

Grade 11 US History Social Studies: Year-Long Overview

To be productive members of society, students must be critical consumers of information they read, hear, and observe and communicate effectively about their ideas. They need to gain knowledge from a wide array of sources and examine and evaluate that information to develop and express an informed opinion, using information gained from the sources and their background knowledge. Students must also make connections between what they learn about the past and the present to understand how and why events happen and people act in certain ways.

To accomplish this, students must:

1. Use sources regularly to learn content.
2. Make connections among people, events, and ideas across time and place.
3. Express informed opinions using evidence from sources and outside knowledge.

Teachers must create instructional opportunities that delve deeply into **content** and guide students in developing and supporting **claims** about social studies concepts.

In U.S. History, students explore the evolution of the American identity and its role in the global community as they learn about the industrialization, consolidation, and corporatization of the United States; foreign policy from imperialism to intervention in World War I; economic prosperity and decline between the world wars; the re-assertion of American exceptionalism following World War II and during the Cold War; and the shifting role of the United States in the increasingly intertwined modern global community. The [key themes](#) in U.S. History highlight the connections among the [GLEs](#) that students should make as they develop and express informed opinions about the U.S. History claims.

U.S. History Content	U.S. History Claims	A u g	S e p t	O c t	N o v	D e c	J a n	F e b	M a r	A p r	M a y
Industrialization and Expansion through the Progressive Era	How do innovation and expansion affect a nation's identity?	X	X								
Foreign Policy through the Great War	How can world conflict redefine how a nation identifies itself?			X							

Growth and Decline Between the Wars	What is the legacy of war and recovery on a nation's identity?				X	X					
World War II	What is the role of war in nation building?						X	x			
The Cold War	Is a nation defined by its foreign policy?							X	X	x	
Entering a New Era	What defines us as a modern nation: domestic policy or the threat of terror?									X	X

U.S. History Social Studies: How to Navigate This Document

The grade 11 scope and sequence document is divided into six units. Each unit has an overview, instruction which includes topics and tasks, and a unit assessment. Click on a link below to access the content.

Unit One: Industrialization and Expansion through the Progressive Era

- [Unit One Overview](#)
- [Unit One Instruction](#)
 - [Topic One: Westward Expansion](#)
 - [Topic Two: Urbanization & Industrialization](#)
 - [Topic Three: Progressivism and Its Impact](#)
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Unit Two: Foreign Policy through the Great War

- [Unit Two Overview](#)
- [Unit Two Instruction](#)
 - [Topic One: U.S. Imperialism Before 1917](#)
 - [Topic Two: World War I and its Aftermath](#)
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Unit Three: Growth and Decline Between the Wars

- [Unit Three Overview](#)
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 - [Topic One: American Prosperity and Social Change](#)
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- [Unit Three Assessment](#)

Unit Four: World War II

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- [Unit Four Instruction](#)
 - [Topic One: The Crisis in Europe and American Entry](#)
 - [Topic Two: The U.S. During the War](#)
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- [Unit Four Assessment](#)

Unit Five: The Cold War and the Modern Era

- [Unit Five Overview](#)
- [Unit Five Instruction](#)

- [Topic One: The Cold War at Home and Abroad](#)
- [Topic Two: Conflict and Social Movements](#)
- [Topic Three: The End of the Cold War](#)
- [Unit Five Assessment](#)

Unit Six: Entering a New Era

- [Unit Six Overview](#)
- [Unit Six Instruction](#)
 - [Topic One: Crisis and Conflicts: U.S.-Middle East Relations](#)
 - [Topic Two: Presidential Administrations in the New Era](#)
- [Unit Six Assessment](#)

Unit One Overview

Description: Students learn about innovation, expansion, and ethnic and cultural antagonism in the West, the rise of the industrial economy through innovations and the business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry, as well as the causes and outcomes of immigration, urbanization, and the Progressive movement. Students will analyze how these changes and advancements affected the nation’s identity.

Suggested Timeline: 7 weeks

U.S. History Content	U.S. History Claims
Industrialization and Expansion through the Progressive Era	How do innovation and expansion affect a nation’s identity?

Topics (GLEs):

1. [Westward Expansion](#) (US 2.1-3)
2. [Urbanization and Industrialization](#) (US 2.4-7)
3. [Progressivism and Its Impact](#) (US 2.8)

Unit Assessment: Students will write an essay addressing the unit claim question: “How do innovation and expansion affect a nation’s identity?”

Unit One Instruction

Topic One: Westward Expansion (US 2.1-3)

Connections to the unit claim: Students investigate the social, political, and economic antagonism that existed between ethnic and cultural groups on the Western Frontier, the rise of the Transcontinental railroad and its impacts on the people of the West, and the rise of the Populist movement to address the concerns of the American Farmer. Students apply what they learn to analyze how Western Expansion affected the nation’s identity.

Suggested Timeline: 14 class periods

Use these sample tasks:

- [The Antagonism of Western Expansion](#)
- [Railroads and Cattle Kingdoms](#)
- [Populism](#)

To explore these key questions:

- Does the good of Westward Expansion outweigh the bad?
- What examples of progress and conflict arose from Westward Expansion in the 2nd half of the 19th century?
- What instances of social, political, and economic antagonism between cultural and ethnic groups arose from Westward Expansion?
- How did advancements in technology impact the economy of the West?
- What changes did America face as a result of the Transcontinental Railway?
- How did technological advancements impact farming and the cattle industry?
- Was the Populist movement a success?
- How did economic instability lead to the rise of Populism?
- What solutions to the problems facing farmers did the Populist movement propose?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students write a paragraph outlining examples of progress and conflict as an outcome of Westward Expansion.
- Students write an extended paragraph (half to one page but not a full essay) in response to the supporting question: “What instances of social, political, and economic antagonism between cultural and ethnic groups arose from Westward Expansion?”
- Students engage in a class discussion around the compelling question: “Does the good of Westward Expansion outweigh the bad?”
- Students write an extended paragraph in response to the supporting question: “What changes did America face as a result of the Transcontinental Railway?”
- Students write an interview transcript for 19th century cattle driver Teddy Blue Abbott, showing knowledge of the economy of cattle driving.
- Students write an essay in response to the compelling question: “How did advancements in technology impact the economy of the West?”
- Students engage in a class discussion around the compelling question “Was the Populist movement a success?”

- Students write an extended paragraph in response to the supporting question “How did economic instability lead to the rise of Populism?”

US History Instructional Task: The Antagonism of Western Expansion

Unit One: Industrialization and Expansion through the Progressive Era, Topic One: Westward Expansion

Description: Students investigate primary and secondary sources and engage in expert presentations in order to understand the social, political, and economic antagonism that occurred between ethnic groups as a result of Western Expansion.

Suggested Timeline: 5 class periods

Materials: [The Homestead Act and the Exodusters](#); [The Dawes Act](#); [Chinese Immigrants and Mexican Americans in the Age of Western Expansion](#); [The Indian Wars and the Battle of Little Bighorn](#); [The Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee](#); [J.A. Wales Hobson's Choice Political Cartoon](#); [Dennis Kearney's Appeal from California on the Chinese Invasion](#); [The Anti-Chinese Wall](#) by Friedrich Graetz; [Custer's Account of the Battle of Washita](#); [American Progress](#) by John Gast; [My People, The Sioux \(excerpt\)](#); [Chief Joseph's Surrender](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Post the following question: “what is the meaning of American identity?” Direct students to do a one minute quick write answering this question. After students have finished writing, have a few students share their responses.
2. Ask students “what shapes the American identity?” and lead a brief discussion on the question.
3. Following the discussion, explain to students that through this course they will explore how the American identity has changed throughout history, and how historical events - both political and social - impact society, and how the American identity is formed and reformed over time. Explain that they will start this investigation in the time period following the Civil War and Reconstruction, and will continue through the modern era, stopping just short of the present day. Explain to students that as they learn about historical events in American history, they will be asked to make a claim on how those events impacted and changed the American identity.
4. Explain to students that they will start their investigation during a time of great change - the time period following the Civil War. Americans were moving West in great numbers, and the U.S. was emerging as one of the greatest industrial powers in the world. Explain that with these great changes came conflict, expansion, innovation, great wealth and great poverty. In the first unit, students will explore western expansion and industrialization through the Progressive Era, in order to answer the question, “how do innovation and expansion affect a nation’s identity?”
5. Post and read aloud the compelling question for this task: “Does the good of Westward Expansion outweigh the bad?”
6. To activate prior knowledge, say, “as you learned in 7th grade, Americans started to move West at the turn of the 19th century in search of economic opportunity, leading to the expansion of the United States’ borders.”
7. Ask students to write a paragraph about what they already know about Westward Expansion. Write some key words and phrases on the board to jog students’ memories, such as *the Louisiana Purchase*, *Manifest Destiny*, *the Oregon Trail*, *the Mexican-American War*, *the Homestead Act*, and *the California Gold Rush*.
8. After writing, ask students to share out what they can recall about Westward Expansion from previous social studies courses. Students should refer to conflicts that arose from Westward Expansion over land and resources. Use the following guiding questions to support reflection:

- a. What factors led to Westward Expansion?
 - b. Why did territorial and economic expansion create conflict? How were these conflicts resolved?
 - c. How were America’s borders expanded?
 - d. What were the political, social, and economic reasons for U.S. territorial expansion?
9. Say: “We are going to continue to investigate the outcomes of Westward Expansion by exploring secondary sources to broaden historical context, then we will be assigned primary sources that evidence the antagonism that arose from Westward Expansion and engage in expert presentations on those sources. We will use the compelling question “does the good of Westward Expansion outweigh the bad?” to guide our inquiry.”
10. Divide the class into small groups using an established classroom routine.
11. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “What examples of progress and conflict arose from Westward Expansion in the 2nd half of the 19th century?”
12. Provide students access to [The Homestead Act and the Exodusters](#)¹. Instruct students to read independently and then answer the following questions in small groups:
- a. Why was federal land grant legislation so contentious?
 - b. In your opinion, did the Homestead Act of 1862 contribute to the onset of the Civil War?
 - c. Why did the exodusters leave the South after the Civil War? Do you think life was better for them in the areas to which they migrated?
13. Provide students with access to [The Dawes Act](#)². Instruct students to read independently and then answer the following questions in small groups:
- a. Why do you think the white Americans viewed the Native American Indians as such a threat?
 - b. Do you think the Dawes Act was intended to help or harm Native Americans?
 - c. What was the effect of the Dawes Act on Native American cultural beliefs and traditions?
 - d. What do you see as the primary difference between Native American and European American conceptions of land and ownership?
14. Provide students with access to [Chinese Immigrants and Mexican Americans in the Age of Western Expansion](#)³. Instruct students to read independently and then answer the following questions in small groups:
- a. The Chinese Exclusion Act was the first significant law restricting immigration into the United States. Why do you think the US government singled out Chinese Immigrants in particular for exclusion?
 - b. How does the experience of Mexican Americans in the West compare to the experience of African Americans in the South in the late nineteenth century? In what ways were their lives similar? In what ways were their lives different?
 - c. What strategies did Chinese immigrants and Mexican Americans use to resist discrimination and build strong communities?
15. Then, as a class, conduct a discussion about the conflicts and progress that resulted from Westward Expansion. Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) during the discussion and provide evidence from the three articles or outside knowledge to support their answers. Possible questions:

¹ This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at

<https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-6/apush-american-west/a/the-homestead-act-and-the-exodusters>

² This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-6/apush-american-west/a/the-dawes-act>

³ This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-6/apush-american-west/a/apush-chinese-immigrants-and-mexican-americans-westward-expansion>

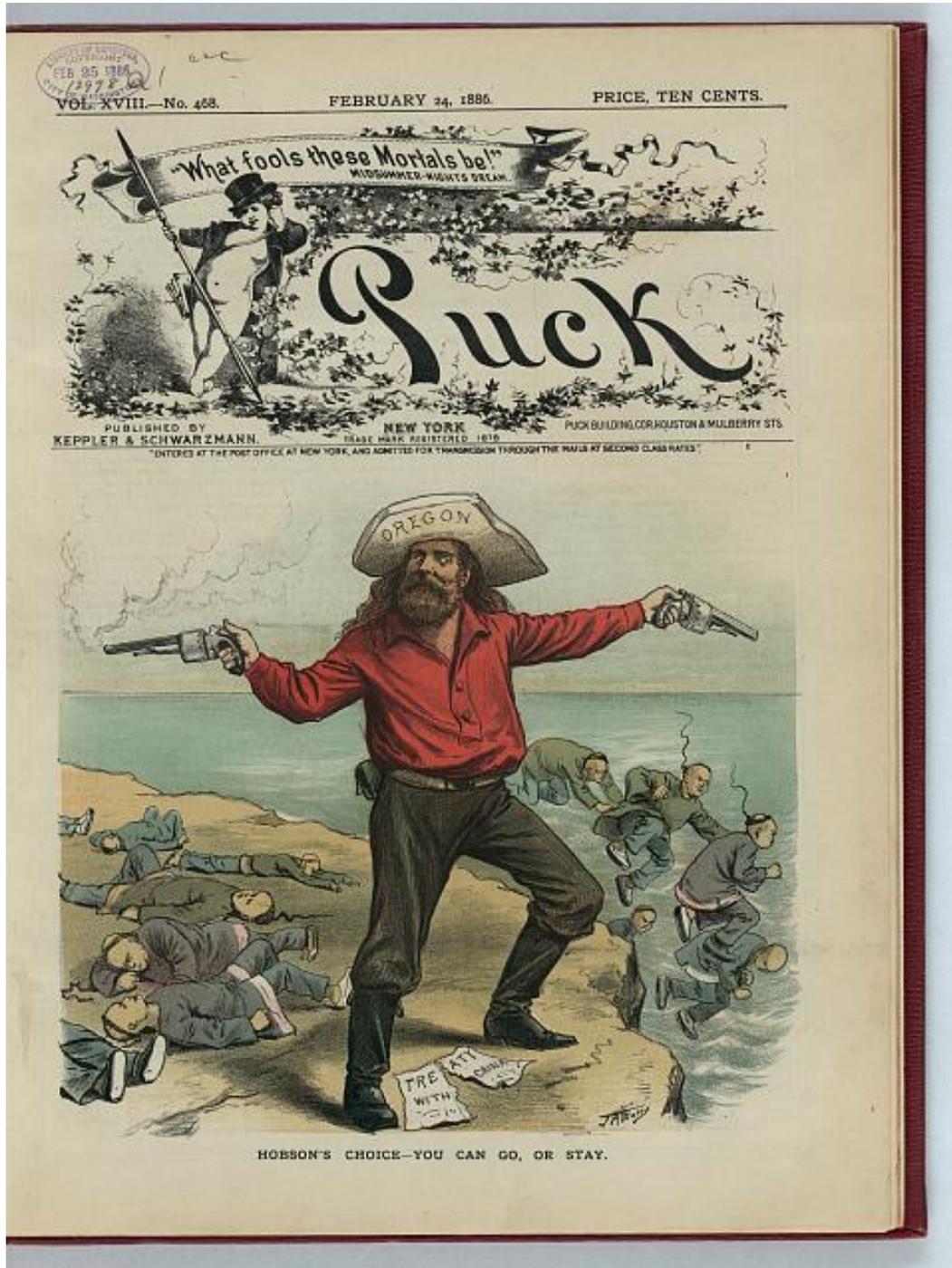
- a. Using information from the first three articles, what are some examples of conflict that occurred between ethnic groups as a result of Westward Expansion? What are some examples of progress arising from the events of Westward Expansion that you read about?
16. Point to the compelling question on the board: “Does the good of Westward Expansion outweigh the bad?” Ask a few students to develop a claim in response to this question and encourage students to support their claim with information from the first three articles.
17. Provide students with access to the source [The Indian Wars and the Battle of Little Bighorn](#)⁴. Instruct students to read independently and then answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What was the effect of Manifest Destiny on U.S. - Indian relations?
 - b. Why is the Battle of Little Bighorn significant?
18. Provide students with access to the source [The Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee](#)⁵. Instruct students to read independently and then answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What do you see as the most significant difference between the culture and society of white European-Americans and those of Native American Indians?
 - b. Why do you think Wovoka and his Ghost Dance became so popular among Indian tribes in the Southwest?
 - c. What is the significance of the massacre at Wounded Knee?
19. Then, as a class, continue the discussion about the conflicts and progress that resulted from Westward Expansion. Encourage students to use the conversation stems during the discussion and provide evidence from the three articles or outside knowledge to support their answers. Possible questions:
 - a. Using information from the last two articles, what are some examples of conflict that occurred between ethnic groups as a result of Westward Expansion? After discussing the first question, ask “What are some examples of progress arising from the events of Westward Expansion that you read about?”
20. Point to the compelling question on the board: “Does the good of Westward Expansion outweigh the bad?” Ask a few students to develop a claim in response to this question and encourage students to support their claim with information from the first three articles.
21. Instruct students to write a paragraph outlining examples of progress and conflict as an outcome of Westward Expansion. Collect and grade for content accuracy.
22. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: “What instances of social, political, and economic antagonism between cultural and ethnic groups arose from Westward Expansion?”
23. Tell students that they are now going to analyze primary sources (e.g., writings, cartoons, and paintings) that highlight the antagonism that occurred between ethnic and cultural groups during Westward Expansion and present their findings as a group to the class.
24. Divide the class into seven groups. Assign each group one of the following sources:
 - a. [J.A. Wales Hobson's Choice Political Cartoon](#) by James Albert Wales
 - b. [Dennis Kearney's Appeal from California on the Chinese Invasion](#) from *Digital History*
 - c. [The Anti-Chinese Wall](#) by Friedrich Graetz

