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A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES: Modern Times—Late 1800s to the 2000s
Volume 2

Author: Dr. John Louis Recchiuti
Dedicated to John Bryan (1933-2020)

As John would fondly say,

What greater mission in life is there than to educate
the next generation of American citizens?

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Chapter 1
A Time of Great Change: Immigration, Industrialization, and Urbanization (1865–1914)

The Big Question
What impact did immigration, industrialization, and urbanization have on America in the late 1800s and early 1900s?

The Transformation
The United States saw expansive economic growth and dynamic social change in the decades following the American Civil War. In the half century from the end of that war in 1865 to the beginning of the First World War in 1914, the nation was transformed by immigration, industrialization, and urbanization.

Vocabulary
immigration, n. the act of coming to live permanently in a new country
industrialization, n. a shift to the widespread use of machines and factories to produce goods
urbanization, n. the formation and growth of cities

Millions of immigrants from other countries were drawn to America by the promise of a new life.
Factories, mines, and mills grew in importance. Waves of new immigrants arrived on America’s shores. Cities grew bigger. Historians call this time period the Second Industrial Revolution. From 1865 to 1914, some eleven million Americans moved from rural farming communities into the towns and cities that housed growing numbers of factories. In these same years, twenty-five million new immigrants, most from Europe, were drawn by the promise of finding work in the expanding American economy. Most often, the new arrivals settled in major cities, especially those in the Northeast and Midwest, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit. Some newly arrived immigrants moved into the countryside to take up farming and other work.

Many of these new immigrants saw America as a “land of opportunity,” especially in comparison to the limited opportunities available to them in their home countries. There were many stories of success. At times, however, immigrants had to endure a form of discrimination against them by Americans. That discrimination is called nativism.

**Vocabulary**

- **economy**, n. the way a country manages its money and resources to produce, buy, and sell goods and services
- **discrimination**, n. unfair treatment of a person or group because of beliefs about that group of people

**Think Twice**

Why were these events referred to as the Second Industrial Revolution?
Melting Pot

In 1908, a play by the playwright Israel Zangwill titled *The Melting Pot* made its debut, first in Washington, D.C., and then in New York City. The play’s title popularized a metaphor about American immigration: America was a “melting pot.” But, some people asked, what does calling the United States a melting pot actually mean? Is the “melting pot” one in which new immigrants’ cultures are melted—absorbed—by America’s traditional cultures? Or is the image of a melting pot meant to call forth ideas of immigrant and American cultures blending together, with each culture, in some ways, melting into and taking on characteristics of the others? Some scholars think that “salad bowl” or “mosaic” is a more accurate metaphor. The vegetables in the salad or the pieces of tile in a mosaic each retain their own character.

Irish and German Immigration in the 1900s

Immigrants coming to America were sometimes “pushed” to leave their home country because of poverty, religious persecution, or political unrest. They were also “pulled” to America by the promise of economic opportunity, religious freedom, and political democracy. In the years from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s, as today, there were push and pull factors in immigration. Many newly arrived immigrants found America to be a land of great opportunity, even as they had to endure hardships. Some Americans welcomed the new arrivals, but other Americans were anti-immigrant; they were not happy with the arrival of so many foreigners.

Think Twice

What home-grown reasons drove immigration to the United States of America?

One example of being pushed to leave a country occurred in Ireland. For several years, beginning in 1845, disaster struck Ireland when a plant disease known as potato blight wiped out nearly the entire potato crop. Starvation was everywhere.
“There will be nothing for us but to lie down and die,” said one poor woman. One visitor to a small Irish town in 1847 wrote about what he saw there:

“Out of a population of 240, I found thirteen already dead from want. The survivors were like walking skeletons—the men gaunt and haggard, stamped with the livid mark of hunger—the children crying with pain—the women in some of the cabins too weak to stand.” (Ireland was under the political control of Britain at the time, but the British did not reach out and send food to the starving Irish people. Instead, they continued the practice of exporting food from Ireland to England.)

A million people perished from starvation or from diseases related to malnutrition, and more than a million more left Ireland and immigrated to America. Many newly arrived Irish settled in the Northeast, especially in Boston and New York City. Others found work on railroads and in factories in the growing industrial economy in cities such as Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Chicago.

**Vocabulary**

**malnutrition, n.** a state of poor health due to not having enough healthy food
In the decade after 1845, more than a million Germans immigrated to the United States. Many German immigrants were farmers and laborers in search of greater economic opportunity and better jobs. They settled on farms across the Midwest and also in cities, including Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and St. Louis. Other Germans fled to the United States after the Revolutions of 1848 failed to bring greater democracy to Europe. Among these new immigrants were lawyers, doctors, and skilled artisans.

“New Immigrants”: Southern and Eastern European Immigration

Between 1880 and 1920, Europeans from southern and eastern Europe began to arrive in large numbers. Up to this time in American history, there had not been many immigrants from these regions of Europe. But beginning around 1880, immigrants from Italy, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and elsewhere poured into the United States.

Many of these immigrants, Italians and Poles among them, were Catholic in their religious faith. They were joined in this wave of immigration by two million Jewish men, women, and children who were seeking to escape poverty and religious persecution in Europe. (In Europe, Jewish people were often required to live in cramped areas called ghettos. Some ghettos were fenced-in streets in a city called a Judengasse. In some places, Jewish people were only allowed to travel outside the ghetto into other parts of a city at specific times or on specific days.)
Immigrant women found work as maids, cooks, housekeepers, or washer women. Immigrant men found work sweeping streets, hauling trash, digging ditches, or selling food from carts as street vendors. In cities, immigrant families—women, men, and children alike—sometimes worked together in their apartments, sewing garments for low pay. In or near towns and cities in the Northeast and Midwest, immigrants found work in the factories, mines, and mills of America’s rapidly growing industrial economy.

In the 1840s and 1850s, there formed an anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic movement known as the “Know Nothing” movement. Even after that movement dissolved, the anti-immigrant sentiment called nativism continued. Nativist Americans were unhappy about immigration. They were angry that so many foreigners from so many countries, speaking so many languages and with different religious beliefs from their own, were moving to America. Nativists believed the new immigrants were hurting native-born Americans by taking their jobs or lowering their wages.

Find Out the Facts
How did the “Know Nothing” movement get its name?

Immigrant families often worked long hours in their homes to earn enough to survive.
The issue of religion was also important. Beginning in colonial times, most Americans were Protestants in their religious faith. But many of the new arrivals—including many Irish, Italian, Slavic, and German immigrants—were Catholics. Catholics had different ways of practicing their Christian faith than did Protestant Americans. Protestants were wary of Catholics.

Religious tensions in the late 1800s sometimes arose in public schools. At this time in America, students were required to read passages from the Bible during school. But Catholics and Protestants used different translations of the Bible. Catholics were unhappy that their children had to read a Protestant translation of the Bible at school. So Catholics founded separate Catholic schools in which children read from the Catholic translation of the Bible and also learned about their Catholic faith.

Although some immigrants had bad experiences, immigrants also found Americans who welcomed and helped them. Many also found churches and synagogues that offered charity and assistance. And as their numbers grew, immigrants gained political power. In Boston and in New York, for example, as the number of Irish immigrants grew, they were able to elect people of Irish heritage to the city council and the mayor’s office. Soon, Boston and New York were hiring many Irish police officers, firefighters, and civil servants.

**Think Twice**

How might having political power change an immigrant group’s experience?

**A Mighty Woman with a Torch**

In the late 1800s, millions of immigrants arrived aboard ships in New York Harbor. There, they were processed through Castle Garden, at the southern tip of Manhattan, and, after 1892, through Ellis Island. In New York Harbor, in 1886, the Statue of Liberty—a gift from the people of France to the people of the United States—was installed on Liberty Island. The poet Emma Lazarus wrote a poem celebrating the new statue. In her poem, Lazarus calls the Statue of Liberty the “Mother of Exiles.” The statue is, she writes, “a mighty woman” who holds high the torch of freedom, welcoming in the new immigrants. The Statue of Liberty is a symbol of this nation’s freedom, hope, and opportunity, beckoning struggling peoples around the world to America’s shores. What people in foreign lands
consider their “wretched refuse,” the United States welcomes. The final lines of her poem read:

*Give me your tired, your poor,*

*Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,*

*The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.*

*Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,*

*I lift my lamp beside the golden door!*

Chinese immigrants settling in the United States encountered their own version of prejudice against immigrants. By 1880, more than one hundred thousand Chinese people lived in the United States. Nearly all of them lived on the West Coast. They found work laying railway tracks for the nation’s expanding western railroads or working in factories and gold fields. Chinese immigrants were different from most native-born Americans. They often dressed differently, the men sometimes wore long pigtails, and they had different religious practices than native-born Americans. These immigrants encountered prejudice and even violence. In fact, prejudice against Chinese people was so fierce that in 1882, the United States Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, a law that banned further Chinese immigration.

**Find Out the Facts**

Find out more about the Chinese Exclusion Act and what it actually said.

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**Writers’ Corner**

Imagine you are an immigrant on a crowded ship as it sails into New York Harbor. You catch your first glimpse of the Statue of Liberty and also the city of New York in the distance. Write a descriptive paragraph about what you see and how you feel.
Black Americans Move North

Between 1865 and 1920, many thousands of Black Americans moved northward. Most Black Americans had lived in the South during slavery. In the decades after slavery’s end in 1865, many decided to move. In the South, segregation and race prejudice continued to exclude Black Americans from full citizenship and opportunity. Between 1879 and 1880, about sixty thousand Black Americans moved to Kansas, where they hoped to find better jobs and better schools than in the South.

During the First World War (1914–1918), many Black Americans moved to Northern cities such as Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and New York to work in wartime industries, helping to produce the equipment, clothing, and weapons the United States needed to fight the war. In Northern cities, Black Americans could find better-paying jobs and opportunities that were lacking in the South, though, to be sure, they continued to experience prejudice even in the North. Some Northern cities became centers of Black American arts and culture. In the 1920s, Harlem, a section of New York City, became a vibrant center of Black culture and the cultural movement that came to be known as the Harlem Renaissance.

Political Machinery and Chicanery

A “political machine” is a political organization in which people work together under the leadership of one person or a small group of people. The word *machine* is used because a machine has many parts that must work together. In a political machine, each person has a job to do, like gears in a machine. When everything runs smoothly, political goals can be accomplished. But sometimes political machines can be dishonest because the people who are part of those political machines are corrupt.

One of the most famously corrupt political machines in American history was that of Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall. William Marcy Tweed, known as Boss Tweed, was a powerful politician in the late 1800s in
New York City, and he was one of the leaders of the Tammany Hall political machine. Boss Tweed and his men stole millions of dollars from New York City’s government, and they bribed people to help them do it. They used all sorts of tricks and lies. But finally, Boss Tweed and the men who worked with him were caught. Tweed was put in jail. He died in the Ludlow Street Jail in New York City in 1878, at the age of fifty-five.

Political machines can also work to achieve positive things. Some historians even point to ways in which Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall helped the poor and aided business development. But whatever good Boss Tweed’s ring may have done, his name remains synonymous with political corruption.

Vocabulary

**synonymous** (/sih*na*nuh*muss/), adj. alike in meaning, like a synonym

**political economy**, n. the combination or interaction of economy and government

Rapid Growth: The Second Industrial Revolution

Before the Civil War, most Americans were farmers. In the early 1800s, there were some factories, mostly cloth-making factories in New England. However, after 1865, the number of factories, mines, and mills grew rapidly. By 1880, more Americans worked in non-agricultural jobs than in agricultural ones. By the 1910s, American industry was producing a third of the world’s manufactured goods. That last sentence is something to think about. The United States had become the richest country in the world! American commercial society, in combination with the country’s representative democracy, had given rise to astonishing economic growth. Scholars call the combination of economy and government “political economy,” and it was America’s political economy that made it the wealthiest country in the world—as it still is today. How exactly did this happen?

The increasing number of factories gave rise to a vast expansion in the amount and variety of goods produced.

Think Twice

Do you think such rapid growth could have happened without millions of immigrants working in America?

Machines did all sorts of work. Some machines spun thread and wove cloth. Sewing machines stitched pieces of cloth into shirts, pants, and dresses. Other machines made pins, needles, and nails.
Machines were used to make typewriters for homes and offices and mechanical harvesters to help farmers in their fields. The telephone was invented in 1876 and the automobile in 1886. Soon, factories were producing phones and motor vehicles of all sorts. Furthermore, in 1882, the first electricity-generating power station was built by Thomas Edison in lower Manhattan. Within several years, with Nikola Tesla’s alternating-current power plants, electricity and electric motors were replacing steam-powered factories.

Innovation, engineering, and ingenuity were transforming the production of all sorts of things. Machines increased output and lowered labor costs for each unit of production. Where once it took an individual worker a day to make one pair of shoes, machines and assembly-line production streamlined the process. In the newly emergent machine-assisted production process, a worker might sit for hours at a leather-stitching machine stitching leather soles to “uppers.” Another worker would focus on putting holes and grommets where the shoes would be laced. Yet another might work at nailing the heels to the soles. In this way, many more shoes could be produced in a day than had been produced by one person undertaking each step in the process. As machine production output increased, labor costs per unit fell. Industrialization made possible an ever-increasing abundance of goods at lower prices.

Many women at this time were employed in garment factories. Their income greatly helped their families.

**Think Twice**

Can you think of recent advances in technology that are having a similar impact on the workplace and the workforce?
Gilded Age

In 1873, Mark Twain coauthored a novel titled *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today*. Historians like the term “Gilded Age,” and use it to refer to the time period from 1870 to 1890 (some historians would say 1877 to 1895). When you “gild” something, you cover something ordinary, such as wood or plaster, with a very thin layer of gold. By calling these years the Gilded Age, historians are suggesting that while a few Americans lived bright lives of riches and gold, there were many who experienced poverty and suffering. The famous historian Eric Foner points out that by 1890, the richest one percent of Americans owned more wealth than the other ninety-nine percent.

Find Out the Facts

Who was Mark Twain, and what is he most known for?

The Economy: Commercial Society

The rise of the industrial economy points directly to how the American economy works. The American economy is referred to by different terms: a market economy, a competitive market economy, a free market economy, commercial society, and capitalism.

Each of these terms stresses a slightly different aspect of the American economic system. Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* (1776) outlines how the economy in much of the world, including the United States, works. In his book, Smith describes how commercial society functions (he never uses the word capitalism—that word became more common in the late 1800s). He writes about how an economy based on self-interest can lead individuals to see that it is to each person’s benefit to cooperate with others. Each of us, Smith says, wants good economic lives for ourselves and those we love. We are motivated by our own wish to make money and use that money to pay for, or buy, the things we need and want. We need food and a place to live, and we come to recognize that if we cooperate with others, we can all benefit. That’s because in buying the things we need from others, we allow them to meet their own needs. Smith’s description of commercial society explains how, through ingenuity, innovation, and hard work in a largely unregulated economic market, a nation—and the people in

Vocabulary

capitalism, n. an economic system in which resources and businesses are privately owned and prices are not controlled by the government
it—can achieve astonishing economic successes. (Some people criticize the commercial society Smith describes. Some thinkers, the socialist Karl Marx among them, have offered alternative approaches to structuring a nation’s economy and society. Of course, theory is one thing, and practice is another.)

**Think Twice**

What do you think the author means by “theory is one thing, and practice is another”?

**Factory Conditions**

Mass production by machines made goods less expensive and more readily available than ever before. In the days before the rise of the Industrial Revolution, artisans handcrafted each item—shoes, clothes, nails, and the like—from beginning to end. But the new machines of the Industrial Revolution often divided the process into many small, repetitive tasks. So an individual worker was assigned to do only a single task over and over. These new machines and methods greatly increased the output of goods. But work in a factory could be repetitive and exhausting.

What’s more, factory owners were often in competition with each other. If one factory produced a product that was made in many other factories, that factory needed an advantage to sell its goods. Employers who wanted their business to succeed pushed their workers to work long hours. Factory managers enforced strict work hours, sped up the pace of work, and kept the wages of their workers low so that the products cost less to produce. Then these products could be priced competitively against the products from other factories.

A sweatshop is a factory or a workshop, especially in the clothes-making industry, in which workers are employed at very low wages for long hours. Sweatshops in the 1890s and 1900s were sometimes located in crowded apartments—the very apartments in which families lived. In 1893, one observer, Helen Moore, wrote about the “long panorama of heart-rending sights” she observed among the immigrant poor working in sweatshops on Manhattan’s Lower East Side. She saw there Irish, Italians, Germans, Poles, and Russian Jews. “Every window,” she wrote, “opens into a room crowded with . . . dull-faced men and women sewing upon heavy woolen coats and trousers. They pant for air, the perspiration that drops from their foreheads is like life-blood, but they toil on steadily, wearily.” Outside, on the street, there was “fermenting [rotting] garbage in the gutter.” Life for these immigrants was especially hard—though often, their lives back in Europe had been even harder.
In the late 1800s and early 1900s, more than two million children were sent to work in factories, mines, and mills in the United States. Earlier, most Americans made their living by farming, and many children worked alongside their parents.

Although farmwork was hard and farming chores had to be carried out in all kinds of weather, children saw daylight, worked outside, and could experience the passing seasons. A child working in a textile factory might work from sunup to sundown, standing by a noisy loom, helping make cloth for shirts and dresses. A child’s job might be to fix a thread that had broken as the machine was in motion or to collect the fabric and put it into bins.

In underground coal mines, men used pickaxes to break coal and rock from the walls of the mine. Child workers picked small bits of coal from among the rocks, or they carried bags of coal and dumped them into coal cars.

The conditions in mines and mills could be bad for workers’ health. The air in textile mills was polluted by tiny bits of fiber from cloth that got into workers’ lungs. Over the years, breathing the fibers could cause a disease called brown lung.

In coal mines, the air was often thick with coal dust, and breathing in the coal dust meant that workers’ lungs would become congested with it. They would spit out black gobs trying to clear their lungs, but it was little use. The coal dust caused an illness called black lung, which often led to cancer. Conditions in factories and mines were different and more dangerous than working out-of-doors on farms or inside a home.

Find Out the Facts
Research what life was like for children working in factories, sweatshops, or mines during this time in American history.

Writers’ Corner
Use your research to write about a day in the life of a child working in a factory, mill, or mine. Either imagine you are that child and describe your day, or imagine you are a journalist reporting on what you have discovered.
In this time of industrial change, Americans were trying to figure out what rules, laws, and public policies their government should make. Most laws and public policies addressed issues in an agrarian America, not in an industrial country. One of the big battles in American politics in the period from 1865 to 1914, and one that remains a political issue to this day, was this: When should the government make laws, rules, or policies about a workplace? One issue people considered was if there should be a maximum number of hours a person can work in a day. If so, how many hours should we the people, through our elected representatives, say should be the maximum—twelve, ten, eight? In addition, people thought about working conditions. Should the state and federal government make laws (which, remember, are rules we agree to follow as citizens) to regulate cleanliness or the sorts of safety equipment there should be in a workplace?

One of the political disagreements that people had into the early 1900s was whether or not the federal government or state governments should be allowed to make laws regulating child labor. Today, of course, children may not, according to the law, work in industry. Instead, children are required by law to attend school. Today, we believe that children should have the opportunity to learn, to go to school, and to pursue their dreams. But imagine if you had to go to work for twelve hours a day in a mine or factory!

In 1916, Congress passed a law to restrict child labor. The law was called the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act. The American people had their representatives pass a law to try to stop child labor. But just two years later, in 1918, in a legal case called Hammer v. Dagenhart, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act as unconstitutional. That meant that it remained legal to put children to work in factories. Several years later, the Supreme Court changed its mind. The high court upheld the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which makes child labor illegal.

Not all nine Supreme Court justices in the 1918 case thought that child labor was okay. One Supreme Court justice, a man

**Vocabulary**

public policy, n. a set of government steps for how something is done

agrarian (/uh*grehr*ee*uhn/), adj. relating to farming or agriculture
named Oliver Wendell Holmes, disagreed with his colleagues. In a dissenting opinion in *Hammer*, Holmes wisely wrote, “If there is any matter upon which civilized countries have agreed . . . it is the evil of . . . child labor.”

### The Importance of Unions

When workers join together to protect their interests, they form what is called a union. There are different kinds of unions. Skilled workers’ unions are called trade unions. Unskilled workers’ unions are often called labor unions. And today, there are unions—sometimes called associations or organizations—for doctors, nurses, teachers, firefighters, police officers, and many other jobs.

A worker in the late 1800s who stood at a machine all day doing the same task, or a laborer laying railroad tracks or digging ditches, had few protections. That person’s job could easily be taken by someone else. Those deemed unskilled workers had little ability to bargain with their employers for better pay or safer conditions. Unskilled workers in the late 1800s were largely unsuccessful when they tried to form unions.

**Think Twice**

Do you think unskilled workers deserve the same rights and legal protections as skilled workers?

But the same was not true for skilled workers. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, skilled workers such as carpenters, bricklayers, steam pipe fitters, and electricians were in demand. Unlike unskilled workers, skilled workers formed unions and found that they could bargain with employers for higher wages, shorter hours of work, and better working conditions.

In 1886, a group of trade unions came together to form the American Federation of Labor. For many years, their president was Samuel Gompers. The AFL and Gompers promoted what they called “pure and simple trade unionism.” Their goal was to improve the lives of trade union members by bargaining directly with employers or, when collective bargaining failed, by striking. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, Samuel Gompers saw that the courts and governors almost always ruled in favor of business. The courts repeatedly agreed to *injunctions* against workers for striking. And the

### Vocabulary

**injunction**, n. a court order that specifies an action a person or group must or must not take
courts rarely ruled against employers for mistreating or underpaying workers.

Gompers learned his trade union tactics by experience. He had grown up poor in London, England, and immigrated to the United States in his youth. In New York, he became a cigar roller, and he joined the New York cigar workers’ union. Gompers watched as that union sought help from the government to end “tenement-house production” of cigars. The New York state legislature twice passed laws making tenement-house production illegal. But then New York State’s courts twice invalidated those laws. In response, Gompers and his union, as Gompers wrote, “harassed the manufacturers by strikes and agitation.” Through these actions, the skilled workers achieved “what [they] had failed to achieve through legislation.”

Early on, the AFL was not open to the idea of allowing women or Black Americans to join their trade unions. In the 1890s, Sam Gompers seemed open to including other races. He said to the white members of the AFL, “As working men we are not justified in refusing them [Black Americans] the right of the opportunity to organize.” But ten years later, he abandoned this view.

The AFL worked to protect skilled workers’ jobs, pay, benefits, and working conditions. But it did little to aid the organizing efforts of semiskilled or unskilled workers, including tens of thousands of women and child laborers.

**Strikes and Retaliation**

Labor strife in the period from 1865 to 1914 was at times intense. There were hundreds of strikes each year across America. And labor actions—strikes or lockouts—sometimes turned violent as workers made demands and employers pushed back.

One incident occurred at Chicago’s Haymarket Square on May 4, 1886, when a peaceful rally in support of union workers and the eight-hour day turned suddenly violent. Someone in the crowd threw a bomb at the police. A police officer was killed by the bomb. In the confusion that followed, police opened fire, and a number of police officers and civilians were killed. In the aftermath, eight people were convicted of conspiracy. Four of them were hanged, though the bomb thrower was never identified. The Haymarket incident attracted international attention. Employers used it as an example of how the labor movement was full of foreigners, anarchists, and radicals.

**Vocabulary**

invalidate, v. to prove incorrect or illegal
Unions can be powerful, and when workers strike, they can sometimes win better wages, hours, and working conditions. But this was not the case in the dispute between labor and capital in the Homestead Steel Strike of 1892. The Carnegie Steel Company was owned by Andrew Carnegie and his business partner, Henry Frick. They employed more than three thousand workers at the company’s Homestead Steel Works, located just outside Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Frick and Carnegie had installed new equipment and processes for making steel at Homestead. When the steelworkers’ union, the Amalgamated Association, tried to enforce their union’s contract with the Carnegie Steel Company, the company built a tall fence around the steel mills and announced that the plant would reopen without union workers. On July 6, 1892, a group of three hundred men from the Pinkerton Detective Agency, who were working for Carnegie and Frick, approached the Homestead Steel Works by boat. Gunfire erupted between strikers on the shore and the Pinkerton men. Three Pinkertons and seven workers were killed in the exchange of gunfire. Within days, the governor of Pennsylvania sent eight thousand soldiers to Homestead, and the plant was reopened. The workers had lost.

Labor Day

Labor Day is a federal holiday in the United States, created to honor American workers and the American labor movement. The holiday also celebrates the achievements of workers who have labored to develop this nation. It became a federal holiday in 1894 and is celebrated on the first Monday in September.

Think Twice

Why do you think employers resisted workers’ demands for shorter hours and better working conditions?

Chicago Haymarket labor riot, 1886
Captains of Industry or Robber Barons?

The influence of America’s wealthiest entrepreneurs and business leaders increased in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and J. P. Morgan were three of the richest and most successful entrepreneurs in history. Carnegie made his money in steel, Rockefeller made his money in oil, and Morgan made his in banking and investing. In 1901, J. P. Morgan even bought Andrew Carnegie’s steel company for $480 million! Some Americans saw these men and business leaders like them as “captains of industry”—that is, they saw the good that these men were doing by leading important businesses. Their corporations employed thousands of workers, and each of those workers earned money they might otherwise not have had. But other Americans criticized the men as “robber barons,” describing them as rich men who made their millions off the labor of those they employed.

Vocabulary
entrepreneur, n. a person who starts a business

Carnegie in particular was a great philanthropist. A philanthropist is someone who uses their money to help others. And Carnegie did this in a big way. In 1889, he wrote an article called “The Gospel of Wealth” in which he said that wealthy people should make use of their wealth to improve society. Wealthy people, Carnegie said, should be philanthropists. During his lifetime, Andrew Carnegie gave away much of his wealth; he donated millions of dollars to charities, foundations, and universities, and he paid for the building of hundreds of public libraries across America.

Think Twice
What do you think? Were the men described here captains of industry or robber barons?

Andrew Carnegie made a great deal of money in steel. He also donated money to build libraries and schools.
“Free Enterprise” vs. 
Government Regulation

From colonial times to today, the United States economy has largely functioned under the system of commercial society or “free enterprise.” For more than a century, the United States has been, the richest country in the world.

Vocabulary

free enterprise, n. the freedom of businesses to operate without government interference

One of the biggest issues for Americans is the question of how much citizens want the government to make laws, rules, and policies to regulate private businesses. This question is really important. After all, the government belongs to its citizens—it is, as Abraham Lincoln said, a government of, by, and for the American people. When should people reach for the government and ask their representatives to make laws that have to do with private enterprise?

In the United States, if someone has a good idea, they can start their own business. It’s their business. They can hire people to help run their business, just as Andrew Carnegie hired people to work in the steel company he owned. The idea of free enterprise is that individuals should be able to decide what goods or services their business will offer to consumers. They are in charge. And if everyone is allowed the freedom to pursue a plan for making money through a business, and if that business can be run without too much government regulation, then that free enterprise should, in theory, lead to a growing economy in which Americans benefit economically.

But in the late 1800s, the American people spoke up. Congress—which is the voice of the American people—created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) in 1887. By making the law that created the ICC, Congress said that Americans can use the government to regulate private businesses. At first, the goal was to address unfair practices that some people accused the railroads of (such as charging clients different amounts of money for shipping goods). In 1890, Congress passed the Sherman Anti-trust Act (named after Senator John Sherman of Ohio), which made monopolies illegal. A monopoly is when a corporation owns all, or almost all, of an industry. For example, by the early 1890s, John Rockefeller owned about ninety percent of the oil refineries in the United States—he had a monopoly in the oil industry.
Remember Adam Smith and his 1776 book about the economy? He had cautioned against monopolies because a monopoly can increase prices for consumers. For example, if there is only one gas station in a town, the owner could charge a high price for gas. But if there are several gas stations in a town, then each gas station’s owner will have to compete for business with other stations. This way, the gas stations are more likely to lower their prices. Competition encourages innovation, cost-cutting, and improvements of all sorts. So, with the ICC and the Sherman Act, the American people, through Congress, took some of the first steps in using the government to regulate private businesses.

Many farmers, especially in the Midwest, turned to a political movement called populism in the late 1800s. Farmers during this time had an interesting problem. There were many farmers in the United States, and a lot of them were so successful at growing food that they grew more food than people could eat. Having too much of a product—in this case, corn and wheat—is called a glut. Farmers who had a lot of grain ended up competing with other farmers to sell their crops, and they started to try to undersell each other. That is, they lowered the price of the grain they had grown on their farm. But prices dropped so low that farmers had to sell their grain for less money than it cost them to grow it.

It was a bad situation, so farmers looked to the government for help. One idea that some populists suggested was that the government could help farmers build silos in which to store their grain. Then, when prices increased, the farmers could sell their grain at a profit. Another idea that
was very popular among populists, both farmers and some working people, was that the government could use its power to create inflation. The populists wanted the government to cause inflation by adding more money into the economy.

At the time, the federal government used gold as a basis for money. But the populists suggested that the government should allow silver to be used as money, too. They said that if silver were added to the money supply, there would be more money, which would cause the inflation they were looking for. Many of the farmers who were populists had borrowed money from banks, and they reasoned that if they could pay the banks back with inflated dollars, then they would come out ahead.

A man named William Jennings Bryan thought the populists had a good idea. He supported adding silver to the economy. In 1896, he gave a famous speech at the Democratic Party Convention. His speech is called the “Cross of Gold.” In it, he declared that the United States government should allow silver as well as gold to be used. At the very end of his speech, he did a thing that drew people’s attention. He said that the people who only wanted to use gold and who opposed using silver were wrong. He concluded his speech with the words, “You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.” And as he said this, he threw his arms wide as he stood before the hundreds of people gathered in the convention hall. Having finished his speech, he walked slowly back to his seat. There was dead silence in the hall. Bryan wondered to himself if the people had liked his speech. But then, after a few seconds, there was thunderous applause. People in the audience went wild. They cheered and threw their hats in the air; they hugged one another in great joy. Bryan’s speech had been a great success. But while his speech was a success, his plan did not succeed. By 1900, President William McKinley had put the nation on the gold standard, a system that links money directly to gold.

Vocabulary

**inflation**, n. a rise in prices and a fall in the purchasing value of money

Think Twice

Who or what do you think Bryan was referring to when he used the words “crown of thorns”?
Chapter 2
The Progressive Era, Social Movements, and Reforms

The Gilded Age and Progressive Era

As you have discovered, the end of the 1800s and the beginning of the 1900s was a time of extraordinary change. The period is often called the Gilded Age or the Progressive Era. It was an age of scientific and technological progress when new inventions transformed everyday life.

Vocabulary

progressive, adj. moving toward new ideas, modern policies, or opportunities

The Big Question

In what ways were the expansion of industry and the development of new technologies connected to the need for social reforms during this time period?
Millions of Europeans immigrated to the United States during this time, and the nation’s cities grew in population. Reformers called on the American government to create new laws, rules, policies, and regulations to address some of the new challenges the nation faced. The country struggled with issues such as child labor and the working conditions in the nation’s newly emerging factories. Black Americans sought to improve their status in a nation in which segregation denied them equality and full citizenship. And women successfully achieved the right to vote with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

An Age of Technological and Scientific Progress

From the mid-1800s through the early 1900s, science and invention were transforming everyday life. In 1882, Thomas Edison opened the world’s first electrical generating station on Pearl Street in Manhattan. By the early 1900s, Nikola Tesla’s alternating-current motor powered increasing numbers of machines on factory floors. It also powered household appliances—the electric-powered vacuum cleaner, invented in 1901, among them. Automobiles, invented in 1886, uneasily shared city streets with horse-drawn carriages and carts. Telephones, invented by Alexander Graham Bell back in 1876, were installed in a growing number of homes and businesses. In 1903, the airplane was invented. The Wright brothers—Orville and Wilbur—inventors from Ohio, were the first in flight. Marie Curie’s experiments with X-rays led to new medical diagnostic tools and treatments. Biologists identified disease-causing viruses and bacteria. In 1900, aspirin, a new medicine, went on sale. Enabled by new elevator technology and by the plentiful availability of steel, some cities saw the rise of buildings so tall they were said to “scrape the sky.” In 1902, the twenty-one-story steel-framed Flatiron Building went up in New York. The next year, it was eclipsed by the sixty-story Woolworth Building in downtown Manhattan. Subways and streetcars became available for transportation in some cities. Henry Ford’s Model T cars rolled out of Detroit, Michigan, factories beginning in 1908. (By 1927, Ford would build fifteen million Model T cars.) The Progressive Era was a time of change, advancement, and progress.

**Vocabulary**

**diagnostic**, adj. related to identifying a disease or a problem
Find Out the Facts
Research how city streets were lit before the introduction of electricity.

Think Twice
If you had to live without one of these features of our world, which one would it be: modern forms of communication, transportation, or electricity?

Think Twice
What kinds of future technologies and developments in science might enable us to live differently from how we live now?
No era of extraordinary change is free from problems and challenges. During this era, a number of journalists, called muckrakers, emerged to explore and expose some of those challenges. Why the name muckrakers? It was because investigative reporters were said to be raking the muck—the mud—of society with their investigations.

Working and living conditions were changing, affecting every level of society. Successful business owners saw their personal wealth and living standards improve, sometimes beyond their wildest dreams. However, a great many factory workers faced long hours, endured harsh working conditions, struggled economically, and lived simply.

