry and her well-known play *A Raisin in the Sun*.

1. Write a summary of the plot of the play, including major characters and conflicts.
2. Locate a copy of the poem “A Dream Deferred” by Langston Hughes. Why did Hansberry choose a line from this poem, also published in the 1950s, for the title of her play?
3. *To Be Young, Gifted and Black* is an autobiographical play compiled from Hansberry’s writings after her death. In it, Hansberry describes her life growing up in Chicago. Briefly summarize Hansberry’s early life, and explain how elements of her own experience helped to shape *A Raisin in the Sun*.
4. What important contemporary social issues and conflicts does she explore in the play?

Opposing Paranoia: Arthur Miller

Directions: Answer the following questions about Arthur Miller, his drama *The Crucible*, and the 1950s context in which it appeared.

1. Summarize the story, and list the main figures of the Salem witch trials of 1692 as portrayed in Arthur Miller's play *The Crucible*.
2. What are the main themes of the play?
3. How is this play related to historical events of the late 1940s and early 1950s?
4. Brainstorm other examples of books and films which have had a significant effect on public opinion in American history.

Historical Court Cases Dealing with School Segregation

Directions: Research the following Supreme Court cases. Identify the main points of each case with regard to school desegregation.

1. *Roberts v. City of Boston* (1849)
2. *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857)
3. Slaughterhouse Cases (1873)
4. Civil Rights Cases (1883)
5. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)
6. *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899)

7. *Berra College v. Kentucky* (1908)

8. *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927)

9. *University of Maryland v. Murray* (1936)

10. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938)

11. *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950)

12. *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950)

Case Summary: *Brown v. Board of Education*

Directions: Complete the following case summary about *Brown v. Board of Education*.

1. Facts of the Case

- What was the background?

- Who was involved?

2. Issues of the Case

- What was the constitutional question?

3. Arguments of the Case

- What did Brown argue?

- What did the Board of Education argue?

4. Decision of the Court

- What was the majority opinion?

- What laws and/or parts of the Constitution were involved?

Social Reactions to *Brown v. Board of Education*

Directions: After your study of the *Brown* decision, think about the major reactions to that case in the South. Then record information discussed in class.

Southern Reactions to Desegregation	Specific Details
1. Southern Manifesto	
2. Virginia	
3. Arkansas	
4. Alabama	

Postwar Wage-Price Policy

Directions: Read the following postwar wage-price policy statements, and answer the questions.

In August 1945, President Harry Truman began his plan for reconversion from wartime economy with the Stabilization Act:

Our national welfare requires that during the reconversion period production of civilian goods and services go forward without interruption, and that labor and industry cooperate to keep strikes and lockouts at a minimum. . . .

1. In the near future I shall call a conference of representatives of organized labor and industry, for the purpose of working out by agreement means to minimize the interruption of production by labor disputes in the reconversion period.
2. Pending the completion of the conference and until some new plan is worked out and made effective, disputes which cannot be settled by collective bargaining and conciliation, including disputes which threaten a substantial interference with the transition to a peacetime economy, should be handled by the War Labor Board under existing procedures. For that interim period I call upon the representatives of organized labor and industry to renew their no-strike and no-lockout pledges. . . .
3. . . . [W]age adjustments which might affect prices must continue to be subject to stabilization controls. With the ending of war production, however, there is no longer any threat of an inflationary bidding up of wage rates by competition in a short labor market. I am therefore authorizing the War Labor Board to release proposed voluntary wage increases from the necessity of approval upon condition that they will not be used in whole or in part as the basis for seeking an increase in price ceilings. Proposed wage increases requiring price relief must continue to be passed upon by the Board.¹

Early in October, Secretary of the Treasury Fred M. Vinson gave the following warning:

During the coming year we shall find ourselves in a somewhat paradoxical situation. The rate of government expenditures—and particularly those expenditures which find their way currently into the pockets of consumers—will be declining rapidly. Millions of workers will be laid off and forced to seek new jobs. As the labor market loosens, the workers' total income will decline. Overtime pay will rapidly diminish. Many workers who have been promoted to well-paid classifications will find themselves reclassified into less remunerative jobs. Workers, in many instances, will have to move long distances in search of new jobs. In many States, unemployment compensation, under existing legislation, will not prove adequate to sustain mass purchasing power.²

He went on to note the imperative of avoiding both inflation and deflation.

¹Harry S. Truman, as quoted in *The Truman Administration: A Documentary History*, ed. Barton J. Bernstein and Allen J. Matusow (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 48–49.

²Fred M. Vinson, as quoted in *The Truman Administration: A Documentary History*, 49.

At the end of October, under pressure from labor conflicts, President Truman modified his wage-price program. He stated the following:

Like most of you, I have been disturbed by the labor difficulties of recent weeks. These difficulties stand in the way of reconversion; they postpone the day when our veterans and displaced war workers can get back into good peacetime jobs. We need more of the good sense, the reasonableness, the consideration for the position of the other fellow, the teamwork which we had during the war. . . .

I am convinced that we must get away as quickly as possible from Government controls, and that we must get back to the free operation of our competitive system. Where wages are concerned, this means that we must get back to free and fair collective bargaining.

As a free people, we must have the good sense to bargain peaceably and sincerely. We must be determined to reach decisions based upon our long-range interest . . .

. . . If management does grant a wage increase, it is not prevented from coming in thereafter and requesting Government approval to have the wage increase considered for purposes of increasing prices. Whether such approval is sought before or after the wage increase is given, it receives the same consideration. . . .

The second point is new and is very important. It is something which I am sure will help industry get over this very difficult period of readjustment. In cases where no approval of the wage increase has been requested by management, or even where a request has been made and denied by the Government, industry will not be asked by the Government to take an unreasonable chance in absorbing such wage increases. After a reasonable test period which, save in exceptional cases, will be six months, if the industry has been unable to produce at a fair profit, the entire wage increase will be taken into account in passing upon applications for price ceiling increases.

The Office of Price Administration will have to give its prompt consideration to all applications for price increases.

This is your Government's wage-price policy. For the time being, the machinery that administers it will remain the same as during the war.

But, as you know, I have called a conference here in Washington of the representatives of management and labor. It will start next week.³

During January 1946, the labor situation worsened. Three-quarters of a million steelworkers went on strike. Also striking were meatpackers, electrical workers, and employees of General Motors. On February 14, President Truman again altered his stabilization program:

I am now modifying our wage-price policy to permit wage increases within certain limits and to permit any industry placed in a hardship position by an approved increase to seek price adjustments without waiting until the end of a six months' test period, as previously required. . . .

I am authorizing the National Wage Stabilization Board to approve any wage or salary increase, or part thereof, which is found to be consistent with the general pattern of wage or salary adjustments established in the industry or local labor market area. . . . [P]rovision is made for the approval of increases found necessary to eliminate gross inequities as between related industries, plants, or job classifications, or to correct substandards of living, or to correct disparities between the increase in wage or salary rates. . . .⁴

³Harry S. Truman, as quoted in *The Truman Administration: A Documentary History*, 53, 55–56.

⁴*Ibid.*, 66–67.

The Economy after World War II

Directions: Examine the following statistics and comments as indicators of the American economic experience through the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Then answer the questions.

	1940	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959
Life expectancy at birth	62.9	66.8	68.0	68.4	68.8	69.6	69.5	69.6
GNP (in billions)	\$43.9	\$74.6	\$79.1	\$85.6	\$88.3	\$90.9	\$97.5	\$101.6
GNP per capita	\$754	\$1,605	\$1,719	\$2,129	\$2,286	\$2,408	\$2,576	\$2,731
Average annual income of a full-time employee	\$1,299	\$2,589	\$2,844	\$3,217	\$3,581	\$3,851	\$4,230	\$4,594
Average annual income of a full-time railroad worker	\$1,906	\$3,211	\$3,703	\$4,161	\$4,415	\$4,697	\$5,416	\$6,054
Average annual income of a full-time employee in health services	\$927	\$1,821	\$1,912	\$2,099	\$2,335	\$2,497	\$2,660	\$2,907
Average annual income of a non-salaried dentist	\$3,281 (for 1941)	\$6,610	\$7,146	\$7,820	\$10,873 (for 1952)	\$12,480	\$14,311	—
Retail price of one pound of bread	\$0.08	\$0.12	\$0.14	\$0.16	\$0.16	\$0.18	\$0.19	\$0.20
Retail price of one pound of round steak	\$0.36	\$0.76	\$0.85	\$1.09	\$0.92	\$0.90	\$0.94	\$1.07
Percentage of families owning at least one car	—	—	56%	60%	61%	70%	75%	74%
Unemployment rate	14.6	3.9	5.9	3.3	2.9	4.4	4.3	5.5

Sources: *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* and other reports from the U.S. Census Bureau.

... The Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1950 calculated that a family income of \$3,717 was necessary to maintain a family of four on a “modest but adequate” budget.

In 1935–36 this poorest one-fifth of the families had received just 4.1 per cent of the total family income, and the richest one-fifth had received 51.7 per cent. In 1950 the percentages stood at 4.8 and 45.7, respectively, and by 1958 they were 4.7 and 45.5. The distribution of personal income had actually changed very little. The improvement in the living standard of the poorest one-fifth came about because total income increased tremendously rather than because they got a significantly larger share of this total.

Furthermore, personal income was not regionally well distributed. In 1959 the per capita personal income of the entire United States (total of personal income divided by population) was \$2,166. In other words, the mythical average American family received that amount for each family member. State figures showed a great diversity: Connecticut, \$2,817; California, \$2,661; New York, \$2,736; South Dakota, \$1,476; Mississippi, \$1,162.¹

1. How would you describe the U.S. economy between World War II and 1960? Cite specific evidence to support your conclusions.
2. In 1958, John Kenneth Galbraith’s *The Affluent Society* was published. Was he correct in describing the United States of that period as affluent? Support your answer.
3. Pinpoint economic and social dangers suggested by the statistics.
4. How would you rate the overall effectiveness of President Harry S. Truman’s economic policies and of President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s economic programs?
5. What advice would President Truman and President Eisenhower have given to President John F. Kennedy regarding the economy as he entered the presidency?