⁴ This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-6/apush-american-west/a/indian-wars>

⁵ This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-6/apush-american-west/a/ghost-dance-and-wounded-knee>

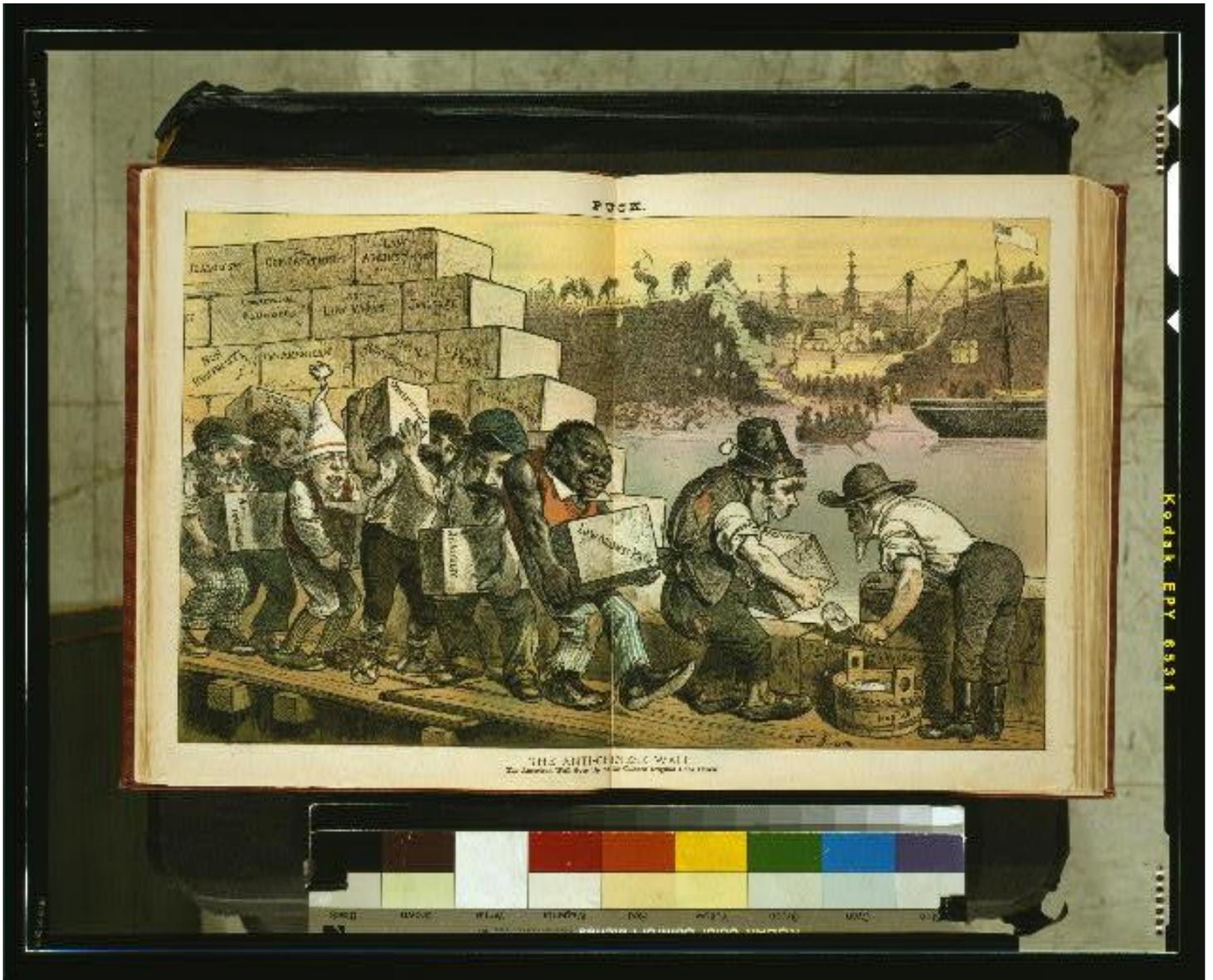
- d. [Custer's Account of the Battle of Washita](#) (excerpt only) from *The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*
 - e. [American Progress](#) by John Gast
 - f. [My People, The Sioux \(excerpt\)](#) from *Digital History*
 - g. [Chief Joseph's Surrender](#) from *Digital History*
25. Provide students copies of assigned source. Direct them to analyze their assigned source independently (students should use the Library of Congress resources on [analyzing photographs/paintings](#), [analyzing political cartoons](#), and [analyzing primary sources](#), to support them in their analysis), and then answer the following questions in their groups:
- a. Describe your source - what is it depicting or expressing?
 - b. What biases might the author/illustrator of your source have?
 - c. What are the various interests depicted in this source? (i.e., Chinese immigrants and European settlers and what we know about their interests in the West)
 - d. What insight does this source provide when it comes to the antagonism that occurred between ethnic and cultural groups as a result of Westward Expansion? Think about evidence of social, political, and economic antagonism.
26. Allow groups class time to briefly report out on their assigned document. If the assigned document is an image, project the document for presenters to refer to as they discuss. Instruct audience members to take notes on interests depicted, and evidence of antagonism that occurred between cultural and ethnic groups.
27. Instruct students to write an extended paragraph (half to one page but not a full essay) in response to the supporting question: "What instances of social, political, and economic antagonism between cultural and ethnic groups arose from Westward Expansion?" Collect and grade for content accuracy.
28. Conclude the task with a class discussion on the compelling question for the task: "Does the good of Westward Expansion outweigh the bad?" Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) and assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#).

Hobson's Choice - You can go or stay by J.A Wales



This image is in the public domain and is available online at <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ppmsca.28172/>.

The Anti-Chinese Wall by Friedrich Graetz



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American Progress by John Gast



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US History Instructional Task: Railroads and Cattle Kingdoms

Unit One: Industrialization and Expansion through the Progressive Era, Topic One: Westward Expansion

Description: Students use secondary sources to build historical context in order to analyze a photo series to understand the impact the Transcontinental Railroad had on the economy of the West. Students also conduct a mock interview with a 19th century cattle driver in order to understand the economic impacts of technological advances in the West.

Suggested Timeline: 4 class periods

Materials: [Binding the Nation by Rail](#); [All Aboard: Making Connections with the Transcontinental Railroad](#); [Transcontinental Railroad Route](#); [Cattle Trails](#); [The Ways of the Cowboy](#); [Glidden's Patent Application for Barbed Wire](#); [Teddy Blue Abbott's account of cattle ranching](#); [More Excerpts from "We Pointed Them North"](#); [LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: "In the previous task, we explored the antagonism that occurred between ethnic and cultural groups in order to answer the question of whether or not the good of Westward Expansion outweighed the bad. We will continue to explore the phenomena of Westward Expansion, but this time through the lens of advancements in technology and invention. We will use the question 'How did advancements in technology impact the economy of the West?' to guide our inquiry."
2. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: "What changes did America face as a result of the Transcontinental Railway?"
3. Divide the class into small groups using an established classroom routine.
4. Provide students with access to [Binding the Nation by Rail](#). Instruct students to read independently and then discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Why did Americans "dream" of linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by rail, as the author states?
 - b. How were the building of the railroads financed?
 - c. Who were the economic winners and losers of the Transcontinental Railroad?
5. Conduct lessons 1 and 2 of [All Aboard: Making Connections with the Transcontinental Railroad](#) by Kathy White from Gilder Lehrman⁶
 - a. **Note:** In lesson 1, students analyze the Homestead Act and the Pacific Railway Act. Since the Homestead Act was covered in the previous task, only teach the content related to the Pacific Railway Act. Lesson 2 can be taught as written.
6. After completing the two lessons from Gilder Lehrman, instruct students to write an extended paragraph (half to one page but not a full essay) in response to the supporting question: "What changes did America face as a result of the Transcontinental Railway?" Encourage students to reference information from the primary sources analyzed in the activity in supporting their claim. Collect and grade for content accuracy.
7. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: "How did technological advancements impact farming and the cattle industry?"

⁶ Note: Access to lessons and resources on Gilder Lehrman requires a free [Affiliate School Account](#).

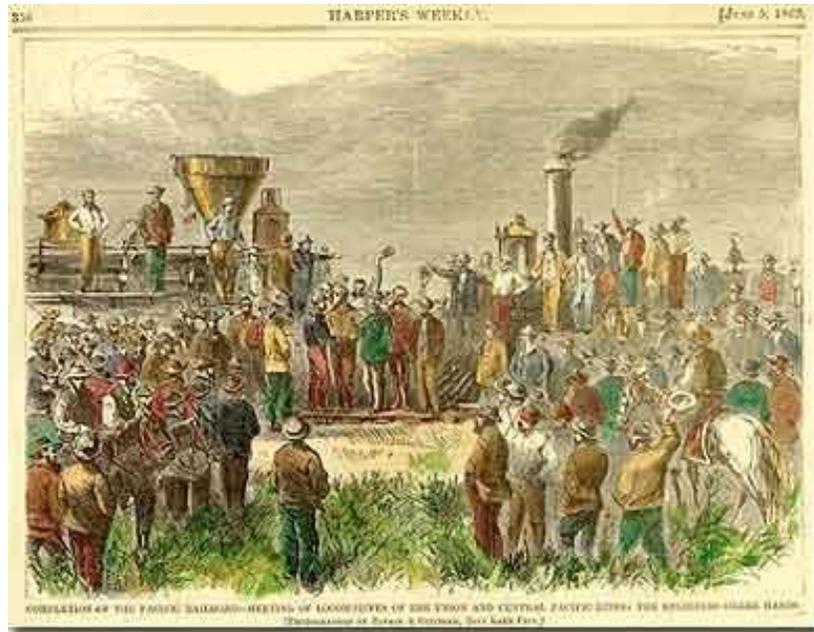
8. Project the [Transcontinental Railroad Route](#) and [Cattle Trails](#) so students can reference the information on the maps while they read about how they are connected.
9. Provide students with a copy of [The Ways of the Cowboy](#). Instruct students to read the article independently and then answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. How did the railroad impact the economy of the cattle industry?
 - b. What advances in technology helped cattle drivers economically, and what advances hindered cattle driving?
 - c. Explain the tension between cattle drivers and farmers.
10. Provide students access to [Glidden's Patent Application for Barbed Wire](#) posted on the National Archives and the "Background" article by Emily Ray and Wynnell Schamel from *Social Education*. Instruct students to independently read the patent itself as well as the "Background" article that introduces the patent and then answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Explain the connection between the invention of barbed wire, and the end of the open range.
 - b. How did barbed wire change life for cattle drivers, farmers, and Native Americans living on the Great Plains?
11. Provide students with access to [Teddy Blue Abbott's account of cattle ranching](#)⁷. Direct students to read independently.
12. Divide the class into pairs using an established classroom routine. Instruct one person in each group to pose as a reporter for a local newspaper of the time. Direct the other person to adopt the role of Teddy Blue Abbott. As the students to write an oral interview consisting of five questions and answers regarding the excerpts from Teddy Blue Abbott's memoir contained in the source previously read. Explain that through this interview process, the students should address the following questions:
 - a. Why was cattle driving profitable?
 - b. Why were cattle trails created?
 - c. What was life like on the open range for cowboys?
 - d. How do you think Teddy Blue Abbott's life changed with the advent of barbed wire?
13. If students request additional information about Teddy Blue Abbott, provide them with access to [More Excerpts from "We Pointed Them North"](#).⁸
14. Allow a few sets of partners to perform their interviews for the class. Interview transcripts can be checked for content accuracy and taken for a grade.
15. To culminate the task, direct students to write an essay in response to the task's compelling question: "How did advancements in technology impact the economy of the West?" Provide students with a copy of the [LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#) as needed.
16. Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

⁷ These are excerpts from [We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher](#) by E.C. Abbott and Helena H. Smith, and made available by PBS.org's Texas Ranch House project. The excerpts can be found at:

http://www.pbs.org/wnet/ranchhouse/pop_teddyblue.html

⁸ More excerpts from [We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher](#) by E.C. Abbott and Helena H. Smith provided by Encyclopedia.com and found at <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/abbott-e-c-teddy-blue>

Binding the Nation by Rail⁹



The transcontinental railway was completed with a jubilant celebration on May 10, 1869, when the rails connecting the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads were joined at Promontory, Utah.

The **LOCOMOTIVE** was not an invention of the **GILDED AGE**. Indeed Americans had traveled by rail in the decades that preceded the Civil War. But such travel was risky.

Passengers often sat in the same room as a wood burner and had to be watchful of wayward sparks landing on their clothing. Braking systems were not always trustworthy. Several engines even exploded while trying to reach a destination.

Traveling also represented a tremendous investment in time. Rail passengers often had to change trains frequently because the width between tracks varied from company to company. Such a journey could be uncomfortable, boring, and dangerous.



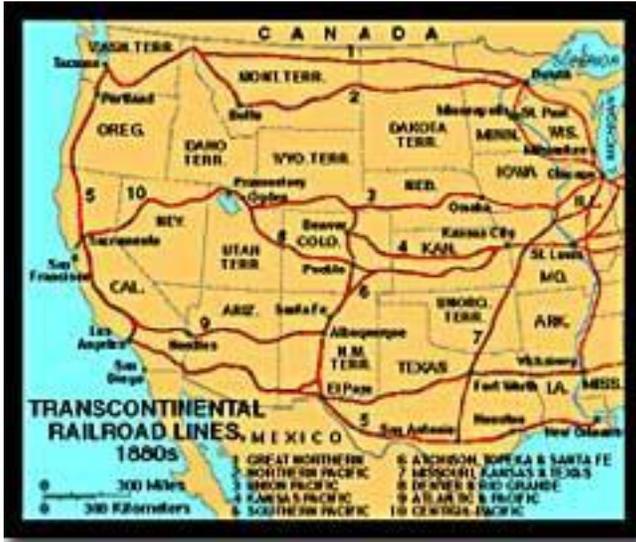
Carlos Callejo

Give Me a Brake

After the Civil War many rail problems were solved. **GEORGE**

This mural in El Paso County, TX, honors the thousands of Chinese workers who helped build the Southern Pacific Railroad and other transcontinental railroad systems.

⁹ This work by The Independence Hall Association is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <http://www.ushistory.org/us/36a.asp>.



Map of Transcontinental Railroad Lines, 1880's

WESTINGHOUSE invented the air brake and trains could stop more reliably as a result. Railroad firms agreed on a standard width between tracks to reduce transfers. The **PULLMAN CAR COMPANY** produced sleeper cars and dining cars to make travel more comfortable.

The Transcontinental Railroad

Soon after the railroad made its appearance in the U.S. in the 1830s, Americans dreamed of linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by rail. A **TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD** would allow for settlement of the west, open new markets for eastern manufacturers, and bring relief to overcrowded eastern cities. Some even believed that it was divinely intended that Americans should control the whole of the continental U.S. In 1845, a Democratic journalist named **JOHN L. O'SULLIVAN** coined the phrase "**MANIFEST DESTINY**."

Manifest Destiny

"... the right of our manifest destiny to over spread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federaltive development of self government entrusted to us...."

Steaming locomotives would hasten western settlement, spread democratic values, and increase the size of the United States (Arizona, Oklahoma, New Mexico etc., were not yet states, only **TERRITORIES**). Western **SETTLEMENT** was a paramount national interest. As such, the federal government awarded the contract to link the coasts by rail to two companies, the **UNION PACIFIC** and the **CENTRAL PACIFIC**.

I've Been Working on the Railroad

Union Pacific workers, many of whom were Irish and Chinese immigrants, started at Omaha, Nebraska, and hammered their way westward. From Sacramento, California, the Central Pacific made its way eastward with the assistance of thousands of Chinese immigrants.

Those working on the railroad gave their sweat and sometimes their lives blasting through the often unforgiving terrain. Other dangers that workers faced were disease, searing summer heat, freezing temperatures in the mountains, Native American raids and the lawlessness and violence of pioneer towns.