Jacob Riis was a muckraker and a social reformer who wanted to improve living conditions for the poor. He visited poor neighborhoods and photographed what he saw there. In 1890, he published a book titled *How the Other Half Lives*. In his book, he described the poverty in New York City’s tenement districts. But he knew that his book would have a greater impact if he could show people what the conditions of poverty actually looked like. So, he included photographs he had taken of adults and children wearing torn and ragged clothing and living in small, cramped apartments with few amenities. Riis’s book was a call to action. When people read it, they learned how bad conditions were for the poor. Riis’s book called attention to the poverty in which many people lived. One new law that was passed after people read his book was a law requiring that newly built apartment buildings must all have courtyards. In buildings with courtyards, light and air flowed into each apartment, both through the windows that faced the street and through the windows facing out on the courtyard.

Ida Tarbell was a muckraker who, as she said, wanted to bring about “meaningful social change.” Her investigative journalism focused on large corporations. She wanted to expose some of the problems with monopolies and their practices. In her 1902 book, *The Rise of the Standard Oil Company*, she wrote about John D. Rockefeller and the practices he used to drive his competitors in the oil industry out of business on his way to building his oil monopoly. Tarbell’s book was read by many people. Her exposé
of Standard Oil and other industries contributed to the passage of a number of government laws regulating trusts and monopolies.

Upton Sinclair was a muckraker concerned with the health and safety of the food we eat. His 1906 novel, *The Jungle*, exposed the terrible conditions in Chicago’s meatpacking plants. The meat processed in those facilities found its way onto store shelves and from there into people’s homes—and meals. Sinclair went undercover. He got a job in a meatpacking plant so that he could see for himself, firsthand, the conditions in those plants. In *The Jungle*, he wrote, “There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and sawdust, where the workers had tramped and spit. . . . There would be meat stored in great piles . . . rats would race about on it. . . . The packers would put poisoned bread out for them; they would die, and then rats, bread, and meat would go into the hoppers together.” He went on to explain that the meat would be packaged and sold.

When President Theodore Roosevelt and other Americans read Upton Sinclair’s exposé, they took action. Congress passed, and Roosevelt signed into law, the Meat Inspection Act of 1906. That law requires meat processing facilities to be clean as a whistle—which is a way of saying very, very clean. That law is still on the books today. Government inspectors continue to inspect the processing plants to make sure they are clean.

Think Twice

Do journalists today have a role to play in relation to highlighting social issues?

Settlement Houses

In 1889, Jane Addams founded Hull House in Chicago, one of the nation’s first social settlements. Educated women and men moved into a settlement house in a poor district of the city and worked...
toward social reform. They volunteered their time to work with the poor from the neighborhood, most of them immigrants or the children of immigrants. The settlement workers organized kindergartens, clubs, classes, playgrounds, festivals, and libraries. By 1907, Hull House had grown into more than a dozen buildings, including a theater, music school, gym, art gallery, and community kitchen. As Addams said, “America’s future will be determined by the home and the school. The child becomes largely what he is taught; hence we must watch what we teach, and how we live.”

Settlement houses also functioned as centers for political reform activism on issues from housing reform to street cleaning and more. In New York City’s Greenwich House settlement, poor men and women from the neighborhood traveled with the settlement’s founder, Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, to City Hall, as she later wrote, “to stir up officials.” The college-educated settlement house workers, together with impoverished men and women from the neighborhood, talked to government officials. They described to city commissioners the need for the city’s government to do a better job keeping the streets in their neighborhood clean and safe. There needed to be, they told city officials, improved housing laws. The streets in their neighborhood needed to be swept more frequently. The city needed to do a better job at garbage removal, so that the garbage did not pile up on the sidewalks and spill into the streets.

In the eyes of their founders, and in the eyes of many of the women and men who worked in them, social settlements were more than civic centers. The settlements were, as Mrs. Simkhovitch (“Mrs. Sims”) of Greenwich House said, an effort “to bring to expression the living hopes and interests of the neighborhood.” They were, she said, “a passionate attempt to realize democracy.”

Think Twice
Do you agree that “the child becomes largely what he is taught”?

Vocabulary

civic center, n. a building for public performances, sporting events, etc.

Carmel Pecoraro was an immigrant who worked as a janitor. Though he struggled with English, he wrote a letter of thanks to Mrs. Sims:
“You cannot imagine what joy and what happiness I have to think the great honor I received . . . at my wedding. . . . Dear Miss Simkhovitch I thank you very much for all what you have done for me. . . . It was all so beautiful for the Italian people to see you’s American people meet my wife with happiness and joy.”

When someone is called progressive, it can simply mean that they are a person who wants to move toward certain desired goals. Someone who is progressive wants to see things improve. And there are times when people agree that progress is being achieved. But during the late 1800s and early 1900s, the word *progressive* came to have a very specific meaning in politics. Then, as now, a person described as a political progressive was a person who believed in making active use of government to bring about change. Political progressives believed in using laws, rules, public policies, and regulations to shape the economy and society. During the Progressive Era, there were a variety of ways in which government was used to address the many new concerns that were arising as a result of industrialization and the other changes the nation was undergoing.

Theodore “Teddy” Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson were progressive presidents. They succeeded in making use of government in all sorts of new ways.

Political progressives made great changes in this era. They sought to make laws to end child labor. They worked to use the
1890 Sherman Anti-trust Act to break up corporate monopolies. In 1906, political progressives led the effort to pass the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act. Those new laws sent trained inspectors into meatpacking plants, food production facilities, and drug manufacturing centers to make sure that the food and drugs we eat are not contaminated. In this period, government intervention set aside millions of acres of land as national forests and national parks.

**Vocabulary**

contaminated, adj. dirty, dangerous, or polluted

**Think Twice**

What ideas today might be considered progressive?

**How Much Government Involvement Is Too Much?**

It is important to note that during the Progressive Era, not everyone agreed that an active use of government was going to lead the nation toward progress. Some people thought that government regulation of business, for example, should be minimal and that it wasn’t progress at all for the government to become too involved with making rules to regulate private businesses. These individuals were concerned that too much government regulation was dangerous. In 1912, John W. Burgess wrote about one view of what is called a conservative vision. In his essay “What Is Real Political Progress?” Burgess said, “We dare not call anything progress . . . which contemplates . . . the expansion of governmental power.” He said that “so-called progressives” were calling for too much government, which, he cautioned, would lead to “absolutism.” Burgess favored a laissez-faire, or “leave it alone” approach to political economy.

**Vocabulary**

absolutism, n. a form of government in which the ruler or leader has unchecked authority to do what they want without any restrictions

**Think Twice**

Why might some people be against the expansion of government power?
A person who starts and builds a business is called an entrepreneur. Entrepreneurs often have innovative ideas for new products, or they may have a new way of making an existing product.

In the 1800s and into the 1900s, it was the practice of the government to mostly stay out of the way of entrepreneurs and business. Laissez-faire is a French term meaning “let it be” or “leave it alone,” and during this period, Congress and state governments largely left businesses alone. This meant that there were no federal minimum wage laws, no federal laws on hours of work, no federal laws on working conditions in factories or mines, and no federal child labor laws. At times, state legislatures did pass some laws regulating businesses. But when New York State passed a law regulating the hours men could work in a bakery, the United States Supreme Court, in *Lochner v. New York* (1905), struck down the New York law.

Some successful entrepreneurs used their business profits to buy up other companies. As you have discovered, in the late 1800s, John D. Rockefeller bought up more and more of the oil refining industry until, by 1890, he owned about ninety percent of the oil refineries in the United States. Rockefeller had acquired a monopoly in the oil industry. Monopolies don’t allow for competition. While the Sherman Anti-trust Act of 1890 made monopolies—and trusts that restrain competition—illegal, it would be years before the federal government made active use of the act to regulate Rockefeller’s oil company. Nevertheless, the Sherman Anti-trust Act is an important law, and it is used to this day to break up monopolies.

Teddy Roosevelt was a progressive president. He wanted to use government to address the issues and challenges society was facing at the time. Roosevelt was president from 1901 to 1909. During these years, he made active use of the federal government in a variety of ways. In 1902, the year after he became president, he personally intervened to settle a strike between coal miners and the owners of coal mines. In 1906, after reading Upton...
Sinclair’s *The Jungle*, President Roosevelt became interested in food safety. He backed the active use of government in regulating the quality of food and drugs sold to the American people. The results were the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act.

Roosevelt also set out to use the power of the federal government to dissolve corporate monopolies and trusts that he judged were not acting in favor of the public interest. In 1902, he said, “There is a widespread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations, known as trusts, are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare.” Roosevelt did not think all trusts acted against the general welfare, but he labeled those he believed were acting against public interest “bad trusts.” He set out to “bust” those “bad trusts” by filing lawsuits in court to dissolve them. In 1903, for example, he brought a successful lawsuit against a railroad trust run by business magnates E. H. Harriman, James J. Hill, J. P. Morgan, and others.

**Vocabulary**

*lawsuit*, n. a process in which the courts decide a disagreement or enforce a right

“The Menace of the Hour,” an anti-monopoly cartoon, by George Luks, in *The Verdict* magazine, 1899, depicting harmful corporate monopolies
During his presidency, Teddy Roosevelt brought lawsuits against more than forty trusts. And because he energetically supported breaking up trusts and monopolies, Teddy Roosevelt was called “trustbuster.”

President Roosevelt used the federal government in a politically progressive way to regulate and control various elements of the economy. He regulated mining, food and drugs, railroads, and the oil industry. In addition, President Roosevelt loved the outdoors. So, he used the power of government to set aside millions of acres of land in the United States as national forest and national parks. Historians point out, however, that Native Americans and immigrant families were sometimes thrown off of their native lands to make room for the new national parks.

The Souls of Black Folk

During the Progressive Era, Black Americans worked to overcome racism and to improve their position in society. In the Southern states in particular, Black men were excluded from voting by the poll tax, literacy test, and grandfather clause. The poll tax meant that you had to pay money—a “tax”—to vote. The literacy test meant you had to show that you could read, and the test was often a complicated legal document or state constitution. The grandfather clause said that if your grandfather could vote, then so could you—but most Black Americans’ grandfathers had been enslaved.

(Although Black men had achieved the right to vote in 1870, with the Fifteenth Amendment, white Southerners were blocking them from voting with these unfair rules.) Black Americans also faced segregation in public schooling, restaurants, hotels, and more. It was completely unfair.

Think Twice

Why might the poll tax and the literacy test have prevented some Black men from voting?

Among those who worked to improve the status of Black Americans were Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. Both men put forward strategies for defeating the injustices Black Americans faced.
But they disagreed with each other with regard to strategy. Booker T. Washington believed that Black Americans should focus on economic advancement—by studying and training to get well-paying, skilled jobs. W. E. B. Du Bois held that there needed to be a more radical approach. He believed that political activism on economic, political, and social issues was needed.

Booker T. Washington was director of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, an academic and vocational school that trained Black Americans in skilled trades such as carpentry, brickmaking, printing, home economics, and other subjects. Booker T. Washington believed that the best strategy forward for Black Americans was through economic and educational opportunity, rather than to try to directly challenge the political disenfranchisement and the social segregation in the South. In a speech in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1895, Washington said,

“To those of my race who . . . underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the southern white man, who is their next-door neighbor, I would say, ‘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. . . . 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.”

Some people considered Washington’s view to be that of an accommodationist. He also said,

“We shall stand by you . . . interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. 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. . . .

“The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist 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.
No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. 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 exercise of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house.”

Vocabulary

**ostracize**, v. to shun or ignore a person

Find Out the Facts

Research the life of Booker T. Washington.

W. E. B. Du Bois was the first Black American to earn a PhD from Harvard University. His doctorate was in history. W. E. B. Du Bois wrote that “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.” By color line, he meant the segregation and racism that divided Americans. He believed segregation and racism should be overcome and that people needed to work together. He was a founding member of the NAACP (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and the longtime editor of its magazine, *The Crisis*. Du Bois believed that the best strategy for advancement for Black Americans was to insist on the political power of the vote, civil rights, and economic and educational opportunity. He disagreed with Booker T. Washington on strategy. In his 1903 book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois wrote:

Booker T. Washington was the first leader of the Tuskegee Institute, the historically Black teachers’ college in Alabama, founded in 1881.
“Mr. Washington practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races.

“Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens. . . . He asks that Black people give up, at least for the present, three things: First, political power; Second, insistence on civil rights; Third, higher education of Negro youth, and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the pacifying [calming] of the South. . . .

“Mr. Washington’s doctrine has tended to make the whites, North and South, shift the burden of the Negro problem to the Negro’s shoulders and stand aside as critical spectators; when in fact the burden belongs to the nation, and the hands of none of us are clean if we do not all work on righting these great wrongs. . . .

“By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain [eagerly] forget: ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’”

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**Find Out the Facts**

**Writers’ Corner**

The push for equal civil rights for Black Americans moved forward, and indeed progress was made. Progress can only occur if people acknowledge that there is a problem. To achieve progress, many people continue to address social issues that impact Black Americans to this day.

**Women’s Suffrage**

During the Progressive Era, women engaged in political activism, too. American women did not have the right to vote in early American history, and in the course of the 1800s and early 1900s, various women worked for women’s suffrage. The word *suffrage* means the right to vote.

One of the first women’s rights conventions was held in 1848 in the town of Seneca Falls, New York. Back in 1776, Thomas Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence had held “that all men are created equal.” The women and
men assembled at the Seneca Falls Convention, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, issued their own declaration. They said, “We insist that they [women] have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of these United States.” And they declared, “We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal.”

Women, the signers of the Seneca Falls Declaration of Rights and Sentiments declared, should have the right to vote!

Lucretia Mott helped write the 1848 Seneca Falls Declaration. Mott was a Quaker, a women’s right activist, an abolitionist, and a social reformer. She believed both women and men should have the right to vote. She also believed that men and women should equally share responsibilities in marriage: “In the true married relationship the . . . husband and wife will be equal,” she said.

Amelia Bloomer attended the Seneca Falls Convention, too. The year after Seneca Falls, Bloomer became the first woman to own and edit a newspaper for women.
In the 1850s, a new type of clothing for women was named after Amelia Bloomer. “Bloomers” combined a blouse and vest together with baggy pants, gathered at the ankles, over which a short skirt or dress was worn. This new fashion allowed women more freedom for outdoor activities such as tennis and biking. Amelia Bloomer did something else that turned out to be important for women’s suffrage: she introduced Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton to each other.

Susan B. Anthony joined Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the cause of suffrage for women. Together, the two women helped found the National Woman Suffrage Association, and later, they became leaders of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton built a strong friendship and worked together for decades in the fight for a woman’s right to vote. Stanton died in 1902, and Anthony died in 1906. Both were eighty-six years old when they died. They did not live to see the ratification of universal women’s suffrage—but they had laid the foundation for its success.

For decades, women across the United States had fought for the right to vote. Abigail Adams had written to her husband, John, in 1776, asking him to “remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors.”

In the late 1800s, women in a few Western territories and states—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho—gained the right to vote. Before 1920, a small number of other states joined in granting women the vote. In the early 1900s, women such as Alice Paul, Carrie Chapman Catt, and J. Frankie Pierce led the national suffrage fight. And finally, in 1920, with ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, all women achieved the right to vote! The Nineteenth Amendment reads: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.” However, while it was true in law that all women now had the right to vote, it was not true in practice. Many Black women faced severe voting restrictions and struggled to exercise their newly won right.
Eugene V. Debs was a leading American socialist in the Progressive Era. Born in Terre Haute, Indiana, in his youth, Debs worked on the railroad and helped form a union for railway workers. In 1901, Debs became a founding member of the Socialist Party of America. Debs and other socialists believed that wealthy Americans and rich corporations had too much influence on shaping the nation’s laws. Socialists wanted to get rid of “the capitalist system.” That meant they wanted to replace the long-standing economic system in the United States—the system in which businesses are privately owned. Scholars have different names for this traditional economy: the private enterprise system, commercial society, the competitive market economy, and the free enterprise system. Socialists emphasized that in traditional commercial society, some business owners became wealthy, and these wealthy owners could use their

Vocabulary

socialist, n. a person who supports an economic system in which major industries are owned or regulated by the government rather than by private businesses

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about Alice Paul, Carrie Chapman Catt, and J. Frankie Pierce, who, in the early 1900s, also helped make women’s suffrage a reality.
wealth—their “capital”—to build other successful businesses. In this way, business owners became increasingly wealthy. Socialists in the past and today call the economy the “capitalist system,” and they think it needs to be replaced.

Socialists in the Progressive Era wanted to replace this traditional market economy with democratic economic control through public ownership of businesses. That meant that the public would own railroads, banks, and factories. However, supporters of America’s traditional economic structure—commercial society—saw it as a good system, a system of free enterprise. They disagreed with the socialists. They pointed to the many and varied successes of the American economy from the time of the nation’s founding in the late 1700s, a market economy in which individuals are free to invest their money to start or build a business without government control. Supporters heralded the traditional economy’s many successes in rewarding innovation, hard work, education, and initiative. They pointed to the fact that, for all of its flaws, the nation’s market economy had resulted in the United States becoming the richest country in the world. They pointed to the fact that millions of European immigrants poured into the United States as they believed it to be the land of economic opportunity. They pointed to the many scientific, technological, and commercial advances that gave rise to a growing economy in which “all boats rise.” (We do well, however, to remember that up until 1865, the enslavement of people existed in the United States. Under slavery, as Abraham Lincoln said in his second inaugural address, slaveholders made profits by “wringing their bread from the sweat of other men’s faces.” Those “other men’s faces” were the faces of Black Americans who were enslaved. Those enslaved people were denied participation in the nation’s growing commercial society.)

Think Twice
What does the expression “all boats rise” imply?

Find Out the Facts
Compare life in the United States to life in a country that has a different economic and political system.

A relatively small number of Americans supported the socialist goal of overthrowing the business model of commercial society in a competitive market. But socialist support for more modest regulatory measures, such as laws that ensured a minimum wage, shorter
working hours, workers compensation (for injured or otherwise unemployed workers), and other reforms, did influence American politics. Eugene Debs ran for president of the United States five times during the Progressive Era. In 1912, he received six percent of the vote—some nine hundred thousand votes. It was the highest percentage of votes a socialist has ever received in an American presidential election.

**Dorothea Dix**

Dorothea Dix was born in 1802 and died in 1887, before the start of the Progressive Era. Even so, she did very important work. She worked with those who struggled with mental health and inspired others who came after her. Dix was a social reformer and advocate for improved institutional mental health care. She visited a jail in East Cambridge to teach women prisoners. While there, Dix saw people who were there not because they had been convicted of a crime, but because they suffered from severe mental illness. Dix then studied the way the nation’s states treated impoverished, mentally ill men and women. As she traveled from state to state—from New Hampshire to Louisiana—she found that they were kept in terrible conditions in jails, almshouses, and prisons. Dix wrote to the state legislators in Massachusetts: “I proceed, Gentlemen, briefly to call your attention to the present state of Insane Persons confined within this Commonwealth, in cages, stalls, pens! Chained . . . beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience.”

Dix was successful in her appeals to state governments to build hospitals and institutions to care for people in need of mental health care. In her work, Dix illuminated problems and contributed to improved living conditions for those in need. Further, during the American Civil War, Dix served as superintendent of army nurses. She helped train women who attended to wounded soldiers during the war.

**Find Out the Facts**

Find out more about Dorothea Dix’s work to improve the care of the mentally ill.

**Writers’ Corner**

Using your research, write a short biographical paper on Dorothea Dix.
Horace Mann was the first great leader in the history of public schooling in the United States. He believed every child should be educated in a free, public school. In the mid-1800s, he became the leading advocate for public schools in Massachusetts, and other states soon followed in creating public school systems. Horace Mann believed that schools should be funded by the government. He believed that children from all sorts of backgrounds should be educated together in the same schools, and in the process, our nation’s democracy would benefit. We would have an educated and informed adult population well able to vote for candidates they believed to be best suited to serve in government.

To make sure students received good educations, Mann believed teachers needed to be trained professionals, and he advocated for teacher-training schools and colleges. Further, Horace Mann, who lived before the Civil War, was against the enslavement of people. And he worked to establish hospitals for people with serious mental health issues. Mann was a lawyer, a school activist, a politician, and, later in his life, a college president. He urged students at his college, “Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity.”

**Writers’ Corner**

Select one topic covered in this chapter that you have not already written about, and write a report, a narrative poem, or a short play.

Kindergarten children working on dollhouses, 1917
Chapter 3
America Becomes a World Power

United States in the World in the Late 1800s and Early 1900s

For a time in American history, settlers focused on westward expansion from the Eastern Seaboard across the North American continent. But the U.S. Census of 1890 showed that from sea to shining sea—from the East Coast to the West Coast—there were no large regions without settlements. (Westward expansion had, of course, come at the expense of Native Americans.)

The Big Question
How do the events that occurred in the last part of the 1800s and the first part of the 1900s reveal how powerful the United States had become?

Vocabulary

census, n. a count of the number of people living in a certain area

As an island nation, Britain had long had a powerful navy. Naval strength had enabled Britain to expand its empire.
The historian Frederick Jackson Turner said that by 1890, the Western frontier was “closed.” But this “closing” of the Western frontier in North America, some Americans said, opened new possibilities for overseas expansion. One influential voice in the call for overseas expansion was navy captain Alfred Thayer Mahan. In his 1890 book, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, Mahan explained the importance of a strong navy. He explained how Britain had made effective use of its powerful navy over many decades to build the British Empire—an empire of colonies all around the world. Captain Mahan urged Americans to learn from the British example. A strong American navy, he said, would help the United States protect its global trade. It would also help the United States build an overseas colonial empire of its own. American *imperialism* was now well and truly on the agenda.

**Vocabulary**

**imperialism**, n. the practice of gaining power as a country by taking over areas of the world
What is imperialism? Imperialism is the practice of spreading a nation’s power and might using economic, political, and military power. An imperialist believes that under certain circumstances, their nation can seize control of foreign lands and rule over the inhabitants of those lands. Those who oppose building a colonial empire are called anti-imperialists.

In the late 1800s, members of the Anti-Imperialist League included Jane Addams, Mark Twain, and Andrew Carnegie. The members argued that “imperialism is hostile to liberty.” They meant that seizing overseas foreign territories and ruling over the peoples who lived there went against the core American values of freedom and democracy.

Imperialists, however, disagreed. Among those who supported the imperialist view were Captain Mahan and the politicians Teddy Roosevelt, William McKinley, and James G. Blaine. Imperialists argued that, in their view, the United States would be “civilizing” the people they colonized. American missionaries could bring Christianity to those they colonized. Further, imperialists pointed out that the United States would benefit economically by controlling overseas colonies. Businesspeople (at this time, almost always men) would benefit from gaining control over natural resources. In Cuba, they would gain sugarcane plantations. In Hawaii, they would control pineapples, sugarcane, and bananas.

Anti-imperialists called controlling and exporting things from colonized lands exploitation. But imperialists said that the territories would be acquired by someone. They argued that if the United States did not acquire them, they would be grabbed up by the British, the French, or another foreign power.

In the context of the ongoing debate between imperialists and anti-imperialists, a series of events led the United States into war—and into colonial expansion.

**Think Twice**

If you had lived during this time, would you have been an imperialist or an anti-imperialist? Explain your answer.
On February 15, 1898, a massive explosion occurred onboard the USS *Maine*, an American battleship anchored in Havana, Cuba’s harbor. The explosion caused the ship to sink and killed more than 260 crew members. American newspaper accounts said the explosion must have been caused by a Spanish attack against the ship. The yellow press called for war!

The yellow press was the name given to newspapers that ran sensational, exaggerated, or made-up news stories. These newspapers were called the yellow press because they ran a yellow-colored cartoon strip about the “Yellow Kid”—a cartoon sketch of a child in yellow clothing. These “Yellow Kid” cartoons ran first in Joseph Pulitzer’s *New York World* newspaper and then in William Randolph Hearst’s *New York Journal* newspaper.

When news of the sinking of the USS *Maine* reached the yellow press, the newspapers whipped up frenzied calls for war. One newspaper headline read, “Maine Explosion Caused by Bomb or Torpedo”; another called the sinking of the *Maine* “Spanish Treachery.” Americans were outraged by what they believed was an unprovoked Spanish attack on an American naval ship. They said the United States must “remember the *Maine*!” and must go to war with Spain. By late April 1898, President McKinley had called for, and Congress approved, a resolution declaring war on Spain. (An inquiry in the 1970s found that Spain had not caused the explosion; rather, the explosion had likely been caused by ammunition stored aboard the ship that was too close to a coal fire. The heat of the fire caused the ammunition to explode.)

**Think Twice**

What does the fact that Spain was not actually involved in the sinking of the USS *Maine* reveal about how decisions are made with regard to going to war?
The sinking of the *Maine* was the immediate dramatic event that led the United States to declare war on Spain. But the war had been years in the making. In fact, the USS *Maine* had been sent to Cuba to demonstrate the United States’ concern about political unrest on the island. Cuba is only ninety miles off the coast of Florida. Americans, including American businesspeople with investments in the Cuban sugar industry, sided with Cuban rebels on the island.

There had been violence and political unrest for decades on the island of Cuba, as Cuban rebels demanded that Spain withdraw from their island and grant them independence. José Martí—a Cuban poet, essayist, and publisher—led the rebels’ cause. Year after year, he published newspaper articles in favor of Cuban freedom. “Liberty,” José Martí said, “is the right of every man.” Spain had colonized Cuba centuries earlier, but, Martí said, it was time for Spain to leave. It was time for the Cuban people to run their own country. In 1895, Martí was killed fighting against the Spanish. He remains a hero to Cubans today.

**Find Out the Facts**

Research the life of the Cuban writer José Martí.

**Writers’ Corner**

Write a paper about the life of José Martí, and include references to some of his published works.

**A “Splendid Little War”**

The Spanish-American War ended quickly. Secretary of State John Hay called it a “splendid little war.” In the Philippines, another colony of Spain, the United States Navy destroyed Spain’s fleet in a single day’s naval battle. And by midsummer 1898, the American soldiers had routed Spain’s land forces in the Philippines.
In Cuba, the war was over in a matter of months, with few American casualties. The United States had won. It had defeated Spain. In the treaty that ended the war, the United States acquired the Philippines, Cuba, and the islands of Puerto Rico and Guam.

Further, the United States used the opportunity of the war to remove the reigning Hawaiian monarch, Queen Lili`uokalani, and to annex Hawaii in July 1898. With annexation, American businesses gained even greater control over the Hawaiian pineapple, sugar, and banana industries. Imperialists in the United States had prevailed. In 1898, the United States acquired the overseas territories that American imperialists had called for and became a global power. (In 1959, Hawaii would become the nation’s fiftieth state.)

Teddy Roosevelt and the Rough Riders

When war with Spain broke out, Teddy Roosevelt stepped down from his job as assistant secretary of the navy so that he could fight in the war. Roosevelt created a voluntary fighting force called the Rough Riders. On July 1, 1898, Teddy Roosevelt led the Rough Riders in a charge against Spanish soldiers in the Battle of San Juan Hill. With the victory, Roosevelt became a national hero. That autumn, he was elected governor of New York. In 1901, he became vice president of the United States. When President McKinley was assassinated in September 1901, Roosevelt became the youngest president in American history.

Philippines War

The people of the Philippines were happy that the United States had pushed out Spain. But once the Spanish-American War ended, many Filipinos thought that the United States, too, should leave. But the United States did not leave. Instead, the United States appointed Americans to take charge of the Philippines. And in 1901, future president William Howard Taft became the governor of the Philippines. In response, Filipino rebels fought American troops. From 1899 to 1902, American soldiers in the Philippines battled with Filipinos who wanted to take back their island from American rule. The Philippines War was far more deadly than the Spanish-American War had been. It took the lives...
of some 4,200 Americans and perhaps as many as 200,000 Filipinos. And it was only in 1946, after the end of the Second World War, that the Philippines gained its independence from the United States.

**Find Out the Facts**
Research how the Philippines gained its independence from the United States.

**Building the Panama Canal:**
“Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick”

Teddy Roosevelt was fond of the West African proverb “Speak softly and carry a big stick.” During his presidency, Roosevelt added ships to the United States Navy, one element of the nation’s expanding military force. In 1907, Roosevelt ordered a group of American battleships—dubbed the Great White Fleet because they had been painted white—to set sail on a year’s voyage around the world. In doing so, he demonstrated that the United States had a powerful navy—a “big stick”—that could be used to protect American interests if the need arose.

As president, Roosevelt supported building a canal across the Isthmus of Panama to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The difficulty was that the country of Colombia claimed the isthmus as its own, and the Colombian government did not want the United States to build the canal. Roosevelt sent a U.S. gunboat to the isthmus to support a group of locals who founded the new country of Panama on the isthmus. President Roosevelt then negotiated for U.S. control of a ten-mile-wide stretch of land across the fifty-mile-long Canal Zone, later boasting, “I took the Canal Zone.” And after years of grueling hard work by thousands of workers, some of whom died while helping dig the canal, the Panama Canal was opened in 1914. The new canal shortened a ship’s journey from the East Coast to the West Coast by thousands of miles. Before the Panama Canal, ships had to sail all the way around South America. Now, they could take the much shorter journey across the Isthmus of Panama.

**Think Twice**
Considering the location of the Panama Canal, why might the United States have wanted the building of the canal to go ahead?

**Find Out the Facts**
Research the recent developments and expansion of the Panama Canal.
Another element in Roosevelt’s “big stick” diplomacy was the Roosevelt Corollary. In 1904, the president declared that the United States could—and would—unilaterally intervene in the affairs of the countries of the Caribbean, Central America, and South America as a “police power.” A corollary is a statement that follows from and is added to an earlier statement. In this case, Roosevelt was adding to the Monroe Doctrine. In 1823, President Monroe had said that the United States would not tolerate further European expansion in the Western Hemisphere. That statement became known as the Monroe Doctrine, and the Roosevelt Corollary expanded it to specify that the United States would be a police power in the matter.

On June 28, 1914, in the southern European city of Sarajevo, a Serbian terrorist assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and his wife, Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was at the time the most powerful political force in this region. The assassination set off a chain of events that resulted in World War I. The war, also called “The Great War,” lasted from 1914 to 1918. It was the deadliest war in history up to that time. Some twenty million people, both soldiers and civilians, died in the war.

Causes of World War I
The causes of World War I included nationalism, militarism, imperialism, and interlocking alliances.

Vocabulary

- nationalism, n. a feeling of pride in one’s nation
- militarism, n. the building up of a strong military
- “interlocking alliances” (phrase), a system in which countries agree to help each other when one of them is attacked
Nationalism is a feeling of pride in one’s nation—its people, culture, and interests. When feelings of nationalism become intense, people can become aggressive in promoting their nation’s interests to the detriment of the interests of other nations. And it was an aggressive nationalism that was one contributing cause of the Great War.

A system of interlocking alliances between countries across Europe was another cause of the war. An alliance system is when countries agree to help each other in the event that one of them is attacked. The alliance system was made up of two groups. On one side of the war were the Central Powers—Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria. On the other side of the conflict were the Allied Powers—France, Britain, Russia, and Japan. (In 1915, Italy switched from siding with the Central Powers to siding with the Allied Powers.) The United States formally joined the Allies in April 1917.

Militarism was another cause of the war. Militarism is when a country builds up a strong military. And in the years before the outbreak of World War I, the major European powers modernized their armies and navies with new ships and new deadly weapons. In Germany, and in several other European countries, there was also a well-established culture of militarism. Military officers were celebrated in government and admired by many people in their country.

Imperialism was, of course, another cause of the war. As we saw earlier in this chapter, imperialism is when one nation seizes control of a foreign territory and rules over it. By the time World War I began, the great powers of Europe—the most powerful of the European countries—had colonized much of the world, and some countries wanted to expand their colonial holdings even further by taking control of other countries’ imperial colonial possessions.

**Vocabulary**

**Central Powers**, n. the alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria during World War I  
**Allied Powers**, n. the alliance of France, Britain, Russia, and Japan during World War I

**The War Begins**

The war began in Europe in July 1914. It began with a cascading series of events that, for many people in the United States and around the world, seemed like a whirlwind of actions.
After the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, the powerful Austria-Hungary gained support from Germany and declared war on Serbia. But Russia was Serbia’s ally, and it took Serbia’s side. When Austria-Hungary continued its attacks on Serbia, the leader of Russia, Czar Nicholas II, called for the full mobilization of the Russian military. Russia and Austria-Hungary were at war.

Full mobilization was a big step for the Russians. It meant that many thousands of men had to report for military duty, and it meant that horses, carts, wagons, and other materials that were, in peacetime, used to do ordinary work on a farm or in a town had to be mobilized into the service of Russia’s military. When Germany learned that Russia had called for the full mobilization of its troops, Germany decided to mobilize its army.

Vocabulary

mobilization, n. the process of preparing to fight a war or take other collective action

Then Germany did something unexpected. Germany declared war on France, and the German army marched through Belgium, intent on invading France! As German troops entered Belgium on August 4, 1914, Britain immediately declared war on Germany. The invasion of France through Belgium was part of a plan called the Schlieffen Plan.

Find Out the Facts

Research more about the Schlieffen Plan and what it involved.

The Belgians and the French were taken off guard. The countries did their best to fight Germany’s soldiers as they advanced through Belgium and into northern France. The British sent soldiers to France to help the French army fight the Germans.

Germany’s plan was to fight this war on two fronts—the western front and the eastern front. The western front was a stretch of land that crossed France and Belgium and continued from the Swiss border to the North Sea. The eastern front stretched from the Baltic Sea across large areas of eastern Europe.

This photograph shows Belgian soldiers resting after a fight with German soldiers. Although Belgium’s small army bravely resisted the invasion on August 4, 1914, it was soon overrun by the huge German force opposing it.
On the western front, the fighting quickly bogged down into trench warfare. Soldiers on both sides dug many miles of trenches. Some of the trenches were muddy, rat-infested, and unsanitary. But others were well-built, with reinforced walls and areas of shelter that protected soldiers against inclement weather and, to some extent, against the heavy enemy artillery shells they were bombarded with.