¹David A. Shannon, *Twentieth-Century America: World War II and Since*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1974), 143.

Kennedy and Johnson: Domestic Agendas

Directions: Complete the following chart on domestic aspects of the New Frontier and the Great Society.

New Frontier

Program	Provisions	Impact
Manpower Development and Training Act (1962)		
Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963)		
Space Program (1958)		
Medical Retardation and Health Centers Act (1963)		

Note: Kennedy proposals not enacted before his assassination but enacted later include the following:

- Federal aid to elementary and secondary education
- Medicare
- Voting rights and equal treatment for African Americans in public accommodations

Great Society

Program	Provisions	Impact
Civil Rights Act (1964)		
Economic Opportunities Act (1964)		
Voting Rights Act (1965)		
Medicare Act (1965)		
Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965)		

Program	Provisions	Impact
Higher Education Act (1965)		
Appalachian Development Act (1965)		
Immigration Act (1965)		
Demonstration Cities Act (1966)		
Civil Rights Act (1968)		

6. How did the visions of Kennedy and Johnson differ from the vision of Roosevelt?

7. What factors limited the possibilities for success for each man?

8. What evidence is there of coherence in the New Frontier and the Great Society?

9. What strengths do you see in the programs of Kennedy and Johnson?

10. What has been the impact of the New Frontier and the Great Society?

Part B.

Directions: Assume that you have written a journal article exploring links among the New Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society. Write the concluding paragraph of that article on a separate sheet of paper, and be prepared to share it with the rest of the class.

An Interview with Malcolm X

Directions: The imaginary interview that follows will expose you to some of the thoughts of Malcolm X. All selections are from his speech “The Ballot or the Bullet” (1964) and from his later reflection the night his house was bombed a week before his assassination. As you read, take notes to summarize Malcolm X’s ideas. Then answer the questions at the end of the interview.

Interviewer: Are you anti white?

Malcolm: . . . We’re [not] anti-white, but . . . we’re anti-exploitation, we’re anti-degradation, we’re anti-oppression. And if the white man doesn’t want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us. Whether we are Christians or Muslims or nationalists or agnostics or atheists, we must first learn to forget our differences. . . .

I am one who doesn’t believe in deluding myself. I’m not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn’t make you a diner, unless you eat some of what’s on that plate. . . . Being born here in America doesn’t make you an American. Why, if birth made you American, you wouldn’t need any legislation, you wouldn’t need any amendments to the Constitution, you wouldn’t be faced with civil-rights filibustering in Washington, D.C., right now. They don’t have to pass civil-rights legislation to make a Polack an American.

No, I’m not an American. I’m one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I’m not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot. . . . I’m speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don’t see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.

Interviewer: The way you speak has led some to think you are seeking the overthrow of the government. Are you?

Malcolm: I say again, I’m not anti-Democrat, I’m not anti-Republican. . . . I’m just questioning their sincerity, and some of the strategy that they’ve been using on our people by promising them promises that they don’t intend to keep. . . . [I]t’s time now for you and me to become more politically mature and realize what the ballot is for; what we’re supposed to get when we cast a ballot; and that if we don’t cast a ballot, it’s going to end up in a situation where we’re going to have to cast a bullet. . . . In the North, they do it a different way. They have a system that’s known as gerrymandering. . . . It means when Negroes become too heavily concentrated in a certain area, and begin to gain too much political power, the white man comes along and changes the district lines. You may say, “Why do you keep saying white man?” Because it’s the white man who does it. I haven’t ever seen

any Negro changing any lines. They don't let him get near the line. . . . And usually, it's the white man who grins at you the most, and pats you on the back, and is supposed to be your friend. He may be friendly, but he's not your friend.

Interviewer: How do you see yourself in terms of the civil rights movement?

Malcolm: We need some new allies. The entire civil-rights struggle needs a new interpretation, a broader interpretation. . . . To those of us whose philosophy is black nationalism, the only way you can get involved in the civil-rights struggle is give it a new interpretation. . . . Well, we're justified in seeking civil rights, if it means equality of opportunity, because all we're doing there is trying to collect for our investment. Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return. . . . You let the white man walk around here talking about how rich this country is, but you never stop to think how it got rich so quick. It got rich because you made it rich. . . .

Not only did we give of our free labor, we gave of our blood. Every time he had a call to arms, we were the first ones in uniform. . . . We have made a greater sacrifice than anybody who's standing up in America today. We have made a greater contribution and have collected less. Civil rights, for those of us whose philosophy is black nationalism, means: "Give it to us now."

Interviewer: But are you advocating violence?

Malcolm: Any time you demonstrate against segregation and a man has the audacity to put a police dog on you, kill that dog, kill him. . . . Then you'll put a stop to it. I don't mean go out and get violent; but at the same time you should never be nonviolent unless you run into some nonviolence. I'm nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with me. . . . Any time you know you're within the law, within your legal rights, within your moral rights, in accord with justice, then die for what you believe in. But don't die alone. Let your dying be reciprocal. This is what is meant by equality.

Interviewer: What about the successes of the nonviolent marches throughout the South?

Malcolm: Uncle Sam's hands are dripping with blood, dripping with the blood of the black man in this country. He's the earth's number-one hypocrite. . . . Expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights, take it into the United Nations, where our African brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Asian brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Latin-American brothers can throw their weight on our side, and where 800 million Chinamen are sitting there waiting to throw their weight on our side.

Interviewer: Can you explain what you mean by black nationalism?

Malcolm: The political philosophy of black nationalism means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community; no more. The black man in the black community has to be re-educated into the science of politics so he will know what politics is supposed to bring him in return. . . . The political philosophy of black nationalism is being taught in the Christian church. It's being taught in the NAACP. It's being taught in CORE meetings. It's being taught in SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] meetings. It's being taught in Muslim meetings. It's being taught where nothing but atheists and agnostics come together. . . . Black people are fed up with the dillydallying, pussyfooting, compromising approach that we've been using toward getting our freedom. We want freedom *now*, but we're not going to get it saying "We Shall Overcome." We've got to fight until we overcome.

The economic philosophy of black nationalism is pure and simple. It only means that we should control the economy of our community. Why should white people be running all the stores in our community? Why should white people be running the banks of our community? . . .

If we own the stores, if we operate the businesses, if we try and establish some industry in our own community, then we're developing to the position where we are creating employment for our own kind. Once you gain control of the economy of your own community, then you don't have to picket and boycott and beg some cracker downtown for a job in his business.

The social philosophy of black nationalism only means that we have to get together and remove the evils, the vices, alcoholism, drug addiction, and other evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our community. We ourselves have to lift the level of our community, the standard of our community to a higher level, make our own society beautiful so that we will be satisfied in our own social circles and won't be running around here trying to knock our way into a social circle where we're not wanted. . . .

A gospel such as black nationalism . . . [is designed] to make the black man re-evaluate himself. . . . We've got to change our own minds about each other. . . . We have to see each other with new eyes. . . . We have to come together with warmth so we can develop unity and harmony that's necessary to get this problem solved ourselves.

Interviewer: Are you willing to work with Martin Luther King and the NAACP?

Malcolm: We will work with anybody, anywhere, at any time, who is genuinely interested in tackling the problem head-on, nonviolently as long as the enemy is nonviolent, but violent when the enemy gets violent. We'll work with you on the voter-registration drive, we'll work with you on rent strikes, we'll work with you on school boycotts. . . .

Last but not least, I must say this concerning the great controversy over rifles and shotguns If the white man doesn't want the black man buying rifles and shotguns, then let the government do its job.¹

Interviewer: Can you explain what changes developed in your perspective after your Haj?

Malcolm: When I got over there and went to Mecca and saw these people who were blond and blue-eyed and pale-skinned . . . , I said, "Well," but I watched them closely. And I noticed that though they were white, and they would call themselves white, there was a difference between them and the white ones over here. And that basic difference was this: In Asia or the Arab world or in Africa, where the Muslims are, if you find one who says he's white, all he's doing is using an adjective to describe something that's incidental about him, one of his incidental characteristics; so there's nothing else to it, he's just white.

But when you get the white man over here in America and he says he's white, he means something else. You can listen to the sound of his voice—when he says he's white, he means he's boss. That's right. That's what white means in this language. . . . White means free, boss. He's up there. So that when he says he's white he has a little different sound in his voice.

Interviewer: But your experience of differences abroad has not led you to abandon violence as a tool?

Malcolm: I saw in the paper where they—on the television where they took this Black woman down in Selma, Alabama, and knocked her right down on the ground, dragging her down the street. . . . And Negro men standing around doing nothing about it saying, "Well, let's overcome them with our capacity to love." What kind of phrase is that? "Overcome them with our capacity to love." And then it disgraces the rest of us, because all over the world the picture is splashed showing a Black woman with some white brutes, with their knees on her holding her down, and full-grown Black men standing around watching it. . . .

[S]ince the federal government has shown that it isn't going to do anything about it but talk, it is a duty, it's your and my duty as men, as human beings, it is our duty to our people, to organize ourselves and let the government know that if they don't stop that Klan, we'll stop it ourselves. . . . So, we only mean vigorous action in self-defense, and that vigorous action we feel we're justified in initiating by any means necessary.

Interviewer: So what is the major difference now in how you understand the problem of rights for blacks?

¹Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet," in *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*, ed. George Breitman (New York: Grove Press, 1990), 23–44 passim. Copyright © 1965, 1989 by Betty Shabazz and Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

Malcolm: [O]nce we became identified with the orthodox Muslim world, we also formed a group known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which is designed to fight all the negative political, economic, and social conditions that exist in our neighborhood. It's a nonreligious organization to which anyone can belong who's interested in direct action. And one of our first programs is to take our problem out of the civil rights context and place it at the international level, of human rights, so that the entire world can have a voice in our struggle.