The Golden Spike

The government declared that the two lines would merge at **PROMONTORY SUMMIT** near Ogden, Utah. On May 10, 1869, **LELAND STANFORD**, representing the Central Pacific Railroad, was provided the honor to hammer a golden spike into the ground that marked the completion of the coast-to-coast line. Celebrations erupted across the land. Even the Liberty Bell tolled once again to commemorate the occasion.

Soon, other transcontinental lines were constructed and travel across the continent became worlds simpler, less expensive, and much faster, than by the old Conestoga wagon.

On the Right Track

The engineering achievement was monumental. The costs of the operation to railroads were enormous. Tens of thousands of workers had to be paid, sheltered, and fed. Tons of steel and wood were required.

However, the economic incentives to railroads were enormous. The government offered generous loans to companies who were willing to assume the risk. The greatest reward was land. For each mile of track laid by the Central and Union Pacific Railroads, the companies received 640 acres of public land. In other rail projects, state governments often kicked in additional acres for a growing number of rail companies.

The Interstate Commerce Commission

All in all, the railroads received nearly 200 million acres of land from the U.S. government for fulfilling contracts. Directors of some railroads made fortunes. Foremost among the **RAILROAD TYCOONS** were **CORNELIUS VANDERBILT**, **JAMES J. HILL**, and **JAY GOULD**.

But freight railroad abuses grew rampant. Money lined the pockets of greedy public officials who awarded generous terms to the railroads. Railroad companies set their own shipping rates.

Sometimes it was more expensive for a small farmer to ship goods to a nearby town than to a faraway city. Because the companies kept their rates secret, one farmer could be charged more than another for the same freight transport. To reduce competition, railroad companies established pools. These were informal arrangements between companies to keep rates above a certain level. Consequently, the public suffered. Finally, in 1887, Congress responded to public outcry by creating the **INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION** to watch over the rail industry. This was the nation's first **REGULATORY AGENCY**. Due to inconcise wording in its enabling legislation, the ICC was largely ignored until the early 20th century.

But the public also reaped great benefits. Eastern businessmen could now sell their goods to California citizens. As a result of improved transportation all Americans had access to more goods at a cheaper price. The westward movement was greatly accelerated. Those seeking a new start in life could much more easily "go west."

No industrial revolution can occur without a transport web. The nation was now bound together by this enormous network and its citizens were ready to reap the rewards.

Transcontinental Railroad Route¹⁰



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The Ways of the Cowboy¹²



Courtesy of Grant-Kohrs national Historic Site

For a dollar a day and “found” (board and room, where it existed), a young man worked long hours--occasionally risking life and limb--to tend the cattle of another.

Mining was not the only bonanza to be found in the West. Millions could be made in the **CATTLE INDUSTRY**. A calf bought for \$5 in Southern Texas might sell for \$60 in Chicago. The problem was, of course, getting the cattle to market. In 1867, **JOSEPH MCCOY** tracked a path known as the **CHISHOLM TRAIL** from Texas to Abilene, Kansas. The Texas cowboys drove the cattle the entire distance — 1500 miles. Along the way, the cattle enjoyed all the grass they wanted, at no cost to the **RANCHERS**. At Abilene and other railhead towns such as Dodge City and Ellsworth, the cattle would be sold and the cowboys would return to Texas.

No vision of the American West is complete without the cowboy. The imagery is quintessentially American, but many myths cloud the truth about what life was like on the long drive.

Myth vs. Reality

Americans did not invent cattle raising. This tradition was learned from the *vaquero*, a Mexican cowboy. The *vacqueros* taught the tricks of the trade to the Texans, who realized the potential for great profits.

The typical **COWBOY** wore a hat with a wide brim to provide protection from the unforgiving sunlight. Cattle kicked up clouds of dust on the drive, so the cowboy donned a bandanna over the lower half of his face. **CHAPS**, or leggings, and high boots were worn as protection from briars and cactus needles.

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Contrary to legend, the typical cowboy was not a skilled marksman. The lariat, not the gun, was how the cattle drover showed his mastery. About a quarter of all cowboys were African Americans, and even more were at least partially Mexican. To avoid additional strain on the horses, cowboys were usually smaller than according to legend.

The lone cowboy is an American myth. Cattle were always driven by a group of **DROVERS**. The cattle were branded so the owner could distinguish his **STEER** from the rest. Several times per **DRIVE**, cowboys conducted a roundup where the cattle would be sorted and counted again.

Work was very difficult. The workdays lasted fifteen hours, much of which was spent in the saddle. Occasionally, shots were fired by hostile Indians or farmers. Cattle **RUSTLERS** sometimes stole their steers.

One of the greatest fears was the **STAMPEDE**, which could result in lost or dead cattle or cowboys. One method of containing a stampede was to get the cattle to run in a circle, where the steer would eventually tire.

Upon reaching Abilene, the cattle were sold. Then it was time to let loose. Abilene had twenty-five saloons open all hours to service incoming riders of the long drive.

Twilight of the Cowboy

The heyday of the long drive was short. By the early 1870s, rail lines reached Texas so the cattle could be shipped directly to the slaughterhouses. Ranchers then began to allow cattle to graze on the open range near rail heads. But even this did not last. The invention of **BARBED WIRE** by **JOSEPH GLIDDEN** ruined the **OPEN RANGE**. Now farmers could cheaply mark their territory to keep the unwanted steers off their lands. Overproduction caused prices to fall, leading many ranchers out of business.

Finally, the winter of 1886-87 was one of the worst in American history. Cattle died by the thousands as temperatures reached fifty below zero in some parts of the West. The era of the open range was over.

US History Instructional Task: Populism

Unit One: Industrialization and Expansion through the Progressive Era, Topic One: Westward Expansion

Description: Students review primary sources such as William Jennings Bryan’s “Cross of Gold” speech, and excerpts from The Populist Platform, and Declaration of Purposes of the Patrons of Husbandry in order to understand agrarian discontent and the ways the Populist movement sought to address the economic and political grievances of the 19th century American farmer. Students will apply what they’ve learned by making a claim on the compelling question: “Was the Populist movement a success?”

Suggested Timeline: 5 class periods

Materials: [Rise of the Populists and William Jennings Bryan](#); [Life on the Farm](#); [The Growth of Populism](#); [The Farmers' Revolt Primary Source Readings](#); [The Election of 1896](#); [William Jennings Bryan's Democratic National Convention Address "A Cross of Gold"](#)

Instructional Process:

1. *This task is adapted from [Rise of the Populists and William Jennings Bryan](#)¹³ by Mary Kate Blaine for Gilder Lehrman.*
2. Say: “In the previous task, we learned about how developing technologies - such as the Transcontinental Railroad - had economic impacts in the West. While railroads aided in the transcontinental trade of farmers’ good, their growing strength - along with the growing strength of the banks - created financial instability for farmers in the West. Out of this instability rose a new political movement called Populism. In this task, we will evaluate the causes that led to the Populist movement and seek to answer the compelling question, “Was the Populist movement a success?” Post the compelling question on the board to guide inquiry throughout the task.
3. Write the term *Populism* on the board, and project the following definition¹⁴:
 - a. any of various, often anti-establishment or anti-intellectual political movements or philosophies that offer unorthodox solutions or policies and appeal to the common person rather than according with traditional party of partisan ideologies.
 - b. representation or extolling of the common person, the working class, the underdog, etc.
4. Read aloud the [first two paragraphs](#) of the meaning of *Populism*.
5. Ask students: “What do these definitions have in common?”
6. Take notes for the class or annotate the definitions as students share their answers.
7. Direct students to explain the meaning of *Populism* in their own words orally or in writing.
8. Divide the class into small groups using an established classroom routine.
9. Instruct students to read the text [Life on the Farm](#) independently. After students have finished reading, direct them to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What were the economic difficulties associated with life on the farm?
 - b. What caused many farmers to go into debt?
10. Say: “We know that many farmers accumulated debt from borrowing money from banks, and that the growing

¹³ Access to lessons and resources on Gilder Lehrman requires a free [Affiliate School account](#)

¹⁴ <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/populism?s=t>

strength of banks created financial instability for farmers. We are now going to investigate how economic instability led to the rise of Populism.”

11. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “How did economic instability lead to the rise of Populism?”
12. Write the terms *gold standard* and *free silver* on the board, and project the following definitions:
 - a. *Gold standard*: a monetary standard under which the basic unit of currency is defined by a stated quantity of gold and which is usually characterized by the coinage and circulation of gold. The gold standard was the U.S. monetary system until it was generally abandoned in the Depression of the 1930¹⁵
 - b. *Free silver*: a monetary standard utilizing the free coinage of silver often at a fixed ratio with gold.¹⁶
13. Ask students: “How are these definitions different from each other?”
14. Take notes for the class or annotate the definitions as students share their answers.
15. Direct students to turn to a partner to share their working definition of *gold standard* and *free silver*, and how each monetary system differs.
16. Instruct students to read [The Growth of Populism](#) independently. After students have finished reading, direct them to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What was “The Grange?”
 - b. Who does the gold standard benefit? Why?
 - c. Why were farmers in favor of monetary inflation?
 - d. Who does free silver benefit? Why?
17. Provide students with access to [The Farmers' Revolt Primary Source Readings](#) from Gilder Lehrman,¹⁷ and instruct students to read sources 1-7 (Declaration of Purposes of the Patrons of Husbandry (The Grangers), 1874; 1892 Populist platform; Washington Gladden, "The Embattled Farmers"; Tom Watson, 1892, appealing to black voters; William Jennings Bryan, 1896; and 1896 Republican Party Platform). After students have finished reading, direct them to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Identify the economic and political grievances of late 19th century American farmers.
 - b. Why would the Populist platform be compelling to an American farmer?
 - c. How do the Populist Party Platform and the Republican Party Platform differ?
18. After students have finished discussing the primary sources in small groups, lead students in a brief whole class discussion on the first supporting question: “How did economic instability lead to the rise of Populism?”
19. Instruct students to write an extended paragraph (half to one page but not a full essay) in response to the supporting question “How did economic instability lead to the rise of Populism?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
20. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: “What solutions to the problems facing farmers did the Populist movement propose?”
21. Say: “While the Populist movement, represented by the People’s Party, gained traction, it became a major force in the election of 1896.”
22. Divide the class into small groups using an established classroom routine.
23. To build historical context, instruct students to read [The Election of 1896](#) independently. When finished

¹⁵ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/gold%20standard>

¹⁶ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/free%20silver>

¹⁷ Access to lessons and resources on Gilder Lehrman requires a free [Affiliate School account](#).

reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:

- a. How did the financial crisis in 1893 impact societies views of the Populists?
 - b. What was the relationship between the Democratic Party and the Populist/People’s Party?
24. Provide students with access to [William Jennings Bryan's Democratic National Convention Address "A Cross of Gold"](#) (excerpts). Instruct students to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups: **NOTE:** While the original speech at the Democratic convention was not recorded, Bryan recorded himself reading the speech in 1921. That recording can be accessed [here](#), if the teacher would rather use the audio recording than the transcript excerpts.
- a. How does William Jennings Bryan propose to solve the economic grievances of farmers?
 - b. What about Bryan’s style and substance make his speech so persuasive?
 - c. Based on your best historical guess, what is “bimetallism?”
 - d. How does Bryan contrast the Democratic Party and Republican Party?
25. Following small group discussions, conduct a whole class discussion on the Populist solutions to the problems facing farmers. Possible questions:
- a. What solutions to the problems facing farmers did the Populist movement propose?
 - b. What are the strengths and weaknesses of their ideas? Evaluate and critique each solution.
26. Conclude the task with a class discussion on the compelling question for the task: “Was the Populist movement a success?” Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) and assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#).

Life on the Farm¹⁸



This little house on the prairie is constructed of sod walls and a dirt roof. It is one of the few pioneer dwellings still standing in the Badlands today.

A homestead at last! Many eastern families who longed for the opportunity to own and farm a plot of land of their own were able to realize their dreams when Congress passed the HOMESTEAD ACT in 1862. That landmark piece of legislation provided 160 acres free to any family who lived on the land for five years and made improvements. The same amount could be obtained instantly for the paltry sum of \$1.25 per acre.

Combined with the completed transcontinental railroad, it was now possible for an easterner yearning for the open space of the West to make it happen. Unfortunately, the lives they found were fraught with hardship.

Money Problems

There were tremendous economic difficulties associated with Western farm life. First and foremost was overproduction. Because the amount of land under cultivation increased dramatically and new farming techniques produced greater and greater yields, the food market became so flooded with goods that prices fell sharply. While this might be great for the consumer, the farmer had to grow a tremendous amount of food to recoup enough profits to survive the winter.

New machinery and fertilizer was needed to farm on a large scale. Often farmers borrowed money to purchase this equipment, leaving themselves hopelessly in debt when the harvest came. The high tariff forced them to pay higher prices for household goods for their families, while the goods they themselves sold were unprotected.

The railroads also fleeced the small farmer. Farmers were often charged higher rates to ship their goods a short distance than a manufacturer would pay to transport wares a great distance.

A Harsh and Isolating Environment

The woes faced by farmers transcended economics. Nature was unkind in many parts of the Great Plains. Blistering summers and cruel winters were commonplace. Frequent drought spells made farming even more difficult. Insect blights raged through some regions, eating further into the farmers' profits.



Zillmer's Antique Farm Museum

This 1924 Hart Parr model 20-C, is the only running tractor of its kind known to exist.

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Farmers lacked political power. Washington was a long way from the Great Plains, and politicians seemed to turn deaf ears to the farmers' cries. Social problems were also prevalent. With each neighbor on 160-acre plots of land, communication was difficult and loneliness was widespread.

Farm life proved monotonous compared with the bustling cities of the East. Although rural families were now able to purchase MAIL-ORDER PRODUCTS through catalogs such as SEARS AND ROEBUCK'S and MONTGOMERY WARD, there was simply no comparison with what the Eastern market could provide.

These conditions could not last. Out of this social and economic unrest, farmers began to organize and make demands that would rock the Eastern establishment.

The Growth of Populism¹⁹

Organization was inevitable. Like the oppressed laboring classes of the East, it was only a matter of time before Western farmers would attempt to use their numbers to effect positive change.

Farmers Organize

In 1867, the first such national organization was formed. Led by **OLIVER KELLEY**, the **PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY**, also known as the **GRANGE**, organized to address the social isolation of farm life. Like other **SECRET SOCIETIES**, such as the **MASONS**, **GRANGERS** had local chapters with secret passwords and rituals.

The Grange borrowed heavily from the Freemasons, employing complex rituals and regalia.

The local Grange sponsored dances and gatherings to attack the doldrums of daily life. It was only natural that politics and economics were discussed in these settings, and the Grangers soon realized that their individual problems were common.

Identifying the railroads as the chief villains, Grangers lobbied state legislatures for regulation of the industry. By 1874, several states passed the **GRANGER LAWS**, establishing maximum shipping rates. Grangers also pooled their resources to buy grain elevators of their own so that members could enjoy a break on grain storage.

FARMERS' ALLIANCES went one step further. Beginning in 1889, **NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN FARMERS' ALLIANCES** championed the same issues as the Grangers, but also entered the political arena. Members of these alliances won seats in state legislatures across the Great Plains to strengthen the agrarian voice in politics.



Morgan dollar (1878-1891)

Creating Inflation

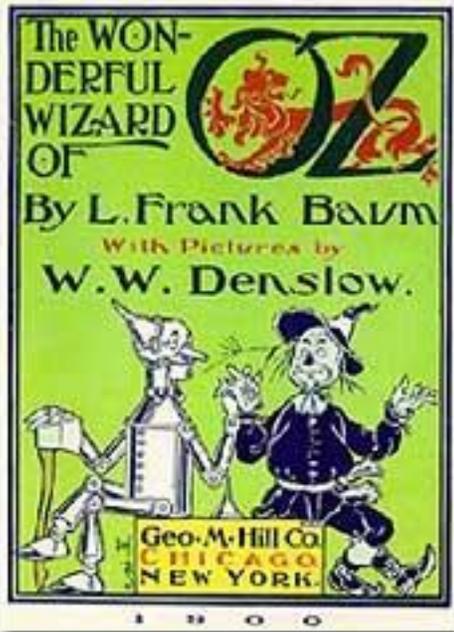
What did all the farmers seem to have in common? The answer was simple: debt. Looking for solutions to this condition, farmers began to attack the nation's monetary system. As of 1873, Congress declared that all federal money must be backed by gold. This limited the nation's money supply and benefited the wealthy.

The farmers wanted to create **INFLATION**. Inflation actually helps debtors. If a farmer owes \$3,000 and can earn \$1 for every bushel of wheat sold at harvest, he needs to sell 3,000 bushels to pay off the debt. If inflation could push the price of a bushel of wheat up to \$3, he needs to sell only 1,000 bushels. The economics are simple.

To create inflation, farmers suggested that the money supply be expanded to include dollars not backed by gold. The first strategy farmers attempted was to encourage Congress to print **GREENBACK DOLLARS** like the ones issued during

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the Civil War. Since the greenbacks were not backed by gold, more dollars could be printed, creating an inflationary effect.