The technological innovations of the Second Industrial Revolution were put to full use. Mass production in factories that in peacetime produced goods that improved people’s standards of living, were now turned to building efficient and effective weapons of death. Such weapons included quick-fire and heavy artillery, tanks, barbed wire, machine guns, poison gas, airplanes, and submarines.

Find Out the Facts
Research what trench warfare entailed and what life was like for soldiers in the trenches.

Writers’ Corner
Imagine you are a soldier in a trench on the western front. Write a letter home describing your experience.
As a result of technological advancements, the scale of losses of soldiers and civilians on both sides was unlike anything ever seen before in human history. It was mass, industrial-scale **carnage**. In previous wars, many soldiers viewed the opportunity to fight as a way to show courage, strength, and even gain glory. But World War I would prove to be different. Machine guns and artillery shells meant that most soldiers killed in the war never saw the enemy close up. Battlefields became killing fields, strewn with war dead who had been shot long range by machine-gun fire, poisoned by gas canisters launched from far away, or shattered by the explosion of an artillery shell in a trench. The numbers of war dead and wounded were staggering.

At the Battle of the Marne in September 1914, the British and French stopped the German advance on Paris, but at a grave human toll. British and French wounded or dead numbered around 263,000. Germany suffered some 220,000 soldiers injured or killed. During a five-month battle at Verdun in 1916, 600,000 French and German soldiers died. Later that same year, in the Battle of the Somme, combined casualties topped one million. As the war dragged on, it became a battle of **attrition** in which each side hoped to wear down the enemy by inflicting continuous losses of soldiers, equipment, and supplies. Many thousands of soldiers, though

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**Vocabulary**

- **carnage,** n. the killing of a large number of people; slaughter
- **attrition,** n. the act of wearing down by inflicting continuous losses
they lived, had to have a leg or an arm amputated or suffered other injuries. Many soldiers suffered “shell shock” from the emotional or psychological traumas soldiers may experience in war. Today, we call that trauma **post-traumatic stress disorder**, or PTSD.

**Vocabulary**

**post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), n.** a psychological response to a highly upsetting and stressful event or series of events, such as a natural disaster, combat in war, or violence

In this way, after the war ended, an entire generation of young soldiers and others who had fought in the war were considered the “lost generation.” They were lost both because so many had been killed in the war and because many who survived suffered from PTSD. These survivors returned from war disoriented, dispirited, and directionless.

The British poet and World War I soldier Wilfred Owen described the horror of war, and in particular the trenches, in his poem “Dulce et Decorum est.” Owen died one week before the end of World War I. The poem was published after his death.

*Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,*  
*Knock-kneed, coughing like hags,*  
*we cursed through sludge,*  
*Till on the haunting flares*  
*we turned our backs,*  
*And towards our distant rest began to trudge.*  
*Men marched asleep.*  
*Many had lost their boots,*  
*But limped on, blood-shod.*  
*All went lame; all blind;*  
*Drunk with fatigue; deaf even to the hoots*  
*Of gas-shells dropping softly behind.*

**United States’ Neutrality at the Beginning of World War I**

Within days of the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1914, President Woodrow Wilson declared that Americans would do well to remain “impartial in thought as well as in action.” Most Americans agreed.

People in the United States read newspaper accounts of the events in Europe with amazement. But Europe, three thousand miles across the ocean, was far away, and many Americans thought that there was no reason for the United States to be drawn into a European war.

However, as the war in Europe dragged on, the United States came into repeated conflict with Germany. In April 1917, that conflict would lead the United States to declare war.
In May 1915, a German submarine torpedoed and sank the British ocean liner *Lusitania* off the coast of Ireland. Of the 1,198 passengers who died, 128 were Americans. President Wilson was outraged, and the United States demanded and received an apology from Germany. In addition, Germany pledged to stop its unrestricted submarine warfare in the Atlantic by the next year.

In January 1917, however, Germany announced that it would again begin unrestricted submarine warfare. It would sink ships—including American ships—that its submarines encountered off the British coast.

And then, two months later, in March 1917, the British made public the Zimmermann Telegram, a German telegram that British intelligence officers had intercepted and decoded. The Zimmermann Telegram, sent by German foreign minister Arthur Zimmermann, called upon Mexico to join in an alliance with Germany. It said that if Mexico would side with Germany, the Germans would help Mexico regain territories it had lost in the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848. Those territories included Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico.

Together, the Zimmermann Telegram and Germany’s renewed submarine warfare led President Wilson to conclude that it was time to join the war. It was time for the United States to join the Allies in the fight against Germany.

On April 2, 1917, in a speech before Congress, President Wilson called upon Congress to declare war on Germany. In his speech, Wilson said, “The world must be made safe for democracy.” Congress agreed and voted in support of declaring war. U.S. neutrality had ended. The United States was at war.

If the United States was going to fight in World War I, it would need a large army. So Woodrow Wilson’s government decided to institute a **draft**. The draft meant that young men were required to register with the federal government. And then, because it needed millions of young men for the war, the government drafted into the armed forces some of these young men.

**Find Out the Facts**
Research why German submarines were targeting American ships.
Wartime Propaganda

With the United States at war, President Wilson created a new government organization, the Committee on Public Information (CPI). Led by George Creel, the CPI set out to present Americans with information about how they could contribute to America’s war effort. Creel and those who worked with him recruited thousands of “Four Minute Men,” men who gave short, four-minute speeches in support of America’s war effort. “Four Minute Men” spoke across America on street corners, in movie theaters, in churches, and in other places where people gathered.

The CPI also distributed posters in support of America’s war effort to be displayed in stores, banks, and post offices. There were posters of all sorts. One poster, appealing to young men, read, “Uncle Sam Wants You to Join the Army.” Another poster portrayed a German soldier as a giant, vicious, bloodthirsty ape on the attack. In these short speeches and posters, as well as in movies and pamphlets and in other ways, the United States government undertook an active propaganda campaign to build support and enthusiasm for America’s involvement in the war.

Along with the efforts of the CPI, the American songwriter George Cohan sought to inspire excitement and support for America’s war effort. In 1917, the year the United States entered World War I, Cohan wrote a song he titled “Over There.” By “over there,” he meant in Europe. It was a patriotic and popular song, though its critics said that it glorified war. The song sought to inspire young American men to join the U.S. Army and fight against the Germans. The song’s chorus went as follows:

Over there, over there,
Send the word, send the word over there
That the Yanks are coming,
    the Yanks are coming
The drums rum-tumming everywhere.
So prepare, say a prayer,
Send the word, send the word to beware—
We’ll be over, we’re coming over,
And we won’t come back till it’s over,
    over there

“The Yanks” refers to American soldiers, and “Over There” was a song sung in the Second World War as well.

Think Twice
How might the efforts of the CPI have helped encourage the war effort?
Pacifists and Peace Groups

Some peace groups and pacifists opposed America’s entry into the war. Some pacifists opposed all wars. Others opposed the idea that young American men were being sent “over there” to fight in a war that had nothing to do with the United States’ interests.

Vocabulary

pacifist, n. someone who opposes war and violence and refuses to participate

Jane Addams helped form the Woman’s Peace Party, an organization that urged a peaceful, negotiated end to the fighting in Europe. And some young men opposed the war out of sincerely held religious or moral beliefs. They declared themselves “conscientious objectors.” Conscientious objectors said that their beliefs, their conscience, would be the guide for their personal actions. They refused to fight in the war, but it was against the law to refuse to be drafted into military service. Conscientious objectors could be sent to jail if, after being drafted into military service, they refused to join the armed forces.

Women and Black Americans

Large numbers of men left their jobs to serve in the United States armed forces. So women stepped up and took up jobs in war industries. They assembled bombs and built airplanes and ships. Women made bandages, sold war bonds, worked in manufacturing, served as trolley car conductors, worked as office clerks, and much more.

Think Twice

How might the need for women to go to work and help the war effort during this period have contributed to their place in the workforce today?

A number of women worked on shipbuilding at the Puget Sound Navy Yard in Washington.

In the “Great Migration,” thousands of Black Americans left the South and migrated to Northern and Western cities to take up jobs in steel mills, coal mines, automotive factories, and food processing plants. In cities such as Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Detroit, Black Americans
found both economic and social opportunities that had been unavailable to them in the South.

One Black American migrant from Alabama wrote home to a friend about Chicago in June 1917: “Dear Old Friend: . . . I thought I would write you a few . . . facts of the present condition of the north. . . . People are coming here every day and are finding employment. Nothing here but money and it is not hard to get. . . . I have children in school every day with the white children.”

Another letter home, from a Black migrant worker living in Akron, Ohio, proclaimed, “Dear Friend, I am well and hope you are well. I am getting along fine. . . . The people are coming from the south every week[;] the colored people are making good. . . . I have made a great many white friends. . . . Write me.”

**Liberty Bonds**

Many Americans bought “Liberty bonds” to help fund the war. If you purchased a Liberty bond, you gave money to the U.S. government, and the government would pay you back with a small amount of interest after the war. Rallies large and small were held across the country to urge people to buy Liberty bonds to help fund the cost of the war.

Two million American soldiers traveled by ship to Europe as part of what was called the American Expeditionary Force. Fighting under the leadership of General “Black Jack” Pershing, the Americans ended the stalemate and turned the tide of the war.

The arrival of American troops in France was decisive. *Decisive* means that the United States’ entry into the war—its troop force in Europe—was central to the defeat of Germany in 1918.
W. E. B. Du Bois, the Black American civil rights leader, urged Black people to serve in the military: “Let us, while this war lasts . . . close our ranks, shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy.” Thousands of Black Americans served in the United States armed forces in France during the war, though they were required to serve in segregated Black units.

Think Twice
What does the fact that there were segregated army units reveal about Black Americans’ rights at this time in the United States?

Death Toll

In the First World War, 53,400 American soldiers died in combat; another 63,000 died in noncombat deaths. In Europe, and in the fighting that occurred in some of the European colonies around the world, some nine million soldiers died. “War is hell,” General Sherman had said in the American Civil War—and in the First World War, it had certainly proved to be.

In 1918, while the war was raging in Europe, the assistant secretary of the navy, Franklin Roosevelt, toured the western front. Some years later, he recalled what he had witnessed there: “I have seen war. I have seen war on land and sea. I have seen blood running from the wounded. . . . I have seen the dead in the mud. I have seen cities destroyed. . . . I have seen children starving. I have seen the agony of mothers and wives. I hate war.”

Wilson’s Fourteen Points

President Wilson addressed Congress in January 1918. He proposed a fourteen-point program for European and world peace. In his Fourteen Points address, Wilson said the world must “be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly . . . made safe for every peace-loving nation.
which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression.” Wilson’s Fourteen Points included calls for freedom of the seas, restoration of territories, and a right to national self-determination. They also called for the creation of a “general association of nations.” This last point became the basis for the postwar League of Nations.

Armistice

The fighting in World War I was ended by an armistice. An armistice is an agreement among warring countries to stop fighting. And in the early morning of November 11, 1918, the Germans, French, and British agreed to stop fighting that very day, at eleven a.m. Guns were put down on all sides on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of the year 1918. There were great celebrations across America when people learned the war had ended. But, as we have seen, the suffering in the Great War had been incalculable. What, people asked, did the nations that fought each other have to show for all of the bloodshed? Very little, as it turned out. The war had settled almost nothing between the warring countries.

The boundaries of some European countries had been redrawn. But little else had been settled by the years of fighting.

Armistice Day in London, November 11, 1918

Treaty of Versailles

After the war ended, the Allies—France, Britain, the United States, and Italy—drew up a treaty called the Treaty of Versailles. A group of representatives from Germany signed the treaty in 1919, but it was very unpopular with the German people. The Treaty of Versailles insisted that Germany pay billions of dollars to “repair” the damages they had caused during the war.
The treaty also demanded that Germany accept full responsibility—“guilt”—for having started the war.

German anger and resentment about the terms of the Treaty of Versailles grew during the 1920s and into the 1930s. Many Germans thought the treaty was completely unfair. One thing that was very unpopular with the German people was that, year after year, the German government had to make reparation payments to Germany’s former enemies, France and Britain.

In the early 1930s, this anger would result in the rise to power in Germany of a man named Adolf Hitler. World War I had cost the lives of millions of people, but, tragically, Hitler would lead Germany into a second world war—World War II—in 1939, in which the death toll of innocent civilians would be over forty-five million.

Russia was a largely agrarian society made up of poor, struggling peasants. They were ruled over by Czar Nicholas II, a member of the royal Romanov family. The czar was out of touch with the people he ruled. When groups of peasants and workers petitioned or protested, calling upon the czar’s government to aid them in their plight of hunger and poverty, the czar was largely unresponsive. Bad harvests and increasing food prices had led to great hardships in Russia over a number of years, and many people were desperate. But their requests for help fell on deaf ears.

This discontent was not new. Discontent with czarist rule in Russia had been ongoing for many years before World War I. And in the middle of the war, a group of Bolshevik communists rose up and overthrew the Russian government.

Vocabulary

Bolshevik, adj. relating to the Russian political party that seized power during the Russian Revolution; sometimes used as slang for communist

communist, n. someone who believes in establishing an economic system based on community ownership of property and industry

The Bolshevik communists were led by Vladimir Lenin. Under Lenin’s leadership, the Bolsheviks captured the czar and his family, which included his wife, Alexandra.
Feodorovna, and their five children. After being placed under house arrest for a number of weeks, Czar Nicholas II and his entire family were executed on July 17, 1918.

The Bolsheviks declared themselves the rulers of Russia. Lenin announced that the Communist Party would rule over the Russian people as a “vanguard.” By this, Lenin meant that the Communist Party would impose its ideas of government and society on the peasants and workers of Russia. One thing the communists did was officially change the name of their country. Russia, now under communist rule, would be called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or, more simply, the Soviet Union.

**Find Out the Facts**
Research what happened to the Russian royal family in the lead-up to their capture and execution.

**Writers’ Corner**
Based on your research, write a paper on the last months and weeks of the Russian royal family.
Lenin and the Communist Party said they knew what was best for Russia. They would employ the ideas of Karl Marx and Lenin to rule the country and structure Russian society. While Lenin was alive—and then, after his death, under the rule of Josef Stalin—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union imposed its many ideas. The Russian communists followed Marx’s ideas and said that religion was a tool of oppression. That meant many communists were **atheists**. They believed that religion was a tool used by the capitalist class to oppress the people, so they shut down the churches and synagogues. Under Soviet rule, there was no religious freedom.

**Vocabulary**

**atheist**, n. a person who does not believe in a god or gods

In workplaces, instead of the private enterprise system (also called commercial society, the free market, or capitalism), the Soviets developed a centralized “command” economy. They said that they were going to turn decision-making in factories over to the workers themselves, using workers’ councils called soviets. In fact, the economy in the Soviet Union was “top down,” which means that the inner circle of the Soviet government in Moscow planned the economy and structured economic decisions from the central government. The soviets in the factories did not have control, and the people of the Soviet Union did not live in a free country.

The Bolsheviks took the land from wealthy landowners who had controlled it for generations. Under the new system, the Communist Party insisted on the “collectivization of agriculture.” This meant that individuals could not own their own farms. Instead, farming had to be done “collectively.”

When people in Russia opposed the ideas that Lenin and Stalin sought to impose on them—when, for example, groups of peasants said they did not want to form large farming collectives, but rather they wanted to own their own individual family farms—soldiers sent out from the Communist Party killed them. Life in Russia under the rule of the czars had been harsh, but millions of Russians also suffered terribly under the forced imposition of Communist Party rule.

**Writers’ Corner**

Select one topic from this chapter that you have not already written about, and write a poem, report, or play about it.
Chapter 4
America from the Twenties to the New Deal

The “Roaring Twenties” and the Great Depression

With the catastrophic First World War at an end, Americans looked ahead to what they hoped would be better times. The 1920s are often referred to as the Roaring Twenties, a time of expansive industrial growth and cultural change. For the first time, more Americans lived in towns and cities than lived in rural areas. And there arose, in cities especially, a vibrant, new, energetic culture of modernity: a culture of new ideas, new styles, and new ways of living.

Vocabulary

modernity, n. the state of being modern or up-to-date

The Big Question

What were the main events that occurred in the United States during the 1920s and 1930s?
The mass-market consumer culture flourished as the lives of millions of Americans were transformed by an increasing abundance of automobiles, telephones, radios, motion pictures, and electrical appliances. New urban fashions and lifestyles emerged, among them young women called flappers and a new, energetic dance called the Charleston. It was also known as the Jazz Age—a decade in which jazz music gained wide popularity.

Find Out the Facts
Research the growing popularity of jazz in the 1920s and its influence on modern music.
During the First World War, the federal government had imposed wartime economic controls on the economy. But in 1920, Warren G. Harding was elected president of the United States, and Harding said it was time for the nation to return “to normalcy.” By “normalcy,” the new president meant in part a return to a time of less government involvement in the economy. “We want,” he said, “less government in business.”

Throughout much of the 1920s, the economy grew. Increasing numbers of Americans participated in lifestyles of plenty. At the same time, forty percent of the nation lived in poverty, and some areas of the economy—textiles and agriculture especially—stagnated or declined. Millions of Americans, in both rural and urban settings, remained poor and, having little money, were unable to participate in the expanding consumer culture. The stock market crash of 1929 would bring an end to the era’s “roar.” The decade that followed, the 1930s, would bring years of hardship in the Great Depression.

A Booming Economy

In 1922, the United States emerged from the economic downturn that had followed the end of the First World War. For the next seven years, the nation’s economy boomed. By 1929, industrial workers’ real wages were up by a third, and the economy had grown overall by forty percent.

The assembly line was one of the innovations incorporated into the manufacturing process. Assembly line production increased the speed with which products could be made, and it lowered the cost of those products. Assembly line production traces its roots back to 1913, the year in which Henry Ford introduced the moving assembly line in his Detroit, Michigan, automobile assembly plant. Ford’s moving assembly line brought the cars to workers as they stood at their stations. This reduced the time it took to build a car. Ford was able to raise his workers’ wages from two dollars and forty cents a day to five dollars a day.

Vocabulary

moving assembly line, n. a mechanical system in which a product moves through stages and workers each add a different part to it

assembly plant, n. a factory in which cars, machines, or other products are put together
And by the 1920s, Ford’s assembly line had been adopted in mass production facilities across the country.

At the same time, the United States was producing forty percent of the world’s manufactured goods. As productivity rose, wages rose. As wages rose, families had more money to buy more things—and in turn, the increased demand for goods and services put more people to work.

For much of the 1920s, led by Ford Motors and by General Motors, the automobile industry was the nation’s economic powerhouse. By 1929, half of all American families owned a car. The nation’s growing car culture helped the economy grow. As more Americans drove cars, the need for government expenditure on new roads, bridges, and traffic lights increased. Employment in the private sector grew as more and more restaurants and gas and service stations opened. Bankers benefited by making car loans, and the automobile insurance industry grew. The hospitality industry also grew as more people traveled for business or vacation and stayed in motels and hotels. Able to commute to work in their cars, increasing numbers of Americans moved to the suburbs.

**Find Out the Facts**
Research the range of hourly or daily wages people received in a number of professions in the early 1900s compared to today.

**Find Out the Facts**
Find out what percentage of the world’s manufactured goods the United States produces today.

**Think Twice**
How did America’s growing car culture transform the way people lived?
The 1920s were also a time when electric power reached many homes. Wires strung on telephone poles ran along newly paved roads and into homes and businesses. New electrical appliances filled millions of homes: radios, record players, vacuum cleaners, electric lights, electric fans, electric irons, and refrigerators. Electricity brought new jobs. Industries arose to service and repair appliances. Without radios, there had been no radio announcers or radio station managers. But in the 1920s, scores of local radio stations sprang up across the country. The 1920s also saw the increasing installation of telephones in homes and businesses, and tens of thousands of telephone operators—most of them women—were hired to connect people’s calls.

Mass Entertainment Culture and New Firsts

The first radio station, KDKA, broadcasting out of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, went on the air in 1920. By the decade’s end, millions of radios were in use across the country. As broadcast networks grew, Americans isolated in remote rural areas could listen to the same music and the same radio as those who lived in suburbs and cities. One popular show was the comedy series Amos ‘n’ Andy. As radio became a more universal experience, it contributed to a growing common national popular culture.

In the 1920s, a hundred million records were sold each year, making singers such as Bessie Smith, Bing Crosby, Eddie Cantor, and Al Jolson and musicians such as the trumpet-playing virtuoso Louis Armstrong household names.

Think Twice

How might the increasing number of broadcast networks have benefited people living in rural areas?

Motion pictures—the movies—were another important part of popular culture in the decade. When movies were invented in the 1890s, they had been “silent films.” In some theaters, a pianist would play music to accompany action on the screen, but movies themselves did not have sound. In 1927, however, with the addition of new technology, soundtracks were placed along the edge of the celluloid film, and the pictures and sounds were synced. The modern era of “talking pictures” had begun. People young and old loved the movies. By 1929, ninety million people went to the movies each week!

Vocabulary

virtuoso, n. a musician or artist with great skill

celluloid film, n. a strip of transparent plastic used for recording images that can be projected on a screen
This was also the decade in which the first cultural celebrities we call “movie stars” were “born.” Among the famous movie stars of the 1920s were Charlie Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks, Gloria Swanson, John Barrymore, and Mary Pickford.

Charlie Chaplin had risen to international fame in the era of silent films. He was most famous for his role as the Tramp—a bumbling, good-hearted fellow who wore a bowler hat and oversized shoes and twirled a cane. The Tramp confronted, most often with manners and dignity, various frustrating circumstances in modern industrializing urban society.

Will Rogers was another celebrity of the era. Rogers made dozens of films, wrote a widely read syndicated newspaper column, and traveled the globe. He made people laugh. And he made people think. Among his sayings were:

“I never met a man I didn’t like.”
“I am not a member of any organized political party. I am a Democrat.”
“Good judgment comes from experience, and a lot of that comes from bad judgment.”
“Advertising is the art of convincing people to spend money they don’t have for something they don’t need.”

Professional sports, especially baseball and boxing, grew in popularity in the 1920s. Fans grew to know the life stories and the career successes of sports icons such as Babe Ruth. “The Babe,” as Ruth was nicknamed, was a multitalented, home-run-hitting baseball player who played for the New York Yankees.

Charles Lindbergh became an overnight international celebrity after he completed...
his solo nonstop flight from New York to Paris in 1927. Flying in his single-engine airplane, the Spirit of St. Louis, for more than thirty hours across the Atlantic Ocean, Lindbergh landed outside the city of Paris to a cheering crowd. Weeks later, upon his return to New York, “Lucky Lindy” was celebrated with a grand ticker-tape parade on Broadway. Hundreds of thousands of people attended.

A few years after Lindbergh’s flight, Amelia Earhart became the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean. Earhart set many other flight records as well, including being the first woman to fly solo nonstop across the United States from the West Coast to the East Coast. Amelia Earhart was well known, too, as the author of best-selling books about her flying experiences. She died, along with her navigator, during their effort to circumnavigate the globe by air. Their plane went down over the Pacific Ocean.

Find Out the Facts
Find out more about Charles Lindbergh and Amelia Earhart.

Writers’ Corner
Using your research on Charles Lindbergh and Amelia Earhart, write a report about some of the striking events that occurred in their lives.
The Harlem Renaissance

The Great Migration of Black Americans from the rural South into the cities of the North, Midwest, and West had taken off during the First World War. With European immigration all but stopped during the war, and with many young American men having left their jobs to serve in the military, hundreds of thousands of Black Americans had moved northward for economic opportunities. That northward migration continued in the 1920s. Almost a million Black people migrated from the American South to New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and other cities. Often, Black people left behind the legal segregation and dire poverty of sharecropping and other low-paying jobs in the South and found improved opportunities in Northern cities. In the North, however, Black Americans continued to confront race prejudice and discrimination in jobs, housing, and in other ways.

A new urban Black culture emerged in Northern cities. By the 1920s, Harlem, in New York City, functioned as something of a city within a city. Harlem was home to some two hundred thousand Black Americans, many from the South and others recent immigrants from the West Indies. It was in 1920s Harlem that a literary and artistic movement called the Harlem Renaissance emerged. Writers of the Harlem Renaissance celebrated Black lives and achievement even as they mourned the plight of and discussed the path forward for Black Americans.

Countee Cullen was a central figure in the Harlem Renaissance. Cullen grew up in New York City from the age of nine and won prizes in high school for his poetry and speeches. At New York University, and later at Harvard University, Cullen honed his craft as a writer. In his poem “Heritage,” Cullen explores the meaning of Black Americans’ African origins. The first and last lines of the first stanza of the poem are “What is Africa to me?”

Find Out the Facts
Read the entire poem entitled “Heritage,” by Countee Cullen.

Langston Hughes grew up in the Midwest. He made his way to New York City as a young man, studied for a time at Columbia University, and was a central figure of the Harlem Renaissance. His life’s calling, he
said, was “to explain and illuminate the Negro condition in America.” In a poem he wrote later in his life, “Harlem,” Hughes movingly asks, “What happens to a dream deferred?”

Zora Neale Hurston’s writing drew on her anthropological interest in Black American life and folklore—an interest she explored as an undergraduate at Barnard College in New York City. Her novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* is considered a classic of the Harlem Renaissance. In the novel, Hurston tells the heartrending story of Janie Crawford’s “ripening from a vibrant, but voiceless, teenage girl into a woman with her finger on the trigger of her own destiny.”

It was during these same years that jazz greats Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong rose to fame for their upbeat jazz music. They played in venues such as Harlem’s Cotton Club, on 142nd Street and Lenox Avenue. It was also during this time that Marcus Garvey promoted the radical ideas of his Pan-Africanist and Black nationalist movement. Garvey’s movement, in part, called upon Black Americans to repatriate to Africa.

**Vocabulary**

*repatriate*, v. to return to one’s country of origin

**Find Out the Facts**

Select one of the Black American authors or musicians mentioned here, and find out more about their work and their life.

**Writers’ Corner**

Write a poem, song, or short story about your ancestry or cultural background.

Zora Neale Hurston was an author, anthropologist, and filmmaker who highlighted racial struggles in the American South.
The Lost Generation

A group of young American artists and writers became disillusioned with life in the United States. They moved to Paris, France, in the 1920s and became known as the Lost Generation. The group included Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein, and F. Scott Fitzgerald.

Though not a member of the lost generation, Sinclair Lewis won acclaim for his 1922 novel Babbitt. The novel portrayed elements of middle-class American life and conformity. It, along with his other work, helped Lewis become the first American to win the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1930.

Prohibition

The Roaring Twenties were a time when Prohibition and gangsters were in the news. In 1919, following the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, it became illegal to manufacture, sell, or transport “intoxicating liquors.” Intoxicating liquors are alcoholic drinks that can make a person drunk. For many years, organizations, including a number of women’s organizations, had worked to achieve Prohibition. They urged that people’s lives would be improved if they did not drink. But new laws can have unintended consequences, and that was the case with the Eighteenth Amendment. People who were unable to purchase alcohol legally turned to bootleggers. Speakeasies and other illegal outlets sold alcohol from bootleggers and underground networks of gangsters.

Selling booze made money, and rival gangs fought each other for control of the cities. The most famous gangster of the 1920s was Al Capone. He was said to have hundreds of gunmen, and half of Chicago’s police force, on his payroll. On February 14, 1929—Valentine’s Day—a group of men believed to be members of Al Capone’s gang gunned down members of “Bugs” Moran’s rival gang in a Chicago warehouse. The murderous attack was dubbed the St. Valentine’s Day Massacre.

Vocabulary

prohibition, n. the prevention of something, such as the sale of alcoholic beverages

gangster, n. a member of a criminal organization

bootlegger, n. someone who supplies illegal alcoholic beverages

speakeasy, n. a nightclub where illegal beverages are sold
The 1920s were a time of robust international trade and cultural exchange with Europe. But the 1920s were also a time in which the United States adopted a strict isolationist sentiment with regard to foreign policy—especially with regard to military and political involvement in Europe. Americans were reluctant to become involved in military or political affairs in Europe, in large part because of the consequences of America’s involvement in Europe during the First World War. When Americans of the 1920s and 1930s looked back on their nation’s involvement in that war, many remembered the war as a time of loss and broken promises. Many in Congress and across the nation came to believe that President Wilson had needlessly dragged the nation into war. As Americans surveyed the accomplishments of World War I, they saw little but that some national boundaries in far-off Europe had been redrawn in the war’s aftermath.

They also saw that the treaty that had ended the war, the Treaty of Versailles, was flawed. It had imposed war reparations on Germany. It had also demanded that Germany accept responsibility for having started the war. But such impositions were giving rise to anger and resentment in Germany. Complicating matters, the United States had refused to join the League of Nations—an international effort that had been proposed by President Wilson.

U.S. isolationism in the 1920s and 1930s would have powerful consequences. After Adolf Hitler rose to power in Germany in 1933, he correctly calculated that the United States would sit on the sidelines as he engaged in ever more aggressive violations of the Versailles Treaty.

**Vocabulary**

*isolationist*, adj. displaying a reluctance to enter international affairs

*reparations*, n. compensation given for damages

*League of Nations*, n. an organization formed by members of the Allied Powers immediately after World War I

**Find Out the Facts**

Research why the terms of the Treaty of Versailles caused growing anger and resentment in Germany.
Restrictions on Immigration

In 1921 and 1924, Congress limited the number of immigrants who could enter the United States. It imposed country-by-country limits designed to restrict the flow of “undesirable” immigrants. Congress focused especially on restricting entry to immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. The 1924 immigration-restriction law imposed quotas, or numbers of immigrants allowed to enter the United States, based on the numbers of different ethnic groups living in the United States in 1890. In 1890, the number of people living in the United States from southern and eastern Europe was comparatively low. This was largely because it was after 1890 that most immigrants from countries in those areas of Europe had come to the United States.

Rising Tensions

Fear that radicals were seeking to promote revolution in the United States led to a widespread “Red Scare” in 1919 and 1920. Both the Russian Revolution and a series of postwar labor strikes in the United States contributed to growing tensions that had given rise to the Red Scare. The spark for the scare was the discovery of thirty-six packages containing dynamite-filled bombs. They had been mailed to prominent politicians, judges, government officials, newspaper editors, and businessmen—including John D. Rockefeller. Most of the bombs were discovered by the post office before they were delivered. But one, mailed from New York City to the Atlanta home of a former United States senator, exploded as a maid opened it. The maid and the senator’s wife were severely injured.

Think Twice

Why was this period of tension and unrest referred to as a Red Scare?

In November 1919 and January 1920, under the leadership of U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, some five thousand people were arrested and more than five hundred were deported. In these “Palmer Raids,” government officials rounded up anarchists, communists, and labor activists. Many of those arrested were recent Italian and eastern European immigrants.

In September 1920, several months after the Palmer Raids, a bomb exploded on Wall Street in the heart of New York City’s financial district. The blast killed forty people and injured many more. The person who planted the bomb was never discovered, but the bombing added to tensions surrounding the Red Scare.
The next summer, in 1921, an armed robbery occurred in Braintree, Massachusetts. Italian immigrants Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were convicted and sentenced to death for the murders of a guard and a paymaster. Sacco and Vanzetti were known **anarchists**. But many people thought the evidence that they had murdered the two victims was unconvincing. For the next six years, protests in support of Sacco and Vanzetti took place around the world. But in 1927, after exhausting their legal appeals, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed. Today, their case remains a symbol of the tensions surrounding issues of radicalism and immigration in the 1920s.

**Vocabulary**

**anarchist**, n. a person who rebels against or works to disrupt an established authority, usually a government or an economic system

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**The Ku Klux Klan**

In the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan expanded its hate-filled message to include anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-immigrant, and anti-Black views. Klan members held that native white Protestants were the true Americans. Ku Klux Klan members wore pointed white hoods that covered their faces, and they burned Christian crosses at hate-filled gatherings in which they denounced new immigrants, Catholics, Jews, and Black Americans.

**The Great Depression and the Stock Market Crash**

The Great Depression was the longest and most severe economic downturn in American history. It was characterized by reduced industrial output, bank failures, high unemployment, and increased poverty. It began with the **stock market crash** of 1929 and ended in the late 1930s. By 1933, more than five thousand banks had failed, and the unemployment rate stood at twenty-five percent. From the Great Depression’s beginning in 1929 until his presidential term ended in
March 1933, President Herbert Hoover sought to address the economic collapse with a limited government response. He believed that the economy would pull out of recession and begin to grow again—as it had done so many other times in the business cycles in the past. President Hoover believed that direct government involvement in the economy would only make people dependent on the government. Of course, in 1929, no one had a crystal ball. People did not know the economy was entering a decade-long economic downturn.

But as 1929 turned into 1930, and 1931 gave way to 1932, the economy was not improving—in fact, it was getting worse. In 1932, President Hoover did embrace limited government activism. His Reconstruction Finance Corporation authorized the federal government to lend two billion dollars to banks, railroads, and other private companies. That same year, he authorized three hundred million dollars for the first federally funded relief and public works projects in American history. But these efforts, in the eyes of many people, were too little and too late. The economy remained in the doldrums.

The Great Depression was, in part, sparked by the stock market crash that began on “Black Tuesday,” October 29, 1929. That day, panic rocked the stock market as stock prices plummeted. In the months before the stock market crash, people who bought stocks had pushed stock prices higher and higher in a speculative frenzy. Stock prices in late October 1929 were nearly double what they had been only a year and a half earlier. And over the months following Black Tuesday, stock prices fell further. It was not until 1932 that the stock market hit bottom. By then, many stocks had lost ninety percent of their value. Shares of General Motors, for example, had sold for seventy-three dollars before the crash. In 1932, the same stocks sold for eight dollars a share. The stock market crash bankrupted many individual investors, and it collapsed corporate wealth as well.