Interviewer: Last year you said you would work with the other civil rights groups. Is that still your position?

Malcolm: [W]e will work with all others, even civil rights groups, who are dedicated to increase the number of Black registered voters in the South. . . . So we will join in with them in their voter registration and help to train brothers in the arts that are necessary in this day and age to enable one to continue his existence upon this earth.

I say again that I'm not a racist, I don't believe in any form of segregation or anything like that. I'm for brotherhood for everybody, but I don't believe in forcing brotherhood upon people who don't want it. Let us practice brotherhood among ourselves, and then others who want to practice brotherhood with us, we practice it with them also, we're for that. But I don't think that we should run around trying to love somebody who doesn't love us.²

1. Evaluate Malcolm X's claims not to be anti-white. Why do you think so many rejected his analysis?
2. Analyze Malcolm X's critique of the civil rights movement. Be sure to read both speeches before you do so.
3. When did he see the use of violence as justifiable?
4. What economic and political changes did he advocate for the black community?

²Malcolm X, "Educate Our People in the Science of Politics," in *February 1965: The Final Speeches*, ed. Steve Clark (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1992), 75–105 passim. Copyright © 1992 by Betty Shabazz and Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

Legal Terms

Directions: Define the following terms.

1. De facto
2. De jure
3. Exclusionary rule
4. Majority opinion
5. Concurring opinion
6. Dissenting opinion
7. Search and seizure
8. Due process
9. Miscegenation
10. Self-incrimination

Notable Cases Decided by the Warren Court

Directions: Use your textbook, the Internet, and other resources to research the following Supreme Court cases, and complete the chart. Identify the legal right each of the cases supported.

Case	Year	Justice/ Majority Opinion	Summary	Right Protected
<i>Roth v. United States</i>				
<i>Watkins v. United States</i>				
<i>Hamilton v. Alabama</i>				

Case	Year	Justice/ Majority Opinion	Summary	Right Protected
<i>Escobedo v. Illinois</i>				
<i>McLaughlin v. Florida</i>				
<i>Shepard v. Maxwell</i>				

Case	Year	Justice/ Majority Opinion	Summary	Right Protected
<i>Loving v. Virginia</i>				
<i>United States v. Wade</i>				
<i>Katz v. United States</i>				

Five Landmark Cases of the Warren Court

Directions: Read the following excerpts, and answer the questions.

Case 1: *Mapp v. Ohio* (1961)

Majority Opinion (Justice Tom C. Clark)

. . . in extending substantive protections of due process to all constitutionally unreasonable searches—state or federal—it was logically and constitutionally necessary that the exclusion doctrine—an essential part of the right to privacy—be also insisted upon as an essential ingredient of the right. . .

Concurring Opinion (Justice Hugo Black)

I am still not persuaded that the Fourth Amendment, standing alone, would be enough to bar the introduction into evidence against an accused of papers and effects seized from him in violation of its commands. For the Fourth Amendment does not itself contain any provision expressly precluding the use of such evidence, and I am extremely doubtful that such a provision could be properly inferred from nothing more than the basic command against unreasonable searches and seizures. Reflection on the problem, however, . . . has led me to conclude that when the Fourth Amendment's ban against unreasonable searches and seizures is considered together with the Fifth Amendment's ban against compelled self-incrimination, a constitutional basis emerges which not only justifies but actually requires the exclusionary rule.

Dissenting Opinion (Justice John M. Harlan)

. . . Our concern here . . . is not with the desirability of that [exclusionary] rule but only with the question whether the States are Constitutionally free to follow it or not as they may themselves determine. . . .

1. What did the exclusionary rule exclude from trial? Why?
2. How did Justice Black's reasoning differ from the majority opinion?
3. Did Justice Harlan support the state's right to apply or not apply the exclusionary rule?

Case 3: *Tinker v. Des Moines* (1969)

Majority Opinion (Justice Abe Fortas)

... First Amendment rights, applied in light of the special characteristics of the school environment, are available to teachers and students. It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate. . . . That they [Boards of Education] are educating the young for citizenship is reason for scrupulous protection of Constitutional freedoms of the individual, if we are not to strangle the free mind at its source and teach youth to discount important principles of our government as mere platitudes. . . .

In order for the State in the person of school officials to justify prohibition of a particular expression of opinion, it must be able to show that its action was caused by something more than a mere desire to avoid discomfort and unpleasantness that always accompany an unpopular viewpoint. Certainly where there is no finding and no showing that engaging in the forbidden conduct would “materially and substantially interfere with the requirements of appropriate discipline in the operation of the school,” the prohibition cannot be sustained. . . .

... [T]he record fails to yield evidence that the school authorities had reason to anticipate that the wearing of the armbands would substantially interfere with the work of the school or impinge upon the rights of other students. . . . The school officials banned and sought to punish petitioners for a silent, passive expression of opinion, unaccompanied by any disorder or disturbance on the part of petitioners. . . .

... [T]he school authorities did not purport to prohibit the wearing of all symbols of political or controversial significance. . . . Instead, a particular symbol—black armbands worn to exhibit opposition to this Nation’s involvement in Vietnam,—was singled out for prohibition. Clearly, the prohibition of expression of one particular opinion, at least without evidence that it is necessary to avoid material and substantial interference with schoolwork or discipline, is not constitutionally permissible.

Dissenting Opinion (Justice Hugo Black)

... Assuming that the Court is correct in holding that the conduct of wearing armbands for the purpose of conveying political ideas is protected by the First Amendment, the crucial remaining questions are whether students and teachers may use the schools at their whim as a platform for the exercise of free speech. . . .

... While I have always believed that under the First and Fourteenth Amendments neither the State nor the Federal Government has any authority to regulate or censor the content of speech, I have never believed that any person has a right to give speeches or engage in demonstration where he pleases and when he pleases. . . .

It is a myth to say that any person has a constitutional right to say what he pleases, where he pleases, and when he pleases. . . .

1. According to the majority opinion, what does a school district have to prove to justify a rule limiting students’ rights to free speech?

2. How did Justice Black differ from the majority opinion?

Case 4: *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)

Unanimous Opinion (Chief Justice Earl Warren)

... Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. ... Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms. ...

To separate them [children in grade and high schools] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. ...

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and other similarly situated ... are ... deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. ...

1. What factors played an important role in the Court’s decision?

2. What previous case did Warren here reverse?

The Evolution of Political Parties

Directions: Use the following points to consider the evolution of American political parties.

- In what ways have political parties evolved and changed during specific historical periods? Include commentary on additional parties as well.
- Cite at least one cause for changes in the direction of the political party.
- List and briefly describe two major historical events of the era.
- Name major political figures of the era.
- Locate two political cartoons of the main issues of the era, and explain their significance. One should show opposition to and another should demonstrate support for the selected political party.

1. Democratic-Republican Party

2. Federalist Party

3. Jacksonian Democrats

4. The National Republicans or Whigs

5. Democrats from 1840 to 1896

6. Republicans from 1854 to 1900

7. Democrats to 1900

8. Democrats from 1900 to 2000

9. Republicans from 1900 to 2000

The Formation of the Modern Parties

Directions: Determine how each of the following has affected the formation of the modern Democratic and Republican Parties.

1. Growth of government
2. Evolution of democracy
3. Competition for voters
4. Reforms
5. Wars and foreign policies
6. Economic crises, panics, and depressions
7. Internal migrations

Who Am I?

Directions: Using the choices below, indicate the individuals, political party, and time period that would appeal to each of the following.

- | | |
|---|--|
| _____ 1. I am a merchant living in Massachusetts in 1800 and support a strong central government and a national bank. | a. Clinton, Gore, Democratic Party (1992–2004) |
| _____ 2. I am opposed to Andrew Jackson and his veto of the National Bank and refer to him as King Andrew I. | b. Hamilton, Federalist Party (1787) |
| _____ 3. I am a farmer living in Kentucky and am against using federal money on state projects. I am for states' rights and support the right of all white men to vote. | c. John Quincy Adams, National Republican Party (1828) |
| _____ 4. I am a poor uneducated Southern farmer who believes in states' rights and that America should focus on creating an agrarian society and avoid the negative aspects of urban life. | d. Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Republican Party (1920s) |
| _____ 5. I am antislavery and a free-soil proponent who has just joined a new political party based in the North, consisting of the true descendants of Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party. | e. Know-Nothing Party (1850) |
| _____ 6. I am a Northerner who supports popular sovereignty. | f. Kennedy, Johnson, Democratic Party, (1960) |
| _____ 7. I am a Midwestern farmer who believes that government should protect the welfare of the dispossessed or common people; I support coinage of free silver and freer credit. | g. Goldwater, Nixon, Republican Party (1960–64) |
| _____ 8. I am an African-American male, recently freed from slavery, and can vote for the first time; I support the party that is most responsible for making this happen. | h. Grant, Republican Party (1870) |
| | i. Jefferson, Democratic-Republicans (1800) |
| | j. Jacksonian Democrat (1830) |
| | k. Stephen Douglas, Democratic Party (1850s) |
| | l. William Jennings Bryan, Democratic Party (1896) |
| | m. Reagan, Republican Party (1980) |
| | n. Lincoln, Republican Party (1854) |
| | o. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democratic Party (1932) |
| | p. Whig Party (1834) |
| | q. Tilden, Democratic Party (1876) |

- _____ 9. I am part of a new coalition of voters, which includes union members, African Americans, immigrants, the poor, women, intellectuals, urbanites, Southerners, and Catholics. We support the political party that has expanded the scope of the federal government to provide welfare and assistance to those in need.
- _____ 10. I am a white rural Protestant who is concerned about new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe who are Catholic and have radical ideas. I support the party with less government control, a laissez-faire attitude, lower taxes for the rich, and Prohibition.
- _____ 11. I am a white Southerner living in Mississippi during Reconstruction. I fought for the Confederacy and will be glad when the Northern occupiers leave forever and we can resume our normal way of life.
- _____ 12. I live in the North and have a small business. I am concerned about the large number of immigrants, especially Catholics, moving to America. I suspect that they want to take over the country, do away with democracy, and take their orders from the Pope. My party is very secretive. I have no position on slavery.
- _____ 13. I live in the suburbs of Birmingham, Alabama, and I have just joined a new political party because of their Southern strategy, which appeals to me. I am tired of the civil rights movement and what it is doing to the South. I want lower taxes and less government intrusion.
- _____ 14. I am a union member living in Detroit, Michigan, who believes that my political party has failed me. The country is going in the wrong direction, undermining the family and leading to immorality. Politicians do not seem to represent the interest of little guys like me; they are elitists who think they know how to run the government through social engineering. I'm tired of other countries pushing us around overseas. I'm voting for the candidate who promises less government intrusion and a stronger military.
- _____ 15. My political party has taken on the mantle of social change and has embraced the civil rights movement. We are once again the party of the dispossessed and common people even if it means losing the vote of the South for a generation.
- _____ 16. It is shortly after the War of 1812, and once again there are two parties. I prefer a strong central government, industrialization, and internal improvements.
- _____ 17. I am glad that my political party has moved back toward the center politically. The Solid South is no longer in existence; state after state has changed party affiliation. I have had concerns that our party's base is too narrow. Our last three presidential candidates have been from the South, since it seems that liberal Northern candidates are not as electable.