Many believe that the Wizard of Oz was written as an allegory of the age of Populism.

The **GREENBACK PARTY** and the **GREENBACK-LABOR PARTY** each ran candidates for President in 1876, 1880, and 1884 under this platform. No candidate was able to muster national support for the idea, and soon farmers chose another strategy.

Inflation could also be created by printing money that was backed by silver as well as gold. This idea was more popular because people were more confident in their money if they knew it was backed by something of value. Also, America had a tradition of coining **SILVER MONEY** until 1873.

Birth of the Populists

Out of the ashes of the Greenback-Labor Party grew the **POPULIST PARTY**. In addition to demanding the free coinage of silver, the **POPULISTS** called for a host of other reforms. They demanded a graduated income tax, whereby individuals earning a higher income paid a higher percentage in taxes.

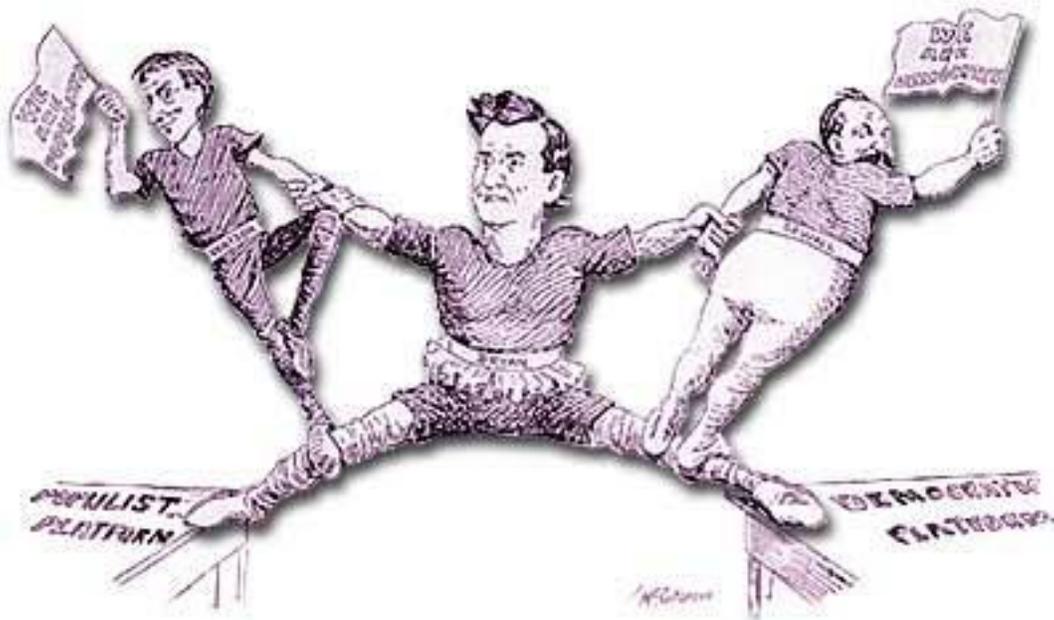
They wanted political reforms as well. At this point, United States Senators were still not elected by the people directly; they were instead chosen by state legislatures. The Populists demanded a constitutional amendment

allowing for the direct election of Senators.

They demanded democratic reforms such as the initiative, where citizens could directly introduce debate on a topic in the legislatures. The referendum would allow citizens — rather than their representatives — to vote a bill. Recall would allow the people to end an elected official's term before it expired. They also called for the secret ballot and a one-term limit for the President.

In 1892, the Populists ran **JAMES WEAVER** for President on this ambitious platform. He polled over a million popular votes and 22 electoral votes. Although he came far short of victory, Populist ideas were now being discussed at the national level. When the Panic of 1893 hit the following year, an increased number of unemployed and dispossessed Americans gave momentum to the Populist movement. A great showdown was in place for 1896.

The Election of 1896²⁰



Chicago Record, 1896

"A great exhibition, but rather trying on the man in the middle." William Jennings Bryan is shown pulled in two directions as he campaigns on both the Democratic and the Populist Party platforms.

Everything seemed to be falling into place for the Populists. James Weaver made an impressive showing in 1892, and now Populist ideas were being discussed across the nation. The Panic of 1893 was the worst financial crisis to date in American history. As the soup lines grew larger, so did voters' anger at the present system.

When JACOB S. COXEY of Ohio marched his 200 supporters into the nation's capital to demand reforms in the spring of 1894, many thought a revolution was brewing. The climate seemed to ache for change. All that the Populists needed was a winning Presidential candidate in 1896.

The Boy Orator

Ironically, the person who defended the Populist platform that year came from the Democratic Party. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN was the unlikely candidate. An attorney from Lincoln, Nebraska, Bryan's speaking skills were among the best of his generation. Known as the "GREAT COMMONER," Bryan quickly developed a reputation as defender of the farmer.

When Populist ideas began to spread, Democratic voters of the South and West gave enthusiastic endorsement. At the Chicago Democratic convention in 1896, Bryan delivered a speech that made his career. Demanding the free coinage of

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silver, Bryan shouted, "You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!" Thousands of delegates roared their approval, and at the age of thirty-six, the "BOY ORATOR" received the Democratic nomination.

Faced with a difficult choice between surrendering their identity and hurting their own cause, the Populist Party also nominated Bryan as their candidate.

The Stay-at-Home Candidate

The Republican competitor was WILLIAM MCKINLEY, the governor of Ohio. He had the support of the moneyed eastern establishment. Behind the scenes, a wealthy Cleveland industrialist named MARC HANNA was determined to see McKinley elected. He, like many of his class, believed that the free coinage of silver would bring financial ruin to America.

Using his vast wealth and power, Hanna directed a campaign based on fear of a Bryan victory. McKinley campaigned from his home, leaving the politicking for the party hacks. Bryan revolutionized campaign politics by launching a nationwide WHISTLE-STOP effort, making twenty to thirty speeches per day.



William McKinley stayed out of the public eye in 1896, leaving the campaigning to party hacks and fancy posters like this one.

When the results were finally tallied, McKinley had beaten Bryan by an electoral vote margin of 271 to 176.

Understanding 1896

Many factors led to Bryan's defeat. He was unable to win a single state in the populous Northeast. Laborers feared the free silver idea as much as their bosses. While inflation would help the debt-ridden, mortgage-paying farmers, it could hurt the wage-earning, rent-paying factory workers. In a sense, the election came down to city versus country. By 1896, the urban forces won. Bryan's campaign marked the last time a major party attempted to win the White House by exclusively courting the rural vote.

The economy of 1896 was also on the upswing. Had the election occurred in the heart of the Panic of 1893, the results may have differed. Farm prices were rising in 1896, albeit slowly. The Populist Party fell apart with Bryan's loss. Although they continued to nominate candidates, most of their membership had reverted to the major parties.

The ideas, however, did endure. Although the free silver issue died, the graduated income tax, direct election of senators, initiative, referendum, recall, and the secret ballot were all later enacted. These issues were kept alive by the next standard bearers of reform — the PROGRESSIVES.

William Jennings Bryan's Democratic National Convention Address "A Cross of Gold" (excerpts)



Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty -- the cause of humanity.

On the fourth of March, 1895, a few Democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the nation, asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; declaring that a majority of the Democratic party had the right to control the action of the party on this paramount issue; and concluding with the request that the believers in the free coinage of silver in the Democratic party should organize, take charge of and control the policy of the Democratic party.

Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver Democrats went forth openly and courageously proclaiming their belief, and declaring that, if successful, they would crystallize into a platform the declaration which they had made. Then began the conflict. With a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit, our silver Democrats went forth from victory unto victory, until they are now assembled, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment already rendered by the plain people of this country. In this contest brother has been arrayed against brother, father against son. The warmest ties of love, acquaintance and association have been disregarded; old leaders have been cast aside when they have refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of truth. Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever imposed upon representatives of the people.

We say to you that you have made the definition of a business man too limited in its application. The man who is employed for wages is as much a businessman as his employer; the attorney in a country town is as much a businessman as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis; the merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a businessman as the merchant of New York; the farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day -- who begins in the spring and toils all summer -- and who by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of the country creates wealth, is as much a businessman as the man who goes upon the board of trade and bets upon the price of grain; the miners who go down a thousand feet into the earth, or climb two thousand feet upon the cliffs, and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as much businessmen as the few financial magnates who, in a back room, corner the money of the world. We come to speak for this broader class of businessmen.

Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast, but the hardy pioneers who have braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose -- the pioneers away out there [pointing to the West], who rear their children near to Nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds -- out there where they have erected schoolhouses for the education of their young, churches where

they praise their Creator, and cemeteries where rest the ashes of their dead -- these people, we say, are as deserving of the consideration of our party as any people in this country. It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned; we have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded; we have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them.

They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that it is a new idea. They criticize us for our criticism of the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends, we have not criticized; we have simply called attention to what you already know. If you want criticisms read the dissenting opinions of the court. There you will find criticism. They say that we passed an unconstitutional law; we deny it. The income tax law was not unconstitutional when it was passed; it was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time; it did not become unconstitutional until one of the judges changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind. The income tax is just. It simply intends to put the burdens of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. When I find a man who is not willing to bear his share of the burdens of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours.

We say in our platform that we believe that the right to coin and issue money is a function of government. We believe it. We believe that it is a part of sovereignty, and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy taxes. Those who are opposed to this proposition tell us that the issue of paper money is a function of the bank, and that the Government ought to go out of the banking business. I stand with Jefferson rather than with them, and tell them, as he did, that the issue of money is a function of government, and that the banks ought to go out of the governing business.

And now, my friends, let me come to the paramount issue. If they ask us why it is that we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that, if protection has slain its thousands, the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we do not embody in our platform all the things that we believe in, we reply that when we have restored the money of the Constitution all other necessary reform will be possible, but that until this is done there is no other reform that can be accomplished.

Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believe in the gold standard would frame our platform and nominate our candidates, even the advocates to the gold standard did not think that we could elect a President. And they had good reason for their doubt, because there is scarcely a State here to-day asking for the gold standard which is not in the absolute control of the Republican party. But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform which declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it can be changed into bimetallism by international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the Republicans, and three months ago everybody in the Republican party prophesied his election. How is it to-day? Why, the man who was once pleased to think that he looked like Napoleon -- that man shudders to-day when he remembers that he was nominated on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo.

Why this change? Ah, my friends, is not the reason for the change evident to anyone who will look at the matter? No private character, however pure, no personal popularity, however great, can protect from the avenging wrath of an

indignant people a man who will declare that he is in favor of fastening the gold standard upon this country, or who is willing to surrender the right of self-government and place the legislative control of our affairs in the hands of foreign potentates and powers.

We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue of this campaign there is not a spot of ground upon which the enemy will dare to challenge battle. If they tell us that the gold standard is a good thing, we shall point to their platform and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of the gold standard and substitute bimetallism. If the gold standard is a good thing, why try to get rid of it? I call your attention to the fact that some of the very people who are in this convention to-day, and who tell us that we ought to declare in favor of international bimetallism -- thereby declaring that the gold standard is wrong and that the principle of bimetallism is better -- these very people four months ago were open and avowed advocates of the gold standard, and were then telling us that we could not legislate two metals together, even with the aid of all the world.

Mr. Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between "the idle holders of idle capital" and "the struggling masses, who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country," and, my friends, the question we are to decide is, upon which side will the Democratic party fight -- upon the side of "the idle holders of idle capital," or upon the side of "the struggling masses"? That is the question which the party must answer first, and then it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the Democratic party, as shown by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party. There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you will only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous their prosperity will find its way up through every class which rests upon them.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms, and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

If they dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

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Unit One Instruction

Topic Two: Urbanization and Industrialization (US.2.4-6)

Connections to the unit claim: Students explore the business practices of late 19th/early 20th century industrialists and grapple with their positive and negative impacts on the U.S. economy and American quality of life, then they investigate immigration, rapid urbanization, and the government’s response. Students compare and contrast immigration policies and attitudes of the late 19th/early 20th century with those of today. Throughout this topic, students analyze how innovation led to rapid industrialization, and immigration led to expansion and rapid urbanization, and relate those to the nation’s changing identity.

Suggested Timeline: 12 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [Robber Barons and the Industrial Economy](#)
- [Immigration and Urbanization](#)

To explore these key questions:

- Would the industrial economy have succeeded without the extreme business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry?
- In what ways did Robber Barons/Captains of Industry harm and benefit the U.S. economy?
- What was the government response to the business practices of monopolies and trusts?
- Is anything new about today’s immigration policy debate?
- Who immigrated and why, and how did immigration impact urbanization?
- What factors shaped immigration policy in the late 19th/early 20th century, and what were the criticisms of U.S. immigration policy at the time?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students research a late 19th/early 20th century industrialist and complete the [Robber Baron or Captain of Industry chart](#) on their assigned industrialist.
- Students write a paragraph answering the following questions about their industrialist: “Is your industrialist a Robber Baron or a Captain of Industry, or something in between? Which of the individual’s actions were those of a Captain of Industry? Of a Robber Baron?”
- Students write a paragraph answering the question: “What was the government response to the business practices of monopolies and trusts?”
- Students participate in a class discussion on the compelling question for the first task: “Would the industrial economy have succeeded without the extreme business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry?”
- Students write an extended paragraph in response to the supporting question: “Who immigrated and why, and how did immigration impact urbanization?”
- Students write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task: “What factors shaped immigration policy in the late 19th/early 20th century, and what were the criticisms of U.S. immigration policy at the time?”

- Students will participate in a class discussion on the compelling question for the second task - “Is anything new about today’s immigration policy debate?”

US History Instructional Task: Robber Barons and the Industrial Economy

Unit One: Industrialization and Expansion through the Progressive Era, Topic Two: Urbanization and Industrialization

Description: Students develop and support a claim in response to the question: “Would the industrial economy have succeeded without the extreme business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry?” Students engage in a simulation to understand economic forces, research late 19th/early 20th century industrialists to determine if they were Robber Barons or Captains of Industry, and analyze Teddy Roosevelt’s speeches to determine the government’s response to capitalist business practices.

Suggested Timeline: 6 class periods

Materials: [Theodore Roosevelt and the Trusts](#); [The Progressive Era PowerPoint](#); [Robber Barons or Captains of Industry](#); [The Industrial Age in America: Robber Barons and Captains of Industry](#); [Robber Baron or Captain of Industry chart](#); [Andrew Carnegie: The Richest Man in the World](#); [The Gospel of Wealth](#); [Cartoon, "The Great Race for Western Stakes."](#); [A Business Biography of Cornelius Vanderbilt](#); [Cornelius Vanderbilt and the Erie Railroad Wars](#); [John Pierpont Morgan and the American Corporation](#); [J.P. Morgan](#); [J.P. Morgan short bio](#); [Standard Oil of New Jersey](#); [John D. Rockefeller](#); [John D. Rockefeller: Entrepreneur and Famous Business Leader](#); [John D. Rockefeller was the Richest Person to Ever Live. Period.](#); [Interactive Timeline of Technical Innovations](#); [The Gilded Age and the Second Industrial Revolution](#); [The Trust Buster](#); [New Nationalism Speech: 1910](#); [The Trusts and Tariffs:1902](#); [20th Century US Capitalism and Regulation](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “So far in this unit, we have focused on the West. We are now going to turn our attention to the Northeast and American industrialization. First, let’s look at the question we will use to guide our inquiry.”
2. Post the compelling question for the task and read it aloud: “Would the industrial economy have succeeded without the extreme business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry?”
3. Say: “In the first part of our task, we will explore who and what Robber Barons and Captains of Industry are as well as the business practices they used.”
4. Post the first supporting question for the task: “In what ways did Robber Barons/Captains of Industry harm and benefit the U.S. economy?”
5. Say: “To start our exploration, we will engage in activity to learn more about economics.”
6. Lead students in the “Monopoly Simulation” by executing steps 1-4 in day one’s lesson of the task [Theodore Roosevelt and the Trusts](#)²¹ by Elise Stevens Wilson for Gilder Lehrman.
7. Following the simulation, define the following concepts for students: *commodity*, *currency*, *supply and demand*, *competitive market*, *monopoly*, *trust*. Use [The Progressive Era PowerPoint](#)²² slides 2-7 as needed for support. Discuss each term with students as it relates to their experience in the simulation.
8. After terms have been defined, review slides 8-11 on [The Progressive Era PowerPoint](#) to build context for American industry at the time of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry.
9. Write the terms *Robber Baron* and *Captain of Industry* on the board and read or project the following definitions:

²¹ Access to lessons and resources on Gilder Lehrman requires a free [Affiliate School account](#).