The broader American economy collapsed, too. From 1929 to 1933, the U.S. economy shrank by more than a third, as measured by GDP (gross domestic product).

**Vocabulary**

**GDP (gross domestic product), n.** the value of all goods and services produced in one country during a specific period, usually a year or part of a year.

**Think Twice**

Why was President Hoover reluctant to involve government in a time of great crisis in America?

**Find Out the Facts**

Research why rapidly rising and then falling stock prices caused the stock market to crash.
The Great Depression began with the stock market crash. But there were other causes, too. They included overproduction, bank failures, tariff policy, and the Federal Reserve’s monetary policy—a policy that had embraced an overly tight money supply.

**Vocabulary**

- **tariff policy**, n. a plan or system of fees placed on imported goods
- **Federal Reserve**, n. the banking system of the United States government

By 1929, American corporations were manufacturing more goods than consumers could purchase. Supply outpaced demand. Businesses needed to lay off workers until the goods they had already produced were sold. But newly unemployed workers were suddenly without paychecks, and without those paychecks, they had no income. This reduction in consumer demand led to a downward-spiraling economy. As workers lost their jobs and could not buy goods or purchase services, that meant that even more factory and service workers were laid off. And as they curtailed their buying habits, even more people lost their jobs. It was a frightening economic situation. How high would unemployment go? And what, if anything, should the nation’s government do in this economic crisis?
In the 1920s, banks had invested their funds in corporate bonds and in loans to stock market speculators. But when the stock market collapsed, those loans and investments collapsed. More and more of the nation’s banks failed. Panicked depositors made a run on the banks. People lined up outside their banks, waiting to withdraw the money they had in their account. But banks simply ran out of money. They locked their doors. By 1933, more than five thousand banks had failed. And with those bank failures, millions of people lost their life savings.

As the Great Depression worsened, the Federal Reserve, instead of loosening the money supply by making more money available to flow through the economy, tightened the money supply by increasing the prime interest rate it charged member banks. The higher prime interest rate made it more difficult for businesses to borrow money. Some economists today believe that if the Federal Reserve had loosened rather than tightened monetary policy, the worst of the Great Depression might have been averted.

In 1930, Congress passed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff, which raised average tariff rates to nearly sixty percent. Congress had intended the new tariffs to help American businesses get back on their feet. They reasoned that if the federal government raised the price of imported goods by placing the new tariffs on those goods, American consumers would buy less expensive American-made goods. That would support American workers in American factories. The Hawley-Smoot Tariff, however, backfired. Other nations placed “retaliatory tariffs” on American-made goods. That meant that overseas, the prices for American-made goods were so high that they did not sell. Without having intended it, Congress’s Hawley-Smoot Tariff contributed to a collapse in international trade. The Great Depression had become a worldwide problem.

**Vocabulary**

**corporate bond**, n. a certificate from a business that promises interest paid on a loan

“**run on the banks**” (phrase), a time when many customers take their money out of banks for fear that the banks will fail

**prime interest rate**, n. the lowest amount of money charged by a bank for loans

**Think Twice**

How did retaliatory tariffs further contribute to the worsening economic depression?
By early 1933, almost thirteen million people in the United States were out of work. The unemployment rate stood at an astonishing twenty-five percent. The unemployed sold apples on street corners, stood in long breadlines, or begged for food. Those people who were able to keep their jobs often took large pay cuts. Unemployed and unable to pay their mortgages or rents, many people were evicted from their homes. Some homeless families pitched tents or put up shacks in shantytowns—nicknamed “Hoovervilles”—in public parks. “Hoover flags” was the name given to trouser pockets pulled out to signal empty pockets and the fact that a person had no money. “Hoover blankets” was the name given to newspapers the homeless used as “blankets” against the cold. A “Bonus Army” of seventeen thousand veterans of the First World War (many accompanied by family members) gathered in Washington, D.C., in mid-1932. They had come to ask that the federal government pay them the bonus they had been promised. But President Hoover directed the military to forcefully turn them away.

Think Twice
Why was the name Hoover used in the way described in this paragraph?

Find Out the Facts
Research what life was like for the unemployed during the Great Depression.

Writers’ Corner
Using your research, imagine you are a journalist living at this time who has been assigned to write a report on what it was like for those who struggled most during the Great Depression.
Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) was elected president in November 1932. When running for president, FDR had promised a New Deal for the American people. Initially, FDR was not sure what shape his “new deal” would take. But, with the help of advisers—many of them professors at Columbia University—FDR crafted a New Deal that consisted of a series of federal government programs intended to bring relief, recovery, and reform to the nation.

The New Deal marked a historic shift in the role of the federal government in the American economy and in the lives of the American people. FDR’s New Deal set the federal government on a new path of active involvement in the economy. It did this through job creation programs and through the creation of a variety of new federal agencies. By involving the federal government, FDR and the New Deal established the groundwork for the modern American social welfare system.

On March 4, 1933, in his first inaugural address, FDR sought to reassure the American people. He famously said, “The only thing we have to fear is fear itself.” As president, FDR approached the Great Depression with “bold, persistent experimentation.” His approach to governing was, as he said, to “take a method and try it.” If an idea or public policy did not work, he would discard it and try another. The New Deal was a series of experimental government programs, each of which was introduced to address an economic or social problem. Some of those government initiatives remain with us to this day as laws, agencies, and public policies.

As president, FDR delivered “fireside chats” over the radio. In his first fireside chat, he spoke directly to the American people and explained to them the actions he and Congress had taken to strengthen the nation’s banks.

The New Deal’s many federal government programs brought relief in the form of food and jobs to the unemployed. With billions of dollars in government
expenditures, FDR and Congress hoped to aid in the economy’s recovery. In all of this, FDR and the Democratic Party—with the support of moderate Republicans—expanded the role of the federal government in America’s economy and society and reshaped the nation’s political culture. With the New Deal’s many federal expenditures and new government agencies, Americans came increasingly to hold the view that the welfare of the nation’s citizens is a responsibility of the federal government.

The First New Deal (1933–1934)

FDR began his presidency with bold legislative action. In his first hundred days, from March through June 1933, Congress passed and FDR signed into law a broad range of initiatives in banking, industry, agriculture, and employment.

The Great Depression hit farmers especially hard. Successful new farming techniques, including new gas-powered tractors and combines, had resulted in farmers being able to produce more wheat, corn, cotton, and other crops. But farmers’ successful increase in crop output often did not lead to the increase in profits they expected. Instead, American farmers produced more crops and raised more livestock than they could profitably sell at market. In consequence, agricultural prices collapsed.

Banks **foreclosed** when farmers were unable to repay loans, and many thousands of farming families lost their farms to bank foreclosures. It was in this context that the federal government set out to help farmers. In May 1933, at FDR’s urging, Congress passed the New

**Vocabulary**

foreclose, v. to seize, or take, a property because of failure to pay the loan

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt delivering one of his thirty fireside chats in Washington, D.C., September 6, 1936
Deal’s Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA). The AAA increased agricultural prices by paying farmers who, following new government guidelines, did not plant crops on part of their land. The AAA also bought hogs from farmers and destroyed the animals. With less food available, prices increased. In this way, the federal government boosted agricultural prices and helped many farmers.

The federal government undertook a broad array of new initiatives. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) gave some three million young men federally funded jobs improving public lands, forests, and parks. The Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) supplied states with money to use to distribute food and hire workers. The National Recovery Act (NRA) established a federal agency that worked with employers to set prices and wages. Section 7(a) of the NRA’s codes protected collective bargaining rights for workers who wished to organize a union in their place of work.

The United States Banking Act of 1933 developed programs in support of the nation’s banking system. The Glass–Steagall Act separated commercial banking from investment banking and created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC). The FDIC, which exists to this day, guarantees individuals that the federal government will repay them in the event that their local FDIC-insured bank goes out of business.

In 1934, Congress created the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to protect investors. During the 1929 stock market crash, some unscrupulous firms sold their own stock holdings while at the same time encouraging their small investor clients to buy more stock. The SEC was established to stop such unfair trading practices. The SEC oversees the orderly and fair functioning of the stock market and other financial markets.

Another important early New Deal initiative was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). The TVA is a federal-government-owned corporation. The TVA built dams and power-generating stations along rivers in the rural southeastern United States. TVA-built dams helped with flood control. TVA water-powered hydroelectric generating plants supplied electricity to homes and businesses in most of Tennessee and in portions of Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia.

Think Twice
In times of great economic hardship, do you think the federal and local governments have a responsibility to assist people in need?
The second phase of the New Deal began in 1935. The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (NLRA), also called the Wagner Act, created the National Labor Relations Board. This independent agency of the federal government protects the rights of workers to form unions and to bargain with their employers. The act forbids employers from harassing or intimidating union organizers or union members. The new protections for union workers helped union membership grow in the 1930s and 1940s. By the 1950s, about one in three American workers was in a union.

The 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act sought to establish fair federal labor standards for working people. It mandated the forty-hour work week (with time-and-a-half for overtime), established a federal minimum wage, and restricted child labor.

The Social Security Act of 1935 was a big deal among the New Deal’s many initiatives. With it, President Roosevelt’s administration and Congress crafted one of the cornerstones of the modern federal social welfare system. The Social Security Act directly involves the federal government in Americans’ economic welfare.

The act requires working Americans to pay a portion of each paycheck into a federal social security fund. (Initially, this “payroll tax” was one percent; today, it is over twelve percent of working people’s compensation.) The Social Security Fund sends elderly, retired Americans money each month—money they can use to support themselves in their retired years. Other provisions of the act offer support for the blind, disabled, and unemployed and for impoverished single-parent families. Not all workers were initially covered by the act, including public school teachers and other state-level workers, farm workers, and housekeepers. Over time, the law has been amended to offer expanded supports. Today, just about everyone has a Social Security number. Because of this New Deal legislation, you (very likely) have one, too!

Find Out the Facts
Research what other countries provide by way of a social welfare system in comparison to the United States.
President Franklin Roosevelt’s wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, was an important figure in the White House. As a young woman, Eleanor Roosevelt had worked among the poor in a New York City settlement house. As First Lady, she served as a voice for those in need. She pressed the president for the creation of what became the National Youth Administration and for federally funded programs to support the arts and artists. She worked together with the NAACP in an unsuccessful effort to gain passage of a federal anti-lynching law. (FDR refused to support the bill.) Beginning in 1935, and for most of the rest of her life, she published a daily newspaper column titled *My Day*. She used that column to write about current events and a range of social issues.

First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt during a visit to a children’s hospital in Washington, D.C., in 1939
Roosevelt’s Court Strategy

Buoyed by his November 1936 reelection to a second term as president, in early 1937, FDR proposed legislation to “pack the court.” It was a major political misstep. FDR’s court-packing proposal sought to add an additional justice to the United States Supreme Court for each justice older than seventy. Under his proposal, the court could have grown from its traditional nine to as many as fifteen justices. FDR wanted to appoint new justices to the court in hopes that they would vote in favor of his New Deal legislation. But Americans from across the political spectrum were appalled by his proposal. They saw it as an attack on the Constitution’s checks and balances, in which the three branches of the federal government balance and check each other. FDR was trying to manipulate the judiciary. His court-packing plan did not succeed.

Vocabulary

“pack the court” (phrase), to add justices to the Supreme Court in order to have a political advantage

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about FDR’s court-packing proposal.

The Dust Bowl

During the 1930s, drought and dust storms turned a portion of the Great Plains into a “dust bowl.” This included areas of Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Nebraska. For years, farmers had been plowing up the native grasses of the plains. But those native grasses had held the soil in place for centuries. The dust bowl began in 1931, when the usual rains did not come. Year after year during the 1930s, parched and unanchored soil turned to dust. Windstorms picked up the loose dirt, turning it into giant clouds of dust. During dust storms, it could be difficult to see objects only a foot or two from your eyes. Everything, indoors and out, became covered in layers of dust. Giant dust clouds blackened the skies. At times, these clouds of dust reached East Coast cities such as New York and Washington, D.C. In Oklahoma and elsewhere on the Great Plains, tens of thousands of families were forced to abandon their farms. Called “Okies,” because many came from Oklahoma, these poverty-stricken migrants sought out work in California and other states. But this was the 1930s, and these states were undergoing their own economic troubles in the Great Depression.
Dorothea Lange was a photographer. She recorded the lives of dust bowl migrants in poignant photographs. John Steinbeck’s 1939 novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, movingly recounted the story of the Joad family as they made their way from Oklahoma to California in search of work. Woody Guthrie sang folk songs about “Okies.” His song “The Dust Bowl Blues” includes the lyrics “but when the dust gets high, you can’t even see the sky” and “I’ve seen the dust so black that I couldn’t see a thing.”

Find Out the Facts
Research why the excessive plowing up of native grasses on the Great Plains caused such an environmental disaster.

Find Out the Facts
Research what life was like on the Great Plains during this period that brought terrible dust storms.

Writers’ Corner
Using your dust bowl research, imagine you are living on the Great Plains at this time, and a severe dust storm has just occurred. Write a description of what it was like.

Dorothea Lange captured these drought refugees from Abilene, Texas, in 1936, as they set off for California to work in the fields there.
Union membership grew rapidly in the 1930s during the Great Depression. In 1935, John L. Lewis, longtime head of the United Mine Workers, organized the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The CIO is an umbrella organization of workers of different skill levels organized by the industry. This was a new way to organize workers. The American Federation of Labor, founded in 1886, had been organizing skilled workers into craft unions for decades. In 1955, the two organizations merged into today’s AFL-CIO.

Between 1936 and 1937, the United Auto Workers (UAW) held successful “sit-down strikes” in Cleveland, Ohio, and Flint, Michigan, against the General Motors automobile manufacturing company. The sit-down strikes catalyzed unionization in the auto industry. Within several months of the strikes, the UAW’s membership had grown to half a million members.

At times, labor actions turned violent. One such instance was the Memorial Day Massacre on May 30, 1937, when Chicago police shot and killed ten unarmed protesters during the Little Steel strike. Upton Sinclair and Voices of Protest

Unemployment and poverty during the Great Depression gave rise to voices of protest. Senator Huey Long of Louisiana promoted a “Share Our Wealth” campaign. Long sought massive increases in federal spending programs, an annual guaranteed family income, and a wealth tax.

Upton Sinclair’s novel *The Jungle* had led to the passage of the 1906 Meat Inspection Act. In 1934, Sinclair promoted End Poverty in California (EPIC), a program that called for guaranteed pensions, tax reform, and a massive public works program. Though Huey Long’s and Upton Sinclair’s initiatives were not adopted, both men’s programs influenced FDR’s New Deal legislation.

In the 1930s, the small Communist Party in the United States had ties to Soviet communism. Members of the party worked—with limited success—to influence the labor movement, organize the unemployed against evictions from their homes, and support Black Americans’ civil rights.

**Think Twice**

Why might a period of hardship give rise to voices of protest?
Aspects of the New Deal came to be associated with the economic theories of the British economist John Maynard Keynes. In his work, Keynes argued that when unemployment is high, governments should engage in massive **deficit spending** programs to create jobs and put money in workers’ (who are also consumers) hands. Massive government deficit spending would boost sales in the private sector economy and enliven the “animal spirits” of employers, who would, in turn, hire more workers. Government deficit spending was a tool countries could use, Keynes argued, to reverse an economy’s downward spiral and grow the economy.

**Vocabulary**

**deficit spending, n.** the spending of money the government has borrowed

Despite the New Deal’s extraordinary efforts, unemployment remained at fifteen percent in 1938. It would take another world war—the Second World War—to pull the nation out of its decade-long Great Depression. To this day, a number of the New Deal’s programs remain with us. Key provisions of the Social Security Act and many federal regulations, including a federal minimum wage law and federal child labor law, continue on, years after the Roosevelt administration and Congress first introduced them. Today, when disaster hits, we Americans turn to the federal government and ask: How is the federal government going to weigh in and address the challenge? That is perhaps the biggest legacy of the New Deal.

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**Writers’ Corner**

Select one of the topics outlined in this chapter that you have not yet written about, and write a report, a play, or a narrative poem about it.
A Common Enemy

The Second World War, also called World War II, took place from 1939 to 1945. The United States entered the war on December 7, 1941, when Japan attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbor. Four days after that attack, Adolf Hitler declared war on the United States.

In the Second World War, the United States fought in Europe against Nazi Germany and in the Pacific against Japan. The United States’ main allies in the war in Europe were Britain and the Soviet Union. Together, these Allied nations—the Allies—fought against their common enemy, Germany. The United States was the principal military force in the fight against Japan in the Pacific.

Vocabulary

Nazi Germany, n. Germany, from 1933 to 1945, while under the control of Adolf Hitler and his political party, the National Socialist German Workers’ (Nazi) Party
The Second World War was the most deadly and destructive war in history. More than fifty million people died during the war. Many were soldiers who died in combat, but millions more were civilians, slain in the fighting or dead from the disease and starvation brought on by the war. At the hands of the Nazis, six million Jewish people died in the Holocaust. Millions of other noncombatants died in areas where the conflict raged. Others, though they lived, suffered physical pain and wrenching psychological anguish. During the war, sixteen million American men were mobilized into the armed forces, more than four hundred thousand of whom lost their lives. The war’s deadliest toll was incurred by the Soviet Union. More than twenty million Soviet troops perished.
Origins of the Second World War

How did this terrible war start? Might it have been avoided? In Europe, Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany started the war. Hitler had come to power in Germany in the early 1930s, amid the crosscurrents of German politics and in the context of the economic hardship brought on by the Great Depression—a depression that had become a worldwide economic downturn.

Following the First World War, government in Germany had been structured under a political system called the Weimar Republic. In it, some thirty-two political parties were constantly vying for power, among them conservative political parties on the right and communists on the left. In the 1920s and the early 1930s, the German parliament, the Reichstag, was in a state of almost constant political deadlock in which coalition governments fractured almost as quickly as they formed.

It was amid this political dysfunction and economic hardship that, under Hitler’s leadership, the extreme Nazi Party gained attention. In 1932, the Nazis received enough votes that Hitler was appointed chancellor of Germany. He took office as chancellor on January 30, 1933.

Hitler’s personal views were central to Nazi Party policy, and it would be Hitler’s obsessions and his hatreds that would lead Germany into war—and to carry out the Holocaust.

Hitler had written about his views in his book, Mein Kampf (My Struggle). The book is a political manifesto that Hitler began writing in 1924. He wrote it while serving a year in prison for trying to overthrow the government of Bavaria (a state within Germany). In the book, Hitler wrote of “Aryans”—Germans and other northern Europeans—as racially superior. He also spelled out his anti-Semitism—his hatred of the Jewish people. In Mein Kampf, he called the Jewish people “corrupters of the nation.” Hitler expressed these ideas in the mid-1920s. Hitler and the Nazis would undertake the persecution of the Jewish people in the years before and during the Second World War. He wrote also of Germany’s need for Lebensraum, “living space.” By Lebensraum, Hitler meant that Germany needed to expand its territorial holdings so as to give people of German language and culture more space in which to live.

Think Twice

How might political conflict, economic hardship, and deadlock in Germany at this time have led to the rise of Adolf Hitler?

Think Twice

Why might it be considered highly problematic to follow an elected leader’s personal opinions?
Hitler’s opposition to the Treaty of Versailles was popular among many in Germany. The treaty that ended the First World War had forced Germany to disarm, blamed Germany for starting the war, and imposed billions of dollars in reparations. France and Britain demanded the Germans pay them this money year after year. Hitler’s rise to power took place in the context of a rising totalitarianism in Europe.

Vocabulary

**totalitarianism**, n. a political system in which the government controls the people completely

**fascism**, n. an extreme nationalism in which a dictator controls the public absolutely

**Think Twice**

Why is absolutist, single-party totalitarian rule such a threat to democracy?

Mussolini’s version of totalitarianism and fascism combined an extreme nationalism that placed strong military values with staunch opposition to communism and democracy at the center of its politics. Mussolini came to power in Italy in 1922, and once in power, he became a dictator. He outlawed opposition political parties and censored the press. Fascist Blackshirts—gangs of men who dressed in black shirts—roamed the streets. They used violence against those they judged to be opposed to Mussolini’s fascist rule, including workers who went on strike for higher wages and meetings of socialists and communists. Mussolini himself spurred
support for his fascist dictatorship with large public rallies. He captivated listeners with the emotional intensity of his speech and his dramatic physical gestures. Hitler would copy many of Mussolini’s methods in his own rise to power.

In Soviet Russia, totalitarianism took the form not of fascism but of communism. In 1917, under Vladimir Lenin, the Bolshevik-led communists had overthrown Czar Nicholas II and seized power. After Lenin’s death in 1924, Joseph Stalin had taken over as dictator of the Soviet Union. He promoted “socialism in one country,” a view that held that the Soviet Union should strengthen itself economically and build socialism at home before moving to export its communist ideology to other countries. Under the dictatorial control of the Soviet state, Stalin implemented a series of “Five Year Plans”—economic targets for industry and agriculture. Stalin’s Five Year Plans were successful in building the Soviet Union’s industrial capacity, especially its “heavy industries” in coal, oil, and steel. But in agriculture, Stalin’s command economy was a disaster. Farmers resisted demands that they abandon family farms to work on large, state-controlled collectivized farms. Farmers who resisted were shot or sent to gulags (forced labor camps where many died). Amid the turmoil, severe famine struck the Soviet Union and led to the death by starvation of millions. In the 1930s, Stalin also introduced the Great Purge, a campaign of political repression in which the Soviet secret police rounded up millions of people suspected of

Think Twice

In your view, what does the term extreme nationalism mean?

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about Benito Mussolini and the tactics of his fascist Blackshirts.

Vocabulary

collectivized, adj. organized into group or state ownership rather than private ownership
opposing his rule. Some rounded up in the Great Purge were shot on the spot. Others were put to death after “show trials” in which they were forced to declare their guilt.

In Spain, from 1936 to 1939, the sharp **ideological** conflicts of the 1930s revealed themselves in the Spanish Civil War. In the Spanish Civil War, Spain’s government—the leftist Second Spanish Republic—was overthrown by Nationalist forces under the leadership of Francisco Franco. The Soviet Union sold arms to the republic, while Hitler’s Nazis and Mussolini’s fascist government actively supported Franco’s Nationalist forces with air support, armaments, and soldiers. Nazi and Italian fascist military forces gained experience in the Spanish Civil War.

**Think Twice**

What do you think would be the differences between a family-run farm and large, state-run collectivized farms?

**Vocabulary**

**ideological**, adj. concerned with the beliefs of a political party or group

**Think Twice**

Although Mussolini and Stalin had different political views, in what ways were their leadership styles similar?
Hitler Consolidates His Power

Within months of coming to power in 1933, Hitler had outlawed other political parties, dissolved democracy, and instituted a secret police force—the Gestapo. In 1934, he became both chancellor and president of Germany. Hitler’s version of fascist totalitarian rule—Nazism—self-consciously borrowed from Mussolini’s methods. In Italy, Mussolini had taken the name Il Duce—Italian for “the leader.” In Germany, Hitler and his supporters promoted a cult of Hitler as der Führer—German for “the leader”—to celebrate Hitler’s absolute, authoritarian, dictatorial rule. This cult of personality portrayed Hitler as a person of vitality and power. (In actuality, Hitler was filled with hateful and misguided ideologies.) As the cult of der Führer grew, photographs and paintings of Hitler were placed on display everywhere in Germany. Ordinary Germans greeted each other with the Nazi salute—arm thrust forward, hand extended—and the words “Heil Hitler!” (“Hail Hitler!”). The “Hitler Youth” and similar children’s organizations indoctrinated the young into the cult of

Vocabulary

indoctrinate, v. to teach someone to fully accept an idea system and to deny free thought

propaganda, n. false or exaggerated information that is spread to encourage belief in a certain person or idea

Hitler and the Nazis. Freedom of thought and expression was viciously repressed. In 1933, groups of Nazi university students in the German Student Union held book burnings in which they set fire to books that opposed Nazism, among them books written by Jewish authors.

The Nazis called their government the Third Reich. They were, they said, successors to two earlier empires, the Holy Roman Empire (800–1806) and the German Empire (1871–1918). The Nazis reinforced their rule through mass propaganda rallies in which Hitler gave speeches before

Nazi rally with Hitler Youth members
large crowds and fanned flames of anti-Semitism, blaming the Jewish people for Germany’s loss in the First World War and for its economic problems. During the 1930s, the Nazis passed anti-Jewish laws depriving Jewish people of their civil rights, revoking their German citizenship and their right to vote, forbidding them from entering certain professions or intermarrying with non-Jewish Germans, and much more.

On the 9th and 10th of November 1938—known as Kristallnacht, or the Night of the Broken Glass—Nazi mobs murdered more than ninety Jewish people. They engaged in the mass arrest of thirty thousand Jewish men and burned and desecrated more than 250 synagogues. Finally, they shattered the windows of several thousand Jewish-owned shops and looted or destroyed them. Kristallnacht’s unprovoked attacks were a prelude to the Holocaust of the Second World War.

**Think Twice**

What do you think the phrase “cult of personality” means?

**Think Twice**

What conditions in Germany made it possible for Kristallnacht to occur?

*Kristallnacht* was an attack against Jewish people carried out by SA Brownshirts and German civilians. In this image, people watch as a synagogue burns.
In the years after becoming chancellor, Hitler began to defy the terms of the Versailles Treaty. In defiance of the treaty, he added soldiers, airplanes, tanks, and equipment to Germany’s military. In 1936, though the Versailles Treaty forbade it, he sent troops into the Rhineland—an area of Germany that borders France—to reoccupy it. None of this was allowed. But Hitler kept testing Britain and France: Would they step up and tell him that he had to stop? Some historians think that if Britain and France had sent troops into the Rhineland in 1936 in response to Hitler’s actions, they might have prevented further military aggression from Germany.

Instead, Hitler became bolder. In keeping with his claim that the German people needed Lebensraum, in March 1938, he annexed Austria in the Anschluss. Six months later, in September 1938, Hitler met with the leaders of Britain and France in Munich, Germany. There, Hitler promised that if Britain and France would allow Germany to seize the Sudetenland (the easternmost part of the country of Czechoslovakia), this territorial expansion would be his last land grab. Rather than telling Hitler “no,” the leaders of Britain and France sought to appease him. They agreed to allow Hitler to seize the Sudetenland. The prime minister of Great Britain, Neville Chamberlain, upon returning to England after signing the Munich Agreement, said it had brought “peace for our time.” But the British politician Winston Churchill disagreed. Churchill called the Munich Agreement “a total and unmitigated defeat.” He thought that Britain ought not to have adopted a policy of appeasement.

Vocabulary

**appeasement, n.** the practice of meeting someone’s demands in order to avoid trouble, especially when one does not agree with them

Think Twice

Some historians believe that if Britain and France had stood up to Hitler in the beginning, the Second World War might have been avoided. Why do you think Britain and France opted for appeasement?
Hitler had lied when he signed the Munich Agreement. And by March 1939, the German armed forces had seized all of Czechoslovakia. That July, Germany and the Soviet Union signed the Soviet-Nazi nonaggression pact, a pact in which Germany and the Soviet Union agreed not to fight one another. (Two years later, in June 1941, Hitler would violate the pact and invade the Soviet Union.) Hitler initially set out to take over much of the land in Europe. As the war progressed, it became clear that he wanted to take over the world.

As Germany continued its aggressive behavior, Britain and France finally gave Germany an ultimatum. They told Germany that if it invaded Poland, they would declare war on Germany. When, on September 1, 1939, Germany did invade Poland, Britain and France—after briefly waiting to see if Germany would withdraw—declared war on Germany. The Second World War had begun in Europe.

**Blitzkrieg Invasion of Poland**

In its invasion of Poland, the German military—the *Wehrmacht*—deployed its blitzkrieg method of warfare. (*Blitz* means lightning in German; *krieg* is the German word for war.) Blitzkrieg is the rapid, overwhelming use of force against an opponent. The Germans used airplanes, paratroopers, tanks, armored vehicles, and infantry in coordinated blitzkrieg attacks. Within the month, Poland was defeated.

**Find Out the Facts**

Find out more about Germany’s blitzkrieg method in relation to the invasion of Poland.

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**The Fall of France**

The next spring, France fell to Germany. In May 1940, German soldiers began their advance into France; soon, more than three hundred thousand French and British forces had retreated to the coastal town of Dunkirk in northern France. Hundreds of ships—some British naval vessels, others civilian-owned boats—evacuated the troops to England. Dunkirk was the largest naval military evacuation in history.

In June 1940, Hitler’s advancing army captured Paris. Soon, all of France was under Nazi control. The southern part of France, called Vichy France, was not captured as Paris and the north were, but it was under control of a *puppet government* set up by the occupying Nazi forces.

**Vocabulary**

*puppet government*, n. a government that looks like it is working independently but is instead controlled by another power.
Winston Churchill and the Battle of Britain

On May 10, 1940, Winston Churchill became Britain’s prime minister. It was the same day that the German forces began their march to conquer France. Churchill was an inspiring orator. In a speech at the House of Commons, Churchill said, “I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat.”

Once France fell in June 1940, Hitler turned his attention to invading Britain. Churchill said:

Even though large tracts of Europe . . . may fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag [grow weary] or fail. We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the

Find Out the Facts
Research what was involved in Dunkirk, the largest military evacuation in history.

Vocabulary
orator, n. public speaker

Writers’ Corner
Using your research on the Dunkirk evacuation, imagine you are a soldier waiting to be rescued on a beach at Dunkirk, and write an account of the events happening around you.
landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.

Hitler’s attack against Britain was not successful. From July through October 1940, the British Royal Air Force (RAF) successfully defended their island nation. This months-long battle was called the Battle of Britain. It took place in the skies over England with repeated aerial attacks by the German air force, the Luftwaffe. In October, Hitler gave up on trying to invade Britain. Nevertheless, he continued the Luftwaffe’s aerial bombing raids against London and other British cities in a campaign the British called “the Blitz.”

Think Twice
Do you think the fact that Britain was an island nation made it more difficult for Hitler’s forces to invade? Explain your answer.

The United States and the War in Europe

The United States’ contributions to winning World War II would prove to be decisive. But the United States did not immediately enter the war when it began. There were twenty-seven months between the war’s beginning in September 1939 and the United States’ entry into the war in December 1941. Americans remembered their experiences in the First World War. They had been gripped in the 1920s and 1930s by a desire to avoid involvement in future foreign wars. Beginning in the mid-1930s, Congress passed a series of Neutrality Acts meant to keep the nation out of future conflicts. President Franklin Roosevelt was concerned with the rising power of Nazi Germany. But after hesitating, he signed the Neutrality Acts into law.

Americans’ powerful isolationist sentiment gave rise to organizations such as the America First Committee. This group had many prominent members who wanted to steer clear of military involvement in Europe. Isolationist sentiment in the United States ran deep; the America First Committee was founded in September 1940, a year after Hitler had invaded Poland and during the Battle of Britain. Other Americans disagreed, among them members of the Fight for Freedom Committee. They believed that the United States had a responsibility to stand up militarily and fight against German aggression.

Think Twice
If you had lived at this time, would you have been persuaded by the America First point of view or by the view that America must join the fight against Hitler and Nazi aggression?
The Neutrality Acts required that Britain must pay cash for armaments purchased from the United States. When Britain ran short of cash, the Neutrality Acts kept the United States from selling arms to the nation. In November 1940, President Roosevelt came up with a work-around in order to help Britain. He called his idea lend-lease. He introduced the law in January 1941. By March, Congress had enacted the Lend-Lease Act. This act allowed the United States government to lend or lease supplies to Britain or other nations the president identified as “vital to the defense of the United States.” President Roosevelt explained the idea of lend-lease to the American people in a radio broadcast. “Suppose,” he said, “my neighbor’s home catches fire, and I have a length of garden hose . . .” He went on to say that the United States would be wise to “lend” that length of hose (military equipment and supplies) to their neighbor (Britain). That way, their neighbor, rather than the United States, could engage in the fight to put out the fire.

Over the course of the war, the United States sent billions of dollars in lend-lease aid overseas. It came in the form of planes, tanks, trucks, guns, ordnance, and more. It went to Britain, and later to the Soviet Union, China, and other Allied powers. Bound by the Neutrality Acts, lend-lease aid was, in effect, the American people’s gift of military aid to those countries.

**Think Twice**

Do you think President Roosevelt was indeed helping certain countries by introducing lend-lease aid?

**The Four Freedoms**

In January 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt delivered his Four Freedoms speech. In the speech, he framed the war as a fight for human freedom. It was, he said, not simply a war of revenge against wrongs committed or a war about territorial expansion. It was a fight for freedom. His words were spoken sixteen months after Hitler’s invasion of Poland and eleven months before Japan’s bombing of Pearl Harbor. With his words, Roosevelt prepared a reluctant United States for war and inspired people around the world. In the speech, Roosevelt said that “the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world” by “tyranny.”

**Vocabulary**

*tyranny*, n. an act in which one person or group illegally seizes all government power, usually ruling in a harsh and brutal way.
He continued:

_We look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want . . . which will secure for every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants. . . . The fourth is freedom from fear—which . . . means a worldwide reduction of armaments._

In closing, he said, “Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. . . . To that high concept there can be no end save victory.”

Two of the four freedoms—freedom of speech and freedom of religion—were central ideals in America’s founding. Freedom from want he explained this way: “The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.” Of freedom from fear, he said, “The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.”

Roosevelt’s appeal to universal human freedoms was grounded in centuries-old language of human rights. The four freedoms, he said in a 1942 radio address, make clear “the crucial difference between ourselves and the enemies we face today.” Elements of the four freedoms were subsequently incorporated into the United Nations Charter and, in 1948, into the U.N.’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Elements of the four freedoms were also incorporated into the Atlantic Charter of August 1941. This was a statement by Roosevelt and Churchill of American and British alliance. It was a statement of the shared vision of international freedom and democracy for the postwar world.