Part 3

One Century Ends, Another Begins

The period between 1970 and the present has been marked by the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the war on terror, a rise in the power of the conservative or right wing of American politics, and a continued simmering of the radical left, which has its roots in the 1960s. At the end of World War II, America and the world existed under the cloud of a Cold War. Communism spread throughout Eastern Europe, often by force. Communism also spread through China and North Korea, as well as in Southeast Asia. President Richard Nixon's visit to China began a thawing of American foreign policy and saw China enhance its position as a world power.

A combination of the civil rights movement and the laws instituted under the Johnson administration (1963–1968), known collectively as the Great Society, resulted in many Americans changing their view of the federal government. People enjoyed greater freedom than they had previously known. The new laws affected national politics, as well as life on a daily basis, particularly in the inner cities. Many of these changes were welcomed by activists, people of color, and women. Other individuals—particularly people of privilege, workers in traditional union-based occupations, and farmers—saw the changes as government intrusion. If the 1960s can be seen as a time of change, the 1970s are frequently seen as a period of reaction. Under President Richard Nixon, federal government priorities shifted away from spending on inner-city problems and toward a more limited government role.

Another area of change in the 1970s was the U.S. role in the world. Animosity and rivalry developed between China and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The issue was their divergent interpretation of communist ideology. President Richard M. Nixon and his national security advisor and later secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, sought to use that animosity and rivalry to produce a thawing in diplomatic and trade tensions between the United States and China. Nixon and Kissinger's actions resulted in the State Department becoming the most powerful shaper of American foreign policy since World War II.

Kissinger, a Harvard University professor of political science, proposed that the United States support the development of balance of power diplomacy, by which the five major powers, which included the United States, China, and the Soviet Union, would police the world and maintain peace. While he was a famously blunt supporter of an anticommunist stance for the United States, Nixon was a realist and knew China was no longer a weak puppet government in Asia, but a strong world power with enormous political potential.

China supported the North Vietnamese in their struggle against first the French and then the United States in Indochina. Nixon and Kissinger believed that the changes in the relationship between the United States and China were vital to America exiting an increasingly unpopular war in Southeast Asia. In 1969, Kissinger, at the time, the national security advisor, began to conduct secret talks with North Vietnamese officials in Paris. This led to Kissinger's proposal that the United States might use the animosity between the Soviets and the Chinese to play them off each other in hopes that China would pressure North Vietnam to accept a peace treaty which would allow the United States to withdraw from the war.

In 1971, Kissinger, on behalf of the Nixon administration, began a series of communiqués with the leadership of the People's Republic of China. Kissinger wrote a twenty-seven-page memo to Nixon summarizing his visit to China to arrange Nixon's visit to China and describing the political and foreign policy nuances of the Chinese offer to host a visit by the U.S. president. In 1972, Nixon visited both China and the Soviet Union. His policies resulted in Chinese and Russian pressure on the North Vietnamese to end the war with the United States. Nixon exercised practical political realism and supported China's admission to the United Nations. Nixon's actions, which helped to thaw the Cold War, enhanced his legacy.

When Ronald Reagan delivered his first inaugural address in 1981, he referred to the rapid growth of government during the Johnson and Carter administrations. In the thirty years following Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, Americans relied on the government to solve the nation's economic and social problems. Since then, people came to depend on a free market economy and to rely less on government and more on the energy of individuals competing in the free market. In this sense, Reagan was a conservative.

The priorities set by Lyndon B. Johnson in the Great Society—when he declared war on poverty and supported affirmative action—resulted in the rise of modern conservatism. The failure of the government and its inability to deal with Vietnam, Watergate, and an economy spiraling out of control with higher taxes, inflation, and rising interest rates caused people to lose faith in big government. In 1980, America seemed to be declining in power worldwide. The country was in the midst of a prolonged recession, double-digit interest rates, and long lines at gas pumps. It was the height of the Cold War, and the country was experiencing the humiliating consequences of a prolonged hostage crisis that President Jimmy Carter seemed unable to resolve. Ronald Reagan assured the people that the best was yet to come and that many of the current problems had been created by a government bureaucracy bloated in size and characterized by great inefficiency. He promised to cut taxes, reform the tax code, and reduce the size of government. In addition, Reagan challenged the “evil empire” to an arms race and won, contributing to the collapse of communism in Europe.

U.S. foreign policy from 1947 until 1989 was determined by the Cold War consensus that everything the United States wanted and needed economically and politically was the opposite of what the leaders of its archrival—the Soviet Union—wanted and needed. Of course, the world was more complicated than such a dichotomy would suggest, and under the policy of *détente* in the 1970s, diplomats from both countries negotiated over a number of issues, but the basic assumption, as argued by President Ronald Reagan in 1983, was that the Soviet Union was an “evil empire.”

Beginning in 1985 with the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as general secretary of the Soviet Union and his articulated policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, previous American assumptions collapsed, and official policies had to change. Within a few years, the situation changed again; the Soviet Union itself collapsed, as did its hold on developments in neighboring countries, opening exciting and terrifying new possibilities.

With the changes in the Soviet Union, the larger role of the United Nations in world affairs, and calls for domestic reforms in the United States, it was only when a president from the next generation—Bill Clinton—came into office that countless imperial policies and approaches were openly challenged. In some ways, Clinton’s reform approach looked back to that of President Abraham Lincoln in the nineteenth century; in other ways, his administration looked forward to that of President Barack Obama in the twenty-first century. For a variety of political reasons, the reform overtures that were made met with little success. They indicated a change in the nature of the presidency and in the purpose of the federal government.

In the aftermath of al-Qaeda’s attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City on September 11, 2001, the U.S. government went to war with Iraq—an oil-rich country with a long history and a proud Islamic past, a country that was formerly allied with the United States. Whatever position one may have on this war, and given that we lack historical perspectives, by 2010, its effect on both countries was disastrous. In the United States, this war generated name-calling, racism, and anti-Islamic attitudes. It also contributed to an economic crisis. In Iraq, it contributed to the toppling of one government, the destruction of national treasures, and the attempt to rebuild the nation at great expense. Some would argue that all of these negative consequences could have been predicted; others hold that they are simply unintended consequences of war.

Throughout the history of the United States, American politics have been influenced by individuals with either right or left leanings. Many of the issues of the radical right and left, such as communism, socialism, free love, nationalization of industries, complaints about the direction of the government, and interference in individual rights as guaranteed in the Constitution, have been present since the nation’s beginnings. The radical right has been characterized as being resistant to change, while the radical left is often characterized as wanting to destroy society and take away personal liberties. Many among the radical right believe that the radical left has expanded the power and scope of government and interfered with the

individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution. This has been an issue since the Progressive Era, when members of the radical left such as Edward Bellamy demanded that society expand government even further.

With each successive political movement, radical right resistance has grown in the face of government expansion, social experimentation, perceived loss of individual freedom, and higher taxation. On the other hand, the radical left has a vision of expanding democracy to all and forming a perfect society, even if it means changing the fundamental structure of the Constitution.

Great Society Programs, Critique, and Aftermath

Directions: Read the following excerpts, and answer the questions.

Document 1

Major Great Society Programs

Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency was marked by a legislative agenda aimed at improving the lives of the poor in America. Many of his Great Society programs attacked poverty by improving living conditions. Other programs attempted to break the cycle of poverty, in which so many Americans were mired, by providing schools in poor areas with new and better-equipped classrooms, additional funds for scholarships, and a program of low-interest college loans for qualifying students. New childhood education programs like Head Start provided disadvantaged four- and five-year-olds with an advantage. The establishment of Medicare and Medicaid guaranteed health care to every American over the age of sixty-five and to individuals living below the poverty level. Other programs sought to reclaim and conserve the environment and to promote the preservation of our nation's artistic and literary heritage. The Job Corps, a new program to provide skills to American youth, many of whom lived below the poverty line, was also created.

Document 2

New Deal to Great Society

The New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt established the foundation of a welfare state in America. During Roosevelt's administration, the majority of programs benefited whites rather than African-Americans, who were still confined to the lower ranks of the labor class and denied the training needed for higher paying jobs. Few whites who benefited from the programs recognized the fact that their advantageous position came about because of government intervention or aid. By the 1960s, programs aimed to redistribute the opportunity to succeed and to move out of poverty by providing the means to succeed directly to the poor.

Lyndon B. Johnson in his Great Society programs sought to redistribute not wealth in America, but rather the opportunity to become wealthy. Through the establishment of programs and resources which provided the poor, particularly poor blacks, with improved educational opportunities and job training, Johnson, with an eye toward fiscal conservatism, tried to manage with little in the way of new funds. By the end of the 1960s, a middle-class backlash against the Great Society had begun, even though most of the programs had spread their benefits to the middle class as well as to those living below the poverty line. Federal funds for educational improvements were distributed through school systems, not directly to poor children. All schools in a district benefited, not just the poor ones. The Federal School Lunch Program, which mainly benefited middle class families, was not regarded by most of its beneficiaries as welfare, but food stamps were seen as a form of dependence on the federal government, as a portion of "the dole."