²² created by Elise M. Stevens for Gilder Lehrman

- a. *Robber Baron*: a ruthlessly powerful U.S. capitalist or industrialist of the late 19th century considered to have become wealthy by exploiting natural resources, corrupting legislators, or other unethical means²³
 - b. *Captain of Industry*: the head of a large business firm, especially of an industrial complex²⁴
10. Read aloud this short piece on [Robber Barons or Captains of Industry](#) from the Social Studies Help Center.²⁵
 11. Ask students: “What do these definitions have in common? How are they different?”
 12. Take notes for the class or annotate the definitions as students share their answers.
 13. Direct students to explain the meanings of *Robber Barons* and *Captains of Industry* in their own words orally or in writing.
 14. Explain to students that they will now engage in a group research project to evaluate late 19th century/early 20th century industrialists and make a claim about whether they are Robber Barons or Captains of Industry.
NOTE: the next part of this task is based on the task [The Industrial Age in America: Robber Barons and Captains of Industry](#)²⁶ by EDSITEment.
 15. Divide the class in four student groups (or eight, if it is preferred that each industrialist/financier be researched by two groups) according to an established classroom routine. Assign one of the four individuals below to each group and provide each group with a copy of the [Robber Baron or Captain of Industry chart](#). Instruct each group to use the following resources to research their individual and use the information gained to complete the chart for their assigned individual:
 - a. Andrew Carnegie
 - [Andrew Carnegie: The Richest Man in the World](#)²⁷ from PBS’s *American Experience*. **NOTE:** this link provides a video, six articles, and multiple photographs for students to use in their research.
 - [The Gospel of Wealth](#)²⁸ from Fordham University’s *Modern History Sourcebook*.
 - b. Cornelius Vanderbilt
 - [Cartoon, "The Great Race for Western Stakes."](#)
 - [A Business Biography of Cornelius Vanderbilt](#)²⁹
 - [Cornelius Vanderbilt and the Erie Railroad Wars](#)³⁰ by Stanley K. Schultz
 - c. J. Pierpont Morgan

²³ <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/robber-baron?s=t>

²⁴ <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/captain-of-industry?s=t>

²⁵ http://www.socialstudieshelp.com/Lesson_44_Notes.htm

²⁶ This work by The National Endowment for the Humanities is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](#). The original work is available at <http://edsitement.neh.gov/lesson-plan/industrial-age-america-robber-barons-and-captains-industry#section-16872>

²⁷ Documents made available by PBS for their series “The American Experience” and can be found at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/carnegie/>

²⁸ This text is part of the [Internet Modern History Sourcebook](#). The Sourcebook is a collection of public domain and copy-permitted texts for introductory level classes in modern European and World history.

²⁹ made available by St. Francis University, and can be found at

<http://web.archive.org/web/20110709134340/http://www.stfrancis.edu/content/ba/ghkickul/stuwebs/bbios/biograph/vanderbi.htm>

³⁰ made available by St. Francis University, and can be found at

<http://web.archive.org/web/20100610022926/http://us.history.wisc.edu/hist102/lectures/lecture05.html>

- [John Pierpont Morgan and the American Corporation](#)³¹ from *A Biography of America Home*
 - [J.P. Morgan](#)³²
 - [J.P. Morgan short bio](#)³³
- d. John D. Rockefeller
- [Standard Oil of New Jersey](#)³⁴ by Stanley K. Schultz
 - [John D. Rockefeller](#)³⁵
 - [John D. Rockefeller: Entrepreneur and Famous Business Leader](#)³⁶
 - [John D. Rockefeller was the Richest Person to Ever Live. Period.](#)³⁷ by Kat Eschner
16. Conduct a class discussion in which each group presents its claim and supporting evidence to the class using their [Robber Baron or Captain of Industry chart](#).
17. After presentations, instruct students to write a paragraph answering the following questions about their industrialist: “Is your industrialist a Robber Baron or a Captain of Industry, or something in between? Which of the individual’s actions were those of a Captain of Industry? Of a Robber Baron?” Grade the writing for content accuracy.
18. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: “In what ways did new technologies change the U.S. Economy?”
19. Project the [Interactive Timeline of Technical Innovations](#) for students to see. Select all types of innovations at the top of the timeline (Transportation, Daily Life, and Communications). Scroll through the timeline with students, noting the different innovations. Make sure to read the caption for *telephone, electric machines, light bulb, railroad boom, electric power station*.
20. Watch [The Gilded Age and the Second Industrial Revolution](#) as a class. Direct students to take notes on what technologies arise and the impact they have on industry while they watch the video.
21. Conduct a brief discussion on the supporting question: “In what ways did new technologies change the U.S. Economy?”
22. Write the phrase *laissez-faire* on the board and read or project the following definitions:³⁸
- a. a theory or system of government that upholds the autonomous character of the economic order, believing that government should intervene as little as possible in the direction of economic affairs.
 - b. the practice or doctrine of noninterference in the affairs of others, especially with reference to individual conduct or freedom of action.
23. Read aloud the [first two paragraphs](#) of the meaning of *laissez-faire*.

³¹Article made available by Annenberg Learner and can be found at:

<https://www.learner.org/series/biographyofamerica/prog17/transcript/page03.html>

³² produced by History.com in 2009. Available at <http://www.history.com/topics/john-pierpont-morgan>

³³ article made available by pbs.org as part of their “Freedom: A History of US” series:

<https://www.pbs.org/wnet/historyofus/web10/features/bio/B14.html>

³⁴ made available by St. Francis University, and can be found at

<http://web.archive.org/web/20100610022926/http://us.history.wisc.edu/hist102/lectures/lecture05.html>

³⁵ produced by History.com in 2009. Available at <http://www.history.com/topics/john-d-rockefeller>

³⁶ Article made available by Biography.com in 2016. Available at <https://www.biography.com/people/john-d-rockefeller-20710159>

³⁷ Article written by Kat Eschner for Smithsonian.com. Available at: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/john-d-rockefeller-richest-person-ever-live-period-180961705/>

³⁸ From <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/laissez-faire?s=t>

24. Ask students: “What do these definitions have in common?”
25. Take notes for the class or annotate the definitions as students share their answers.
26. Direct students to explain the meaning of *laissez-faire* in their own words orally or in writing.
27. Say: “As we’ve learned so far in this task, a laissez-faire economic policy allowed for lots of economic growth, and for the rise of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry. We’ve also learned that the results of monopolies and trusts were not good for everyone. In this part of the task, we will investigate the government’s response to some harmful business practices.”
28. Post and read aloud the final supporting question for the task: “What was the government response to the business practices of monopolies and trusts?”
29. To build historical context, instruct students to read [The Trust Buster](#) independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Why did Teddy Roosevelt believe a “revolution was coming,” as this author states?
 - b. Explain the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.
30. Provide students with access to excerpts of following speeches given by [Theodore Roosevelt: New Nationalism Speech: 1910](#) (paragraphs 28-34) and [The Trusts and Tariffs: 1902](#) (paragraphs 5-7). **NOTE:** These speeches are very long, so specific paragraphs have been suggested for excerption.
31. Instruct students to read the speeches independently, and direct them to underline the places where Roosevelt addresses the benefits or positive aspects of business, and have them circle the places where Roosevelt addresses the problems with trusts in America. Once students have read both Roosevelt speeches, conduct a whole class discussion on Roosevelt’s beliefs on the role the government should play in regulating business.
Possible questions:
 - a. What are some of the benefits or good aspects of business according to Roosevelt?
 - b. What does Roosevelt think about trusts?
 - c. What does Roosevelt think about special interests?
 - d. What does Roosevelt think the government needs to do to help workers?
32. Watch [20th Century US Capitalism and Regulation](#) as a class, stopping at minute 4:40. After the video, conduct a brief discussion of the supporting question for this part of the task: “What was the government response to the business practices of monopolies and trusts?”
33. Direct students to write a paragraph in response to the question “What was the government response to the business practices of monopolies and trusts?” Check for content accuracy.
34. Conclude the task with a class discussion on the compelling question for the task: “Would the industrial economy have succeeded without the extreme business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry?” Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) and assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#).

Robber Baron or Captain of Industry Chart³⁹

Name _____ Date _____



Robber Baron or Captain of Industry?

<http://edsitement.neh.gov>

Group Members:

	Assigned Individual
How he acquired his wealth.	
How he (or his related industries) treated workers.	
How he spent his money.	
How he donated his money.	
Robber Baron or Captain of Industry	

Permission is granted to educators to reproduce this worksheet for classroom use.

³⁹ This work by the National Endowment for the Humanities is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/). The original graphic organizer is available online at http://edsitement.neh.gov/sites/edsitement.neh.gov/files/worksheets/The%20Industrial%20Age%20in%20America_Robber%20Barons%20and%20Captains%20of%20Industry_Worksheet.pdf.

The Great Race for the Western Stakes 1870



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The Trust Buster⁴⁰

Teddy Roosevelt was one American who believed a revolution was coming.

He believed **WALL STREET FINANCIERS** and powerful trust titans to be acting foolishly. While they were eating off fancy china on mahogany tables in marble dining rooms, the masses were roughing it. There seemed to be no limit to greed. If docking wages would increase profits, it was done. If higher railroad rates put more gold in their coffers, it was done. How much was enough, Roosevelt wondered?

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act

Although he himself was a man of means, he criticized the wealthy class of Americans on two counts. First, continued exploitation of the public could result in a violent uprising that could destroy the whole system. Second, the captains of industry were arrogant enough to believe themselves superior to the elected government. Now that he was President, Roosevelt went on the attack.

The President's weapon was the **SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT**, passed by Congress in 1890. This law declared illegal all combinations "in restraint of trade." For the first twelve years of its existence, the Sherman Act was a paper tiger. United States courts routinely sided with business when any enforcement of the Act was attempted.

For example, the **AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY** controlled 98 percent of the sugar industry. Despite this virtual monopoly, the Supreme Court refused to dissolve the corporation in an 1895 ruling. The only time an organization was deemed in restraint of trade was when the court ruled against a *labor union*.

Roosevelt knew that no new legislation was necessary. When he sensed that he had a sympathetic Court, he sprung into action.

Teddy vs. J.P.

Theodore Roosevelt was not the type to initiate major changes timidly. The first trust giant to fall victim to Roosevelt's assault was none other than the most powerful industrialist in the country — J. Pierpont Morgan.

Morgan controlled a railroad company known as Northern Securities. In combination with railroad **MOGULS JAMES J. HILL** and **E. H. HARRIMAN**, Morgan controlled the bulk of railroad shipping across the northern United States.



C. Gordon Moffat

Teddy Roosevelt (not Ned Flanders) leading the charge against trusts in a cartoon from 1899.

⁴⁰ This work by The Independence Hall Association is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <http://www.ushistory.org/us/43b.asp>.

Morgan was enjoying a peaceful dinner at his New York home on February 19, 1902, when his telephone rang. He was furious to learn that Roosevelt's Attorney General was bringing suit against the Northern Securities Company. Stunned, he muttered to his equally shocked dinner guests about how rude it was to file such a suit without warning.



This 1912 cartoon shows trusts smashing consumers with the tariff hammer in hopes of raising profits.

Four days later, Morgan was at the White House with the President. Morgan bellowed that he was being treated like a common criminal. The President informed Morgan that no compromise could be reached, and the matter would be settled by the courts. Morgan inquired if his other interests were at risk, too. Roosevelt told him only the ones that had done anything wrong would be prosecuted.

The Good, the Bad, and the Bully

This was the core of Theodore Roosevelt's leadership. He boiled everything down to a case of right versus wrong and good versus bad. If a trust controlled an entire industry but provided good service at reasonable rates, it was a "good" trust to be left alone. Only the "bad" trusts that jacked up rates and exploited consumers would come under attack. Who would decide the difference between right and wrong? The occupant of the White House trusted only himself to make this decision in the interests of the people.

The American public cheered Roosevelt's new offensive. The Supreme Court, in a narrow 5 to 4 decision, agreed and dissolved the Northern Securities Company. Roosevelt said confidently that no man, no matter how powerful, was above the law. As he landed blows on other "bad" trusts, his popularity grew and grew.

Excerpts from Theodore Roosevelt's Speech: The New Nationalism 1910

A Speech Delivered at the Dedication of the John Brown Memorial Park in Osawatomie, Kansas

...Of conservation I shall speak more at length elsewhere. Conservation means development as much as it does protection. I recognize the right and duty of this generation to develop and use the natural resources of our land; but I do not recognize the right to waste them, or to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us. I ask nothing of the nation except that it so behave as each farmer here behaves with reference to his own children. That farmer is a poor creature who skins the land and leaves it worthless to his children. The farmer is a good farmer who, having enabled the land to support himself and to provide for the education of his children, leaves it to them a little better than he found it himself. I believe the same thing of a nation.

Moreover, I believe that the natural resources must be used for the benefit of all our people, and not monopolized for the benefit of the few, and here again is another case in which I am accused of taking a revolutionary attitude. People forget now that one hundred years ago there were public men of good character who advocated the nation selling its public lands in great quantities, so that the nation could get the most money out of it, and giving it to the men who could cultivate it for their own uses. We took the proper democratic ground that the land should be granted in small sections to the men who were actually to till it and live on it. Now, with the water power, with the forests, with the mines, we are brought face to face with the fact that there are many people who will go with us in conserving the resources only if they are to be allowed to exploit them for their benefit. That is one of the fundamental reasons why the special interests should be driven out of politics. Of all the questions which can come before this nation, short of the actual preservation of its existence in a great war, there is none which compares in importance with the great central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us, and training them into a better race to inhabit the land and pass it on. Conservation is a great moral issue, for it involves the patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the nation. Let me add that the health and vitality of our people are at least as well worth conserving as their forests, waters, lands, and minerals, and in this great work the national government must bear a most important part.

I have spoken elsewhere also of the great task which lies before the farmers of the country to get for themselves and their wives and children not only the benefits of better farming, but also those of better business methods and better conditions of life on the farm. The burden of this great task will fall, as it should, mainly upon the great organizations of the farmers themselves. I am glad it will, for I believe they are all well able to handle it. In particular, there are strong reasons why the Departments of Agriculture of the various states, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the agricultural colleges and experiment stations should extend their work to cover all phases of farm life, instead of limiting themselves, as they have far too often limited themselves in the past, solely to the question of the production of crops.

And now a special word to the farmer. I want to see him make the farm as fine a farm as it can be made; and let him remember to see that the improvement goes on indoors as well as out; let him remember that the farmer's wife should have her share of thought and attention just as much as the farmer himself.

Nothing is more true than that excess of every kind is followed by reaction; a fact which should be pondered by reformer and reactionary alike. We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare, chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. The man who wrongly holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare, who rightly maintains that every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it.

But I think we may go still further. The right to regulate the use of wealth in the public interest is universally admitted. Let us admit also the right to regulate the terms and conditions of labor, which is the chief element of wealth, directly in the interest of the common good. The fundamental thing to do for every man is to give him a chance to reach a place in which he will make the greatest possible contribution to the public welfare. Understand what I say there. Give him a chance, not push him up if he will not be pushed. Help any man who stumbles; if he lies down, it is a poor job to try to carry him; but if he is a worthy man, try your best to see that he gets a chance to show the worth that is in him. No man can be a good citizen unless he has a wage more than sufficient to cover the bare cost of living, and hours of labor short enough so after his day's work is done he will have time and energy to bear his share in the management of the community, to help in carrying the general load. We keep countless men from being good citizens by the conditions of life by which we surround them. We need comprehensive workman's compensation acts, both State and national laws to regulate child labor and work for women, and, especially, we need in our common schools not merely education in book-learning, but also practical training for daily life and work. We need to enforce better sanitary conditions for our workers and to extend the use of safety appliances for workers in industry and commerce, both within and between the States. Also, friends, in the interest of the working man himself, we need to set our faces like flint against mob-violence just as against corporate greed; against violence and injustice and lawlessness by wage-workers just as much as against lawless cunning and greed and selfish arrogance of employers. If I could ask but one thing of my fellow countrymen, my request would be that, whenever they go in for reform, they remember the two sides, and that they always exact justice from one side as much as from the other. I have small use for the public servant who can always see and denounce the corruption of the capitalist, but who cannot persuade himself, especially before election, to say a word about lawless mob violence. And I have equally small use for the man, be he a judge on the bench or editor of a great paper, or wealthy and influential private citizen, who can see clearly enough and denounce the lawlessness of mob violence, but whose eyes are closed so that he is blind when the question is one of corruption of business on a gigantic scale. Also, remember what I said about excess in reformer and reactionary alike. If the reactionary man, who thinks of nothing but the rights of property, could have his way, he would bring about a revolution; and one of my chief fears in connection

with progress comes because I do not want to see our people, for lack of proper leadership, compelled to follow men whose intentions are excellent, but whose eyes are a little too wild to make it really safe to trust them. Here in Kansas there is one paper which habitually denounces me as the tool of Wall Street, and at the same time frantically repudiates the statement that I am a Socialist on the ground that that is an unwarranted slander of the Socialists.