**Think Twice**

In what ways did Roosevelt’s ideas of the four freedoms oppose Hitler’s view of how a society should function?

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**The Nazis Invade the Soviet Union**

In June 1941, in violation of the 1939 Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact, the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union. (In October, President Roosevelt extended lend-lease aid to the Soviet Union.) Hitler thought that Stalin would surrender fairly quickly in the face of German blitzkrieg attacks. But Stalin did not surrender. The Siege of Leningrad
began in September 1941 and did not end until the siege was lifted by Soviet forces in January 1944. The Battle of Stalingrad, in which German forces attacked the Soviet city of Stalingrad, lasted from August 1942 to February 1943. The Soviets were victorious, but only after millions lay dead.

Find Out the Facts
Research what happened during the long and hard-fought Battle of Stalingrad.

In the Battle of Stalingrad, the Soviets suffered great losses but were eventually victorious.

In the Holocaust, Nazi Germany killed six million Jewish men, women, and children. The Nazis labeled the Holocaust the “final solution,” and they set out to kill every Jewish person on Earth. The Nazis opened concentration camps and death camps, including those at Auschwitz and Treblinka, at Bergen-Belsen and Dachau. Innocent Jewish men, women, and children were murdered in death chambers with poison gas and by other means. Jewish people were the Nazis’ primary targets. Also swept up into the murderous slaughter were millions of others, including Slavs (Poles and Soviet citizens), Roma, people with disabilities, and homosexuals.

In The Diary of Anne Frank, the Holocaust is viewed through the eyes of a fifteen-year-old Jewish girl who, for two years, hid with her family from the Nazis in an attic in Amsterdam. The diary contains Anne’s own words. Incredibly, even while she was hiding, Anne Frank wrote in her diary, “I keep my ideals, because in spite of everything I still believe that people are really good at heart.” She also wrote, “How wonderful it is that nobody need wait a single moment before starting to improve the world.” Anne and her family were turned in to the Nazis, and Anne died in a German concentration camp.
Elie Wiesel, who was taken to Buchenwald camp as a boy, later described the horror of his experiences in his book *Night*. In his book, he paints a vivid picture of the train ride to the camp, the unimaginable human suffering and disregard for human life, and, the terrible feeling of hunger: “I was a body. Perhaps less than that even: a starved stomach.” Elie survived to write and talk about what happened.

**Think Twice**

How difficult do you think it would be to have to hide for so long from a dangerous enemy?

**Find Out the Facts**

Find out more about Anne Frank’s years in hiding in Amsterdam and Elie Wiesel’s experiences at Buchenwald.

**Writers’ Corner**

Using your research, write a report about Anne’s and Elie’s experiences.

**Vocabulary**

**embargo**, n. a government order that limits or stops trade

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During the 1930s, Japan embarked on its own effort to build an empire. Some military and political leaders in Japan urged the need for imperialist land expansion that would provide more living space for the sixty-five million people on its home islands. They pointed to the food, oil, raw materials, and finished products that Japan could acquire by seizing territory in East Asia and Southeast Asia. In 1931, Japan had invaded and seized control of China’s Manchuria. The international community did not respond strongly to the invasion of Manchuria. In February 1933, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations. In 1937, the Japanese military engaged in an assault on the city of Nanjing, then the capital city of China. The United States was not content to ignore Japanese aggression. From the late 1800s, the United States had been committed to an Open Door Policy with China. Roosevelt began applying economic pressure on Japan to leave China. In 1940, Roosevelt placed an embargo on the sale...
of industrial machinery to Japan; it banned the export of aviation fuel, followed by a ban on scrap iron. But Japan doubled down on its commitment to its imperial expansion. In September 1940, Japan joined with Germany and Italy to form the Axis Powers. The three nations signed the Tripartite Pact, an agreement committing each of the nations to come to the aid of the others if they were attacked.

The next summer, in July 1941, the Roosevelt administration froze Japanese assets—money invested—in the United States. In August, it imposed a total embargo on exports of oil from the United States to Japan. Japan was setting out to build what it called the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, a way to ensure Japan’s place as a world power. The sanctions angered the Japanese government. Within weeks, Japan—now headed by Hideki Tojo, a general of the Imperial Japanese Army—decided that its navy would attempt to sink the American naval fleet anchored at Pearl Harbor.

**Vocabulary**

**asset, n.** something that is owned by a person, company, or country
Pearl Harbor

On Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, Japan surprised the United States by attacking the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The attack killed 2,402 people and damaged or sunk nineteen U.S. Navy ships, including eight battleships. President Franklin Roosevelt addressed Congress the next day, calling December 7, 1941, “a date which will live in infamy.” The president asked Congress to declare war on Japan. He said, “No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.” That afternoon, nearly unanimously, Congress declared war.

Four days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Adolf Hitler declared war on the United States. Americans rallied to the flag. The United States was now involved in two “theaters of war.” In the European theater, it joined the British and Soviets in the fight against Nazi Germany. In the Pacific theater, the enemy was Japan.

The Home Front

War brought changes to both the American economy and American society. The federal government organized the wartime economy, overseeing industrial production through its War Production Board. Businesses large and small retooled to make materiel needed for the war. Automobile factories switched from making cars to producing airplanes, tanks, and trucks. Appliance and toy manufacturers produced medical equipment, shell casings, fuses, compasses, and other needed equipment.

In December 1940, President Roosevelt pledged that the United States would become “the arsenal of democracy.” It became just that, outproducing all its enemies combined. In the course of the war, American industry turned out 7,400 ships, eighty-eight thousand tanks, three hundred thousand airplanes, 2.4 million trucks, 6.5 million rifles, and forty billion bullets. American workers, managers, and business owners were essential to winning the war.

To ensure the troops had adequate supplies, rationing took place on the home front. The federal government issued ration cards and stamps, which could be used to purchase gasoline, fuel oil, cloth, and shoes as well as sugar, meat, dairy, coffee, etc.

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.

Writers’ Corner

Using your research, imagine you are a journalist living at this time. You have been asked to write a report about the attack on Pearl Harbor.
and cooking oil. Americans grew “victory gardens,” vegetable gardens by which they added to the nation’s food supply and supplemented their rations. Adults and children collected tin, iron, aluminum, and other metals as well as rubber, clothing, and paper in recycling campaigns. Recycled metals were used in tanks, battleships, and guns; recycled rubber in gas masks, tires, medical supplies, and other needed equipment. Eighty-five million Americans bought war bonds to help fund the war effort and to show their support for the nation in a time of war.

The federal government also undertook massive deficit spending to finance the war. In all of this, the problems of unemployment that had dogged the nation in the Great Depression of the 1930s disappeared, replaced by full employment during the war.

The war also necessitated a large increase in income taxes. In 1942, Congress expanded the income tax to apply to most Americans and ramped up the rate of taxes on the wealthy. It even implemented a tax withholding system by which taxes were deducted from a person’s paycheck.

Rosie the Riveter

Many men were mobilized into the Armed Forces, and wartime production demands skyrocketed. This allowed for new opportunities for workers who had not previously been part of the industrial economy. Women worked as secretaries and office clerks in the war. But they also took up jobs that had previously been reserved for men. “Rosie the Riveter” was a fictional icon who was portrayed on posters, in songs, and in movies. Rosie came to represent women who worked in factories and shipyards as welders, riveters, mechanics, and production-line workers. These women worked making airplanes and ships, bombs and bullets, helmets, backpacks, and bayonets—and much more.

**Vocabulary**

- **war bond**, n. a document that promises to pay back with interest money loaned to the government for war expenses
- **income tax**, n. money based on a percentage of income that people are required to pay to support the workings of the government

**Think Twice**

How did the World War II war effort in America give women even more opportunities in the workplace?
On the home front, many Black Americans faced continued discrimination. Even so, they embraced the Double V campaign—a campaign that promoted victories in both the fight for democracy overseas and the fight against racism and segregation at home.

In June 1941, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802, barring discrimination in federal employment based on “race, creed, color, or national origin.” The law barred the federal government and private defense contractors from refusing to hire Black Americans and others. In signing the executive order, Roosevelt had been motivated in part by his meeting with A. Philip Randolph, founder and president of an all-Black union of railroad workers. After Roosevelt issued the executive order, Randolph called off a planned march on Washington. He and others had been planning the march to protest discrimination in the defense industry and the armed forces.

During the war, half a million Black Americans migrated from the South to the North and West. And many of them worked in wartime industries. At the same time, race riots broke out in a number of American cities. In Detroit, Michigan, in the summer of 1943, thirty-four people died, and six thousand U.S. Army troops were called in to stop days of fighting, rioting, and looting.
Mexican Americans, too, looked to the war as a time when they could become part of mainstream America. Almost half a million Mexican Americans served in the armed forces, and many others worked in wartime industries.

**Internment of Japanese Americans**

In the aftermath of Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese Americans were subject to racist attacks and sentiments. Some journalists stoked fear that Japanese Americans might engage in acts of *sabotage*. President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066. This resulted in the wartime *internment* of some 120,000 Japanese Americans. American citizens made up seventy-nine thousand of that number. The internment camps were located in California, Arizona, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Arkansas, away from centers of population. The camp at Manzanar was situated at the foot of the Sierra Nevada mountains in California. Like other Japanese American families, the families at Manzanar had been forced to sell their homes and businesses. In the camp, they lived in barracks-like housing. They tended small garden plots, built furniture from scrap wood, and educated their children. Despite their poor treatment at the hands of the government, hundreds of young men from these camps volunteered and served in the United States military.

**Vocabulary**

*sabotage*, n. the act of destroying something on purpose

*internment*, n. the act of confining or imprisoning someone during a war for political reasons

**Find Out the Facts**

Find out more about the internment camps in which Japanese Americans were held.

**Writers’ Corner**

Using your research, write a report on what it was like to live in a Japanese internment camp.
More than sixteen million men served in the United States military in the Second World War. Some forty percent enlisted; the others, men from the ages of eighteen to forty-four, were drafted into service. Americans fought by land, sea, and air—as soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen.

Newsreels presented soldiers, sailors, and marines fighting with valor and courage, earning praise and glory in the fight to protect America and its freedoms. But the realities of war were often very difficult. Millions were wounded or psychologically traumatized in the war. More than four hundred thousand Americans lost their lives, giving, as Lincoln had earlier said, “their last measure of devotion to the cause.”

Think Twice
What experiences of war might cause psychological trauma?

A Segregated Military: Race Prejudice in the Military

More than a million Black American men served in the United States military during the war. However, racism and race prejudice in the United States meant that Black men served in segregated Army units. In all the branches of the military, Black American men were assigned mostly noncombatant support positions. One exception to this practice was the Tuskegee Airmen. The Tuskegee Airmen trained as pilots in the United States Army Air Corps training school in Tuskegee, Alabama. They were nicknamed “Red Tails” for the distinctive painted tails of their aircraft. They flew more than fifteen thousand sorties during the war. Sixty-six Tuskegee Airmen died in combat.

Find Out the Facts
Find out more about the Tuskegee Airmen.

Writers’ Corner
Using your research on the Tuskegee Airmen, write a report about their contribution to WWII.
The Use of Bombs

U.S. troops fought against the Nazis beginning in late 1942 in North Africa, and then in 1943 in Italy. In 1942, the United States joined the ongoing British aerial bombardment of German targets. Some targets were strategic military and industrial centers, and others were cities—centers of civilian populations. The firebombing of the German city of Dresden was a three-day operation. In it, American and British planes dropped almost four thousand tons of high explosives and incendiary bombs on the civilian population of that city. The attack killed some twenty-five thousand people. (In the Pacific war, American forces used incendiary and explosive bombs against Japan’s capital city of Tokyo killing some one hundred thousand people in a single night’s attack.) It was an all-out total war, killing innocent civilians and noncombatants in many countries.

D-Day: Operation Overlord

On D-Day, June 6, 1944, American and British forces landed on the beaches of Normandy in France. The forces were under the command of General Dwight Eisenhower, and they laid the foundation for victory in Europe. The successful amphibious landing on the beaches of France led to a later repulsing of a German counteroffensive at the Battle of the Bulge. The cost was heavy; the U.S. Army suffered over a hundred thousand casualties in that battle alone. After the Battle of the Bulge, the U.S. and British forces advanced into Germany.

Vocabulary

amphibious landing, n. a coming to shore from the sea on a craft that can navigate both water and land

This photograph captures American troops approaching Omaha Beach, Normandy, on D-Day, 1944.
By early 1945, American and British tank and infantry units were advancing across Germany. At the same time, from the east, the Soviets were approaching Germany’s capital city of Berlin. On April 30, with Soviet forces only half a mile from his bunker, Adolf Hitler committed suicide. On May 8, Germany agreed to unconditional surrender. The war in Europe was over.

**War Against Japan**

For six months after its successful attack on Pearl Harbor, Japan swept from victory to victory in the Pacific. In the Philippines, in March 1942, General Douglas MacArthur was forced to leave behind American and Filipino soldiers. President Roosevelt had ordered the retreat. On departing the Philippines, MacArthur said, “I shall return.” Japanese forces soon captured seventy thousand American and Filipino soldiers and forced them on the Bataan Death March. It was a six-day march of more than sixty miles. During the entire journey, the men received only one meal of rice. In addition, the Japanese beat and bayoneted many of the starving and exhausted men. Two and a half years later, MacArthur returned to retake the Philippines. After wading ashore, he declared, “People of the Philippines, I have returned.”

**Battle of Midway**

In June 1942, the United States turned the tide of the war in the Pacific when American forces won a major naval victory against Japan in the Battle of Midway. The United States intercepted a Japanese message indicating that a portion of the Japanese naval fleet was going to attack its
naval base at Midway (a pair of islands in the middle of the Pacific Ocean). Because they were forewarned, the United States was able to launch a successful attack on the approaching Japanese fleet. U.S. airplanes sank four of Japan’s aircraft carriers and a cruiser and destroyed 292 Japanese aircraft. The Battle of Midway dealt a blow to the Japanese navy from which it never recovered. Japan’s imperialist expansion was at an end. After Midway, Japan fought only defensive battles to the war’s end.

In the Pacific from 1942 to 1945, American forces engaged in an island-hopping campaign in which they bombed, shelled, or landed in amphibious assaults. They attacked islands in their drive toward Japan. In sometimes hard-fought engagements, American forces took Guadalcanal, New Guinea, Tarawa, Saipan, and other islands in the Pacific.

By early 1945, U.S. forces were closing in on Japan. They sought to capture two islands near enough to Japan that they could be used as bases for an attack against Japan itself. The islands of Iwo Jima and Okinawa became the targets of American marines and other forces. Iwo Jima was a small volcanic island. After thirty-six days of fierce fighting in February and March 1945, at times in hand-to-hand combat, the American forces captured Iwo Jima.
At Okinawa, beginning in April 1945, the largest amphibious assault in the Pacific during the war took place. A combined fleet of U.S. and British ships closed in on the island. The Japanese deployed kamikaze attacks against the ships, as they had the year before in the Battle of Leyte Gulf. Kamikazes crashed their planes into U.S. ships, in effect using their planes as missiles, in an effort to damage or destroy the vessels. The three-month ground campaign was the bloodiest battle in the Pacific. U.S. Marine and Army units engaged in fierce fights and incurred some eighty thousand casualties.

During the war, the United States government funded the Manhattan Project to build an atomic bomb. Developed at the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico, the bomb was first successfully tested on July 16, 1945. Later that day, a coded message was handed to President Truman, who was attending the Potsdam Conference. (Harry Truman had become the president of the United States after the death of President Roosevelt.) The message in part read: “Operated on this morning. Diagnosis not yet complete but results seem satisfactory and already exceed expectations.” Within days, Truman ordered the use of the bomb against two Japanese cities.

The first atomic bomb was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima on August 6 by a B-29 bomber named Enola Gay, piloted by Paul Tibbets. The bomb caused the near-complete destruction of the city, killing an estimated 140,000 of Hiroshima’s population. Some died instantly at the bomb’s detonation. Others died from their injuries or from radiation poisoning in the days and weeks that followed. Three
days later, on August 9, the United States dropped a second atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Nagasaki, killing tens of thousands of people. Within days, Japan surrendered. The Second World War was at an end.

In its defeat, Japan agreed to unconditional surrender, requesting only that its emperor, Hirohito, be allowed to remain in a ceremonial role. The United States agreed to the request. For the next seven years, the United States occupied Japan. Under the leadership of General Douglas MacArthur, U.S. Army officers, in consultation with the Japanese, drafted Japan’s democratic postwar constitution. The Japanese constitution established representative democracy, included a bill of rights, granted men and women the right to vote, and committed Japan to a pacifist future, asserting, “The Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes.”

Find Out the Facts
Find out more about what happened in Japan after the United States dropped two atomic bombs on that nation.

Yalta and Potsdam Conferences

In February 1945, the Big Three met in the town of Yalta in the Crimea. The Big Three were Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. They were the leaders of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. The purpose of the Yalta Conference was to discuss the postwar organization of Europe. The leaders agreed that Germany would be divided into occupation zones controlled by the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. The city of Berlin, Germany’s capital, lay one hundred miles inside Soviet-occupied East Germany. Even so, it was divided into zones among the four nations.

In July 1945, the Allies met again, this time at Potsdam, Germany, to hammer out details of the postwar international order. Because Franklin Roosevelt had died on April 12, 1945, President Harry Truman represented the United States at the conference.
The Nuremburg Trials were conducted for the purpose of bringing Nazi war criminals to justice. They were a series of military tribunals held in Nuremberg, Germany, in 1945 and 1946. Twelve former Nazi leaders were convicted of “crimes against humanity” and sentenced to death by hanging. Others were sentenced to prison. Additional war crimes trials were held both in Germany and in Japan. Hideki Tojo, leader of Japan for most of the war, was sentenced to death and, in 1948, was hanged.

In 1944, Congress enacted the G.I. Bill of Rights. The act provided for veterans’ medical care. It offered them low interest rate loans to buy a home. And it paid tuition and expenses for veterans to attend college or trade school. More than eight million veterans of the war made use of the provisions to pay for college or vocational training. Veterans who took advantage of the opportunities of the bill’s provisions for further education were able, in turn, to earn higher wages, purchase consumer goods, buy houses, and help fuel the nation’s postwar economic boom.

**World War II Casualties by Country**

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<th>Country</th>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>345,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>4,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German East Indies</td>
<td>8,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
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<td>India</td>
<td>3,100,000</td>
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<td>473,000</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>418,500</td>
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</tbody>
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*Source: U.S. National World War II Museum*
The United Nations and Its Universal Declaration of Human Rights

After months of planning, the United Nations officially came into existence in October 1945. It was conceived as a place where nations could talk through their problems rather than first jumping into war. The U.N. Security Council had five permanent members: the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and France. (Today, Russia has replaced the Soviet Union on the Security Council, which also includes ten “nonpermanent” members.) The other body of the U.N., the United Nations General Assembly, was initially composed of fifty member nations. Today, its membership numbers 193 nations.

Among the United Nations’ earliest actions was the adoption of its Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The U.N. Declaration of Human Rights commits nations to recognize “basic rights and fundamental freedoms,” including recognition of all humans as “born free and equal in dignity and rights” regardless of “nationality, place of residence, gender, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status.” Eleanor Roosevelt chaired the committee that drafted the declaration.

Eleanor Roosevelt is seen here holding the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1949. She was chair of the U.N. Human Rights Commission, which produced the document.
Find Out the Facts
Find out more about the role of the United Nations in the world.

Think Twice
Why might certain countries have been keen to form a body such as the U.N. after the Second World War?

Writers' Corner
Select a topic covered in this chapter that you have not yet written about, and write a report, narrative poem, or play that could be presented to your class.
Chapter 6

Introduction to the Era

The United States emerged from the Second World War an economic powerhouse and a military superpower. U.S. foreign policy in these years was framed by the Cold War, a time of tension and conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. During the Cold War, the United States acted to stop the spread of Soviet communism. The term “cold war” comes from the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union never directly fought each other with weapons. But the Cold War was characterized by many tensions and conflicts, among them the nuclear arms race, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War.

The Big Question

What issue consumed the United States overseas and what was the main social issue at home during this time?
Despite Cold War tensions, the American economy boomed. Economists often refer to the three decades following World War II as the “golden era” of American economic growth. Already the richest country in the world, in these years the United States experienced incredible growth. Per capita GDP (gross domestic product) nearly doubled. The opportunity for prosperity and success that many call the “American dream” became a reality for millions of people. Though, to be sure, Americans did not all share equally in the nation’s prosperity.

**Differing Worldviews**

During World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union had been allies in the fight against Nazi Germany. But in the war’s aftermath, the world fractured into American and Soviet spheres of influence. The United States led what was called the “First World,” which included most of the countries in Western Europe as well as Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. The Soviets led the “Second World.” This was principally the bloc of Soviet-controlled communist countries in Eastern Europe. In these same years, the world’s developing countries were often called the “Third World.” (Today, the terms First, Second, and Third World are no longer used. Instead, countries are often referred to as developed or developing nations.)

The sharp differences in political and economic commitments between the United States and the Soviet Union animated the Cold War conflict. At the center of American politics and society was a commitment to the institutions of liberal democracy: elective representative government, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and individual rights. The American economy during the Cold War was grounded in “commercial society.” This was America’s traditional system of competitive markets, privately owned businesses, and consumer demand that many people call capitalism.
Containment and the Truman Doctrine

In February 1946, the American diplomat George F. Kennan sent a long, secret telegram from Moscow to Washington, D.C. He began, “I apologize in advance for this burdening of telegraphic channel; but questions involved are of such urgent importance. . . .” Kennan’s “Long Telegram” was a message of more than five thousand words.

In it, he expressed his view that the United States would do well to contain the spread of Soviet communism. The next year, Kennan anonymously published an article in the journal *Foreign Affairs*. It made public his idea of **containment**. This became the guiding policy of U.S. foreign relations for the four decades of the Cold War.

In a 1947 address to Congress, President Harry S. Truman made plain America’s commitment to the policy of containment. This came to be known as the Truman Doctrine. He said: “I believe 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.” The Truman Doctrine committed the United States to “support free peoples” around the world. In the same speech, President Truman eloquently and succinctly summed up the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union:

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guaranties 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.

Of course, the United States has not always lived up to its founding ideals at home, especially on issues of race. But in the course of American history, people have achieved advances through the systems of this democratic republic. The tools to do so are guaranteed by the Constitution in the rights of free speech and peaceful protest. They are also found in the mechanisms and institutions of representative government. Unfortunately, the commitment to anti-communism also led the United States to support some overseas rulers simply because they, too,
opposed communism. This meant the United States supported some brutal, authoritarian dictators who denied their people basic human rights.

**An Ideological Battle**

In contrast to the United States, the Soviet Union’s government was led by dictatorial leaders and a small inner circle of Communist Party advisers. The Soviets did not allow free elections. The only people “allowed” to win elections—which were sham elections—were communists. Disagreement with the dictator or the party meant arrest by the secret police, detention, imprisonment, and, all too often, death. In the Soviet Union, there was no freedom of speech, no freedom of religion, and no right to peaceably assemble to protest a government policy. Soviet communists shut down churches, synagogues, and mosques. In the Soviet Union, the government controlled the economy.

People in the Soviet Union did not enjoy the freedoms we take for granted. If they tried to protest the communist government’s laws they were arrested. The secret police enforced Soviet communist power with terror. Some writers secretly circulated copies of manuscripts that contained ideas that opposed communist rule. And, while Soviet propaganda declared the many supposed successes of Soviet communism, the reality behind the false claims was that people lived restricted lives. The works of those writers who protested had to be shared secretly, in manuscript form, within the Soviet Union.

**Think Twice**

What do you think it would be like to live under such harsh restrictions?

**Churchill’s Iron Curtain Speech**

The United States was not alone in its dislike of communism. British leader Winston Churchill delivered a famous speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946. Churchill said, “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.” Of course, there
wasn’t actually a curtain of iron dividing Europe. But Churchill’s words eloquently identified the political and economic divide that now existed. He identified the sides as “the Soviet sphere,” which was under “control from Moscow,” and the countries of Western Europe.

**Postwar Europe**

Britain had been largely bankrupted by the Second World War. And in the war’s aftermath, it was in no condition to continue administering its global system of colonies and trade. Postwar France was economically downtrodden. Germany and other nations lay in ruins. Indeed, the war had reduced a great many European cities to rubble. Most European factories and many agricultural fields had been destroyed. In the months after the war ended, millions of people were displaced, homeless, and hungry. Europe needed to rebuild. But it lacked the money and resources to do so. As it turned out, the United States would come to Europe’s rescue.

After the First World War, the United States had demanded its allies pay back the money it had lent them. But at the end of the Second World War, the United States did just the opposite: it abandoned its prewar isolationism and embraced **active internationalism**. The United States took bold action. To aid Europe in the war’s aftermath, it released its wartime allies from having to pay it back for the weapons it had supplied them through lend-lease. The United States also gave the postwar Western European countries with billions of dollars in aid through the Marshall Plan. Developed by the Truman administration and made public in a speech by Secretary of State George Marshall in 1948, the Marshall Plan offered fifteen billion dollars in financial aid to the war-torn countries of Western Europe to help them rebuild. With money from the Marshall Plan, Britain, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, West Germany, and other

**Vocabulary**

“**active internationalism**” (phrase), a policy of working or cooperating with other nations; the opposite of isolationism

During the Second World War, many cities in Europe were heavily bombed. Here, women in London, England, are seen searching through rubble.
countries in Western Europe were able to rapidly rebuild.

The American economy benefited from the Marshall Plan, too. As a result, the Marshall Plan required that the money be spent in the United States. The many orders placed by European countries with American companies for food, new tools, and farming and industrial equipment provided jobs for American workers.

Around the world with loans, policy advice, and technological assistance. In 1947, the United States and twenty-two other countries signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). This agreement works to keep tariffs low on the theory that free—or freer—trade among nations will benefit member countries and the global economy.

**Berlin Airlift and Mao Zedong**

At the end of the Second World War, the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union agreed to divide Germany. West Germany, they agreed, would fall under American, British, and French control. East Germany would come under Soviet control. Berlin, Germany’s capital city, would be similarly divided. However, in 1948, the Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin, changed his mind. He decided that since Berlin lay well within East Germany, he would force the United States, Britain, and France out of West Berlin. He would do that, he thought, by cutting off train and truck routes into Berlin. Then the residents would be cut off from supplies. What Stalin had not counted on was that the United States and Britain would supply West Berlin by way of airlifts. American and British airplanes filled with supplies landed at airports in West
Berlin. In May 1949, eleven months after Stalin tried to cut off the city, he agreed to reopen the road and rail routes into West Berlin.

But 1949 proved to be an ominous year in the Cold War. In late August, the Soviet Union exploded its first nuclear bomb at a test facility. In early October, after years of fighting, the Chinese Communist Party, under the leadership of Mao Zedong, gained control of China. Some Americans blamed President Truman for “losing China” to communism. However it was considered, America’s idea of containing the spread of communism was not proving to be successful. The world’s largest country by land area, the Soviet Union, now possessed nuclear weapons. And the world’s largest country by population, China, was now communist as well.

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about the rise of communism in China.

Writers’ Corner

Using your research on the rise of communism in China, write a report about the new rules and laws that were introduced.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact

In 1949, amid rising Cold War tensions, the United States and eleven other nations joined together to form NATO—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO’s Article 5 states that an “attack against one” of NATO’s members “shall be considered an attack against them all.” It was a powerful statement of military alliance. With the creation of NATO, the United States
and the other member countries were sending a message to the Soviet Union: any thought of attacking Western Europe would result in a united response. A few years after NATO’s founding, the Soviets created a similar military alliance among Soviet satellite countries in Eastern Europe called the Warsaw Pact.

Think Twice
Why might the creation of NATO have been a deterrent against war?

The Korean War

In June 1950, the Korean War began. Korea had been divided by the United States and the Soviet Union into North Korea and South Korea in 1945. However, the communist leader of North Korea, Kim Il Sung, decided to try to reunite Korea into the single country that it had been for centuries. In June 1950, Kim launched a surprise invasion of South Korea. Within two days of the invasion, the United States, seeking to contain the spread of communism, had rallied delegates at the United Nations to agree to support the U.S. effort to turn back the communist invasion of South Korea.

Initially, North Korea made rapid advances into the south. In September, however, General Douglas MacArthur launched a successful amphibious landing of American forces at Inchon, South Korea. From there, MacArthur’s troops advanced into North Korea and soon made their way to the border with China. Mao Zedong, China’s leader, fearing that the Americans might cross the Yalu River and attack China, ordered thousands of Chinese soldiers into North Korea to attack the Americans. The Chinese and North Korean counterpunch drove the American-led forces back across the thirty-eighth parallel—the line of latitude dividing North Korea and South Korea. In 1953, an armistice was declared, and the fighting stopped. Thirty-six thousand Americans died in the Korean War, as did hundreds of thousands of Korean soldiers and civilians. Korea remains divided to this day. Today, communist North Korea is one of the poorest countries in the world, while capitalist and democratic South Korea is among the world’s richest countries.

Find Out the Facts
Find out more about life in South Korea and North Korea today.
Soviet Satellite States, Repression, and the Berlin Wall

At the end of the Second World War, Stalin was determined to establish a buffer zone against future invasions of the Soviet Union. Stalin had promised Roosevelt and Churchill that Poland would be allowed to hold free elections. But in the war’s aftermath, Stalin ordered the assassinations of non-communist leaders in Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania. With the exception of Yugoslavia, the countries of Eastern Europe were forced to become Soviet satellites.

The list of Soviet actions against those who opposed its communist rule is long. In 1948, the Soviet-backed Communist Party in Czechoslovakia seized control of the government in a power-grab called a coup d’état. In Hungary in 1956, a popular uprising called the Hungarian Revolution began; Stalin sent in Soviet tanks and troops and put it down. Later, in 1968, the people in Czechoslovakia’s capital rose up against communist rule in what was called the Prague Spring. The Soviets ruthlessly crushed the uprising.

In 1961, the Soviets constructed the Berlin Wall, a concrete and barbed wire wall around the city of West Berlin. The wall’s purpose was to serve as a barrier. It was not built to keep people in the city of West Berlin. The wall was to stop people from escaping East Berlin and communism! These Cold War years were grim for people living in the satellite states and behind the iron curtain. Many looked to West Berlin and the countries beyond with longing for a different way of life.

In 1963, President John F. Kennedy traveled to West Berlin. There, he delivered what is often referred to as his “Ich bin ein Berliner” (“I am a Berliner”) speech. The purpose of the speech was to draw
attention to the freedoms that the people of West Berlin enjoyed and to put the Soviet Union on notice that the United States was committed to defending West Berlin. Twenty-four years later, President Ronald Reagan stood at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin. Referring to the Berlin Wall, Reagan urged the Soviet premier to “tear down this wall.”

**Think Twice**
What impression did the Soviets want to create by building the wall?

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**Un-American Activities**

At home, the United States government feared any attempt to introduce communist ideology into the country. The U.S. government created the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), which focused its efforts on tracking down communists. Any suspects considered a threat to national security were called to appear before HUAC. There, they were asked if they or people they knew were communists. Many Hollywood actors, writers, and directors were accused of being communists or sympathetic to the communist cause. Many of these people were not actually communists. However, they did have more liberal views, and HUAC used those views as a reason to investigate them. Blacklists of Americans suspected of being communists were created.

Concern about the spread of communism in the United States was highlighted further in 1950. Spouses Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were arrested for having passed top-secret information about America’s nuclear weapon designs to the Soviet Union. After a trial, they were found guilty. And in 1953, amid international pleas for clemency, they were put to death. They are the only civilians in American history to have been put to death for espionage.
Senator Joseph McCarthy was not a part of HUAC, but he did follow their example. In the early 1950s, McCarthy held hearings in which he accused people in the Voice of America program, the State Department, and the U.S. Army of being communists. People called McCarthy’s hearings “witch hunts” because they were reckless and unproven attacks.

**Think Twice**

How would someone accused of being a communist prove that they are not?

**Think Twice**

What does the author mean by the words “overstepped the boundaries of the brief”?

While the CIA and FBI are both members of the U.S. intelligence community, the CIA has no law enforcement function. Instead, it collects and analyzes information gleaned from foreign countries and their citizens. This information is used to shape U.S. policy, especially in areas that impact the security of the United States. Unlike the FBI, the CIA cannot collect information regarding “U.S. persons.”

In 1960, one of the CIA’s covert missions went badly wrong. One of the high-altitude U-2 aircraft that the CIA flew over the Soviet Union to take photographs of Soviet military bases was shot down. At first, U.S. officials lied, saying the aircraft had been a weather research plane that had gone off course. The Soviets, however, presented CIA pilot Francis Gary Powers to the press, along with photographs of Soviet military bases the plane had taken. The U-2 incident heightened tensions between the United States and the Soviets.
In 1957, the Soviets launched the first satellite, *Sputnik*, into orbit in space. Later that year, they launched a dog named Laika into space. Four years later, in April 1961, the Soviets launched cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin into Earth orbit. People in the United States were taken aback. In the space race, the United States space program continued to lag behind. How could it be that the Soviet Union was technologically more advanced in rocketry?

Despite Soviet success in space, the wealth, power, and influence of the United States was obvious to the world. And in 1961, a bright and energetic young leader was elected president of the United States. His name was John F. Kennedy. In his inaugural speech, Kennedy declared, “We shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty.” He also called Americans to civic-minded action, saying, “Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.”

In addition, and as a response to *Sputnik*, President Kennedy set a goal for the United States to land a person on the moon before the decade was out. Kennedy said,

> We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard; because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept . . . and one we intend to win.