1970s Role-Play

Directions: Think about the identity of your character, and develop a persona including name, age, race and/or ethnicity, memories, dreams, and aspirations. Make him or her come to life. Based on your assigned role—with a partner or on your own—prepare to discuss the following questions.

- What does the Great Society mean to you?
- What does the Great Society mean for the future of the United States?

Roles

1. Female domestic servant in Montgomery, Alabama
2. Male underemployed carpenter in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
3. Male college student in Berkeley, California
4. Male engineer in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
5. Female housewife in Washington, D.C.
6. Male construction worker in Columbus, Ohio
7. Female college student in Boston, Massachusetts
8. Male grape picker in a small town in Texas
9. Male Chinese immigrant resettled in New York City
10. Male Mexican immigrant resettled in Phoenix, Arizona
11. Male banker in Boston, Massachusetts
12. Male Democratic politician, admirer of President John F. Kennedy
13. Female admirer of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
14. Female follower of Betty Friedan
15. Female debutante from Raleigh, Virginia
16. Male automobile worker in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Legacies of the Great Society

Directions: Study the following political cartoon. What does it tell you about Nixon's attitude toward social change in the 1970s?



Fig. 25.1.

Fig. 25.1. “You One of Those Extremists Who Thinks It’s Time for Desegregation?” A 1969 Herbblock cartoon, copyright by the Herb Block Foundation.

A Trip to China

Directions: The following excerpt pertains to a meeting between Henry Kissinger and the leadership of the People’s Republic of China to lay the groundwork for Richard Nixon’s historic visit to China. Read the document, and answer the questions. Be prepared for discussion.

Memorandum for the President

We have laid the groundwork for you and Mao to turn a page in history. But we should have no illusions about the future. Profound differences and years of isolation yawn between us and the Chinese. They will be tough before and during the summit on the question of Taiwan and other major issues. And they will prove inplacable foes if our relations turn sour. My assessment of these people is that they are deeply ideological, close to fanatic in the intensity of their beliefs. At the same time they display an inward security that allows them, within the framework of their principles, to be meticulous and reliable in dealing with others.

Furthermore, the process we have now started will send enormous shock waves around the world. It may panic the Soviet Union into sharp hostility. It could shake Japan loose from its heavily American moorings. It will cause violent upheaval in Taiwan. It will have major impact on our other Asian allies, such as Korea and Thailand. It will increase the already substantial hostility in India. Some quarters may seek to sabotage the summit over the coming months.

However, we were well aware of these risks when we embarked on this course. We were aware too that the alternative was unacceptable—continued isolation from one-quarter of the world’s most talented people and a country rich in past achievements and future potential.

And even the risks can be managed and turned to our advantage if we maintain steady nerves and pursue our policies responsibly. With the Soviet Union we will have to make clear the continued priorities we attach to our concrete negotiations with them. Just as we will not collude with them against China, so we have no intention of colluding with China against them. If carefully managed, our new China policy could have a longer term beneficial impact on Moscow.

With Japan our task will be to make clear that we are not shifting our allegiance in Asia from her to China. On Taiwan we can hope for little more than damage limitation by reaffirming our diplomatic relations and mutual defense treaty even while it becomes evident that we foresee a political evolution over the coming years. With our other Asian allies we will need to stress both our continued bonds and our hope that reconciliation between us and the Chinese will serve the cause of regional peace. And in India, after the initial shock, our China moves might produce a more healthy relationship.

For Asia and for the world we need to demonstrate that we are enlarging the scope of our diplomacy in a way that, far from harming the interests of other countries, should instead prove helpful to them.

Our dealings, both with the Chinese and others, will require reliability, precision, finesse. If we can master this process, we will have made a revolution.¹

¹Henry Kissinger to Richard Nixon, “My Talks with Chou En-lai,” July 14, 1971, box 1033, Miscellaneous Memoranda Relating to HAK Trip to PRC, July 1971, National Security Council Files, Nixon Presidential Materials Project, National Archives.

1. What issue did Kissinger believe would be most difficult to discuss with the Chinese?
2. What was Kissinger's assessment of the Chinese leadership?
3. How did Kissinger think other nations would react to Nixon's visit?
4. What did Kissinger believe would be the alternative if Nixon did not visit China?
5. What did Kissinger believe the United States would have to do to maintain good relations with the Soviet Union?
6. According to Kissinger, how would the United States have to approach its allies in the Far East?
7. What did Kissinger think the United States had to do to get other countries' support for new relations with China?

Reagan Pros and Cons

Directions: Determine which of the following would be considered a positive factor (*P*) and which would be considered a negative factor (*N*) in Ronald Reagan’s presidency. Be prepared to defend your choices.

Foreign Policy

- _____ 1. Reagan challenged the Soviets to an arms race. When they could not keep up, their empire collapsed.
- _____ 2. Reagan stood up to communist expansion throughout the world, especially in the Western Hemisphere in Grenada, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.
- _____ 3. Constant military intervention in places like Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Grenada was done to prop up fascist military rulers who exploited their populations.
- _____ 4. At the Reykjavik Summit, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev came close to an agreement to reduce intermediate range nuclear weapons significantly, but talks broke down over Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI); however, this summit opened the way to the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (1987), which was the first treaty to reverse the arms race.
- _____ 5. SDI or the Star Wars plan was too expensive, would never work, and would increase tension with the Soviets.
- _____ 6. Reagan’s insistence on calling the Soviets “evil” versus the “good” America was too simplistic and could be ridiculed.
- _____ 7. Reagan embarked on a peacetime military buildup that allowed for the success of the first Gulf War under George H. W. Bush.
- _____ 8. Reagan liberated Grenada from a communist-style government.
- _____ 9. Reagan should not be credited with causing the collapse of communism; it was the result of the enlightened thinking of Gorbachev, who foresaw his nation’s economic decline and helped to change its policies effectively.
- _____ 10. Reagan abandoned détente, called the Soviet Union an “evil empire,” and challenged the Soviets on the basis of moral superiority.
- _____ 11. Middle East policy was a failure when we were driven out of Lebanon and Reagan continued the decades-long State Department policy of accommodation with Arab despots.
- _____ 12. Congress cut off funding to the counterrevolutionary movement in Nicaragua. The Reagan administration illegally sold arms to Iran through the CIA to enable the administration to fund Contras seeking to overthrow Sandinista rule. Eleven administration officials, including Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger, were convicted of crimes related to the scandal.
- _____ 13. Americans enjoyed eight years of unbroken peace during the Cold War.
- _____ 14. Reagan transformed the international order based on a bipolar world of western democracies versus communism.
- _____ 15. Communism was no longer a danger to the world. Presidents such as Richard Nixon and Jimmy Carter suggested we should plan for and be able to live in a world where both communism and capitalist democracies could coexist.

Domestic Policy

- _____ 1. Reagan's tax policies raised revenues, leading to more government spending than ever before.
- _____ 2. Reagan's supply-side economic theories were derided and called voodoo economics by presidential challenger George H. W. Bush.
- _____ 3. Reagan helped Americans regain self-confidence and compared America to a "city on a hill," a beacon of hope for the entire world to look up to.
- _____ 4. Reagan's tax policies helped the rich while the rest of America suffered through economic stagnation. He created a false prosperity built on debt.
- _____ 5. Reagan created one of the longest economic booms in American history.
- _____ 6. Reagan lowered the top interest rate from 70 percent to 28 percent by the time he left office.
- _____ 7. Twenty million new jobs were created during Reagan's term in office.
- _____ 8. Under Reagan, the national debt nearly tripled, placing an enormous economic burden on future generations.
- _____ 9. The Republican Party became far too conservative as a result of Reagan, was no longer part of mainstream America, and was at odds with the majority of voters.
- _____ 10. Reagan restored the economy by using supply-side economics, under which he cut the budget and lowered taxes. This led to dramatic increases in the economy and included new investments and productivity, as well as a decrease in the deficit and a prosperous American economy.
- _____ 11. Reagan reduced the size of the federal government for the first time since the New Deal.
- _____ 12. Reagan may have had some charisma and a gift of communication, but many on the far left said that the United States was not exceptional and that Reagan's belief that the country was led America to intrude on other nations' affairs, creating problems rather than solving them.
- _____ 13. The only reason the federal government was reduced in size was because, with less tax money collected, government programs and spending had to be reduced.
- _____ 14. Reagan's Economic Recovery Act (1981) and the Tax Reform Bill (1986) resulted in reform.
- _____ 15. Reagan's war on drugs led to increased governmental intrusion into private lives and the loss of individual rights.

The Reagan Legacy

Directions: Prepare and deliver a television newscast commentary as part of a round-robin discussion. The topic of your commentary is the legacy of Ronald Reagan, from either a conservative view or a liberal view. Use the benefit of hindsight, and base your presentation on the real events, decisions, and legacy of the Reagan era. Be descriptive and specific as you analyze and assess the challenges and potential outcomes. Your presentation should answer the following questions:

1. What were Ronald Reagan's accomplishments, and what were his failures?
2. Where should he be ranked among the presidents and why?
3. Overall, was he a success or a failure?
4. Whom would you compare him to as a president?
5. Did he have any lasting accomplishments that stand out?
6. Did he have any failures?

Left and Right Movements

Directions: Using your textbook, the Internet, and other resources, match each term to its description. Some terms are used more than once.

American Federation of Labor

Beat Movement

Brook Farm

Communism

Conservatives

Eugenics

Fruitlands

The Grange

Hippies

Martin Luther King Jr.