National efficiency has many factors. It is a necessary result of the principle of conservation widely applied. In the end, it will determine our failure or success as a nation. National efficiency has to do, not only with natural resources and with men, but it is equally concerned with institutions. The State must be made efficient for the work which concerns only the people of the State; and the nation for that which concerns all the people. There must remain no neutral ground to serve as a refuge for lawbreakers, and especially for lawbreakers of great wealth, who can hire the vulpine legal cunning which will teach them how to avoid both jurisdictions. It is a misfortune when the national legislature fails to do its duty in providing a national remedy, so that the only national activity is the purely negative activity of the judiciary forbidding the State to exercise power in the premises.

I do not ask for the over centralization; but I do ask that we work in a spirit of broad and far-reaching nationalism where we work for what concerns our people as a whole. We are all Americans. Our common interests are as broad as the continent. I speak to you here in Kansas exactly as I would speak in New York or Georgia, for the most vital problems are those which affect us all alike. The National Government belongs to the whole American people, and where the whole American people are interested, that interest can be guarded effectively only by the National Government. The betterment which we seek must be accomplished, I believe, mainly through the National Government.

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Excerpts from Theodore Roosevelt's Speech: Trusts and Tariffs 1902

AT MUSIC HALL, CINCINNATI, OHIO

ON THE EVENING OF

SEPTEMBER 20, 1902

Mr. Mayor, and you, my Fellow-Americans:

...In dealing with the big corporations which we call trusts, we must resolutely purpose to proceed by evolution and not revolution. We wish to face the facts, declining to have our vision blinded either by the folly of those who say there are no evils, or by the more dangerous folly of those who either see, or make believe that they see, nothing but evil in all the existing system, and who if given their way would destroy the evil by the simple process of bringing ruin and disaster to the entire country.

The evils attendant upon over-capitalization alone are, in my judgment, sufficient to warrant a far closer supervision and control than now exists over the great corporations. Wherever a substantial monopoly can be shown to exist we should certainly try our utmost to devise an expedient by which it can be controlled. Doubtless some of the evils existing in or because of the great corporations can not be cured by any legislation which has yet been proposed, and doubtless others, which have really been incident to the sudden development in the formation of corporations of all kinds, will in the end cure themselves. But there will remain a certain number which can be cured if we decide that by the power of the Government they are to be cured. The surest way to prevent the possibility of curing any of them is to approach the subject in a spirit of violent rancor, complicated with total ignorance of business interests and fundamental incapacity or unwillingness to understand the limitations upon all lawmaking bodies. No problem, and least of all so difficult a problem as this, can be solved if the qualities brought to its solution are panic, fear, envy, hatred, and ignorance.

There can exist in a free republic no man more wicked, no man more dangerous to the people, than he who would arouse these feelings in the hope that they would redound to his own political advantage. Corporations that are handled honestly and fairly, so far from being an evil, are a natural business evolution and make for the general prosperity of our land. We do not wish to destroy corporations, but we do wish to make them subserve the public good. All individuals, rich or poor, private or corporate, must be subject to the law of the land; and the government will hold them to a rigid obedience thereof. The biggest corporation, like the humblest private citizen, must be held to strict compliance with the will of the people as expressed in the fundamental law. The rich man who does not see that this is in his interest is indeed short-sighted. When we make him obey the law we ensure for him the absolute protection of the law.

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US History Instructional Task: Immigration and Urbanization

Unit One: Industrialization and Expansion through the Progressive Era, Topic Two: Urbanization and Industrialization

Description: Students explore immigration and rapid urbanization in the late 19th/early 20th century through text, video, and image, and investigate immigration policies and attitudes towards those policies. Students briefly research the immigration policy and attitudes towards immigration today, and compare and contrast it with that of late 19th/early 20th century immigration policies, in order to participate in a discussion on the compelling question: “Is there anything new about today’s immigration policy debate?”

Suggested Timeline: 6 class periods

Materials: [Urbanization and its Challenges](#); [Coil winding machines at Westinghouse Works](#); [Casting scene from Westinghouse Air Brake Co.](#); [Jacob Riis' "How the Other Half Lives" photo collection](#); [The Changing Nature of European Immigration](#); [Population and Immigration 1800-1910](#); [A Visual Representation of Two Centuries of Immigration](#); [Is Anything New About Today's Immigration Policy Debate?](#)⁴¹ [Representative Horace Davis' speech on Chinese Immigration to the House of Representatives](#); [Chinese Exclusion Act \(1882\)](#); ["America of the Melting Pot Comes to an end," New York Times Editorial](#); [Excerpts from The Immigration Act of 1924 \(The Johnson-Reed Act\)](#); [Senator Jacobstein's Congressional Speech Arguing Against Immigration Restrictions](#); [The Americanese Wall](#); [Social Darwinism in the Gilded Age](#); [2014 Executive Actions on Immigration](#); [Your Complete Guide to Obama's Immigration Executive Action](#); [Trump Immigration Plan](#); [DHS Fact Sheet: Executive Order 13769 \(Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States\)](#); [Judge in Hawaii Blocks Latest Version of Trump's Travel Ban](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “As we saw in the previous task, industrialization proved positive for the U.S. economy and the wealthy industrialists, but it was not positive for everybody. Living conditions and quality of life for factory workers was difficult at best. In this task, you are going to explore the outcomes of industrialization and rapid urbanization on the lives of the working class. You are also going to explore immigration, its effects on urbanization, and common attitudes towards immigrants. Towards the end of our task, you will make a connection with today’s immigration policies and attitudes, discussing the compelling question ‘Is anything new about today’s immigration policy debate?’” Post the compelling question on the board.
2. Say: “First, we will explore various sources to build historical context and knowledge about immigration and its impact on urbanization.”
3. Post and read aloud the first supporting questions for the task: “Who immigrated, and why? How did immigration impact urbanization?”
4. Read these [two paragraphs](#) to define urbanization. Have a few students share examples of urbanization they have seen or heard of.
5. Divide the class into small groups according to an established routine.

⁴¹ This task is adapted from the [Is Anything New About Today's Immigration Policy Debate?](#) task developed for the New York State Social Studies Resource Toolkit. The task is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](#), which allows for it to be shared and adapted as long as the user agrees to the terms of the license. Return to [U.S. History: How to Navigate This Document](#)

6. Provide students with the text [Urbanization and its Challenges](#) from Rice University’s OpenStax collection. Instruct students to read independently, and when finished reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What technology developments impacted industrialization and urbanization, and what were their impacts?
 - b. What were the factors that influenced rapid urbanization?
 - c. Describe the impacts of overcrowding in urban centers.
 - d. Explain the settlement movement, including key people involved and what the movement sought to do.
7. To further build understanding of urbanization, watch the following silent videos of factory work in early 20th century America as a class: [Coil winding machines at Westinghouse Works](#) and [Casting scene from Westinghouse Air Brake Co.](#)⁴² While watching, invite students to share what they notice about factory life.
8. Project and scroll through [Jacob Riis' "How the Other Half Lives" photo collection](#).⁴³ While watching, invite students to share what they notice about tenement living and quality of life for the working poor/immigrants. **NOTE:** the photo collection is accompanied by an article about the life and impact of Jacob Riis, which is optional reading based on teacher discretion.
9. Provide students with the text [The Changing Nature of European Immigration](#) from Rice University’s OpenStax collection. Instruct students to read the article independently and then discuss the following questions in their small groups:
 - a. Where did most of the immigrants to the U.S in the late 19th/early 20th century emigrate from?
 - b. What were some “push” and “pull” factors for immigrants coming to the U.S.?
 - c. What are some examples of the social reaction to immigrants?
10. To further build understanding of immigration, project the interactive map [Population and Immigration 1800-1910](#)⁴⁴ for students, and scroll through each map and chart, reading captions, and focusing on the years 1870-1910. While viewing, invite a few students to share out what they notice about population growth and immigration, and where immigrants settled in the U.S. throughout time.
11. Project for students [A Visual Representation of Two Centuries of Immigration](#)⁴⁵ focusing on the years 1870 to 1910. Before starting the map animation, explain to students that one dot is equal to 10,000 people, and the brightness of each country is corresponds to its total migration to the U.S. at the given time. Scroll down to show students the “U.S. Immigration Flows by Country” and “U.S. Immigration Flows by Country (% of U.S. Population)” and point out the different between the two graphs. While viewing the visual representations of immigration data, invite students to share out what they notice about where immigrants emigrated from, and the impacts on U.S. population growth.

⁴²Bitzer, G. W., Camera, American Mutoscope And Biograph Company, and Paper Print Collection. Coil winding machines, Westinghouse works. United States: American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, 1904. Video. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/96522217/>.

⁴³ Jacob Riis’ photo collections made available by Jimmy Stamp for Smithsonian.com, and can be found at <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/pioneering-social-reformer-jacob-riis-revealed-how-other-half-lives-america-180951546/>

⁴⁴ Made available by Mapping History for University of Oregon, and can be found at: <http://mappinghistory.uoregon.edu/english/US/US27-02.html>

⁴⁵ Maps and graphs created by Max Galka on his website Metrocosm.com using data from Department of Homeland Security’s Office of Immigration Statistics, and is available at <http://metrocosm.com/animated-immigration-map/>

12. Instruct students to write an extended paragraph (half to one page but not a full essay) in response to the supporting question: “Who immigrated and why, and how did immigration impact urbanization?”
13. Say: “Now that we have explored immigration, and the challenges of rapid urbanization and industrialization, we are going to explore different attitudes towards these challenges and the government’s response.” Remind students of the compelling question: “Is anything new about today’s immigration policy debate?”- and that they will be contrasting the response to immigration challenges today with the responses they are about to learn about.
14. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: “What factors shaped immigration policy in the late 19th/early 20th century, and what were the criticisms of U.S. immigration policy at the time?”
15. Provide students with [Representative Horace Davis' speech on Chinese Immigration to the House of Representatives](#) and [Chinese Exclusion Act \(1882\)](#). Instruct students to read both sources independently, and then discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What are the justifications Representative Davis gives regarding the dangers of Chinese immigration?
 - b. What did the Chinese Exclusion Act do?
16. Provide students with ["America of the Melting Pot Comes to an end," New York Times Editorial](#), [Excerpts from The Immigration Act of 1924 \(The Johnson-Reed Act\)](#), [Senator Jacobstein's Congressional Speech Arguing Against Immigration Restrictions](#), and the political cartoon [The Americanese Wall](#) . Instruct students to read both sources independently, and then discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What did the Immigration Act of 1924 do?
 - b. What does Senator David A. Reed say are the three purposes of the Immigration Act of 1924 in his New York Times editorial?
 - c. What are the critiques of the Immigration Law of 1924 made by Senator Meyer Jacobstein?
 - d. What point does Meyer Jacobstein make about resistance to immigration throughout American history?
 - e. What is the political cartoon “[The Americanese Wall](#)” depicting?
17. Provide students with access to [Social Darwinism in the Gilded Age](#)⁴⁶ and instruct students to read independently. Once students have finished reading, direct them to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What is Social Darwinism?
 - b. How did the ideas of Social Darwinism influence politics during the late 19th/early 20th century?
 - c. Do you think the writers of the Immigration Act of 1924, and the politicians who voted for it, were influenced by ideas of Social Darwinism? Why or Why not?
18. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task: “What factors shaped immigration policy in the late 19th/early 20th century, and what were the criticisms of U.S. immigration policy at the time?”
19. In order to prepare students for debating the compelling question, allow them time to research current immigration policy, suggested policy, and stances on immigration. The following sources can be used for research:
 - a. [2014 Executive Actions on Immigration](#)⁴⁷

⁴⁶ This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-6/apush-gilded-age/a/social-darwinism-in-the-gilded-age>

⁴⁷ Archived information from the U.S. Citizenship and Information Services found at <https://www.uscis.gov/archive/2014-executive-actions-immigration>

- b. [Your Complete Guide to Obama's Immigration Executive Action](#) by Max Ehrenfreund for the Washington Post⁴⁸.
- c. [Trump Immigration Plan](#)⁴⁹
- d. [DHS Fact Sheet: Executive Order 13769 \(Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States\)](#)⁵⁰
- e. [Judge in Hawaii Blocks Latest Version of Trump's Travel Ban](#)⁵¹ by Jennifer Kelleher for PBS Newshour

20. NOTE: before starting the debate, tell students that in 1965, the quota system instituted in the Immigration Act of 1924 was abolished with the Immigration Act of 1965, mandating that all future immigrants would compete on a first-come, first-served basis for the limited immigrant visas without regard to country of origin. More information on the Immigration Act of 1965 can be found in the [Is Anything New About Today's Immigration Policy Debate?](#) task.

21. Conclude the task with a class discussion on the compelling question for the task - "Is anything new about today's immigration policy debate?" Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) and assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#).

⁴⁸ Written November 20, 2014 by Max Ehrenfreund for the Washington Post, available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2014/11/19/your-complete-guide-to-obamas-immigration-order/?utm_term=.a1d825f72621

⁴⁹ Donald J. Trump's Immigration Plan from Campaign Platform during the 2016 Presidential Election. Available at: <https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/Immigration-Reform-Trump.pdf>

⁵⁰ Fact Sheet on Executive Order 13769: Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States produced by the Department of Homeland Security and available at: <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2017/03/06/fact-sheet-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states>

⁵¹ Article written on October 17, 2017 by Jennifer Kelleher for PBS Newshour, available at <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/judge-hawaii-blocks-latest-version-trumps-travel-ban>

Urbanization and Its Challenges⁵²

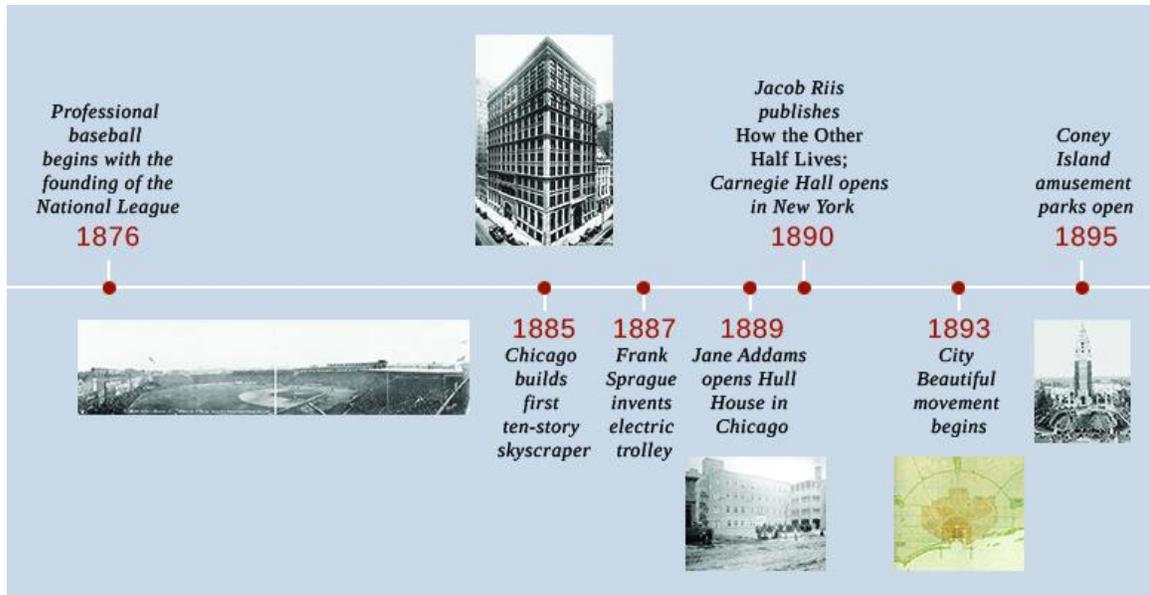


Figure 1.

Urbanization occurred rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century in the United States for a number of reasons. The new technologies of the time led to a massive leap in industrialization, requiring large numbers of workers. New electric lights and powerful machinery allowed factories to run twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Workers were forced into grueling twelve-hour shifts, requiring them to live close to the factories.

While the work was dangerous and difficult, many Americans were willing to leave behind the declining prospects of preindustrial agriculture in the hope of better wages in industrial labor. Furthermore, problems ranging from famine to religious persecution led a new wave of immigrants to arrive from central, eastern, and southern Europe, many of whom settled and found work near the cities where they first arrived. Immigrants sought solace and comfort among others who shared the same language and customs, and the nation's cities became an invaluable economic and cultural resource.

Although cities such as Philadelphia, Boston, and New York sprang up from the initial days of colonial settlement, the explosion in urban population growth did not occur until the mid-nineteenth century (Figure). At this time, the attractions of city life, and in particular, employment opportunities, grew exponentially due to rapid changes in industrialization. Before the mid-1800s, factories, such as the early textile mills, had to be located near rivers and seaports, both for the transport of goods and the necessary water power. Production became dependent upon seasonal

⁵²This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:bR1zjx9l@4/Urbanization-and-Its-Challenge>.

water flow, with cold, icy winters all but stopping river transportation entirely. The development of the steam engine transformed this need, allowing businesses to locate their factories near urban centers. These factories encouraged more and more people to move to urban areas where jobs were plentiful, but hourly wages were often low and the work was routine and grindingly monotonous.