In the first and second years of his presidency, President Kennedy faced crises in Cuba, a country only ninety miles from U.S. shores. In 1959, Cuba had come under the control of communist Fidel Castro. The Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 was a failed attempt by a group of Cuban exiles, backed by the United States, to overthrow Castro’s communist government. President Kennedy initially authorized American support for the invasion, but as it began, he had second thoughts and withdrew American support. Instead of the hoped-for overthrow of the communist government in Cuba, many in the invading force were killed or captured.

The next year, the Cuban Missile Crisis again focused President Kennedy’s attention on Cuba. An American U-2 spy plane confirmed that nuclear missile
launch sites were being built on the island. The plan was to install Soviet nuclear missiles at the launch sites. In response, Kennedy ordered a naval blockade of Cuba. In several days of tense negotiations between Kennedy and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, the crisis was resolved. Khrushchev agreed to remove the nuclear missiles from Cuba, and in return, Kennedy agreed that the United States would not again seek to invade Cuba. Secretly, in a part of the agreement not revealed to the American public at the time, Kennedy also agreed to remove U.S. missiles from Turkey.

The Cuban Missile Crisis

Find Out the Facts
Find out more about the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Writers’ Corner
Using your research on the Cuban Missile Crisis, explain what the crisis was and how it was resolved.

The Assassination of President Kennedy

A presidency that had begun with such hope tragically ended on November 22, 1963, when President John F. Kennedy was assassinated. Lee Harvey Oswald shot the president from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository building as the president’s motorcade traveled through Dealey Plaza in Dallas, Texas. Oswald, a former U.S. Marine, had sympathies with communism and had lived for a time in the Soviet Union. (Two days after he killed President Kennedy, Oswald was himself shot and killed while in police custody.) In 1964, after extensive study of the evidence, the Warren Commission concluded that Oswald had acted alone. People across the United States—and around the world—mourned President Kennedy’s death. However, his legacy continued. Lyndon Johnson would use some of Kennedy’s initiatives as a groundwork for building out Johnson’s own civil rights and Great Society programs. And on July 20, 1969, the nation achieved Kennedy’s goal of landing an astronaut on the moon. As millions watched on televisions around the world, Apollo 11 astronaut Neil Armstrong descended the ladder of the lunar module. As Armstrong stepped onto the moon’s surface, he said, “That’s one small step for [a] man, one giant leap for mankind.”
Fear and Deterrence in the Atomic Age

The Atomic Age was born on Monday morning, July 16, 1945. That was when the United States detonated the world’s first atomic bomb at a test facility in the New Mexico desert. As noted earlier, the atomic bombs were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of the same year. Four years later, in 1949, the Soviet Union tested its first nuclear bomb, beginning the nuclear arms race.

From 1949 until the end of the Cold War in 1991, there were constant and real concerns that a nuclear war between the United States and Soviet Union might be possible. It might begin by accidental launch, by miscalculation, or by coldhearted intent. Year after year, throughout the Cold War, each nation built up its stockpile of nuclear weapons. For a time, the Soviet Union was said to
have the lead in its ability to deliver its nuclear warheads on ballistic missiles. This lead was called the “missile gap.” Schoolchildren in the United States practiced duck-and-cover drills. During these drills, students crawled under their desks, covered their heads with their hands, and curled into a ball. It was hoped that in the event of nuclear war, this would protect them from shattering window glass and falling debris.

Had a nuclear war occurred, millions of people would have died. But it was precisely this threat of nuclear annihilation, that some analysts and officials pointed to as a deterrent to war. Since both sides faced annihilation, the reasoning ran, it would be madness to even think of starting such a war. MAD—mutually assured destruction—was the name given to this idea of nuclear deterrence. Analysts also pointed out that nuclear weapons offered “more bang for the buck.” It was cheaper to build and maintain nuclear weapons than to pay a large army of soldiers. Concern about radiation fallout from the many tests both nations were conducting led to the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. The agreement banned the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in space, or underwater. It did, however, allow both sides to continue underground testing.

The Baby Boom Years

The years 1946 to 1964 are called the baby boom. During these years, the growth in the economy was robust. And with the economic downturn of the 1930s and World War II behind them, millions of American couples decided to have children. Some seventy million babies were born during these years. Also during these years, television changed the everyday lives of millions.

In 1946, there were some seven thousand televisions in the United States, but that number would grow. By 1960, there were fifty-two million television sets in the nation. Some Americans watched hours of TV each day. News and entertainment programs for adults gained wide viewership.

America’s car culture grew expansively in the postwar years. The Federal Highway
Act funded the building of a network of nationwide interstate highways. Automobile-centered city planning meant more roadways and parking facilities for cars in urban centers. More and better roads made it easier for people to commute to work.

**Think Twice**

What were the possible benefits to the American economy because of the expansion of car ownership?

Postwar America also saw the rise of the **suburbs**. Millions of growing families moved from crowded city apartments into housing developments sprouting up on land outside cities.

William Levitt’s Levittown was the most famous of these new developments. The houses Levitt built were affordable and comfortable three-bedroom structures. However, Levitt, like other developers at the time, used racial covenants to exclude Black Americans from living in Levittown.

Life in the suburbs revolved around the car. For many families, suburban life meant a father who commuted to work and a stay-at-home mom who attended to the children’s needs and the care of the house. Churches, synagogues, schools, shopping malls, and local parks grew up in the suburbs. Compared to the cities, many found the calm and quiet of the suburbs attractive.

**Vocabulary**

**suburb**, n. a town or small city within commuting, or easy traveling, distance of a large city.

Oldsmobile magazine advertisement, 1960s
Among some young people, a counterculture took off. Members of the counterculture embraced traditional folk music, rock and roll music, and alternative lifestyles and fashions. Woodstock, a large music festival held in upstate New York, was a countercultural celebration that attracted more than four hundred thousand young people.

Vocabulary

counterculture, n. a culture that has different values than the established society or main culture

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about the counterculture that emerged at this time.

Writers’ Corner

Using your research on the counterculture, write a report on fashion or music trends during this era.

In direct contrast to the homegrown cultural wonders of the 1960s in America, the Vietnam War would have a profound impact on the American spirit. The Vietnam War was a major conflict of the Cold War. At its peak in the late 1960s, hundreds of thousands of young Americans were deployed to fight in Vietnam. Among those deployed were U.S. Army “Green Beret” Special Forces.

The United States first stepped up its military involvement in Vietnam in May 1954, after the defeat of French colonial forces by Vietnamese guerillas at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. The Geneva Accords of 1954 had divided Vietnam into communist North Vietnam and American-aligned South Vietnam. By the early 1960s, the Viet Cong, South Vietnamese communist forces, were battling American soldiers. These forces were backed by the same Soviet and Chinese support that backed communist North Vietnam and led by Vietnamese nationalist Ho Chi Minh.

The domino theory was one reason the United States went to war in Vietnam. The concern was that if one nation fell to communism, like a row of dominoes, others nearby would also fall to communism. The United States feared that Vietnam would be the first domino. After Congress passed the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, President Lyndon Johnson began a full-scale war.

During the first years of the Vietnam War, small U.S. and South Vietnamese units mostly fought a kind of jungle warfare as they responded to sudden attacks by North Vietnamese soldiers who successfully
hid among the dense jungle. The United States also provided support from the air. In January 1968, the Tet Offensive changed both the status quo and public opinion of the war in the United States.

The offensive was an organized series of attacks by the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong. It took place in over one hundred cities and American positions in South Vietnam. American forces were able to defend against the attacks. Even so, the Tet Offensive convinced many American officials that the war could not be won at any reasonable cost. Then a terrible atrocity occurred in March 1968. A group of American soldiers brutally killed more than three hundred unarmed women, children, and old men in the village of My Lai in South Vietnam.

During the war, the United States dropped millions of tons of bombs on Vietnam. As the war progressed, targets came to include communist supply lines in neighboring Laos and Cambodia. As part of the war effort, the United States used chemical weapons. Agent Orange, is a chemical that causes leaves to drop off trees. And napalm is a sticky liquid that burns at very high temperatures and was used to burn forests, villages, and people.
The war became a lightning rod for debate, disagreement, and protest in the United States. In government and among citizens, there were those who favored the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. Antiwar protests became common occurrences. Others supported the war effort as part of the fight to contain the spread of communism.

Tensions in the nation were heightened on May 4, 1970, at Kent State University. Four unarmed students were shot and killed by the Ohio National Guard during a campus peace rally. It became known as the Kent State massacre. Then the war debate was further inflamed by the release of the Pentagon Papers. This top-secret study of American involvement in Vietnam revealed that President Johnson’s administration had misled the American people. The misinformation included the reasons the United States was involved in the war and the growing scope of U.S. attacks and bombings. With this information in the public domain, antiwar protests grew on college campuses and elsewhere across America.

By the 1950s, the fight for civil rights in America had already spanned many years. But the civil rights movement made great strides forward in the 1950s and 1960s in particular. The enslavement of people had ended in the United States in 1865, but legal segregation and the disfranchisement of Black Americans continued into the twentieth century. The movement to overcome segregationist laws and live up to the nation’s ideals of freedom was a many-faceted fight, and it took place on a number of fronts. In sports, Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in Major League Baseball in 1947 and joined the Brooklyn Dodgers. The next year, President Truman issued an executive order integrating the United States military.

One of the most powerful moments in modern civil rights history came on May 17, 1954. On that day, the United States Supreme Court issued its landmark ruling in Brown v. Board of Education. In its decision, the court overturned its 1896 ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson. That ruling had made “separate but equal” segregation—called “Jim Crow” segregation—legal.
Thurgood Marshall was the lead lawyer for the plaintiffs in the case. Marshall, who would go on to become a Supreme Court justice, argued that segregated public schooling violated the Fourteenth Amendment’s guarantee of equal protection. The case was brought because Linda Brown, a third grader, had had to take a bus to a “colored” school instead of being able to attend the school that white children attended closer to her house. Thurgood Marshall argued that this was unfair and unconstitutional.

Vocabulary

plaintiff, n. a person who begins a legal action

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about the Jim Crow laws that had been introduced in the South after the Civil War.

Writers’ Corner

Using your research on Jim Crow, write a report about what life was like for Black Americans living in the South who were subjected to these laws.

The court’s nine justices agreed. In its unanimous decision, the court said, “In the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.” The next year, the court ruled that the desegregation of public schools had to be undertaken with “all deliberate speed.”

Think Twice

What statement do you think the Supreme Court was making when it urged that the desegregation of public schools be undertaken with “all deliberate speed”?

Jack Roosevelt Robinson (1919–72) became the first Black American Major League baseball player of the modern era in 1947.
Organized Resistance

But instead of following the Supreme Court’s ruling to integrate public schools, 101 Southern congressmen issued the “Southern Manifesto.” In it, they vowed to use “all lawful means” to oppose the court’s order to desegregate. Across the South, white supremacist citizens’ councils were formed in opposition to the court’s ruling in *Brown*. One Black American congressman, Adam Clayton Powell—a Baptist minister who represented Harlem in the U.S. House of Representatives—spoke out in Congress to challenge the white supremacists’ efforts.

Resistance to desegregation was so intense that President Eisenhower had to send U.S. Army troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, in September 1957. They were there to protect nine Black high school students known as the Little Rock Nine. Each day, these students walked past angry white mobs on their way to what had been an all-white school.

Southern resistance to school integration continued into the 1960s. In 1963, the governor of Alabama, George Wallace, declared, “Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.” Later that year, Wallace fulfilled his promise to “stand in the schoolhouse door.” He personally blocked the door of a building on the University of Alabama campus to keep Black students from registering for classes.

Think Twice

Why do you think some people resisted desegregation in the South?

The Civil Rights Movement Takes Shape

Racism and violence continued. On August 28, 1955, Emmett Till, a fourteen-year-old Black American boy, was murdered for allegedly offending a white woman in a grocery store in Money, Mississippi.
Emmett, who was from Chicago, had been visiting family in Mississippi that summer. One hundred days after Emmett Till’s brutal murder, forty-two-year-old Rosa Parks, a seamstress in a local department store, was arrested in Montgomery, Alabama. She had refused to give up her bus seat to a white passenger and move to the back of the bus. Rosa Parks’s arrest sparked the yearlong Montgomery bus boycott—a boycott that ended in victory with a Supreme Court ruling that segregation on public buses was unconstitutional. But the fight for civil rights was far from over, and more violence followed. In June 1963, civil rights activist Medgar Evers was murdered in Mississippi. Time and again, members of the civil rights movement encountered violent opposition, but they kept going. One man in particular had emerged to lead the civil rights movement and give people hope. That man was Martin Luther King Jr.

Find Out the Facts
Find out more about the murder of Emmett Till.

Rosa Parks, a seamstress, is seen here being fingerprinted after her refusal to move to the back of a bus to accommodate a white passenger.
Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is the most celebrated leader of the civil rights movement. He was the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a Baptist minister with a PhD in theology from Boston University. King encouraged peaceful, organized resistance to racism and the oppression of Black people in American society. Such peaceful protests took the form of sit-ins, marches, and public gatherings. When these peaceful protestors refused to disperse, they were often beaten and jailed. Still, King urged that success would come as a result of nonviolence.

Black college students in particular played an important role in organizing peaceful protests. For example, in 1960, four college students sat down at a Woolworth store’s lunch counter and ordered a cup of coffee. Refused service and asked to leave, they instead remained in their seats, practicing peaceful passive resistance. They returned the next day, along with others, and were again refused service. Their Woolworth lunch counter sit-ins helped spark further civil rights actions of protest by college students.

The Congress of Racial Equality was an organization that pioneered the use of nonviolent direct action in the civil rights movement. In 1961, it helped organize the Freedom Riders. The Freedom Riders were groups of Black and white civil rights activists who rode buses together into the South. At bus terminals from South Carolina to Alabama, they were brutally beaten—at times with baseball bats. In one instance, a bus on which Freedom Riders were traveling was firebombed. The violence became so intense that Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the brother of John F. Kennedy, sent federal marshals to protect them. John Lewis, a young Black man and member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was one of the original thirteen Freedom Riders. Many years later, Lewis served in the United States Congress.

Find Out the Facts
Find out more about the Freedom Riders and their experiences.

Writers’ Corner
Using your research on the Freedom Riders, imagine you are one of them. Write an account of an experience you might have had.
Black voter registration drives were another important part of the civil rights movement. During what was called the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project in 1964, hundreds of mostly white volunteers joined with Black Mississippians in going door to door to register Black voters. Three young men, two white and one Black, were murdered as they worked together in Mississippi that summer, their bodies dumped in a shallow grave. James Chaney was from Meridian, Mississippi; Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner were from New York City.

King had been jailed in Birmingham, Alabama, for protesting the mistreatment of Black Americans. In April 1963, he wrote a letter now known as the “Letter from Birmingham Jail.” In that letter, King asserted that people have a moral responsibility to take direct action—action in which they may have to break unjust laws. King wrote, “A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law, or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law.”
On August 28, 1963, a crowd of some 250,000 people gathered at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. Before them, King delivered his now-famous “I Have a Dream” speech. In this speech, he set out his vision for a world in which people are judged not “by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.”

In 1965, the Selma to Montgomery march took place as part of a series of protests and marches against the injustices of segregation and racial prejudice and in support of voting rights for Black Americans in Alabama. Those on the march faced violence from local authorities and white supremacist groups. The world watched in horror. Only under the protection of the National Guard were the protesters able to complete the march. It was becoming clear to many in government that the need for change was long overdue. Lyndon Johnson, president of the United States from 1963 to 1969, became central to the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a great triumph for the civil rights movement. The law prohibited discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 became another landmark success. The act prohibited racial discrimination in voting.
Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society

In the mid-1960s, President Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society programs transformed key elements of American life. The Great Society was a set of federal social welfare programs. It had the goal of ending both poverty and racial injustice. Among the Great Society’s many programs were Medicare, Medicaid, and Head Start. Johnson’s Great Society greatly expanded government services. To support these services, he introduced higher taxes.

Medicare is a federally funded program that pays large portions of medical bills for the elderly. Medicaid does the same for low-income households. Project Head Start offers federally funded preschool to children from low-income households. In education, Great Society legislation included the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provides significant federal aid to public schools. Johnson’s Great Society also included his “war on poverty” initiative, by which the federal government funded Community Action Agencies. This initiative included the active participation of lower-income individuals in hopes of improved solutions for ending poverty.

Malcolm X

In the 1960s, Malcolm X and the Black Power movement began to fight racial injustice in a different way. Malcolm X did not believe that the peaceful, nonviolent approach of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. would succeed. For it to succeed, he thought, enough people would have to believe that Black Americans faced widespread discrimination and act to change it. Instead, Malcolm X urged Black Americans to act “by any means necessary” to protect themselves.
Once a leading figure in the Nation of Islam, a religious organization, Malcolm X eventually left it. He then began working to bring the human rights struggle of Black Americans to the world stage. He was assassinated by members of the Nation of Islam on February 21, 1965. By the late 1960s, the Black Power movement emphasized Black consciousness, cultural pride, self-reliance, and a turn away from the practices of peaceful nonviolence. The Black Panthers, a part of the movement, carried guns on the streets of Oakland, California, and elsewhere.

In August 1965, the Watts riots, in the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles, resulted in thirty-four deaths and hundreds of people injured. Many stores and other buildings were looted and burned. In July 1967, riots in Newark, New Jersey, left twenty-six people dead and hundreds injured. In the rioting in Newark—as in riots in cities across the United States in these years—there was extensive looting and property destruction amid the lawlessness. Among the causes of the riots were Black Americans’ long-standing stance against racial injustices.

Then on April 4, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated by a gunman as he stood on the balcony of his hotel in Memphis, Tennessee. Two months later, Robert Kennedy was campaigning. A civil rights advocate, he had hoped to become president like his brother. But after giving a campaign speech, Robert Kennedy was assassinated in Los Angeles by a gunman. The quest for a true and equal society had begun, but it had most certainly not been completed.

Think Twice
How would you compare the methods used by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcom X to achieve civil rights in the United States?

The Nixon Years
Richard Nixon won the 1968 presidential election. His “Vietnamization” plan called for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and for South Vietnamese soldiers to take over the fighting. The war formally ended in 1975. Fifty-eight thousand Americans and millions of Vietnamese had died in the war. Many American soldiers returned from the war with terrible injuries—both physical and mental. These returning soldiers were rarely hailed as heroes, and their medical needs were sometimes ignored.
The early 1970s was also a time in which President Nixon’s secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, initiated détente with the Soviet Union. In an effort to cool Cold War tensions, Kissinger prepared the way for President Nixon’s groundbreaking trip to China. President Nixon’s détente strategy lessened Cold War tensions with both countries. The Nixon Doctrine called for the U.S. to support allies with economic and military aid, but not ground troops. In 1973, Congress passed the War Powers Act to limit presidential powers in times of military actions that were not a formally declared war.

But Nixon is perhaps best remembered for the Watergate scandal that ended with his resignation in 1974. The scandal began in 1972. Five men were arrested after having broken into the offices of the Democratic Party’s national headquarters, in the Watergate Hotel in Washington, D.C. Investigators traced the instigation of the burglary to the White House. Nixon, standing accused by the House Judiciary Committee of obstruction of justice, abuse of power, and contempt of Congress, resigned rather than face impeachment.

**Vocabulary**

*détente*, n. a policy that relaxes tensions between nations

Find out more about the Watergate scandal.

**Writers’ Corner**

Using your research on the Watergate scandal, imagine you are a journalist who has been assigned to write a front page report on the scandal. In your report, explain why Nixon would have faced impeachment.

Select a topic covered in this chapter that you have not written about, and write a report.
Chapter 7
The United States at Home and on the World Stage (1975–2000)

The Big Question
What were some of the main challenges facing the United States in the last twenty-five years of the 1900s?

The final quarter of the 1900s—1975 to 2000—was a tumultuous time. Social activist organizations that had taken off in the 1960s continued to press their desire for change. At the same time, a new conservatism also flourished. After several years of economic recession in the 1970s and early 1980s, the economy grew expansively in the 1980s and 1990s.
Alongside economic and social changes, technological advances changed the world. It may be difficult to imagine a world without them, but personal computers, cable television, and video games were all introduced in the 1970s. Medical advances during the 1970s included new methods of imaging organs and diagnosing disease, including MRI machines and CAT scans.

The era also witnessed the rise of rap music (also known as hip-hop), the beginning of the Star Wars movie franchise, and thought-provoking TV shows that reflected divisions and social tensions in American society. The miniseries Roots told the story of a Black American family through time.
The life of a career woman was portrayed in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. The sitcom *All in the Family* was the story of a white family dealing with many of the economic and social issues confronting the nation.

In the 1980s, the twenty-four-hour news cycle commenced when CNN began its broadcasts. The first space shuttle took flight in 1981. Video rental shops sprang up on street corners across the nation as the VCR (videocassette recorder) became a popular way to watch movies. The Rubik’s Cube had its American debut. By decade’s end, cell phones were coming increasingly into use.

In 1990, the Hubble Space Telescope went into orbit. The mapping of the **human genome** accelerated during the 1990s. The Internet and World Wide Web opened new opportunities for **global commerce** and communication. Email became a popular method of communication. Future Internet giants Google and Amazon were founded; they joined Microsoft and Apple, both founded in the 1970s. Bill Gates, the founder of Microsoft, became the richest man in the world in 1995, a title he held for many years. In 1998, the International Space Station program began. Popular movies of the decade included *The Lion King*, *Jurassic Park*, *Star Wars*, and *Titanic*. Alongside these many technological and cultural changes, a number of social movements flourished.

**Vocabulary**

**human genome**, n. the full sequence of genes—the parts of the cell that control the way someone looks, their growth, etc.—that humans possess

**global commerce**, n. the worldwide buying and selling of goods and services

**Think Twice**

In what ways would your life be different without access to the Internet?

**Writers’ Corner**

Imagine a world in the future without modern technology and forms of communication. Write a creative essay about this world and what it would be like to live in it.
The Rise of Social and Environmental Activism

One social movement that had gained some ground in the 1960s was the American Indian Movement (AIM). The movement continued into the 1970s and beyond. AIM was formed in 1968 and was led by Russell Means, Dennis Banks, and others. AIM demanded better health care and housing, as well as greater educational and employment opportunities for Native Americans. In the early 1970s, AIM activists occupied Alcatraz Island, Mount Rushmore, the offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the town of Wounded Knee in South Dakota. (In December 1890, members of the U.S. Army had massacred nearly three hundred Lakota Sioux at Wounded Knee.) As a result of this activism, Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act in 1975. The new law had several advantages. It gave Native Americans greater control over their reservations. It opened more jobs within the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs to them. And, it provided more money for Native American education.

Russell Means, an Oglala Lakota activist, traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, in September 1977. There, he delivered a speech in which he spoke of his people “suffering genocide” at the hands of the United States. “We’ve come to you,” he said, once again to tell you that for centuries since the invaders came to our shores, we have shown the world mutual respect. We have come to show that respect. We are people who live in the belly of the monster. . . . I come not to turn the other cheek. We have turned it now for almost five hundred years, and we realize that here in Geneva, this is our first small step into the international community.

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about Native American activism today, including some of the main issues still to be resolved.
César Chávez and United Farm Workers

The civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s included the efforts of many Latino and Hispanic people. They were people of richly diverse backgrounds. They traced their heritage to Mexico, Central and South America, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and elsewhere. Several issues were important to many in the nation’s Latino communities. Important issues included bilingual education, an end to employment discrimination, and improved living conditions.

During the 1960s, César Chávez led a drive for the rights of migrant farmworkers in California. He, Dolores Huerta, and Larry Itliong joined together to form a migrant workers’ union called United Farm Workers (UFW).

For five years, the UFW led a successful nationwide boycott of table grapes. In 1970, the boycott resulted in a settlement with the owners of the vineyards. The agreement called for improved wages, benefits, and working conditions for the largely Mexican American workforce. Huerta helped negotiate migrant workers’ contracts, spoke about the need for safer working conditions, and fought for unemployment and health care benefits.

Influenced by Mahatma Gandhi, a renowned Indian leader, Chávez believed in using direct but nonviolent protests, such as pickets, marches, and boycotts, to persuade farm owners to grant strikers’ demands.

Writers’ Corner

Using your research on Native American activism, write a report that includes information on some of the challenges as well as the successes experienced by Native American groups today.
The feminist movement of the 1960s continued in the final quarter of the 1900s. It achieved enduring advances for women and changed society in countless ways. From the Seneca Falls Conference in 1848 to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, what scholars call first-wave feminism had mainly focused on women’s right to vote. (In 1979, Susan B. Anthony was the first woman to appear on an American coin.) Beginning in the 1960s, a second wave of feminist activism emerged and continued into the 1970s and 1980s. It began with the 1963 publication of Betty Friedan’s book *The Feminine Mystique*. The book quickly became a best seller. In it, Friedan describes the discontent of many women who, as suburban homemakers, were often left feeling unfulfilled.

Friedan and others in the women’s movement drew inspiration from the civil rights movement’s organizations and activism. In 1966, Friedan helped found the National Organization for Women (NOW), a group demanding equality for women in employment, education, and political representation.

Find Out the Facts
Find out more about César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and Larry Itliong, as well as the working conditions and rights of migrant workers, both then and today.
Friedan wrote NOW’s founding statement of purpose. It reads, in part:

We . . . believe that the time has come for a new movement toward true equality for all women in America, and toward a fully equal partnership of the sexes, as part of the world-wide revolution of human rights now taking place within and beyond our national borders.

The purpose of NOW is to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men. . . .

We organize . . . to break through the silken curtain of prejudice and discrimination against women in government, industry, the professions, the churches, the political parties, the judiciary, the labor unions, in education, science, medicine, law, religion and every other field of importance in American society.

In the early 1970s, the National Women’s Political Caucus helped recruit, train, and support women in their efforts to gain political office. Important members included Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm, and Fannie Lou Hamer.

As in other movements, there existed a range of views among feminists. Some feminists focused on *discriminatory practices* in the workplace and before the law. Others, who had participated in the civil rights and student movements of the 1960s, took up a more radical activism. These feminist activists claimed that “the personal is political.” They sought “women’s liberation” and a *reevaluation* of traditional male and female roles within the family and in society. Women across the movement worked to identify and fight against sexism—the stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination experienced by women.

**Vocabulary**

*discriminatory practices*, n. usual actions that are prejudiced against a group

*reevaluation*, n. the process of thinking about the significance or worth of something again

**Think Twice**

What does the phrase “silken curtain of prejudice and discrimination” imply?

What do you think the author means by “a reevaluation of traditional male and female roles”?
Feminists joined together in groups to discuss ideas, build community, and act. Feminists organized women’s bookstores, women’s studies programs, and women’s health collectives and crisis centers.

On August 26, 1970, NOW sponsored the Women’s Strike for Equality. It was a gathering of some fifty thousand women in New York City and many thousands more women around the country. And in the same year, the Boston Women’s Health Collective published *Our Bodies, Ourselves*. That same year, Robin Morgan edited *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women’s Liberation Movement*.

In 1972, the first issue of *Ms.* magazine sold a quarter of a million copies. The magazine was founded by feminist Gloria Steinem. (A person could not tell the marital status of men because they were all referred to as “Mr.,” but there was a double standard in the treatment of women. Unmarried women were “Miss”; married women, “Mrs.”) During these years, some women stopped the practice of taking their husband’s last name in marriage.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 had made it illegal to pay men and women in the same workplace different wages for similar work. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex as well as race in employment.

Making a law and enforcing that law, however, are two different things. Even with the 1963 and 1964 laws on the books, women repeatedly found that they had to fight for “equal pay for equal work.” They did so in the final years of the 1900s, both through the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and through challenges in the courts.

Gloria Marie Steinem (b. 1934) is an American feminist, journalist, and social and political activist who became nationally recognized as a leader of and media spokeswoman for the women’s liberation movement in the late 1960s and 1970s.
Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments Act prohibits sex discrimination in education. It reads: “No person in the United States shall, based on sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” One of the consequences of Title IX has been an improved balance between the number of women’s and men’s sports teams in universities. The act has also had other important effects on higher education.

That same year, in 1972, Congress sent the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the states for ratification. First introduced in 1923, it reads: “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.” The ERA was supported by NOW and other feminist organizations. It was opposed by conservative organizations—including Phyllis Schlafly’s “Stop ERA” initiative. The proposed amendment fell short of the required thirty-eight states for ratification and did not become law.

In 1973, the Supreme Court’s decision in Roe v. Wade created a constitutional right for women to obtain an abortion during the first three months of a pregnancy. The decision in Roe remains controversial to this day.

Throughout American history, men had far outnumbered women in colleges and universities. But by the late 1970s, women undergraduates outnumbered men. By the mid-1980s, women were earning more master’s degrees than men. By the early 2000s, more women than men earned doctoral degrees. In 1970, only five percent of law school graduates and eight percent of medical school graduates were women. But by 1998, forty-four percent of law school graduates and forty-two percent of medical school graduates were women. By 2016, most law school students were women. In 2019, there were more women enrolled in medical school than men.

Token representation of women in some professional fields increasingly gave way to more widespread opportunities and achievements. Sandra Day O’Connor became the first woman on the United States Supreme Court in 1981. In 1983, Sally Ride became the first American woman in space. Barbara McClintock won the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine for her work in genetics that same year. In 1984, Geraldine Ferraro became the first...
Sally K. Ride, seen here in the Space Shuttle Challenger, became the first American woman astronaut when she went into space on the STS-7 mission on June 21, 1983.

woman on a major-party ticket to run for vice president. In 1990, Antonia Novello became the nation’s first female surgeon general. Janet Reno served as the nation’s first woman attorney general beginning in 1993. In 1997, Madeleine Albright became the nation’s first female secretary of state. In 1993, the number of women in the House of Representatives was forty-seven, and the number of women senators was six. (In 2021, a record 142 women served in the House of Representatives or the Senate.)

Find Out the Facts
Find out how many women serve in the Senate and the House of Representatives today.
Housing, Busing, and Affirmative Action

Issues of civil rights for Black Americans and other minorities were continued in the 1968 Fair Housing Act and the U.S. Supreme Court’s unanimous ruling in 1971 upholding the busing of schoolchildren to achieve racial integration in public schools. The issue of affirmative action was also hugely important during these years. Affirmative action is the use of policies or practices to increase the numbers of persons from certain groups in areas where they have historically been underrepresented or excluded, such as employment or higher education, most often on the grounds of race or gender. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy issued an executive order that private contractors funded by the federal government “take affirmative action” to hire minorities. In 1970, President Richard Nixon issued an executive order that contractors funded by the federal government develop “an acceptable affirmative action program.” In 1977, the Supreme Court upheld the use of race as one criterion in university admissions decisions, although it struck down the use of racial quotas.

The issue of affirmative action continued, and in 2003, the Supreme Court ruled that college admissions officers can favor “underrepresented minority groups” as long as they consider other factors on an individual basis for each applicant.

By the 1980s, there were increasing numbers of Black Americans serving as mayors of cities, from Los Angeles to New York City. Black Americans were increasingly being elected or appointed to public offices of government at the local, state, and federal levels. In 1990, L. Douglas Wilder became the nation’s first Black American governor when he was elected governor of Virginia.

Environmental Activism

The environmental movement seeks the management of the environment through responsible public and corporate policies. It also calls for conscientious individual behavior. Simply put, environmental groups call for large corporations and members of the public to actively care about the long-term well-being of the earth. The Sierra Club, founded in 1892, and the Natural Resources Defense Council, founded in 1970, are among the many environmental organizations in the United States.

Vocabulary

“conscientious individual behavior” (phrase), making personal choices according to what is right rather than personal desires
States. Some of these organizations have thousands or even millions of members.

Rachel Carson’s bestselling 1962 book, *Silent Spring*, was an important spark in the environmental movement. In her book, Carson emphasized the fragility of the ecosystem. She pointed out the threat that pesticides and other chemicals pose to the environment and to animals, including human beings. Songbirds were being killed by toxic pesticides. If the practice of spraying DDT and other pesticides was continued, Carson warned, instead of a springtime filled with birds’ songs, there would be a silent spring. By 1970, the modern environmental movement had kicked into high gear. That year, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was founded, and the first Earth Day was held.

**Vocabulary**

*pesticide*, n. a chemical or other substance used to kill pests

The problem of toxic industrial waste came to public attention in 1978. At that time, residents of the Love Canal neighborhood of Niagara Falls, New York, were falling ill. A resident named Lois Gibbs and other investigators uncovered records that solved the mystery. They showed that years earlier, the site had been used to dump harmful chemicals.

**Vocabulary**

*toxic industrial waste*, n. poisonous material that is created in the manufacturing process

Since it began in April 1970, Earth Day has been a national and international day of action and education. It includes community cleanup and recycling projects as well as educational forums on sustainability and climate change. In addition, the Endangered Species Act of 1973 is a federal law whose purpose is to prevent the extinction of at-risk plants and animals.

**Think Twice**

What, in your opinion, are some of the most important environmental challenges facing us today?
In 1980, Congress passed the federal “Superfund law,” which requires the EPA to investigate and supervise the cleanup of hazardous “Superfund” sites. Today, there are some 1,600 Superfund sites on the National Priorities List.

Nuclear power stations are at risk of releasing harmful radiation into the atmosphere. Concerns about the use of nuclear power to generate electricity were highlighted on March 28, 1979. At the Three Mile Island nuclear power station in Pennsylvania, a failure in the nuclear reactor’s cooling system led to a partial meltdown of one of the reactors. As it turned out, only trace amounts of radiation escaped into the atmosphere, and no illnesses were recorded from the incident. Three Mile Island, however, gave a big boost to the antinuclear movement because people realized that a catastrophic accident could happen. In September 1979, in New York City, an antinuclear gathering attracted almost two hundred thousand people. No new nuclear power plants have been built in the United States since the accident at Three Mile Island.