Knights of Labor

Governor Huey Long

McCarthyism

Nationalists of Edward Bellamy

New Deal

New Left Movement

Oneida Community

Populist Party

Seneca Falls Declaration

Upton Sinclair

Social Gospel Movement

Socialism

Student Nonviolent Coordinating

Committee (SNCC)

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

Temperance Movement

Dr. Francis Townsend

Weathermen

Woodrow Wilson

- _____ 1. This was a transcendental Utopian commune.
- _____ 2. We believe in free love and pure communism, and we are anti-American.
- _____ 3. We believe animals have rights. They should not be used for food or to plow the fields.
- _____ 4. "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal."
- _____ 5. We urge people to take a pledge to abstain from drinking alcohol.
- _____ 6. The abolition of private property and religion is no longer a choice; it must be accomplished by force.
- _____ 7. We will accept women, Negroes, and all types of labor into our union. We call for the eight-hour work day and equality among men and women.
- _____ 8. We believe in nationalization of all major industries and redistribution of wealth.

-
- _____ 9. This is a craft union; we want real gains in labor progress.
- _____ 10. I call for the government takeover of railroads, coal mines, telegraph, and telephones.
- _____ 11. We the farmers look to the government for assistance in our desperate times. We can no longer rely only on each other.
- _____ 12. The government must be the force to bring about equality. It must intervene and provide a more equitable distribution of wealth. We call for an income tax, state ownership of railroads, bimetallism, and direct election of senators and restriction of immigrants.
- _____ 13. Society must engineer the perfect human—spiritually, morally, and intellectually. Man will replace God, there will be heaven on earth, and, instead of saving souls, we will save people.
- _____ 14. All souls are not equal in the sight of God. It's not logical to think that God wants diseased and enfeebled worshippers. Sterilization of the unfit will lead to a better race.
- _____ 15. During my tenure in office, I nationalized the railroads, made conscription mandatory, limited free speech, and regulated the prices on food.
- _____ 16. Aside from writing a popular book that influenced Theodore Roosevelt, I ran for governor of California on a socialist platform.
- _____ 17. This movement focused on the social, not on the gospel. It believed that the government should become one gigantic Hull House, giving assistance to those in need.
- _____ 18. We do not believe in leaving the national economy up to the uncertainty of laissez-faire policies of earlier times. We will now depend on trained experts who will do much better jobs.
- _____ 19. I believe we should redistribute wealth. No one should make more than one million dollars or acquire more than five million in wealth. My plan will be called Share Our Wealth.
- _____ 20. I have a plan to help seniors. They would automatically receive \$200 a month.
- _____ 21. The people's view of the role of government shifted because of this plan that increased the government's power.

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- _____ 22. We need to rid our government and society of communists. Anyone suspected of engaging in communist activities should be pursued and blacklisted.
- _____ 23. This movement of the 1960s included civil rights, feminism, and counter-culture, and the sexual revolution started.
- _____ 24. In the 1960s, it was common to believe that this group could be easily manipulated because they were conformists who preferred to live in mass assembled communities like Levittown, New York.
- _____ 25. He called for nonviolence and inclusion in American society.
- _____ 26. This 1950s movement rejected societal values such as family, patriotism, morality, and the church.
- _____ 27. This new left movement called for participatory democracy, socialized medicine, and unilateral disarmament and claimed that students, not the working class, were the agents of change.
- _____ 28. This movement began to radicalize under its leader, Stokely Carmichael, first banning whites and then openly advocating violence. Black Power and the Black Panther were its symbols.
- _____ 29. We were cultural or lifestyle radicals, mostly interested in liberating our minds and not in the oppressed people of the world.
- _____ 30. We believed that changing the system is hopeless. We therefore chose violence.

Social, Political, and Economic Reform Movements

Directions: Identify at least three examples of groups or individuals active in or associated with the following movements. Then write a short summary of the main characteristics of each group.

1. Utopian Societies: Radical Left
2. Antebellum Reform/Civil War: Radical Left
3. Antebellum Reform/Civil War: Radical Right
4. Gilded Age/Populism: Radical Left
5. Gilded Age/Populism: Radical Right
6. Progressivism: Radical Left
7. Progressivism: Radical Right
8. New Deal Reform: Old Left and New Radical Left
9. New Deal Reform: Radical Right
10. Postwar McCarthyism: Radical Right
11. The 1950s, the 1960s, and Beyond: Radical Left
12. The 1950s, the 1960s, and Beyond: Radical Right

What Would You Do?

Directions: The following scenarios are from different periods and involve radicalism. Follow the directions in each scenario, including answering questions. Write up to one page for each scenario, and be prepared for class discussion.

1. Utopian Societies

You are a visitor, a successful dairy farmer from Ohio. You find yourself among transcendentalist vegetarian members of the Fruitlands Commune at Harvard, Massachusetts. This commune disapproves of private ownership of land and laboring for profit. It also forbids the exploitation of animals, including using them to plow the soil, milking them, making use of their skins for leather, and using their manure as fertilizer to grow crops. A plan to plant fruit trees for food never materialized, and when the yearly crops are ready for harvest, most of the male members find some excuse to be away, so the crops are never gathered. Practices include nudism, loud swearing with a pure heart to uplift those nearby, and bathing in cold water as a purgative. This commune, like most other Utopian communes, fails after a few short years.

Some members approach you and want to know how you feel about their commune and why it may be failing. What do you say? What are they doing wrong? How do you create a self-sustaining commune capable of surviving without rich patrons providing money?

2. Populism

In Edward Bellamy's novel *Looking Backward*, the main character awakens after 113 years, 3 months, and 11 days to find himself in a different world. The state is everything. It is the farm, the factory, the grocery store, and the owner of all private property. State governments are done away with, as are political parties, taxes, and democracy. Everything is scientifically planned by groups of specially trained social engineers, and society runs like clockwork, everything to the last detail. The people he encounters are perfect, without faults or blemishes. The government uses eugenics to create a better race of people.

Why might people think this represents a perfect America? What type of government does it sound like? Is greater perfection achieved in society by the government controlling and planning everything? Is anything lost if government controls everything?

3. Nativism

It is in the early 1920s, and a good friend has invited you to a patriotic July 4 celebration at Stone Mountain, Georgia. When you arrive, you see hundreds of people you recognize as members of the Ku Klux Klan in traditional white robes and hoods. You do not say anything at the gathering, but on the ride home that night, you discuss your feelings with your friend, who may have played a practical joke on you. Your political views are more in line with Upton Sinclair; you visit speakeasies, where you cavort with flappers, and your new bride is Italian. You discover that your friend really supports the KKK. Write a short conversational exchange detailing your differences.

4. New Deal

You are an ardent supporter of Governor Huey Long's Share Our Wealth program, and you have encountered a supporter of laissez-faire free market capitalism. The topic is, "How Do We End the Depression?" Your discussion centers on who is at fault for the Depression, how it can be stopped, and the proper role of government.

General Secretary Gorbachev: A New Beginning or a Return to Socialist Values?

Directions: Read the excerpts, and answer the questions that follow.

Document 1

Mikhail Gorbachev, *Perestroika* (1987)

The policy of restructuring puts everything in its place. We are fully restoring the principle of socialism. “From each according to his ability, to each according to his work,” and we seek to affirm social justice for all, equal rights for all, one law for all, one kind of discipline for all, and high responsibilities for each. Perestroika raises the level of social responsibility and expectation. . . .

Perestroika means mass initiative. It is the comprehensive development of democracy, socialist self-government, encouragement of initiative and creative endeavor, improved order and discipline, more glasnost, criticism and self-criticism in all spheres of our society. It is utmost respect for the individual and consideration for personal dignity.¹

Document 2

Gorbachev’s Speech to the United Nations (1988)

Our country is undergoing a truly revolutionary upsurge. The process of restructuring is gaining pace; we started by elaborating the theoretical concepts of restructuring; we had to assess the nature and scope of the problems, to interpret the lessons of the past, and to express this in the form of political conclusions and programs. This was done. The theoretical work, the re-interpretation of what had happened, the final elaboration, enrichment, and correction of political stances have not ended. They continue. However, it was fundamentally important to start from an overall concept, which is already now being confirmed by the experience of past years, which has turned out to be generally correct and to which there is no alternative.

In order to involve society in implementing the plans for restructuring it had to be made more truly democratic. Under the badge of democratization, restructuring has now encompassed politics, the economy, spiritual life, and ideology. We have unfolded a radical economic reform, we have accumulated experience, and from the new year we are transferring the entire national economy to new forms and work methods. Moreover, this means a profound reorganization of production relations and the realization of the immense potential of socialist property. . . .

Now about the most important topic, without which no problem of the coming century can be resolved: disarmament. . . .

Today I can inform you of the following: The Soviet Union has made a decision on reducing its armed forces. In the next two years, their numerical strength will be reduced by 500,000 persons, and the volume of conventional arms will also be cut considerably. These reductions will be made on a unilateral basis, unconnected with negotiations on the mandate for the Vienna meeting. By agreement with our allies in the Warsaw Pact, we have made the decision to withdraw six tank divisions from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, and to disband them by 1991. Assault landing formations and units, and a number of others, including assault river-crossing forces, with their armaments and combat equipment, will also be withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces

¹Mikhail Gorbachev, *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 31, 34.

situated in those countries. The Soviet forces situated in those countries will be cut by 50,000 persons, and their arms by 5,000 tanks. All remaining Soviet divisions on the territory of our allies will be reorganized. They will be given a different structure from today's which will become unambiguously defensive, after the removal of a large number of their tanks. . . .

Finally, being on U.S. soil, but also for other, understandable reasons, I cannot but turn to the subject of our relations with this great country. . . . Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America span five and a half decades. The world has changed, and so have the nature, role, and place of these relations in world politics. For too long they were built under the banner of confrontation, and sometimes of hostility, either open or concealed. But in the last few years, throughout the world people were able to heave a sigh of relief, thanks to the changes for the better in the substance and atmosphere of the relations between Moscow and Washington.²

1. What does *perestroika* mean in your own words?
2. What does *glasnost* mean in your own words?
3. In what ways are these terms consistent with socialism?
4. In what ways were these ideas a new start for Soviet domestic policy?
5. What did Gorbachev plan to do in terms of foreign policy?
6. In what ways were his plans different from those of his predecessors?