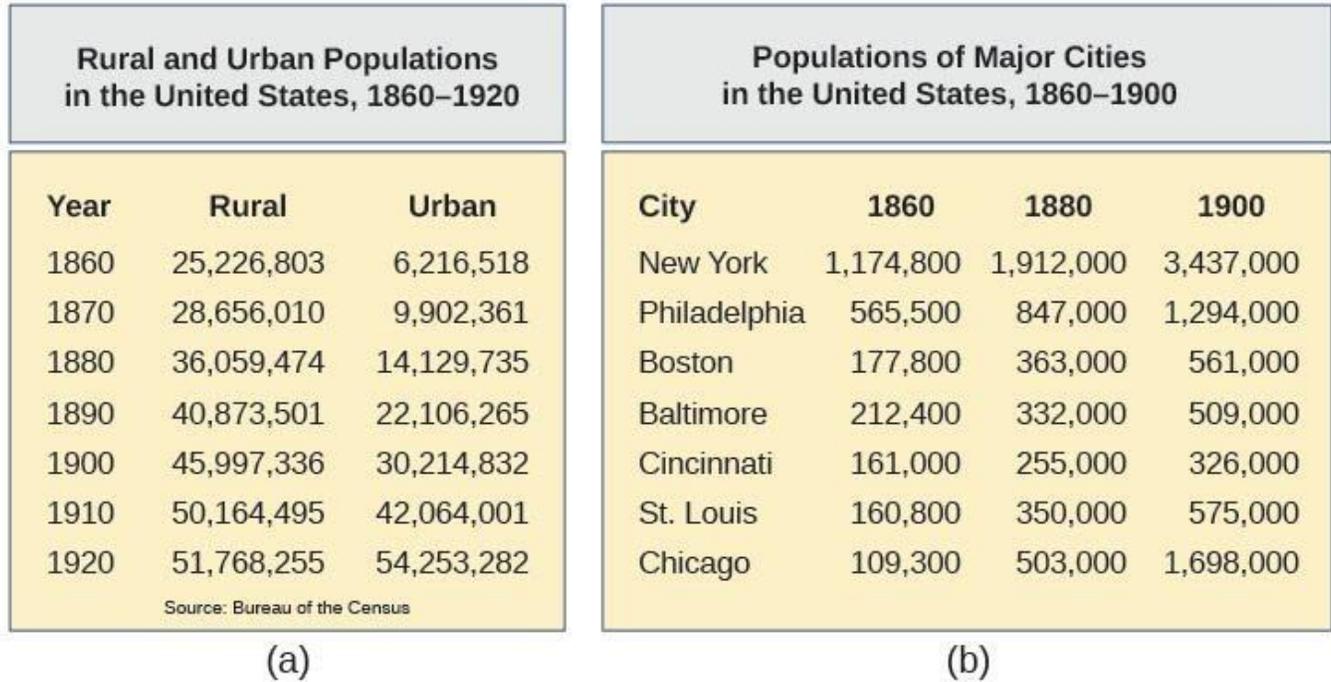


Figure 2. As these panels illustrate, the population of the United States grew rapidly in the late 1800s (a). Much of this new growth took place in urban areas (defined by the census as twenty-five hundred people or more), and this urban population, particularly that of major cities (b), dealt with challenges and opportunities that were unknown in previous generations.

Eventually, cities developed their own unique characters based on the core industry that spurred their growth. In Pittsburgh, it was steel; in Chicago, it was meat packing; in New York, the garment and financial industries dominated; and Detroit, by the mid-twentieth century, was defined by the automobiles it built. But all cities at this time, regardless of their industry, suffered from the universal problems that rapid expansion brought with it, including concerns over housing and living conditions, transportation, and communication. These issues were almost always rooted in deep class inequalities, shaped by racial divisions, religious differences, and ethnic strife, and distorted by corrupt local politics.

THE KEYS TO SUCCESSFUL URBANIZATION

As the country grew, certain elements led some towns to morph into large urban centers, while others did not. The following four innovations proved critical in shaping urbanization at the turn of the century: electric lighting, communication improvements, intracity transportation, and the rise of skyscrapers. As people migrated for the new jobs, they often struggled with the absence of basic urban infrastructures, such as better transportation, adequate housing, means of communication, and efficient sources of light and energy. Even the basic necessities, such as fresh water and proper sanitation—often taken for granted in the countryside—presented a greater challenge in urban life.

Electric Lighting

Thomas Edison patented the incandescent light bulb in 1879. This development quickly became common in homes as well as factories, transforming how even lower- and middle-class Americans lived. Although slow to arrive in rural areas of the country, electric power became readily available in cities when the first commercial power plants began to open in 1882. When Nikola Tesla subsequently developed the AC (alternating current) system for the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company, power supplies for lights and other factory equipment could extend for miles from the power source. AC power transformed the use of electricity, allowing urban centers to physically cover greater areas. In the factories, electric lights permitted operations to run twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. This increase in production required additional workers, and this demand brought more people to cities.

Gradually, cities began to illuminate the streets with electric lamps to allow the city to remain alight throughout the night. No longer did the pace of life and economic activity slow substantially at sunset, the way it had in smaller towns. The cities, following the factories that drew people there, stayed open all the time.

Communications Improvements

The telephone, patented in 1876, greatly transformed communication both regionally and nationally. The telephone rapidly supplanted the telegraph as the preferred form of communication; by 1900, over 1.5 million telephones were in use around the nation, whether as private lines in the homes of some middle- and upper-class Americans, or as jointly used “party lines” in many rural areas. By allowing instant communication over larger distances at any given time, growing telephone networks made urban sprawl possible.

In the same way that electric lights spurred greater factory production and economic growth, the telephone increased business through the more rapid pace of demand. Now, orders could come constantly via telephone, rather than via mail-order. More orders generated greater production, which in turn required still more workers. This demand for additional labor played a key role in urban growth, as expanding companies sought workers to handle the increasing consumer demand for their products.

Intracity Transportation

As cities grew and sprawled outward, a major challenge was efficient travel within the city—from home to factories or shops, and then back again. Most transportation infrastructure was used to connect cities to each other, typically by rail or canal. Prior to the 1880s, the most common form of transportation within cities was the omnibus. This was a large, horse-drawn carriage, often placed on iron or steel tracks to provide a smoother ride. While omnibuses worked adequately in smaller, less congested cities, they were not equipped to handle the larger crowds that developed at the close of the century. The horses had to stop and rest, and horse manure became an ongoing problem.

In 1887, Frank Sprague invented the electric trolley, which worked along the same concept as the omnibus, with a large wagon on tracks, but was powered by electricity rather than horses. The electric trolley could run throughout the day and night, like the factories and the workers who fueled them. But it also modernized less important industrial centers, such as the southern city of Richmond, Virginia. As early as 1873, San Francisco engineers adopted pulley technology from the mining industry to introduce cable cars and turn the city’s steep hills into elegant middle-class communities. However, as crowds continued to grow in the largest cities, such as Chicago and New York, trolleys were unable to move efficiently through the crowds of pedestrians ([Figure](#)). To avoid this challenge, city planners elevated the trolley lines above the streets, creating elevated trains, or L-trains, as early as 1868 in New York City, and quickly spreading to Boston in 1887 and Chicago in 1892. Finally, as skyscrapers began to dominate the air, transportation evolved one step further

to move underground as subways. Boston's subway system began operating in 1897, and was quickly followed by New York and other cities.



(a)



(b)

Figure 3. Although trolleys were far more efficient than horse-drawn carriages, populous cities such as New York experienced frequent accidents, as depicted in this 1895 illustration from *Leslie's Weekly* (a). To avoid overcrowded streets, trolleys soon went underground, as at the Public Gardens Portal in Boston (b), where three different lines met to enter the Tremont Street Subway, the oldest subway tunnel in the United States, opening on September 1, 1897.

The Rise of Skyscrapers

The last limitation that large cities had to overcome was the ever-increasing need for space. Eastern cities, unlike their midwestern counterparts, could not continue to grow outward, as the land surrounding them was already settled. Geographic limitations such as rivers or the coast also hampered sprawl. And in all cities, citizens needed to be close enough to urban centers to conveniently access work, shops, and other core institutions of urban life. The increasing cost of real estate made upward growth attractive, and so did the prestige that towering buildings carried for the businesses that occupied them. Workers completed the first skyscraper in Chicago, the ten-story Home Insurance Building, in 1885 (Figure). Although engineers had the capability to go higher, thanks to new steel construction techniques, they required another vital invention in order to make taller buildings viable: the elevator. In 1889, the Otis Elevator Company, led by inventor James Otis, installed the first electric elevator. This began the skyscraper craze, allowing developers in eastern cities to build and market prestigious real estate in the hearts of crowded eastern metropolises.



Figure 4. While the technology existed to engineer tall buildings, it was not until the invention of the electric elevator in 1889 that skyscrapers began to take over the urban landscape. Shown here is the Home Insurance Building in Chicago, considered the first modern skyscraper.

THE IMMEDIATE CHALLENGES OF URBAN LIFE

Congestion, pollution, crime, and disease were prevalent problems in all urban centers; city planners and inhabitants alike sought new solutions to the problems caused by rapid urban growth. Living conditions for most working-class urban dwellers were atrocious. They lived in crowded tenement houses and cramped apartments with terrible ventilation and substandard plumbing and sanitation. As a result, disease ran rampant, with typhoid and cholera common. Memphis, Tennessee, experienced waves of cholera (1873) followed by yellow fever (1878 and 1879) that resulted in the loss of over ten thousand lives. By the late 1880s, New York City, Baltimore, Chicago, and New Orleans had all introduced sewage pumping systems to provide efficient waste management. Many cities were also serious fire hazards. An average working-class family of six, with two adults and four children, had at best a two-bedroom tenement. By one 1900 estimate, in the New York City borough of Manhattan alone, there were nearly fifty thousand tenement houses. The photographs of these tenement houses are seen in Jacob Riis's book, *How the Other Half Lives*, discussed in the feature above. Citing a study by the New York State Assembly at this time, Riis found New York to be the most densely populated city in the world, with as many as eight hundred residents per square acre in the Lower East Side working-class slums, comprising the Eleventh and Thirteenth Wards.

Churches and civic organizations provided some relief to the challenges of working-class city life. Churches were moved to intervene through their belief in the concept of the social gospel. This philosophy stated that all Christians, whether they were church leaders or social reformers, should be as concerned about the conditions of life in the secular world as

the afterlife, and the Reverend Washington Gladden was a major advocate. Rather than preaching sermons on heaven and hell, Gladden talked about social changes of the time, urging other preachers to follow his lead. He advocated for improvements in daily life and encouraged Americans of all classes to work together for the betterment of society. His sermons included the message to “love thy neighbor” and held that all Americans had to work together to help the masses. As a result of his influence, churches began to include gymnasiums and libraries as well as offer evening classes on hygiene and health care. Other religious organizations like the Salvation Army and the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) expanded their reach in American cities at this time as well. Beginning in the 1870s, these organizations began providing community services and other benefits to the urban poor.

In the secular sphere, the settlement house movement of the 1890s provided additional relief. Pioneering women such as Jane Addams in Chicago and Lillian Wald in New York led this early progressive reform movement in the United States, building upon ideas originally fashioned by social reformers in England. With no particular religious bent, they worked to create settlement houses in urban centers where they could help the working class, and in particular, working-class women, find aid. Their help included child daycare, evening classes, libraries, gym facilities, and free health care. Addams opened her now-famous Hull House ([Figure](#)) in Chicago in 1889, and Wald’s Henry Street Settlement opened in New York six years later. The movement spread quickly to other cities, where they not only provided relief to working-class women but also offered employment opportunities for women graduating college in the growing field of social work. Oftentimes, living in the settlement houses among the women they helped, these college graduates experienced the equivalent of living social classrooms in which to practice their skills, which also frequently caused friction with immigrant women who had their own ideas of reform and self-improvement.



Figure 6. Jane Addams opened Hull House in Chicago in 1889, offering services and support to the city’s working poor.

The success of the settlement house movement later became the basis of a political agenda that included pressure for housing laws, child labor laws, and worker’s compensation laws, among others. Florence Kelley, who originally worked with Addams in Chicago, later joined Wald’s efforts in New York; together, they created the National Child Labor Return to [U.S. History: How to Navigate This Document](#)

Committee and advocated for the subsequent creation of the Children’s Bureau in the U.S. Department of Labor in 1912. Julia Lathrop—herself a former resident of Hull House—became the first woman to head a federal government agency, when President William Howard Taft appointed her to run the bureau. Settlement house workers also became influential leaders in the women’s suffrage movement as well as the antiwar movement during World War I.

JANE ADDAMS REFLECTS ON THE SETTLEMENT HOUSE MOVEMENT

Jane Addams was a social activist whose work took many forms. She is perhaps best known as the founder of Hull House in Chicago, which later became a model for settlement houses throughout the country. Here, she reflects on the role that the settlement played.

Life in the Settlement discovers above all what has been called ‘the extraordinary pliability of human nature,’ and it seems impossible to set any bounds to the moral capabilities which might unfold under ideal civic and educational conditions. But in order to obtain these conditions, the Settlement recognizes the need of cooperation, both with the radical and the conservative, and from the very nature of the case the Settlement cannot limit its friends to any one political party or economic school. The Settlement casts side none of those things which cultivated men have come to consider reasonable and goodly, but it insists that those belong as well to that great body of people who, because of toilsome and underpaid labor, are unable to procure them for themselves. Added to this is a profound conviction that the common stock of intellectual enjoyment should not be difficult of access because of the economic position of him who would approach it, that those ‘best results of civilization’ upon which depend the finer and freer aspects of living must be incorporated into our common life and have free mobility through all elements of society if we would have our democracy endure. The educational activities of a Settlement, as well its philanthropic, civic, and social undertakings, are but differing manifestations of the attempt to socialize democracy, as is the very existence of the Settlement itself.

In addition to her pioneering work in the settlement house movement, Addams also was active in the women’s suffrage movement as well as an outspoken proponent for international peace efforts. She was instrumental in the relief effort after World War I, a commitment that led to her winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

The Changing Nature of European Immigration⁵³

Immigrants also shifted the demographics of the rapidly growing cities. Although immigration had always been a force of change in the United States, it took on a new character in the late nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1880s, the arrival of immigrants from mostly southern and eastern European countries rapidly increased while the flow from northern and western Europe remained relatively constant (Table).

Region Country	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Northern and Western Europe	4,845,679	5,499,889	7,288,917	7,204,649	7,306,325
Germany	1,690,533	1,966,742	2,784,894	2,663,418	2,311,237
Ireland	1,855,827	1,854,571	1,871,509	1,615,459	1,352,251
England	550,924	662,676	908,141	840,513	877,719
Sweden	97,332	194,337	478,041	582,014	665,207
Austria	30,508	38,663	123,271	275,907	626,341
Norway	114,246	181,729	322,665	336,388	403,877
Scotland	140,835	170,136	242,231	233,524	261,076
Southern and Eastern Europe	93,824	248,620	728,851	1,674,648	4,500,932
Italy	17,157	44,230	182,580	484,027	1,343,125
Russia	4,644	35,722	182,644	423,726	1,184,412
Poland	14,436	48,557	147,440	383,407	937,884
Hungary	3,737	11,526	62,435	145,714	495,609
Czechoslovakia	40,289	85,361	118,106	156,891	219,214

Cumulative Total of the Foreign-Born Population in the United States, 1870-1910 (by major country of birth and European region)

The previous waves of immigrants from northern and western Europe, particularly Germany, Great Britain, and the Nordic countries, were relatively well off, arriving in the country with some funds and often moving to the newly settled western territories. In contrast, the newer immigrants from southern and eastern European countries, including Italy, Greece, and several Slavic countries including Russia, came over due to “push” and “pull” factors similar to those that influenced the African Americans arriving from the South. Many were “pushed” from their countries by a series of ongoing famines, by the need to escape religious, political, or racial persecution, or by the desire to avoid compulsory military service. They were also “pulled” by the promise of consistent, wage-earning work.

⁵³ This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:FFyiTJpy@3/The-African-American-Great-Mig>.

Whatever the reason, these immigrants arrived without the education and finances of the earlier waves of immigrants, and settled more readily in the port towns where they arrived, rather than setting out to seek their fortunes in the West. By 1890, over 80 percent of the population of New York would be either foreign-born or children of foreign-born parentage. Other cities saw huge spikes in foreign populations as well, though not to the same degree, due in large part to Ellis Island in New York City being the primary port of entry for most European immigrants arriving in the United States.