In 1986, at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant in the Soviet Union, the worst nuclear power disaster in history took place. It happened when a reactor at the power station exploded. The explosion released a massive amount of radioactive material into the atmosphere. To this day, more than one hundred towns and villages remain abandoned. That’s because of the continued presence of radioactive isotopes in the soil over thousands of square miles.

In 1989, the Exxon Valdez struck a reef in Prince William Sound in Alaska. The resulting oil spill poured more than ten million

The Chernobyl nuclear disaster occurred in 1986. This image shows a doll lying in an abandoned nursery school in a now-abandoned village near Chernobyl, Ukraine.
gallons of crude oil into the sound. Black, viscous oil washed ashore along hundreds of miles of Alaskan coastline. The area is a habitat for seabirds, seals, salmon, and sea otters. The cleanup effort took years.

The last quarter of the 1900s was also a time of increasing concerns about human-made climate change. The Kyoto Protocol of 1997 extended the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. These efforts sought to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Climate change has been raising temperatures around the globe. It is identified by many scientists as a catastrophic global risk. Some efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions have been politicized, and as a result, obstacles have at times been put in the way.

**Vocabulary**

climate change, n. a long-term change in global climate and weather patterns

greenhouse gas emissions, n. substances that are released into the air that trap heat from the sun in Earth’s atmosphere

**Find Out the Facts**

Find out more about one of the environmental disasters mentioned here.

**Writers’ Corner**

Using your research on a particular environmental disaster, write a report explaining the consequences of what occurred.

**President Ford**

Gerald R. Ford served as president of the United States from August 1974 to January 1977. He became the thirty-eighth U.S. president. As Richard Nixon’s vice president, he rose to the presidency upon Nixon’s resignation. That resignation was due to the Watergate scandal. Ford took office at a time of economic recession and in the aftermath of the loss of the Vietnam War. During his two and a half years in office, President Ford introduced “Whip Inflation Now” (WIN), a plan to reduce “stagflation.” Stagflation is a word that was coined in the 1970s to convey a time when the economy faces both stagnation in job growth and price inflation. Price inflation means that the prices of products increase (they cost more). Inflation can also be described as a decrease in the purchasing power of a dollar. President Ford’s economic plans called for government spending cuts. He called for America to become less reliant on foreign oil. Ford’s Energy Policy Conservation Act of 1975 included money for alternative energy research.

**Vocabulary**

reliant, adj. depending on something or someone
For the first time, the government federally mandated mileage standards for American cars. And, hoping to move the United States away from its dependence on foreign energy sources, the bill also called for the expansion of domestic oil and coal production.

President Carter

In 1976, former Georgia governor Jimmy Carter defeated President Ford by a narrow margin to become the thirty-ninth U.S. president. Carter, however, proved little more successful than Ford in addressing stagflation. Things only got worse for Carter when oil prices spiked in 1979, when Iran stopped supplying the world market with oil for a time during the Iranian Revolution.

In international affairs, in 1978, President Carter won acclaim for his role in facilitating the Camp David Accords. The accords were a set of agreements. In them, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin negotiated Egypt’s recognition of Israel. They also negotiated Israel’s return of the Sinai Peninsula to Egyptian control. Many hoped the Camp David Accords might be the beginning of a wider peace in the Middle East.

Find Out the Facts

Find out what President Carter and the Egyptian and Israeli leaders hoped to achieve in the long term in the Middle East. Then find out what the situation in the Middle East is today.

Writers’ Corner

Using your research on the Camp David Accords and the Middle East today, write a report.

Carter had entered the presidency committed to worldwide human rights. He came under criticism, however, for some of his foreign policy. Those policies withdrew support from anti-communist authoritarian governments, only to see those governments replaced by regimes that many considered more extreme. Critics of Carter’s foreign policy pointed to the pro-communist Sandinistas’ victory in taking control of Nicaragua. They also noted the Islamist government’s rise to power in Iran. Critics thought Carter had failed to understand the complex agendas involved in global relations between nations.

President Carter did little to improve his popularity with the American people in July 1979. He gave a televised speech amid widespread concern about gasoline shortages. In it, he told the American people that “American democracy” was threatened by a “crisis of confidence.” In the speech—subsequently dubbed Carter’s “malaise speech”—the president said, “It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our nation.” The crisis, he said, was “threatening to destroy the social and political fabric of America.”

Further problems overseas followed when, in December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. In response to the Soviet action, Carter withdrew the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II)—an agreement he had negotiated with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev—from consideration by the U.S. Senate. The treaty had sought to address issues regarding the nuclear capabilities of both nations. In response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Carter also embargoed American grain shipments to the U.S.S.R. And he announced that American athletes would not participate in the 1980 Summer Olympics that were to be held in Moscow.

The bad news got worse for Carter when, in early 1979, a pro-American government was overthrown in Iran. In November, militant followers of Iran’s new leader, the Muslim cleric Ayatollah Khomeini, denounced the United States as the “Great
Satan.” They seized control of the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took Americans hostage. President Carter ordered a military rescue mission in April 1980, but it failed. Eight servicemen were killed during the rescue operation when an American helicopter crashed into a transport plane. The hostages were not freed. Months later, on January 20, 1981—a few minutes after President Reagan had finished his inaugural address—Ayatollah Khomeini released the fifty-two hostages.

President Reagan and the New Right

Ronald Reagan soundly defeated Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential election. He became the fortieth U.S. president. Reagan’s victory ushered in an era of conservative political leadership in the United States. Reagan’s victory, as one historian has said, signaled the “triumph of conservatism.” Reagan denounced communism, championed free enterprise, and spoke out against big government. In his campaign for president, he called for a “return to spiritual values” and said he supported laws to ban abortion and permit prayer in public schools. His campaign slogan promised to “make America great again.” He summed up one of his key beliefs this way: “Government is not the solution to our problem, government is the problem.” President Reagan had been propelled into office by a groundswell of support from the “New Right.”

Think Twice
Do you agree or disagree with President Reagan’s view of government?

In creating the United States, the founders did not establish a monarchy or dictatorship. Instead, the writers of the Constitution bet that “We the People” could craft the laws and public policies by which, together, we live. And we would do it through representative democracy and the institutions of federal, state, and local governments. The Constitution gives us freedom of religion and freedom of speech. And we use those freedoms to express our views, commitments, and differing political perspectives. It was amid the free exchange of ideas that a new, modern conservative movement, the New Right, emerged. And it emerged in the same years that witnessed the rise of the counterculture, feminism, and efforts for social change.

A conservative is often described as someone who wishes to conserve
or hold on to traditional practices, values, ideas, and ideals. The modern conservative movement has many roots. One early element in the rise of modern conservatism was William F. Buckley’s founding of the conservative journal *National Review* in 1955. Another element in the rise of modern conservatism took place in 1960 among a group of university students. Meeting at Buckley’s home in Sharon, Connecticut, they formed the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) and issued the “Sharon Statement.”

The statement summed up ideas that would be championed by many on the political right in future years. The Sharon Statement pointed to the importance of limited government. It praised the importance of economic freedom in a free market economy. It placed God at the center of guiding individual lives and good government. And it stressed the need to defeat communism. Conservatives influenced by the thinking of William Buckley and the YAF were among those who would help elect Ronald Reagan president in 1980.

Members of the New Right included supporters of business deregulation and school choice. They included those who opposed the Supreme Court’s 1973 ruling in *Roe v. Wade* regarding abortion. They embraced those opposed to the passage of the ERA. Others in the movement were people angered by court-ordered school busing and those who wanted a return to school prayer (which the Supreme Court had outlawed in 1962). And New Right members included those who believed that affirmative action gave women and Black Americans preferential treatment in hiring, promotion, or university admissions.

A key element in the “Reagan Revolution” was the president’s appointment of conservative justices to the Supreme Court. He appointed conservatives Sandra Day O’Connor, Antonin Scalia, and Anthony M. Kennedy to the court. He also promoted conservative William Rehnquist to the position of chief justice.

Early in his first term as president, Reagan was shot and wounded outside a Washington, D.C., hotel by a gunman. In the operating room, as he lay bleeding from the bullet wound, Reagan joked with the doctors and nurses, “I hope you are all Republicans.” To which a doctor replied, “Today, Mr. President, we are all Republicans.”

**Vocabulary**

deregulation, n. the process of taking away regulations or restrictions
The Reagan Revolution

The New Right helped elect Ronald Reagan the fortieth president of the United States in 1980, and it helped reelect him in 1984. He won reelection by one of the largest margins in American history. As a two-term president, Reagan’s economic approach, he said, would shrink the size of government and bring about economic growth. “Reaganomics” called for a reduction in government spending, tax cuts, deregulation of some industries, and increases in defense spending. Reagan raised Social Security payments and did not cut Medicare payments. He did, however, make cuts to food stamps, low-income housing, and school lunch programs. His administration transferred management of welfare programs to the states as part of its effort to reduce the size, influence, and power of the federal government. This policy extended Nixon’s earlier “new federalism.”

During Reagan’s years in office, the deindustrialization of the American economy—begun decades earlier—continued. More and more jobs moved overseas, and American manufacturing declined. Reagan’s tax cuts and increases in defense spending caused the national debt to more than double during his time as president. And during his time in office, the devastating HIV/AIDS epidemic unfolded.

Vocabulary

**national debt** = n. the amount of money that the government of a country owes to lenders such as banks, companies, or other countries

Find Out the Facts

Select a topic about the United States in the Reagan era, and find out more about it.

Reagan’s Foreign Policy

President Reagan worked to roll back communist influence in the world. He denounced the Soviet Union as an “evil empire.” He authorized a large increase in defense spending to fund anti-communist “freedom fighters” in Afghanistan and elsewhere. He also supported anti-communist authoritarian governments in several countries.

In 1983, the president announced the creation of a space-based Strategic Defense Initiative to shoot down Soviet missiles. The initiative was nicknamed “Star Wars.” It was an ambitious idea, and
one that the president had come up with himself. As it turned out, the technology did not support such an ambition.

Also in 1983, 241 American peacekeeping troops were killed by a truck bomb in Beirut, Lebanon. President Reagan soon withdrew American forces from Lebanon. Two days after the Beirut bombing, U.S. forces invaded the small island of Grenada. There, they replaced a leftist government—which had taken power in a coup—with a government friendly to the United States.

In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union, and relations between the United States and the Soviet Union began to improve. Gorbachev introduced policies of glasnost (Russian for “openness”) and perestroika (economic and political restructuring) in his country. In a few short years, the Communist Party’s control over life in the Soviet Union began to unravel. By the end of Reagan’s second term, communist rule in the Soviet Union was coming to an end.

Find Out the Facts
Find out more about Mikhail Gorbachev and his role in changing society in the Soviet Union.

President Reagan met with Russian leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Reykjavík, Iceland, in 1986. Although no agreement was reached at this meeting, talks eventually led to the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.
The Iran–Contra affair, however, impacted President Reagan’s second term in office. Members of Reagan’s administration wanted a way to enlist Iran’s help in gaining the freedom of American hostages in Lebanon. So they secretly sold tank missiles to Iran. Then they used the money from the illegal missile sales to illegally fund anti-communist groups called the Contras. The Contras were fighting to overthrow the socialist Sandinista government of Nicaragua. The scandal tainted Reagan’s last years in office.

**Find Out the Facts**
Find out more about the Reagan administration’s secret sale of tank missiles and what followed.

**President George H. W. Bush**

President George H. W. Bush was elected the forty-first president in 1988. Bush was an accomplished politician. He had served in the U.S. House of Representatives, as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and as director of the CIA. He then became vice president under President Reagan.

During President Bush’s four years in the White House, the Cold War came to an end. In November 1989, the Berlin Wall fell. In December 1991, the communist Soviet Union went out of existence.

The former U.S.S.R. was soon replaced by fifteen independent countries, Russia the largest among them. After more than four decades, the United States had won the Cold War!

With the Soviet Union gone, President Bush announced the emergence of a “new world order,” but he did not flaunt America’s Cold War victory. Instead, he reached out to offer American aid to the nations of the now former Soviet Union.

Among the events during George H. W. Bush’s years as president:

- In June 1989, a protest gathering of pro-democracy students in Tiananmen

Find out more about the days leading up to the fall of the Berlin Wall, and in particular what happened when it actually came down.

The first parts of the Berlin Wall were demolished by citizens near the Brandenburg Gate in November 1989, after the opening of some of the border crossing points.
Square, Beijing, was ruthlessly put down by the Chinese government. Some students were killed; others were arrested.

- In February 1990, the leader of South Africa, F. W. de Klerk, declared an end to apartheid and released Nelson Mandela, a lawyer and anti-apartheid activist who had been in jail for twenty-seven years.

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- In 1991, George H. W. Bush added conservative Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

- In spring 1992, five days of rioting erupted in Los Angeles after the acquittal of four police officers who had been videotaped beating the motorist Rodney King, a Black American, after they stopped him for speeding. Amid the rioting, which left fifty-three people dead, and as buildings were set on fire and stores were looted, Rodney King appealed for calm. At a news conference, King urged, “People, I just want to say, can we all get along? Can we get along?”

The Gulf War

In 1990 to 1991, with the Cold War coming to an end, the United States led a United Nations military force in the Gulf War to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi control. In the summer of 1990, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein had invaded the oil-rich country of Kuwait. It was a move intended to seize control of Kuwait’s extensive oil fields and to strengthen Hussein’s power in the Middle East. In January 1991, President Bush, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell, and General Norman Schwarzkopf led a response. The brief war against Iraqi forces was called Operation Desert Storm. American-led U.N. forces employed “smart bombs” for the first time. These bombs used laser guidance systems to strike precise targets. The bombs and a massive air and ground campaign drove Saddam Hussein’s army from Kuwait. The Gulf War resulted in few American casualties. But many Iraqi soldiers died.

President Bill Clinton

President Bill Clinton was elected the forty-second president of the United States
in 1992. He served as president from 1993 to 2001. Clinton was a graduate of Yale Law School and had been governor of Arkansas. He was a leader of the New Democrats, a **centrist wing** of the Democrat Party. During his eight years in office, President Clinton raised taxes on the wealthiest one percent, cut taxes on some small businesses, and signed NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) into law.

**Vocabulary**

**“centrist wing”** (phrase), a part of a political party or an organization that holds moderate views

With the Cold War over, Clinton was able to cut military spending and reduce federal spending. During his years as president, the economy boomed, though the earnings of many low-wage workers remained flat. In Clinton’s first year in office, his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, headed an effort to pass legislation on health care. The legislation would have expanded federal funding for the health care of many Americans. But it did not pass.

In 1994, Republicans won control of both houses of Congress in the midterm elections. Led by Newt Gingrich, the Republicans began an agenda they called the “Contract with America.” The agenda called for lower taxes, shrinking the size of government, and welfare reform. Clinton was reelected in 1996, but the “Republican Revolution” was strong. In fact, it was one of the factors that led Clinton to declare in his 1996 State of the Union address: “The era of big government is over.”

In 1996, President Clinton signed a Republican-crafted welfare bill. The bill ended the decades-old Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), a program that gave welfare checks to single mothers, and replaced it with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). This program requires a percentage of its recipients to work or undertake job training.

With the Cold War over, the United States was, as it remains to this day, the world’s only superpower. In the 1990s, U.S. military strength far outdistanced the military capabilities of the rest of the world. Nevertheless, President Clinton faced significant foreign policy challenges.

In 1993 and 1995, first in Somalia and then in the Balkans, President Clinton undertook armed humanitarian interventions. In Somalia in October 1993, as part of an
In his second term, President Clinton was impeached for lying to a grand jury and for obstruction of justice. He sought to cover up an extramarital affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Though impeached by the House of Representatives, Clinton was not convicted by the Senate, and he remained in office.

As the 1900s drew to a close and the dawn of a new millennium approached, many in the United States and around the world wondered what challenges and opportunities the future would bring.

Writers’ Corner

Select one topic in this chapter that you have not already written about, and write a report or prepare a presentation.
In the opening years of the 2000s, Americans enjoyed a level of material wealth undreamed of in earlier ages. By 2019, life expectancy in the United States had risen to seventy-six years for men and eighty-one years for women. (In 1900, it had been forty-six for men, forty-eight for women.) Medical advances of all sorts opened new vistas of treatment and cure.
But the nation also faced, and still faces, powerful—and, at times, unsettling—challenges. These challenges are visible in politics, economics, foreign affairs, public health, and social issues such as racial equality and gun violence.

During this time, a new means of communication, social media, emerged. It was one among many factors that contributed to an intensity of political animosity and unrest, the likes of which the United States had not seen since the turmoil of the late 1960s.

**Social Media, Computers, and Smartphones**

By the second decade of the new century, social media had reshaped the way many people communicated with each other. One 2019 study of American teenagers found that, not including schoolwork, teens spent an average of seven hours and twenty-two minutes a day on their cell phones. Smartphones, computers, the Internet, and social media transformed everyday life for many. In 2000, half of American families owned a personal computer; by 2019, three-quarters did.
A “smartphone revolution” took off in 2007 when Steve Jobs of Apple Inc. introduced the first iPhone. Screen time on phones, tablets, and computers altered the way people communicated with friends, consumed entertainment, and conducted business. By 2019, ninety-six percent of Americans owned a cell phone—as did similar numbers of people in the world’s other advanced economies. Even in the world’s poorest countries, more than half of people had cell phones.

Social media giants came to dominate the market, among them Facebook (founded in 2004), Twitter (2006), Instagram (2010), Snapchat (2011), and TikTok (2016). Concerned parents and others warned of the spread of misinformation, cyber-bullying, racist memes, and confirmation bias on the Internet. Researchers sought to understand the ways in which “screen time” was reconfiguring human relations, shaping young minds, and affecting self-esteem.

Think Twice
What are the positive and negative impacts of social media?

Party politics in the 2000s became closely divided. From 2001 to 2021, Republicans and Democrats alternated in the presidency. The Republican Party found particular strength among conservative voters in rural areas across much of the South and Midwest. The Democratic Party found particular strength among moderate and liberal voters in urban areas in Northeast, Mid-Atlantic, and West Coast states. A practice referred to as gerrymandering, in which state legislatures draw up the boundaries of voting districts in a way that might give one political party an unfair advantage, increased partisanship and reduced political compromise.

Vocabulary

confirmation bias, n. the tendency to look for information or to interpret information in a way that is consistent with a person’s existing beliefs

partisanship, n. the state of choosing one political party, cause, or person over others due to personal affiliation, regardless of other factors
Obviously, labels such as *conservative* or *liberal* do not adequately reveal the reasons why people are drawn to a certain political party. In many cases, people focus on the specific needs and difficulties within their households and immediate communities.

A trend that had begun decades earlier continued as the states of the Northeast and Upper Midwest lost population to the Sunbelt states of the South and West. The outflow of Americans from rural to urban areas also continued. By 2020, about fifty-five percent of Americans lived in the suburbs, thirty-one percent in cities, and fourteen percent in rural areas.

The nation’s rich ethnic diversity, long a part of the American identity, continued. In 2020, more than forty million people—about fourteen percent of the total U.S. population—were immigrants. About half of those immigrants were from Mexico and other Latin American countries, twenty-eight percent were from Asia, and about thirteen percent were from Europe. In 2020, the U.S. population of 330 million accounted for about 4.25 percent of the world’s total population of more than 7.5 billion people.

Find Out the Facts

Research what the terms *conservative* and *liberal* actually mean and how they are used.

Think Twice

What ideals, goals, or hopes for America might conservatives and liberals have in common?

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Political discussion and debate about income inequality in the United States continued in the opening years of the twenty-first century. The top ten percent of income earners’ wealth continued to grow, while that of lower-middle-income earners remained largely flat. This economic trend was made worse by the economic recession that began in 2007.

Discussion of the causes of the “hollowing out of the middle class” occupied the focus of scholars, politicians, and ordinary citizens. In 1970, one in four Americans had worked in manufacturing. By 2019, fewer than one in ten did. Economists point to technological changes (including automation), globalization (including the offshoring of American manufacturing), and the decline of unions as reasons for the rise of the growing economic divide in the United States. And child poverty remained a challenge. In 2018, almost one in six children in the United States lived in poverty.

Find Out the Facts
Find out more about the offshoring of American manufacturing.

Writers’ Corner
Using your research on offshoring, select one product or item that used to be manufactured on a large scale in the U.S. but is now produced overseas. Explain some of the reasons that made this happen.

Think Twice
What impact might ongoing automation, globalization, and offshoring have had on jobs in America?

As United States manufacturing jobs moved overseas, manufacturing in China, and in other countries, grew rapidly. United States consumers purchased hundreds of billions of dollars of goods from Chinese factories in the opening decades of the 2000s. U.S.-China trade relations had, by some measures, proved useful to both countries. American consumers benefited from lower-cost Chinese-made products. People in China benefited as well. China’s trade with the

Vocabulary

**recession**, n. a time of reduced economic activity, when there is little buying or selling

**globalization**, n. the growth of a worldwide economy that includes free trade and the use of inexpensive labor markets in other countries

**offshoring**, n. the policy of moving some jobs or functions of a company overseas to places where labor is less expensive
United States—and with other countries—grew China’s economy. (China’s economy allows some elements of a market economy under Chinese Communist Party oversight). In 1981, some eighty-five percent of people in China lived in extreme poverty, but by 2019, that figure had—astonishingly—fallen to 1.7 percent.

President George W. Bush (2001–2009)

President George W. Bush (2001–2009) took office as the forty-third president of the United States in January 2001. Bush, a Republican, had received half a million fewer popular votes than his Democratic opponent, former Vice President Al Gore. But Bush triumphed in the electoral college. After a month-long court battle, the United States Supreme Court, in a 7–2 decision, stopped a recount in Florida. With the recount of ballots in Florida stopped, Bush won the state. He had received 537 more votes than Gore (out of six million cast in the Sunshine State). And with Florida’s twenty-five electoral votes in hand, he won the election. When the dust settled, George W. Bush had received 271 electoral votes to Al Gore’s 266.

George W. Bush is the son of George H. W. Bush, the nation’s forty-first president. He attended Yale and Harvard Universities before starting an oil and gas exploration firm. He later became an owner of the Texas Rangers Major League Baseball team. In his run for the presidency, Bush presented himself as a “compassionate conservative.” As president, he pursued a conservative political agenda. His administration cut taxes, relaxed

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about the 2000 election and the court battle that followed.
environmental standards for industry, and opened drilling for oil and gas in Alaska’s wildlife refuge. He appointed conservatives John Roberts and Samuel Alito to the Supreme Court.

President Bush successfully supported legislation that expanded the federal government’s funding for prescription drugs for elderly Americans. In his second term, he sought to award contracts to private companies for a portion of Social Security, rather than running it as a public program, but was unsuccessful in his effort to privatize Social Security. In education, President Bush supported the No Child Left Behind Act, a program that sought to improve student achievement in school.

**September 11, 2001**

President Bush’s time in office would, however, be chiefly shaped by the terrorist attack on the nation that took place on the morning of September 11, 2001. That Tuesday morning, nineteen extremist Islamist terrorists hijacked four commercial airplanes filled with passengers. They crashed two of the planes into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York, collapsing both buildings. The third plane tore a giant hole in one side of the nation’s military headquarters, the Pentagon, located outside Washington, D.C. The fourth plane was likely headed for the White House or the U.S. Capitol building. Instead, it crashed in a field in rural Pennsylvania after passengers aboard the plane rushed the terrorists in an attempt to retake control of the plane. All told, nearly three thousand people died in the attacks. The attack on September 11 stunned and united the nation—much as Japan’s attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, had.

U.S. intelligence soon identified those responsible for the attack. They were Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda, the militant extremist Islamist network that bin Laden headed. Al-Qaeda and its affiliates had previously struck at the United States several times, beginning in 1993. On February 26, 1993, Islamist terrorists with links to Osama bin Laden had detonated a truck bomb beneath the World Trade Center in New York City. The powerful bomb killed six people but failed to bring down the Twin Towers. In 1998, Islamic terrorists associated with Al-Qaeda attacked the United States’ embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing scores of people. In October 2000, members of Al-Qaeda blew a hole in the side of the USS Cole off the coast of Yemen, killing seventeen U.S. Navy sailors.

**Vocabulary**

embassy, n. the official building in a foreign country in which an ambassador and staff work
On September 11, 2001, two planes crashed into the North and South Towers of the World Trade Center complex in New York City. Within two hours, both 110-story towers collapsed.

Al-Qaeda (Arabic for “The Base”) leaders sought to establish an Islamist caliphate—a government ruled by extremists. These extremists opposed religious freedom and democracy.

In response to the September 11 attack, President Bush declared a “war against terrorism” and focused the U.S. military on the fight against Islamist terrorism in the Middle East. The United States, he said, would capture Osama bin Laden and other leaders of Al-Qaeda “dead or alive.” At the same time that President Bush mobilized the nation for war, he underscored the importance of understanding that the United States’ enemy was the terrorists, not the peaceful followers of Islam. A week after the September 11 attack, the president delivered a speech. In his speech, President Bush said, “The face of terror is not the true faith of Islam. That’s not what Islam is all about. Islam is peace. These terrorists don’t represent peace, they represent evil and war.”

The president continued this theme on September 20, 2001, in a joint address to Congress,

The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends. It is not our
many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists and every government that supports them. Our war on terror begins with Al-Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.

With this distinction clearly in mind, President Bush took swift action. He initiated U.S. military bombing of the mountains in Afghanistan where bin Laden and other terrorists were believed to be hiding. At the same time, an American-led force—aided in their effort by the Afghani Northern Alliance—was able to oust the Taliban, an Islamist extremist group from its control of the government of Afghanistan. U.S. forces, however, were unable to locate Osama bin Laden. And defeating the forces of terrorism proved elusive. The foreign affairs of the United States were altogether reconfigured in the wake of the September 11 attack. In response, the United States undertook years of warfare in the Middle East and began domestic surveillance programs intended to thwart future attacks.

**Vocabulary**

reconfigure, v. to rearrange or change the structure of something

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**Find Out the Facts**

Find out more about the events and impact of September 11.

**Writers’ Corner**

Using your research on the events of September 11, imagine you are a journalist who has been assigned to write an account of what you witnessed firsthand on that day.

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**The Iraq War, 2003**

In 2003, President Bush undertook a war against Iraq and its leader, Saddam Hussein, claiming that the country possessed nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Hussein had used chemical and biological weapons in the past, and President Bush wanted to make sure that he did not do so in the future.

The Iraq War began with aerial and missile bombardment of targets in Baghdad. Those attacks were followed by a ground invasion of Iraq by 140,000 U.S. troops, 45,000 British troops, and a small contingent of forces from other nations. Iraqi forces were soon routed and Hussein overthrown. After the war, no weapons of mass destruction were ever found.
President Bush and his advisers had hoped that U.S. forces would be celebrated as liberators and welcomed by the Iraqi people. That, however, was not what happened. With Saddam Hussein out of power, American forces found themselves battling insurgent factions within Iraq. By 2006, three years after the initial U.S. invasion, some 2,300 U.S. service personnel had died in the ongoing conflict there.

In 2008, the United States began returning control of the provinces to the Iraqi government. By late 2011, the Iraq War was largely concluded. It had cost American taxpayers more than $2 trillion. In 2019, one analysis concluded that from 2001 to 2019, the United States’ involvement in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Pakistan had cost the American people $6.4 trillion.

**Homeland Security**

In October 2001, Congress passed the USA PATRIOT Act, commonly known as the Patriot Act. President Bush signed the act into law. It expanded the federal government’s surveillance power so that future attacks might be discovered before they were carried out. It authorized the government to detain or deport immigrants suspected of being associated with terrorism. And it authorized “warrantless wiretaps,” including the collection of records of cell phone calls.

Traditionally, law enforcement in the United States had needed a warrant—a statement signed by a judge—to authorize wiretapping of suspected criminals. But the Patriot Act allowed the government to collect information about all communications in the United States without a warrant. Critics of the law said that it undermined the American people’s freedom. Supporters insisted that the act was a needed step in the fight against terrorism.

**Vocabulary**

- **surveillance**, n. close observation
- **warrant**, n. document from a judge that authorizes law enforcement officials to search, make an arrest, or seize items

In 2002, Congress created the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). It is a cabinet-level agency that combines some twenty federal agencies. In 2004, the position of director of national intelligence was created to oversee the nation’s intelligence community—including the FBI, CIA, and DHS. Congress also granted the CIA and FBI greater authority to share information.
with each other. President Bush asserted that in a world confronting stateless terrorism the United States needed to be willing to, when necessary, embrace a policy of **preemptive attack**.

**Vocabulary**

“preemptive attack” (phrase), an attack on others to prevent them from attacking first

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**The 2004 Election**

President Bush won reelection in 2004 with fifty-one percent of the vote. His Democratic Party opponent was Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts. Bush defeated Kerry in the electoral college by 286 votes to 252. Republicans also increased their seats in the House and Senate. In the 2006 midterm elections, however, Democrats won control of both houses of Congress. Nancy Pelosi, a Democratic representative from California, became the first woman to serve as Speaker of the House of Representatives in 2007. Some commentators blamed Republicans’ 2006 losses in Congress in part on the Bush administration’s handling of the federal government’s response to Hurricane Katrina. The 2005 hurricane had devastated the city of New Orleans and surrounding areas. It caused more than 1,800 deaths and destroyed billions of dollars in property.

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**Find Out the Facts**

Find out more about Hurricane Katrina and the aftermath of this disaster.

**Writers’ Corner**

Using your research on Hurricane Katrina, write a report about the impact it had on the local community.

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**The Great Recession**

From 2007 to 2009, the American economy was hit by the Great Recession. It was, at the time, the worst financial crisis the nation had faced since the Great Depression in the 1930s. It was brought on by the bursting of a multitrillion-dollar “housing bubble.”

The “housing bubble,” in turn, was the result of many factors, among them financial miscalculations, misdeeds, and fraud. **Mortgages**, housing loans in which the bank can take the house for lack of payment, were considered safe and secure. But a change in federal banking laws had removed barriers between

**Vocabulary**

mortgage, n. a secured loan for the purchase of a house or building that uses the house or building as collateral
commercial and investment banking, and by 2006, that change had triggered a frenzy of activity in the mortgage market. Banks lent unwisely and made risky investments. Some mortgage lenders engaged in fraudulent behavior. Ordinary Americans who wanted to cash in on the housing boom often borrowed more than they could really afford. In 2006, housing prices began to fall. And by late 2007, with the housing bubble burst, the trillion-dollar mortgage market collapsed.

Republicans traditionally favor minimal or modest federal government involvement. But the collapse was threatening other parts of the economy. Federal Reserve chairman Ben Bernanke described the situation as a looming “global financial meltdown.” Republicans as well as Democrats in Congress joined with the Bush administration to undertake swift, massive federal intervention in the economy. Congress passed the Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP), and the U.S. Treasury Department and Federal Reserve poured hundreds of billions of dollars—through direct cash injections as well as loans—into the nation’s banks and financial institutions. Without the federal government’s swift action to bail out the banks and financial institutions they would almost certainly have collapsed.

At the peak of the Great Recession, millions of people had lost their jobs, and unemployment reached ten percent. Over the next several years, the economy slowly recovered. Banks and financial institutions paid back the money the federal government had given to them. Many Americans, however, were angry. Despite their unwise and sometimes fraudulent practices, the banks had been bailed out because they were “too big to fail,” meaning their collapse might have led to the broader economy’s collapse.

**Find Out the Facts**
Research the Great Recession and its impact on the American economy.

**President Barack Obama (2009–2017)**

Barack Obama was elected the forty-fourth president of the United States in 2008. The son of a Black father from Kenya and a white mother from Kansas, he is the first Black American president in U.S. history. From the age of thirteen, the future president was raised in large part by his maternal grandparents in Hawaii.
At the time, his mother had returned to Indonesia to conduct research for her PhD. Obama graduated from Columbia University and then attended Harvard Law School. He worked for a time as a **community organizer** in Chicago and later taught constitutional law at the University of Chicago. After serving three terms in the Illinois legislature, he was elected to the U.S. Senate. In 2004, Obama rose to national prominence when he gave the keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention. The speech was inspiring. In it, he said,

Well, I say . . . tonight, there is not a liberal America and a conservative America; there is the United States of America. There is not a Black America and a white America and Latino America and Asian America; there’s the United States of America. The pundits like to slice and dice our country into red states and blue states—red states for Republicans, blue states for Democrats. But I’ve got news for them, too: we worship an awesome God in the blue states, and we don’t like federal agents poking around in our libraries in the red states. We coach Little League in the blue states, and, yes we’ve got some gay friends in the red states. There are patriots who opposed the war in Iraq and there are patriots who supported the war in Iraq.

In the 2008 presidential election, Obama defeated Hillary Clinton in the Democratic primaries. He went on to win the general election over his Republican opponent, Senator John McCain of Arizona. McCain was a politician and war hero who had served five years in a prisoner of war camp during the Vietnam War. With the support of a broad cross section of the American people, especially including college

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**Vocabulary**

**community organizer**, n. a person who works to organize members of the community to work together to make the community better.
students and Black Americans, Obama won with 52.9 percent of the popular vote. He defeated McCain in the electoral college by 364 votes to 174.

During his first year in office, President Obama appointed liberal Sonia Sotomayor to the Supreme Court, the first Hispanic and Latina member of the court. In his second year, he appointed liberal Elena Kagan, a former dean of Harvard Law School, to the court.

President Obama took over as the nation’s chief executive amid the economic tumult of the Great Recession, and at a time when the United States continued to be involved in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In office, President Obama continued many of the key elements of President Bush’s economic and foreign policies.