²“Address by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43rd UN General Assembly Session, December 7, 1988,” *The Cold War Files: Interpreting U. S. History Through Documents*, <<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/coldwarfiles/files/Documents/1988-1107.Gorbachev.pdf>> (11 October 2010).

What Should the United States Now Do?

Directions: Read the following document, and use the questions to prepare for class discussion.

The Governor's Island Summit, December 1988

The last official meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev—after four spectacular summits that commanded worldwide attention at Geneva 1985, Reykjavik 1986, Washington 1987 and Moscow 1988—took place on an island in New York harbor on December 7, 1988 during the Soviet leader's trip to deliver his now-famous United Nations speech announcing unilateral arms cuts and—to many observers—the ideological end of the Cold War.

Adding particular interest to this abbreviated summit was the participation of then-President-elect George H. W. Bush, who was at that moment constructing a national security team of aides who were distinctly more skeptical of Gorbachev's motives than President Reagan or his top officials were. In fact, the transition from the Reagan to the Bush administrations at the end of 1988 and beginning of 1989 might be described as a transition from doves to hawks. (One of the leading hawks was Bush's deputy national security adviser Robert Gates, now serving as Secretary of Defense for President George W. Bush and President-elect Barack Obama.)

According to evidence from the Soviet side—much of it published here for the first time anywhere—Gorbachev explicitly prepared the U.N. speech as a means to speed up arms reductions, engage the new American leader, and end the Cold War. After the successful signing of the INF Treaty at the Washington summit in 1987 eliminated that entire class of nuclear weapons, the Soviet leadership was prepared for a very quick progress on the strategic offensive weapons treaty START. Building on the personal understanding and chemistry between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, the Soviets were counting on signing the treaty with Reagan, before the U.S. presidential election of 1988.

Having made substantial concessions on verification and shorter-range missiles for the INF Treaty, Gorbachev was signaling Reagan throughout the spring of 1988 trying to push for faster progress on START. But Reagan's conventionally-minded advisers—particularly Frank Carlucci at the Defense Department and Colin Powell at the White House—undercut Secretary of State George Shultz with their go-slow approach, even though Shultz saw the opportunities for radical arms reductions. Opposition from the U.S. Navy over submarine-launched cruise missiles also stalled progress, even though the withdrawal of such missiles was manifestly in the U.S. national security interest. The result was that the Americans were not ready to agree on START in time for the Moscow summit in May–June 1988. Even after the summit, Gorbachev still kept hope alive for signing the treaty; but there was no progress, at least in part because then Vice-President Bush—in the middle of a presidential campaign where securing the conservative base of the Republican Party was key to his strategy—was not eager to move any arms control forward.

During the summer of 1988, gradually, the documents show that the Soviet leadership realized that the treaty would have to wait until the new administration came to power in Washington, and therefore, the most important priority for Soviet foreign policy now was not to lose the momentum and to hit the ground running with the new administration. Georgy Arbatov in his June 1988 memo to Gorbachev emphasized the importance of being prepared for the new administration—not slowing down the pace of negotiations, keeping the initiative, and building a base of support in Europe—thus keeping the pressure for comprehensive cuts in conventional arms, including elimination of asymmetries and reductions of Soviet forces by 500,000. However, in the summer of 1988, the Soviet side still saw this plan as part of mutual reductions in Europe.

In the summer of 1988, the groundbreaking Soviet XIX Party Conference discussed the main ideas that later became part of the Gorbachev U.N. address and adopted them as guidelines for Soviet foreign policy. But even that significant ideological shift did not produce any response in the United States preoccupied with the electoral campaign. In the fall of 1988, however, after various Soviet initiatives did not result in U.S. engagement, the Soviets felt the need to radicalize their approach if they were to achieve quick progress with the new administration. Former ambassador to Washington and now key Central Committee official Anatoly Dobrynin in his September memorandum to Gorbachev suggested that the General Secretary should meet with the President-elect as early as possible, preferably during his visit to New York for the session of the U.N. General Assembly. Dobrynin suggested that if Gorbachev delivered an address at the U.N., it would be helpful in his relations with the new administration and would have positive impact on the American public opinion.

Late October 1988 brought a major break with past Soviet positions, when Gorbachev decided to offer deep reductions in Soviet forces in Europe as a unilateral initiative, and to deliver a major address at the United Nations. Gorbachev conceptualized this speech as an “anti-Fulton, Fulton in reverse” in its significance—comparing it with the historic Winston Churchill “Iron Curtain” speech of 1946 in Fulton, Missouri, at the beginning of the Cold War. Gorbachev wanted his speech to signify the end of the Cold War, offering deep Soviet reductions in conventional weapons as proof of his policy. These reductions would address the most important Western concern about the threat of war in Europe, where the Soviets enjoyed significant conventional superiority. This move, in Gorbachev’s mind, would build trust and open the way for a very fast progress with the new American administration. His meeting with President-elect Bush and President Reagan would take place immediately after the U.N. speech.

However, the documents show that Gorbachev and his advisers had first to convince their own military of the wisdom of making such unilateral unbalanced reductions, including the problem of what to do with the personnel being withdrawn from Europe. Gorbachev seemed well aware of the potential opposition to his initiative both in the Politburo and in the Armed Forces—a very sensitive issue to handle. The decision making on the U.N. speech involved a very narrow circle of advisers, and the full scope of numbers was never discussed at the Politburo or published, partly because as Gorbachev stated in an unprecedented direct way on November 3, “If we publish how the matters stand, that we spend over twice as much as the U.S. on military needs, if we let the scope of our expenses be known, all our new thinking and our new foreign policy will go to hell. Not one country in the world spends as much per capita on weapons as we do, except perhaps the developing nations that we are swamping with weapons and getting nothing in return.”

Gorbachev's U.N. speech on December 7 explicitly endorsed the "common interests of mankind" (no longer the class struggle) as the basis of Soviet foreign policy and, significantly for Eastern Europe, declared "the compelling necessity of the principle of freedom of choice" as "a universal principle to which there should be no exceptions." Gorbachev particularly surprised CIA and NATO officials with his announcement of unilateral cuts in Soviet forces totaling 500,000 soldiers, and the withdrawal from Eastern Europe of thousands of tanks and tens of thousands of troops.

Reaction in the West ranged from disbelief to astonishment. The *New York Times* editorialized, "Perhaps not since Woodrow Wilson presented his Fourteen Points in 1918 or since Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill promulgated the Atlantic Charter in 1941 has a world figure demonstrated the vision Mikhail Gorbachev displayed yesterday at the United Nations." U.S. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan called this speech "the most astounding statement of surrender in the history of ideological struggle," while retired Gen. Andrew Goodpaster, a former NATO commander and top aide to President Eisenhower, described Gorbachev's announcement of unilateral troop cuts as "the most significant step since NATO was founded."

Little of this world-shaking impact was evident in the highest-level U.S. government reaction. At the Governors Island meeting, for example, President Reagan remarked only that "he had had a brief report on it, and it all sounded good to him"; while Vice-President and President-elect Bush remarked that he "would like to build on what President Reagan had done" but "he would need a little time to review the issues. . . ." Bush described the "theory" behind his "new team" as "to revitalize things by putting in new people."

But the new Bush advisers were more than skeptical of Gorbachev. In subsequent memoirs, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft dismissed the U.N. speech when he described his staunch opposition to any early summit with Gorbachev in 1989: "Unless there were substantive accomplishments, such as in arms control, the Soviets would be able to capitalize on the one outcome left—the good feelings generated by the meeting. They would use the resulting euphoria to undermine Western resolve, and a sense of complacency would encourage some to believe the United States could relax its vigilance. The Soviets in general and Gorbachev in particular were masters at creating these enervating atmospheres. Gorbachev's U.N. speech had established, with a largely rhetorical flourish, a heady atmosphere of optimism. He could exploit an early meeting with a new president as evidence to declare the Cold War over without providing substantive actions from a 'new' Soviet Union. Under the circumstances which prevailed [in 1989], I believed an early summit would only abet the current Soviet propaganda campaign."

Ironies abound in this statement. The Soviet evidence shows that substantive accomplishments in arms control were very much on the table and available at the very beginning of the Bush administration. These included the START agreement for 50% reductions in strategic arms that the Bush administration would not actually sign until 1991, or the withdrawn deployments of tactical nuclear weapons that President Bush did not order until the fall of 1991, to immediate reciprocation by Gorbachev. The U.S. ambassador to Moscow, Jack Matlock, titled his chapter on this initial period of the Bush administration, "Washington Fumbles"; while Gorbachev's advisor Anatoly Chernyaev is even harsher with his chapter title, "The Lost Year."

President Clinton's Domestic and Foreign Policies

Part A.

Directions: Maya Angelou read "On the Pulse of Morning" at President Bill Clinton's inauguration. Read the poem, and answer the following questions.

1. What do you think Angelou's message is in the poem?

2. What did she expect from Clinton's administration?

3. In what ways were Angelou's expectations similar to or different from your thoughts about President Clinton?

Part B.

Directions: Research and report on the following four efforts of the Clinton administration.

- The attempt to reform medical care
- The attempt to advance race relations
- The attempt to improve contact between Israelis and Palestinians
- The attempt to end the war in Kosovo

Selected Documents Related to the War in Iraq

Directions: Read each document, and summarize each one in your own words.

Document 1

President George W. Bush, State of the Union Address (January 29, 2002)

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax and nerve gas and nuclear weapons for over a decade.

This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens, leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world.