In the opening months of his presidency, the Great Recession hammered the economy. Unemployment continued to rise, and the stock market continued to fall. The Obama administration poured hundreds of billions of dollars into the relief program TARP. It also cut taxes, extended unemployment benefits, and funded jobs in education, green energy, and infrastructure projects such as roads and bridges. The Federal Reserve also acted to boost the economy by lowering interest rates and by pumping some $600 billion into the economy.

As part of its efforts, the Obama administration extended $10 billion in loans to automakers Chrysler and General Motors to save those companies and the jobs of their employees. The loans worked, and as the recession eased, the
automotive giants were able to repay the federal government. The massive federal spending helped the economy’s slow recovery, but it also added an enormous sum to the national debt.

In 2010, the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act was passed. The act established federal banking controls and created the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB). The aim of the CFPB was to protect consumers from future mortgage and credit card fraud—all in an effort to ensure that another mortgage meltdown would not happen in the future.

**The Affordable Care Act: Obamacare**

In March 2010, Democrats were in control of both houses of Congress. They enacted a comprehensive health care law called the Affordable Care Act (nicknamed “Obamacare”). No Republicans in Congress voted for the new law. The new law required most employers to offer medical insurance to their employees. It also required adults who had no medical coverage to either buy insurance or pay a fine. It offered subsidies for low-income earners to help them buy medical coverage. The new law required insurers to cover preexisting medical conditions. It also expanded Medicaid coverage for the poor and allowed young people to remain on their parents’ medical insurance until the age of twenty-six. Those who supported the law considered it a bold move toward ensuring that every American had access to health care. In June 2012, the United States Supreme Court ruled the Affordable Care Act to be constitutional under the Congress’s taxing power.

**U.S. Foreign Policy Under President Obama**

President Obama had criticized Bush’s foreign policy during his campaign. But once in office, President Obama continued the deployment of U.S. military personnel in Iraq and Afghanistan. The country was faced with continued terrorist threats, so President Obama continued the nation’s policies on domestic government surveillance.

**Vocabulary**

- **medical insurance**, n. a system in which people pay the insurance company a regular set amount and the company pays some or all of their medical expenses
- **subsidy**, n. a grant of money, often from the government, given to help pay needed expenses
- “**preexisting medical condition**” (phrase), a health problem that someone had before their health insurance coverage began
President Obama made the use of **drones** a cornerstone of the United States’ counterterrorism efforts. During his presidency, he signed off on 540 drone strikes against terrorist targets in Yemen, Pakistan, Somalia, and elsewhere. By one estimate, these strikes killed 3,800 people.

In his second term, President Obama ordered counterattacks against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). The militant extremist Islamist force was seizing areas in Iraq, Syria, and elsewhere with great brutality. On May 2, 2011, the president ordered a secret mission by helicopter in Abbottabad, Pakistan. U.S. Navy SEALs shot and killed Osama bin Laden, the mastermind of the September 11, 2001, attack.

In 2015, President Obama’s administration played a leading role in crafting a multinational agreement in which Iran agreed to stop developing nuclear weapons for a number of years. The United States was joined in the agreement by China, France, Russia, Britain, Germany, and the European Union.

In 2014, President Obama announced the beginning of a process of normalizing relations with communist Cuba. In March 2016, he became the first U.S. president in eighty-eight years to visit that island nation.

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**Vocabulary**

**drone**, n. an aircraft that is controlled remotely instead of manned by people

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**President Donald Trump**

(2017–2021)

Donald Trump served as the forty-fifth president of the United States from 2017 to 2021. Trump, a Republican, won 304 electoral college votes to Democrat Hillary Clinton’s 227 votes. Clinton, however, received 2.8 million more popular votes in the election. Trump, an entrepreneur, was the first person to serve as president without previous government or military experience.

Trump is the son of a real estate magnate. He grew up in New York City, attended the University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton School, and grew his father’s real estate business into a multibillion-dollar enterprise. Trump undertook many other business ventures. From 2004 to 2015, he produced and hosted a reality television series, *The Apprentice*.

Political commentators often described Trump’s politics as populist and nationalist. In office, President Trump cut taxes, increased military spending, introduced immigration restrictions, and supported the deregulation of some industries. He was a protectionist on trade, favoring bilateral international trade agreements over multilateral ones.
He pulled the United States from the Paris Agreement on climate change and from the multinational Iran nuclear deal. Those decisions reversed President Obama’s executive orders.

During his time in office, President Trump appointed three conservative justices to the United States Supreme Court: Neil Gorsuch, Brett Kavanaugh, and Amy Coney Barrett. In the final year of his presidency, the United States, and all countries around the world, were hit by a devastating virus called COVID-19. (On March 11, 2020, the World Health Organization declared COVID-19 a global pandemic.) President Trump is the only president to have been impeached twice, once in December 2019 and a second time in January 2021. He was not convicted by the Senate in either case.

In November 2020, Joe Biden was elected the forty-sixth president of the United States. Biden received 306 electoral college votes to Donald Trump’s 232 votes. Joe Biden had served as Vice President under President Obama. Vice President Kamala Harris became the nation’s first female, first Black American, and first Asian American vice president in U.S. history.

Kamala Harris, the first Black American, first Asian American, and first female vice president, addressed the nation on November 7, 2020.
Beginning in the late 1900s, a growing number of scientists raised the alarm over the slow increase in the temperature of Earth’s atmosphere. The majority of scientists attribute this increase to the burning of fossil fuels—coal, oil, and gasoline—in power plants and automobiles. The general consensus within the scientific community is that climate change poses an enormous threat. Small increases in the temperature of Earth’s atmosphere are called global warming. Such warming gave rise to increasingly intense weather, and weather-related events, such as more powerful hurricanes and growing numbers of wildfires. Scientists and concerned citizens warned that if global warming is not slowed or stopped, the result would be catastrophic. Atmospheric temperature increases would release trillions of gallons of water currently frozen in the **polar ice caps**. That water would permanently flood low-lying coastal regions around the world.

At the 2014 U.N. Climate Change Summit, President Obama said, “There’s one issue that will define the contours of this century more dramatically than any other, and that is the urgent and growing threat of a changing climate.”

The countries that signed the 2015 Paris Agreement aim “to reach global peaking of greenhouse gas emissions as soon as possible to achieve a climate neutral world by mid-century.” This agreement brought all signatory nations together to work to combat climate change and find ways to adapt to its effects.

In 2018, Swedish teenager Greta Thunberg rose to worldwide prominence for her activism on climate change. At age fifteen, Thunberg began taking Fridays off from school to protest outside the Swedish parliament with a sign reading, “School Strike for Climate.” Her actions, spread by social media, influenced students around the world to undertake similar protests.

In 2018 and 2019, Thunberg addressed United Nations Climate Summits in Europe and the United States. To reduce her

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**Think Twice**

What do you think would prompt a teenager to become so passionate about an issue such as climate change?

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**Vocabulary**

**polar ice cap**, n. a dome-shaped ice sheet found at the North or South Pole
Greta Thunberg began to protest about the need to address climate change by sitting outside the Swedish parliament building in Stockholm, Sweden. Greta has proven that one person really can make a difference.

**carbon footprint**, she famously took a sailboat across the Atlantic Ocean rather than flying to attend the August 2019 U.N. Climate Summit in New York City. Thunberg was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Though she did not win that award, she was named *Time* magazine’s Person of the Year for 2019. Thunberg is known for her straightforward style of speaking. Addressing a U.N. Climate Summit in 2018, she said, “You are not mature enough to tell it like it is. Even that burden you leave to us children. But I don’t care about being popular. I care about climate justice and the living planet.”

**Vocabulary**

**carbon footprint**, n. an estimate of the amount of greenhouse gas emissions (carbon dioxide and carbon compounds) caused by an individual, an event, or the manufacture of a product

**Find Out the Facts**

Find out more about the challenges of climate change that are impacting not only the United States but every nation.
In 2019, speaking before the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington, D.C., Thunberg pushed forward a copy of the latest United Nations report on climate change. She said, “I don’t want you to listen to me, I want you to listen to the scientists. . . . I want you to unite behind the science. And then I want you to take action.” Mass rallies and marches in the United States and around the world drew attention to the need for both governmental and individual action to slow climate change.

Wildfires have been increasing across the United States, causing the loss of life, habitats, and homes.

Climate change is causing polar bears to lose large areas of their sea ice habitat.
Native Americans Today

Elements of the Native American movements of the 1960s have continued into the new millennium. These include Native American pride and heritage celebrations. More than five million people identify as Native American or Alaska Native, according to the 2010 U.S. Census. That is 1.7 percent of the U.S. population, with many identifying as at least one other race. Today, Native Americans hold jobs in a range of fields, and some two-thirds live in urban and rural areas, away from tribal reservations. In 2014, President Obama visited the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe in North Dakota. He spoke of the need to address the economic and educational disparity between Native Americans and others in American society. He described it as “a moral call to action.” In 2021, a milestone was reached when Deb Haaland, a Laguna Pueblo member from New Mexico, became the nation’s first Native American secretary of the interior. Haaland was previously one of the first Native American women to serve in Congress.

Landmark Rulings

The events known as the Stonewall riots, which took place in 1969 in New York City, were a defining moment in the fight for gay and lesbian rights in America.

Since then, laws criminalizing homosexuality have been struck down. Restrictions on military service by gay and lesbian people ended in 2011. In June 2015, the U.S. Supreme Court’s landmark 5–4 ruling in Obergefell v. Hodges affirmed that same-sex marriage is constitutionally protected and discrimination on the basis of sexuality is unconstitutional. And in 2020, the Supreme Court prohibited discrimination in employment on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

“A Single Garment of Destiny”

With the onset of the new millennium, the nation faced the devastating impact of the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001. Beginning in 2020, the emergence of COVID–19 and the subsequent pandemic presented other challenges.

More recently, we have witnessed the emergence of Black Lives Matter, a movement that began in the United States.

Think Twice

What do you think the phrase “a moral call to action” means?
As we continue along the path on our quest for racial equality and social justice, we would be wise to remember the words written by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. when he was in jail in Birmingham, Alabama: “Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly.”

In addition, there is a tremendous need to address poverty, to focus on the preservation of our environment, and to address the threats associated with climate change. But like all challenges and problems, there are solutions. The United States has faced tremendous difficulties in the past, and it has overcome them. Indeed, it has emerged from them stronger and wiser. When Americans come together as a nation united by hope, honesty, integrity, and determination, nothing is impossible.

Think Twice

Why might “injustice anywhere” be “a threat to justice everywhere”?

Think Twice

What does the heading “A Single Garment of Destiny” suggest in relation to all of the challenges ahead?

Writers’ Corner

Select one topic in this chapter that you have not already written about, and write a report, narrative poem, short story, or play.
Glossary

A

absolutism, n. a form of government in which the ruler or leader has unchecked authority to do what they want without any restrictions (31)

accommodationist, n. one who compromises or adapts to the attitudes of someone else (35)

“active internationalism” (phrase), a policy of working or cooperating with other nations; the opposite of isolationism (126)

agrarian, adj. relating to farming or agriculture (16)

Allied Powers, n. the alliance of France, Britain, Russia, and Japan during World War I (52)

amphibious landing, n. a coming to shore from the sea on a craft that can navigate both water and land (114)

anarchist, n. a person who rebels against or works to disrupt an established authority, usually a government or an economic system (78)

appeasement, n. the practice of meeting someone’s demands in order to avoid trouble, especially when one does not agree with them (100)

assembly plant, n. a factory in which cars, machines, or other products are put together (68)

asset, n. something that is owned by a person, company, or country (108)

atheist, n. a person who does not believe in a god or gods (65)

atomic bomb, n. a bomb powered by energy that is created by splitting atoms (117)

attrition, n. the act of wearing down by inflicting continuous losses (55)

B

Bolshevik, adj. relating to the Russian political party that seized power during the Russian Revolution; sometimes used as slang for communist (63)

bootlegger, n. someone who supplies illegal alcoholic beverage (75)

C

capitalism, n. an economic system in which resources and businesses are privately owned and prices are not controlled by the government (13)

carbon footprint, n. an estimate of the amount of greenhouse gas emissions (carbon dioxide and carbon compounds) caused by an individual, an event, or the manufacture of a product (192)

carnage, n. the killing of a large number of people; slaughter (55)

celluloid film, n. a strip of transparent plastic used for recording images that can be projected on a screen (70)

census, n. a count of the number of people living in a certain area (44)

Central Powers, n. the alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria during World War I (52)
“centrist wing” (phrase), a part of a political party or an organization that holds moderate views (172)

civic center, n. a building for public performances, sporting events, etc. (29)

climate change, n. a long-term change in global climate and weather patterns (163)

collectivized, adj. organized into group or state ownership rather than private ownership (96)

communist, n. someone who believes in establishing an economic system based on community ownership of property and industry (63)

community organizer, n. a person who works to organize members of the community to work together to make the community better (186)

confirmation bias, n. the tendency to look for information or to interpret information in a way that is consistent with a person's existing beliefs (176)

“conscientious individual behavior” (phrase), making personal choices according to what is right rather than personal desires (160)

containment, n. the act or process of keeping something within certain limits, such as stopping the spread of communism during the Cold War (124)

contaminated, adj. dirty, dangerous, or polluted (31)

corporate bond, n. a certificate from a business that promises interest paid on a loan (81)

counterculture, n. a culture that has different values than the established society or main culture (138)

D

deficit spending, n. the spending of money the government has borrowed (91)
deregulation, n. the process of taking away regulations or restrictions (167)
détente, n. a policy that relaxes tensions between nations (149)
diagnostic, adj. related to identifying a disease or a problem (25)
discrimination, n. unfair treatment of a person or group because of beliefs about that group of people (3)
discriminatory practices, n. usual actions that are prejudiced against a group (156)
draft, n. a system that requires individuals to serve in the military (57)
drone, n. an aircraft that is controlled remotely instead of manned by people (189)

E

economy, n. the way a country manages its money and resources to produce, buy, and sell goods and services (3)

embargo, n. a government order that limits or stops trade (107)

embargo, v. to issue an order that prohibits trade (165)

embassy, n. the official building in a foreign country in which an ambassador and staff work (180)

entrepreneur, n. a person who starts a business (20)
fascism, n. an extreme nationalism in which a dictator controls the public absolutely (95)

Federal Reserve, n. the banking system of the United States government (80)

foreclose, v. to seize, or take, a property because of failure to pay the loan (84)

free enterprise, n. the freedom of businesses to operate without government interference (21)

G

gangster, n. a member of a criminal organization (75)

GDP (gross domestic product), n. the value of all goods and services produced in one country during a specific period, usually a year or part of a year (79)

global commerce, n. the worldwide buying and selling of goods and services (152)

globalization, n. the growth of a worldwide economy that includes free trade and the use of inexpensive labor markets in other countries (178)

greenhouse gas emissions, n. substances that are released into the air that trap heat from the sun in Earth’s atmosphere (163)

H

human genome, n. the full sequence of genes—the parts of the cell that control the way someone looks, their growth, etc.—that humans possess (152)

ideological, adj. concerned with the beliefs of a political party or group (97)

immigration, n. the act of coming to live permanently in a new country (2)

imperialism, n. the practice of gaining power as a country by taking over areas of the world (45)

income tax, n. money based on a percentage of income that people are required to pay to support the workings of the government (110)

indoctrinate, v. to teach someone to fully accept an idea system and to deny free thought (98)

industrialization, n. a shift to the widespread use of machines and factories to produce goods (2)

inflation, n. a rise in prices and a fall in the purchasing value of money (23)

infrastructure, n. the public works system that includes roads, bridges, water, public transportation, etc. (187)

injunction, n. a court order that specifies an action a person or group must or must not take (17)

"interlocking alliances" (phrase), a system in which countries agree to help each other when one of them is attacked (51)

internment, n. the act of confining or imprisoning someone during a war for political reasons (112)

invalidate, v. to prove incorrect or illegal (18)

isolationist, adj. displaying a reluctance to enter international affairs (76)
L

**lawsuit**, n. a process in which the courts decide a disagreement or enforce a right (33)

**League of Nations**, n. an organization formed by members of the Allied Powers immediately after World War I (76)

M

**malnutrition**, n. a state of poor health due to not having enough healthy food (5)

**medical insurance**, n. a system in which people pay the insurance company a regular set amount and the company pays some or all of their medical expenses (188)

**militarism**, n. the building up of a strong military (51)

**mobilization**, n. the process of preparing to fight a war or take other collective action (53)

**modernity**, n. the state of being modern or up-to-date (66)

**mortgage**, n. a secured loan for the purchase of a house or building that uses the house or building as collateral (184)

**moving assembly line**, n. a mechanical system in which a product moves through stages and workers each add a different part to it (68)

N

**national debt**, n. the amount of money that the government of a country owes to lenders such as banks, companies, or other countries (168)

**nationalism**, n. a feeling of pride in one’s nation (51)

**Nazi Germany**, n. Germany, from 1933 to 1945, while under the control of Adolf Hitler and his political party, the National Socialist German Workers’ (Nazi) Party (92)

O

**offshoring**, n. the policy of moving some jobs or functions of a company overseas to places where labor is less expensive (178)

**orator**, n. public speaker (102)

**ostracize**, v. to shun or ignore a person (36)

P

**pacifist**, n. someone who opposes war and violence and refuses to participate (59)

“**pack the court**” (phrase), to add justices to the Supreme Court in order to have a political advantage (88)

**partisanship**, n. the state of choosing one political party, cause, or person over others due to personal affiliation, regardless of other factors (176)

**pesticide**, n. a chemical or other substance used to kill pests (161)

**plaintiff**, n. a person who begins a legal action (141)

**polar ice cap**, n. a dome-shaped ice sheet found at the North or South Pole (191)

**political disenfranchisement**, n. deprivation of the right to vote (35)

**political economy**, n. the combination or interaction of economy and government (11)

**populism**, n. a political movement in the 1890s that claimed to represent ordinary people (22)
post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), n. a psychological response to a highly upsetting and stressful event or series of events, such as a natural disaster, combat in war, or violence (56)

“preemptive attack” (phrase), an attack on others to prevent them from attacking first (184)

"preexisting medical condition” (phrase), a health problem that someone had before their health insurance coverage began (188)

prime interest rate, n. the lowest amount of money charged by a bank for loans (81)

progressive, adj. moving toward new ideas, modern policies, or opportunities (24)

prohibition, n. the prevention of something, such as the sale of alcoholic beverages (75)

propaganda, n. false or exaggerated information that is spread to encourage belief in a certain person or idea (98)

public policy, n. a set of government steps for how something is done (16)

puppet government, n. a government that looks like it is working independently but is instead controlled by another power (101)

recession, n. a time of reduced economic activity, when there is little buying or selling (178)

reconfigure, v. to rearrange or change the structure of something (182)

reevaluation, n. the process of thinking about the significance or worth of something again (156)

regulate, v. to control or place limits on (21)

reliant, adj. depending on something or someone (163)

renaissance, n. a time of intense cultural and artistic growth (73)

reparations, n. compensation given for damages (76)

repatriate, v. to return to one’s country of origin (74)

“run on the banks” (phrase), a time when many customers take their money out of banks for fear that the banks will fail (81)

sabotage, n. the act of destroying something on purpose (112)

socialist, n. a person who supports an economic system in which major industries are owned or regulated by the government rather than by private businesses (40)

social welfare system, n. a nation’s method for ensuring that all citizens’ basic needs are met (83)

speakeasy, n. a nightclub where illegal beverages are sold (75)

stock market crash, n. a rapid and severe drop in stock prices (78)

subsidy, n. a grant of money, often from the government, given to help pay needed expenses (188)
**suburb**, n. a town or small city within commuting, or easy traveling, distance of a large city (137)

**surveillance**, n. close observation (183)

**syndicated newspaper column**, n. a regularly published series of essays or stories that is carried by many newspapers in the country (71)

**synonymous**, adj. alike in meaning, like a synonym (11)

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**T**

**tariff policy**, n. a plan or system of fees placed on imported goods (80)

**totalitarianism**, n. a political system in which the government controls the people completely (95)

**toxic industrial waste**, n. poisonous material that is created in the manufacturing process (161)

**tyranny**, n. an act in which one person or group illegally seizes all government power, usually ruling in a harsh and brutal way (104)

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**U**

**urbanization**, n. the formation and growth of cities (2)

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**V**

**virtuoso**, n. a musician or artist with great skill (70)

**war bond**, n. a document that promises to pay back with interest money loaned to the government for war expenses (110)

**warrant**, n. document from a judge that authorizes law enforcement officials to search, make an arrest, or seize items (183)
Meet the Author: Dr. John Louis Recchiuti

Dr. Recchiuti (pronounced: Re-Cute-tee) studied at Wesleyan University and at Warwick University, U.K., before earning a Doctorate in History at Columbia University. He has taught at the University of Michigan, Columbia University, and New York University. He is the Saffell Endowed Chair in Humanities at the University of Mount Union, and a member of the National Council for Education. His 2007 book, *Civic Engagement*, was nominated for the Bancroft and Parkman prizes.
Author and Subject Matter Expert
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Illustration and Photo Credits

A view of a British trench, Ovillers, 1916 (sepia photo) / English Photographer, (20th century) / English / Private Collection / The Stapleton Collection / Bridgeman Images: 54

Abaca Press / Alamy Stock Photo: 171

African Americans, members of the 369th Colored Infantry, wave from a troop ship as they arrive back in New York City. The regiment was nicknamed the Harlem Hellfighters and the Black Rattlers. c. 1919 / Everett Collection / Bridgeman Images: 60-61

Amelia Earhart In Cockpit (b/w photo) / Underwood Archives/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 72

American troops approaching Omaha Beach / Universal History Archive/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 114-115

Andrew Carnegie American philanthropist / Lebrecht Authors / Bridgeman Images: 20

Apollo 11: Artist view – Apollo 11 - Artist view – Apollo 11 astronauts deployed the American flag on July 20, 1969. Apollo 11 astronauts unfurl the U.S. flag on July 20, 1969. Acrylic and gouache study for Hamilton Collection commemorative plate, 1993 / Photo © Novapix / Bridgeman Images: Cover D, 135


Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler in Munich Germany 25/09/1937 - Munich, Germany 25/09/1937 / Unknown photographer, (20th century) / Private Collection / Stefano Bianchetti / Bridgeman Images: 96

Berlin Wall Construction, Berlin, West Germany, November 30, 1961 (b/w photo) / Underwood Archives / UIG / Bridgeman Images: 130-131

Boris Marinic / Alamy Stock Vector: 195

British poster for the film 'Star Wars' (1977), 1977 (colour litho) / Chantrell, Tom (1916-2001) / British / Private Collection / 76x102 cms / Photo © Christie's Images / Bridgeman Images: 150-151

Captain America annual cover, 1950s (colour litho) / American School, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 122-123

Cartoon depicting Communism and anarchy creeping under the American Flag, 1919 (engraving) / American School, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Peter Newark American Pictures / Bridgeman Images: 78

Cesar Chavez On The Phone (b/w photo) / Underwood Archives/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 155b

Chairman Mao Zedong proclaiming the founding of the People’s Republic of China, from Tianamen Gate, Beijing, 1st October 1949 (photo) / Chinese Photographer, (20th Century) / Chinese / Private Collection / Peter Newark Pictures / Bridgeman Images: 128

Charlie Chaplin, Charlot (b/w photo) / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Look and Learn / Elgar Collection / Bridgeman Images: Cover A, 71

Chernobyl nuclear disaster 1986: dormitory with doll demembree lie in an abandoned creche of a village near Chernobyl Ukraine (Dormitory, abandoned kindergarten of a village in the contaminated zone, near Chernobyl, Kopachi, Ukraine, Europe) February 2015 / © Imagebroker / Bridgeman Images: 162

Chicago Haymarket Labor Riot of 1886, engraving published in Harper’s Weekly, 15 May 1886 (engraving) / American School, (19th century) / American / Private Collection / Peter Newark Pictures / Bridgeman Images: 19

China / USA: Chairman Mao Zedong shakes hands with President Richard Nixon, Beijing, February 21 1972 / Pictures from History / Bridgeman Images: 148

Deportation of Jewish Children from the Warsaw Ghetto to concentration camps, 1943 (b/w photo) / © SZ Photo / Bridgeman Images: 107

dpa picture alliance / Alamy Stock Photo: 181

Dustin Mackay: 154-155a

Dweller in Circeville’s "Hooverville," central Ohio. 1938 Summer. / Universal History Archive/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 82a

Edward C. Gleed and two unidentified Tuskegee airmen. / Universal History Archive/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 113

Eleanor Roosevelt holding United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 1949. She was chair of UN Human Rights Commission that produced the document / Everett Collection / Bridgeman Images: 120-121

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) and Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906) c.1880 (b/w photo) / American Photographer, (19th century) / American / Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University / © Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard / Bridgeman Images: 38-39

European immigrants passing the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbour, 1892 (coloured engraving) / American School, (19th century) / American / Private Collection / Peter Newark American Pictures / Bridgeman Images: Cover B, 89

Farm family drive away from the Dust Bowl, 1936 (b/w photo) / Lange, Dorothea (1895-1965) / American / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 78

First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt Visiting Children’s Hospital, Washington DC, USA, January 1939 (b/w photo) / Harris & Ewing (1905-45) / American / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 87

Ford assembly line, Detroit. 1924 (b/w photo) / Private Collection / Prismatic Pictures / Bridgeman Images: 69

Francis Specker / Alamy Stock Photo : 193a
Freedom Riders Bus Burned (b/w photo) / Underwood Archives/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 145
Garment Factory Workers (b/w photo) / Underwood Archives / UIG / Bridgeman Images: 12
Geoff Smith / Alamy Stock Photo : 174-175
George W. Bush, 2003 (photograph) / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 179
Germany: The Boerneplatz synagogue in flames during Kristallnacht or the 'Night of Broken Glass', Frankfurt, November 10, 1938 (b/w photo) / Pictures from History / Bridgeman Images: 99
Gloria Steinem, 1972 (b/w photo) / Leffler, Warren K. (fl.1963) / American / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 157
Hitler Youth parade circa 1936 / Universal History Archive / UIG / Bridgeman Images: 98
imageBROKER / Alamy Stock Photo: 170
Immigrant Women Sitting on Steerage Deck 1893 (photo) / Universal History Archive / UIG / Bridgeman Images: 2-3
Imperial family of Russia. Tsar Nicholas II is seated with His wife Alexandra and daughters Olga, Tatiana, Mary and Anastasia, circa 1914 (photo) / Unknown photographer, (20th century) / Private Collection / © Giancarlo Costa / Bridgeman Images: 64
Jackie Robinson, 1946 (b/w photo) / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Peter Newark American Pictures / Bridgeman Images: Cover C, 141
Japanese families arriving at Camp Harmony Assembly Center, Puyallup, Washington State, 1942 (b/w photo) / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Peter Newark American Pictures / Bridgeman Images: 112
Jasper Chamber / Alamy Stock Photo : 192
John Maynard Keynes / Lebrecht Music Arts / Bridgeman Images:91
Kindergarten children in Horace Mann School working on doll houses 1917 (photo) / Universal History Archive/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 43
King and people in the streets of London, Armistice Day, 11 November 1918 (litho) / Matania, Fortunino (1881-1963) (after) / Italian / Private Collection / © Look and Learn / Bridgeman Images: 62
London, England: c.1943 Women residents searching through the ruins of their house after a nighttime bombing by Germany. (b/w photo) / Underwood Archives/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 126
Malcolm X / Bridgeman Images: 147
Mother and children Work until 9 P.M. frequently and at times until 10 P.M. or midnight and then sometimes up working before school. 1912 (photo) / Universal History Archive / UIG / Bridgeman Images: 7
Nazi leader Adolf Hitler saluting members of the SA marching at the Nuremberg Rally, Germany, 1927 (colour photo) / German Photographer, (20th century) / German / Private Collection / © Look and Learn / Bridgeman Images: 92-93
New York: Flat Iron Building / Lebrecht History / Bridgeman Images: i, iii, 24-25
No More Broken Treaties, Support the Indian Resistance flyer, 1973 (litho) / American School, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 153
Official portrait of United States President Barack Obama in 2010 (photo) / Universal History Archive/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 186
Oldsmobile Magazine Advert, 1960s (colour litho) / American School, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / © The Advertising Archives / Bridgeman Images: 137
Portrait of Jose Marti (1853-1895), Cuban poet and patriot. Cover in “Bohemia”, February 1, 1959, Cuba. / Unknown Artist, (20th century) / Private Collection / Photo © Leonard de Selva / Bridgeman Images: 48
President Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev / Universal History Archive / UIG / Bridgeman Images: 169
Raising the flag on Iwo Jima, US Marine Corps Memorial, Arlington National Cemetery, Washington DC (photo) / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Peter Newark Pictures / Bridgeman Images: 117
Rosa Parks Gets Fingerprinted (b/w photo) / Underwood Archives/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 143
Russell Milliner / Alamy Stock Photo : 193b
Russia / Soviet Union: Defendants in prison clothing at one of the 'Moscow Show Trials', Moscow, 1936 / Pictures from History / Bridgeman Images: 97
Sally Ride in Space Shuttle Challenger - Sally Ride in the Space Shuttle Challenger: Sally K. Ride, the first American woman astronaut, during the STS-7 mission on 21 June 1983. Astronaut Sally K. Ride, STS-7 mission specialist, performs a number of functions simultaneously, proving the necessity for versatility and dexterity in space travel. Floating freely on the flight deck, Dr. Ride communicates with ground controllers in Houston, moves within feet of important reference data, hand calculators and other aids all at the same time. She is one of the five astronaut crewmembers for the Challenger’s second orbital mission. 21 June 1983 / Photo © NASA / Novapix / Bridgeman Images: 159
Segregated School at Anthoston, Kentucky, 1916 (b/w photo) / Hine, Lewis Wickes (1874-1940) / American / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 34
Selma To Montgomery March, Selma, Alabama, USA, 1965 (b/w photo) / Underwood Archives / UIG / Bridgeman Images: 146
Slum dwelling, New York City c.1905 (b/w photo) / Riis, Jacob August (1849-1914) / American / Private Collection / Peter Newark American Pictures / Bridgeman Images: 28
Small boys climbing on spinning frame to mend broken threads and replace empty bobbins at Bibb Mill, Macon, Georgia, 1909 (b/w photo) / Hine, Lewis Wickes (1874-1940) / American / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 15
Soldiers without guns, 1944 (colour lithograph) / Treidler, Adolph (1886-1981) / German / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 111

Spanish-American War 1898, headline about destruction of USS Maine in New York Journal, 1898 (engraving) / American School, (19th century) / American / Private Collection / Peter Newark Military Pictures / Bridgeman Images: 47

Steve Skjold / Alamy Stock Photo: 177

Students Duck and Cover from a Nuclear Threat, 1962 (silver print photograph) / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Photo © GraphicaArtis / Bridgeman Images: 136

Students in Mechanical Drawing Class at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1902 (b/w photo) / Johnston, Frances Benjamin (1864-1952) / American / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 36

The "Centurion." Sir Edward Seymour's Flagship in the Far East, 1900 (colour litho) / Dixon, Charles Edward (1872-1934) (after) / English / Private Collection / © Look and Learn / Bridgeman Images: 44-45

The battle of Stalingrad, WW2 (colour litho) / Coton, Graham (1926-2003) / British / Private Collection / © Look and Learn / Bridgeman Images: 106

The Battle Of The Somme, 1916 (gouache on paper) / Embleton, Ron (1930-88) / British / Private Collection / © Look and Learn / Bridgeman Images: 55

The Cuban Missile Crisis (colour litho) / Keay, John (20th Century) / English / Private Collection / © Look and Learn / Bridgeman Images: 134

The Evacuation of Dunkirk (b/w photo) / Underwood Archives/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 102

The Hubble Space Telescope is a telescope orbiting the Earth at about 600 km altitude. It is 13 metres long, its main mirror has a diameter of 2.4 metres. He is equipped with spectrometer and several cameras observing the Universe in visible and infrared: Hubble Space Telescope - Artist's View - Hubble Space Telescope. Artwork / L. Bret / Photo © Novapix / Bridgeman Images: 152

The Irish Famine: Scene at the Gate of the Work-House, c.1846 (engraving) (b&w photo) / English School, (19th century) / English / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 5


The Negro exodus - Scenes on the wharves at Vicksburg, 1879 (engraving) / 1879 / Moser, James Henry (1854-1913) / Canadian / Bridgeman Images: 10

The Octopus Who Strangles the World, cartoon from 'The Minneapolis Times', reproduced in 'Lectures Pour Tous', 1902-03 (engraving) (b/w photo) / American School, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / © Archives Charmet / Bridgeman Images: 22

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Trumpeter Louis Armstrong with the King Oliver's Creole Jazzband in Chicago in 1923 with Baby Dodds, Honore Dutry, King Oliver, Bill Johnson, Johny Dodds (clarinet) and Lil Hardin Armstrong (Lillian Harding Armstrong, wife of Louis Armstrong) / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Stefano Bianchetti / Bridgeman Images: 66-67

Unemployed men queuing outside a soup kitchen in New York, c1930, during the Great Depression. / Universal History Archive/UIG / Bridgeman Images: 80

Unemployed worker selling apples outside of his 'Hooverville' shanty home, 1930s (b/w photo) / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Peter Newark American Pictures / Bridgeman Images: 82b

USA / Japan: The USS Arizona (BB-39) burning after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1941 / Pictures from History / Bridgeman Images: 108

Vietnam: US soldiers on a search-and-destroy patrol in Phuoc Tuy province, South Vietnam, June 1966 / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Pictures from History / Bridgeman Images: 139


Women standing holding banners outside the White House Gate, Washington D.C. (b/w photo) / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University / © Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard / Bridgeman Images: 40

Zora Hurston beating the hountar, or mama drum. 1937 (photo) / American Photographer, (20th century) / American / Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 74
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