States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.¹

Document 2

President Bush, National Address on the Five-Year Anniversary of 9/11 (September 11, 2006)

On September the 11th, we learned that America must confront threats before they reach our shores, whether those threats come from terrorist networks or terrorist states. I'm often asked why we're in Iraq when Saddam Hussein was not responsible for the 9/11 attacks. The answer is that the regime of Saddam Hussein was a clear threat. My administration, the Congress, and the United Nations saw the threat—and after 9/11, Saddam's regime posed a risk that the world could not afford to take. The world is safer because Saddam Hussein is no longer in power. And now the challenge is to help the Iraqi people build a democracy that fulfills the dreams of the nearly 12 million Iraqis who came out to vote in free elections last December.²

Document 3

Senator Robert Byrd, Speech in Senate (September 26, 2002)

In the event of a war with Iraq, might the United States be facing the possibility of reaping what it has sown? The role that the U.S. may have played in helping Iraq to pursue biological warfare in the 1980s should serve as a strong warning to the president that policy decisions regarding Iraq today could have far reaching ramifications on the Middle East and on the United States in the future.

In the 1980s, the Ayatollah Khomeini was America's sworn enemy, and the U.S. government courted Saddam Hussein in an effort to undermine the Ayatollah and Iran. Today, Saddam Hussein is America's biggest enemy, and the U.S. is said to be making overtures to Iran. The Bush administration is also discussing whether to arm groups of ethnic dissidents, such as the Kurds, in Iraq.

¹"Text of President Bush's 2002 State of the Union Address," *The Washington Post*, <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/onpolitics/transcripts/sov012902.htm>> (28 July 2010).

²"George W. Bush: Address to the Nation on the Five-Year Anniversary of 9/11," *American Rhetoric*, <<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/wariniraq/gwbush911after5years.htm>> (28 July 2010).

Could the U.S. be laying the groundwork for a brutal civil war in Iraq? Could this proposed policy change precipitate a deadly border conflict between the Kurds and Turkey?

Decisions involving war and peace, should never be rushed or muscled through in haste. Our founding fathers understood that, and wisely vested in the Congress, not the president, the power to declare war.³

Document 4

President George W. Bush, State of the Union Address (January 28, 2003)

Our nation and the world must learn the lessons of the Korean Peninsula and not allow an even greater threat to rise up in Iraq. A brutal dictator, with a history of reckless aggression, with ties to terrorism, with great potential wealth will not be permitted to dominate a vital region and threaten the United States.

Twelve years ago, Saddam Hussein faced the prospect of being the last casualty in a war he had started and lost. To spare himself, he agreed to disarm of all weapons of mass destruction.

For the next 12 years, he systematically violated that agreement. He pursued chemical, biological and nuclear weapons even while inspectors were in his country.

Nothing to date has restrained him from his pursuit of these weapons: not economic sanctions, not isolation from the civilized world, not even cruise missile strikes on his military facilities.

Almost three months ago, the United Nations Security Council gave Saddam Hussein his final chance to disarm. He has shown instead utter contempt for the United Nations and for the opinion of the world.

The 108 U.N. inspectors were sent to conduct—were not sent to conduct a scavenger hunt for hidden materials across a country the size of California. The job of the inspectors is to verify that Iraq's regime is disarming.

It is up to Iraq to show exactly where it is hiding its banned weapons, lay those weapons out for the world to see and destroy them as directed. Nothing like this has happened.

The United Nations concluded in 1999 that Saddam Hussein had biological weapons materials sufficient to produce over 25,000 liters of anthrax; enough doses to kill several million people. He hasn't accounted for that material. He has given no evidence that he has destroyed it. The United Nations concluded that Saddam Hussein had materials sufficient to produce more than 38,000 liters of botulinum toxin; enough to subject millions of people to death by respiratory failure. He hasn't accounted for that material. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed it.

Our intelligence officials estimate that Saddam Hussein had the materials to produce as much as 500 tons of sarin, mustard and VX nerve agent. In such quantities, these chemical agents could also kill untold thousands. He's not accounted for these materials. He has given no evidence that he has destroyed them. U.S. intelligence indicates that Saddam Hussein had upwards of 30,000 munitions capable of delivering chemical agents. Inspectors recently turned up 16 of them, despite Iraq's recent declaration denying their existence. Saddam Hussein has not accounted for the remaining 29,984 of these prohibited munitions. He has given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

From three Iraqi defectors we know that Iraq, in the late 1990s, had several mobile biological weapons labs. These are designed to produce germ warfare agents and can be moved from place to a place to evade inspectors. Saddam Hussein has not disclosed these facilities. He has given no evidence that he has destroyed them.⁴

³“Robert Byrd Speech in the Senate,” *Spartacus*, <<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAbyrd.htm>> (28 July 2010).

⁴“Text of President Bush's 2003 State of the Union Address,” *The Washington Post*, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/onpolitics/transcripts/bushtext_012803.html> (28 July 2010)

Document 5

Statement from Saddam Hussein (February 4, 2003)

There is only one truth and therefore I tell you as I have said on many occasions before that Iraq has no weapons of mass destruction whatsoever. . . .

If the purpose was to make sure that Iraq is free of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons then they can do that. These weapons do not come in small pills that you can hide in your pocket.

These are weapons of mass destruction and it is easy to work out if Iraq has them or not. We have said many times before and we say it again today that Iraq is free of such weapons.⁵

Document 6

John Brady Kiesling, Letter of Resignation from the Foreign Service of the United States (February 24, 2003)

The policies we are now asked to advance are incompatible not only with American values but also with American interests. Our fervent pursuit of war with Iraq is driving us to squander the international legitimacy that has been America's most potent weapon of both offense and defense since the days of Woodrow Wilson. We have begun to dismantle the largest and most effective web of international relationships the world has ever known. Our current course will bring instability and danger, not security.

The sacrifice of global interests to domestic politics and to bureaucratic self-interest is nothing new, and it is certainly not a uniquely American problem. Still, we have not seen such systematic distortion of intelligence, such systematic manipulation of American opinion, since the war in Vietnam. The September 11 tragedy left us stronger than before, rallying around us a vast international coalition to cooperate for the first time in a systematic way against the threat of terrorism. But rather than take credit for those successes and build on them, this Administration has chosen to make terrorism a domestic political tool, enlisting a scattered and largely defeated Al Qaeda as its bureaucratic ally. We spread disproportionate terror and confusion in the public mind, arbitrarily linking the unrelated problems of terrorism and Iraq. The result, and perhaps the motive, is to justify a vast misallocation of shrinking public wealth to the military and to weaken the safeguards that protect American citizens from the heavy hand of government. September 11 did not do as much damage to the fabric of American society as we seem determined to do to ourselves. Is the Russia of the late Romanovs really our model, a selfish, superstitious empire thrashing toward self-destruction in the name of a doomed status quo?⁶

Document 7

Michael Livingston, "What Next for the U.S. and European Antiwar Movements?" (Summer 2003)

The European antiwar movement organized demonstrations that brought millions of people into the streets before the start of the invasion of Iraq. Now that the invasion is over and we have entered a phase of increasing resistance to the Anglo-American occupation, what will the movement do? Trying to find an answer to this question, I attended a talk organized by the Social Forum of Segovia (Spain) on Wednesday, June 25.

Social Forums exist throughout Europe and are the backbone of the global justice movement in the European Union (EU). The Social Forum of Segovia was one of the main organizers of

⁵"Did Saddam Hussein Have Weapons of Mass Destruction after the First Gulf War?" *ProCon.org*, <<http://usiraq.procon.org/view.answers.php?questionID=000897>> (28 July 2010).

⁶"Letter of Resignation," *John Brady Kiesling*, <http://www.bradykiesling.com/resignation_letter.htm> (28 July 2010).

the largest demonstration in Segovia's history. In February, in conjunction with demonstrations around the world, 12,000 marched through the streets of Segovia, a town of 55,000. At the same time in Madrid, some 70 miles away, more than one million marched. (Madrid's population is approximately 5 million according to the most recent census.) In Barcelona, almost 2 million marched that same day. Approximately one out of every five Spaniards demonstrated. Public opinion polls showed between 80% and 90% opposition to the war. Demonstrations took place in hundreds of other Spanish cities and in the rest of Europe and the world, including the U.S.⁷

Document 8

Stephen Kinzer, "Catastrophic Success" (2006)

Just 122 American lost their lives in the three weeks between March 20, 2003, when the invasion of Iraq began, and April 9, when Saddam [Hussein]'s regime collapsed. Bush apparently believed that these would be the only casualties the United States would have to sustain. In the next two years, however, insurgents killed nearly 2,000 more Americans. Many times that number of Iraqis dies. No end to the conflict was in sight. . . .

The other shock that awaited Americans after they deposed [President Hussein] was that he had, in fact, been telling the truth when he claimed not to have any biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons. An American team called the Iraq Survey Group spent ten months scouring Iraq in search of these weapons, or factories where they might have been produced, but found nothing. When its work was complete, David Kay, who had been its chief inspector, returned to Washington and told the Senate Armed Services Committee that it was "important to acknowledge failure."⁸

Document 9

Howard Zinn, "The Coming End of the Iraq War" (2007)

Our military presence in Iraq is making us less safe, not more so. It is inflaming people in the Middle East, and thereby magnifying the danger of terrorism. Far from fighting "there rather than here," as President Bush has claimed, the occupation increases the chance that enraged infiltrators will strike us here at home.⁹

Document 10

Noam Chomsky, *Interventions* (2007)

Last year (2002) a task force chaired by Gary Hart and Warren Rudman prepared a report for the Council of Foreign Relations, "America—Still Unprepared, Still in Danger." It warns of likely terrorist attacks that could be far worse than 9/11, including possible use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in this country, dangers that become "more urgent by the prospect of the United States' going to war with Iraq. . . .

Today the administration doesn't seem to be heeding the international relief agency warnings about an attack's horrendous aftermath.¹⁰

⁷"What Next for the U.S. and European Antiwar Movement?" *Labor Standard*, <http://www.laborstandard.org/Iraq/Michael_antiwar.htm> (28 July 2010).

⁸Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2006), 311–12.

⁹Howard Zinn, *A Power Government Cannot Suppress* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2007), 184.

¹⁰Noam Chomsky, *Interventions* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2007), 15–16.

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