The number of immigrants peaked between 1900 and 1910, when over nine million people arrived in the United States. To assist in the processing and management of this massive wave of immigrants, the Bureau of Immigration in New York City, which had become the official port of entry, opened Ellis Island in 1892. Today, nearly half of all Americans have ancestors who, at some point in time, entered the country through the portal at Ellis Island. Doctors or nurses inspected the immigrants upon arrival, looking for any signs of infectious diseases ([Figure](#)). Most immigrants were admitted to the country with only a cursory glance at any other paperwork. Roughly 2 percent of the arriving immigrants were denied entry due to a medical condition or criminal history. The rest would enter the country by way of the streets of New York, many unable to speak English and totally reliant on finding those who spoke their native tongue.



Figure 2. This photo shows newly arrived immigrants at Ellis Island in New York. Inspectors are examining them for contagious health problems, which could require them to be sent back. (credit: NIAID)

Seeking comfort in a strange land, as well as a common language, many immigrants sought out relatives, friends, former neighbors, townspeople, and countrymen who had already settled in American cities. This led to a rise in ethnic enclaves within the larger city. Little Italy, Chinatown, and many other communities developed in which immigrant groups could find everything to remind them of home, from local language newspapers to ethnic food stores. While these enclaves provided a sense of community to their members, they added to the problems of urban congestion, particularly in the poorest slums where immigrants could afford housing.

The demographic shift at the turn of the century was later confirmed by the Dillingham Commission, created by Congress in 1907 to report on the nature of immigration in America; the commission reinforced this ethnic identification of immigrants and their simultaneous discrimination. The report put it simply: These newer immigrants looked and acted differently. They had darker skin tone, spoke languages with which most Americans were unfamiliar, and practiced unfamiliar religions, specifically Judaism and Catholicism. Even the foods they sought out at butchers and grocery stores set immigrants apart. Because of these easily identifiable differences, new immigrants became easy targets for hatred and discrimination. If jobs were hard to find, or if housing was overcrowded, it became easy to blame the immigrants. Like African Americans, immigrants in cities were blamed for the problems of the day.

Growing numbers of Americans resented the waves of new immigrants, resulting in a backlash. The Reverend Josiah Strong fueled the hatred and discrimination in his bestselling book, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*, published in 1885. In a revised edition that reflected the 1890 census records, he clearly identified undesirable immigrants—those from southern and eastern European countries—as a key threat to the moral fiber of the country, and urged all good Americans to face the challenge. Several thousand Americans answered his call by forming the American Protective Association, the chief political activist group to promote legislation curbing immigration into the United States. The group successfully lobbied Congress to adopt both an English language literacy test for immigrants, which eventually passed in 1917, and the Chinese Exclusion Act (discussed in a previous chapter). The group’s political lobbying also laid the groundwork for the subsequent Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924, as well as the National Origins Act.

Representative Horace Davis' speech on Chinese Immigration to the House of Representatives

In the beginning of these remarks I tried to give you some picture of the Chinese population of the Pacific States, an army of nomads having neither allegiance to our Government nor sympathy with our people. I showed you how dangerous to a republic must be this hostile element in its midst, like a foreign army encamped among its people.

I warned you of the rise of a power like the secret societies of the Middle Ages, working within our own Government and defying its laws. I pointed out the discredit, peril, and distress this element of population has brought to free labor. And lastly, I appealed to the experience of other nations who have permitted Chinese immigration and showed you that wherever it has been allowed the same unvarying features mark their presence, and that after centuries of contact with other people in the islands of the East Indies their race peculiarities are just as distinct as they are today in California; so that our only hope lies in a law restricting their coming.

We earnestly entreat you not to disappoint us in this hope. Our State is torn asunder with discontent and agitation over this all absorbing question. Assure the anxious hearts of our people that your sympathies are with us, and let us have peace. You republicans and you democrats make good the promises of your party leaders, over and over again pledging us your aid in Congress. Men of all parties who hate the memory of slavery relieve our young State from the blight of contract labor.

Champions of industry, as you would maintain the dignity, the self--respect, and the independence of labor, help the workingman buffeting against this flood which threatens to sweep him under. Soldiers, fresh from the horrors of civil war, avert from us the specter, however distant, of intestine strife, of a State divided against itself, and of a war of races. The safety of the Republic lies in a contented people, loving their country and respecting its laws. No material prosperity can atone for the want of that allegiance. As we cherish the traditions of one flag, one Constitution, and one common country, so we can only work out one common destiny as a united and harmonious people.

This text is in the public domain. The full speech is available at the National Archives:

https://archive.org/stream/chineseimmigrat00davigoog/chineseimmigrat00davigoog_djvu.txt.

Chinese Exclusion Act

The Chinese Exclusion Act was approved on May 6, 1882. It was the first significant law restricting immigration into the United States.

In the spring of 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed by Congress and signed by President Chester A. Arthur. This act provided an absolute 10-year moratorium on Chinese labor immigration. For the first time, Federal law proscribed entry of an ethnic working group on the premise that it endangered the good order of certain localities.

The Chinese Exclusion Act required the few nonlaborers who sought entry to obtain certification from the Chinese government that they were qualified to immigrate. But this group found it increasingly difficult to prove that they were not laborers because the 1882 act defined excludables as “skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.” Thus very few Chinese could enter the country under the 1882 law.

The 1882 exclusion act also placed new requirements on Chinese who had already entered the country. If they left the United States, they had to obtain certifications to re-enter. Congress, moreover, refused State and Federal courts the right to grant citizenship to Chinese resident aliens, although these courts could still deport them.

When the exclusion act expired in 1892, Congress extended it for 10 years in the form of the Geary Act. This extension, made permanent in 1902, added restrictions by requiring each Chinese resident to register and obtain a certificate of residence. Without a certificate, she or he faced deportation.

This text is in the public domain. Reprinted from OurDocuments.gov: <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=47>. The passage originally appeared in Teaching with Documents: Using Primary Sources from the National Archives. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1989: pp. 82–85.

Excerpts from The Immigration Act of 1924

The Immigration Act of 1924 limited the number of immigrants allowed entry into the United States through a national origins quota. The quota provided immigration visas to two percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the United States as of the 1890 national census. It completely excluded immigrants from Asia...

[In 1921], immigration expert and Republican Senator from Vermont William P. Dillingham introduced a measure to create immigration quotas, which he set at three percent of the total population of the foreign---born of each nationality in the United States as recorded in the 1910 census. This put the total number of visas available each year to new immigrants at 350,000. It did not, however, establish quotas of any kind for residents of the Western Hemisphere...

When the congressional debate over immigration began in 1924, the quota system was so well---established that no one questioned whether to maintain it, but rather discussed how to adjust it. Though there were advocates for raising quotas and allowing more people to enter, the champions of restriction triumphed. They created a plan that lowered the existing quota from three to two percent of the foreign born population. They also pushed back the year on which quota calculations were based from 1910 to 1890.

Another change to the quota altered the basis of the quota calculations. The quota had been based on the number of people born outside of the United States, or the number of immigrants in the United States. The new law traced the origins of the whole of the U.S. population, including natural---born citizens. The new quota calculations included large numbers of people of British descent whose families were long resident in the United States. As a result, the percentage of visas available to individuals from the British Isles and Western Europe increased, but newer immigration from other areas like Southern and Eastern Europe was limited.

This text is in the public domain.

Senator Jacobstein's Congressional Speech Arguing Against Immigration Restrictions

Perhaps the chief argument expressed or implied by those favoring the Johnson bill [the Immigration Act of 1924] is that the new immigrant is not of a type that can be assimilated or that he will not carry on the best traditions of the founders of our Nation, but, on the contrary, is likely to fill our jails, our almshouses, and other institutions that impose a great tax burden on the Nation.

Based on this prejudice and dislike, there has grown up an almost fanatical anti-immigration sentiment. But this charge against the newcomers is denied, and substantial evidence has been brought to prove that they do not furnish a disproportionate share of the inmates of these institutions.

One of the purposes in shifting to the 1890 census is to reduce the number of undesirables and defectives in our institutions. In fact, this aspect of the question must have made a very deep impression on the committee because it crops out on every occasion. The committee has unquestionably been influenced by the conclusions drawn from a study made by Dr. Laughlin.

This is not the first time in American history that such an anti-foreign hysteria has swept the country. Reread your American histories. Go back and glance through McMaster's History of the United States covering the years from 1820 to 1850. You will find there many pages devoted to the "100 per centers" of that time. So strange was the movement against the foreigner in those decades before the Civil War that a national political party, the "Know-Nothing Party," sought to ride into power on the crest of this fanatical wave.

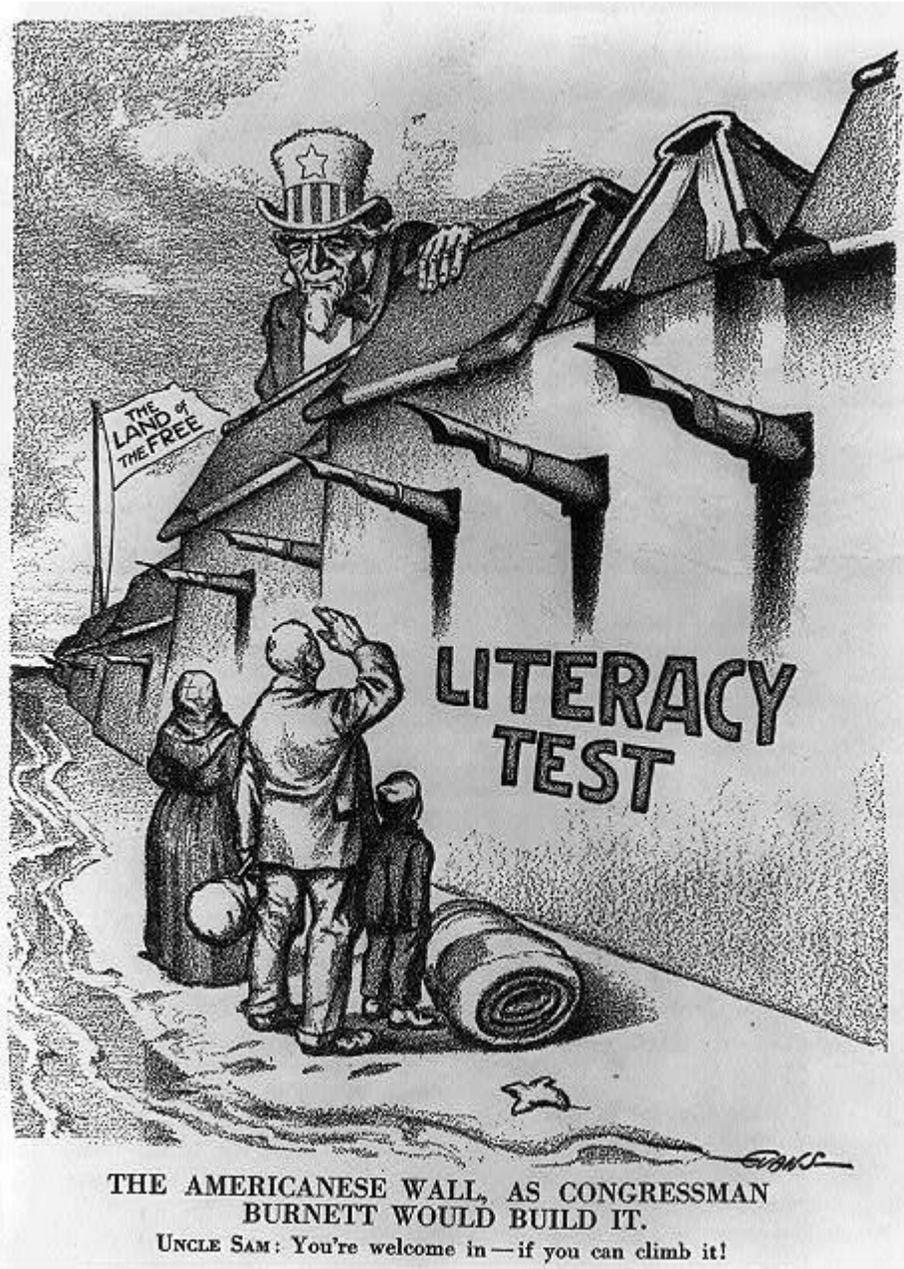
In those early days, however, the anti-foreign movement, strangely enough, was directed against the very people whom we now seek to prefer—the English, the Irish, and the Germans. The calamity howlers of a century ago prophesied that these foreigners would drag our Nation to destruction.

The trouble is that the committee is suffering from a delusion. It is carried away with the belief that there is such a thing as a Nordic race which possesses all the virtues, and in like manner creates the fiction of an inferior group of peoples, for which no name has been invented.

Nothing is more un-American. Nothing could be more dangerous, in a land the Constitution of which says that all men are created equal, than to write into our law a theory which puts one race above another, which stamps one group of people as superior and another as inferior. The fact that it is camouflaged in a maze of statistics will not protect this Nation from the evil consequences of such an unscientific, un-American, wicked philosophy.

This text is in the public domain. Congressional Record, 1924.

The Americanese Wall



THE AMERICANESE WALL, AS CONGRESSMAN
BURNETT WOULD BUILD IT.

UNCLE SAM: You're welcome in—if you can climb it!

This image is in the public domain and is available online at <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3b00563/>.

Unit One Instruction

Topic Three: Progressivism and Its Impact (U.S.2.7-8)

Connections to the unit claim: Students will investigate the motivations of Progressives, and the outcomes of the Progressive movement to make a claim on whether or not the Progressive movement was successful. Through analyzing the long and short term successes of the Progressive movement, students will gain more information to build a claim on how innovation and expansion affect a nation’s identity.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [Was the Progressive Movement Successful?](#)

To explore these key questions:

- Was the Progressive movement successful?
- What were the goals of the Progressive movement?
- Were the labor unions successful?
- What role did muckrakers play in the Progressive movement?
- Why did people, including women, oppose women’s suffrage?
- Who was a stronger advocate for African Americans, Booker T. Washington or W.E.B. Dubois?
- What were key pieces of progressive legislation?
- How did the goals and reform agenda of the Progressive Era manifest themselves during the presidential administrations of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students will complete a [graphic organizer](#)⁵⁴ analyzing anti-suffragists motivations.
- Students will complete a [graphic organizer](#)⁵⁵ analyzing the speeches of W.E.B. Dubois and Booker T. Washington.
- Students will write an extended paragraph answering the question: “What were the goals of the Progressive movement?”
- Students will write an essay in response to the task’s compelling question: “Was the Progressive movement successful?”

⁵⁴ Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page.

⁵⁵ Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page.

US History Instructional Task: Was the Progressive Movement Successful?

Unit One: Industrialization and Expansion through the Progressive Era, Topic Three: Progressivism and Its Impact

Description: Students investigate the goals of the Progressive movement, tactics used to reach those goals, and key progressive figures in the labor movement, women’s suffrage movement, early civil rights movement, as well as the impact muckrakers had in ending corruption. The question “was the Progressive movement successful?” will guide students’ inquiry.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Materials: [The Politics of Reform](#); [Building Industrial America on the Backs of Labor](#); [Muckrakers](#); [Political Bosses](#); [New Voices for Women and African Americans](#); [Anti-Suffragists](#); [Booker T. Washington vs W.E.B DuBois](#); [Progressivism in the White House](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “As we investigated the outcomes of industrialization, immigration, and urbanization in a previous task, we discovered that living and working conditions for factory workers were very difficult. Today we are going to investigate a political movement of the late 19th and early 20th century that attempted to address this societal issue, among many others.”
2. Write the word *Progressive* on the board and read or project the following definitions:⁵⁶
 - a. favoring or advocating progress, change, improvement, or reform, as opposed to wishing to maintain things as they are, especially in political matters.
 - b. making progress toward better conditions; employing or advocating more enlightened or liberal ideas, new or experimental methods.
3. Read aloud the [first paragraph](#) of the meaning of *Progressivism*.
4. Ask students: “What do these definitions have in common?”
5. Take notes for the class or annotate the definitions as students share their answers.
6. Direct students to explain the meaning of *Progressive* and *Progressivism* in their own words orally or in writing.
7. Say: “The Progressive movement emerged out of the desire of many Americans to confront the numerous challenges of the late 19th century, such as the growing labor force, factory conditions, women’s right to vote, and racial disparities. In this task, we will investigate the goals, tactics, and outcomes of the progressive movement. We will use the question “Was the Progressive movement successful?” to guide our inquiry.”
8. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “What were the goals of the Progressive movement?”
9. Provide students with access to [The Politics of Reform](#)⁵⁷ by Julie Des Jardins for Gilder Lehrman. Direct students to read the essay independently.
10. After the class has finished reading, ask: “What were the social ills that progressives were attempting to solve?” Call on students to share out, and chart student responses. Students should come up with examples such as

⁵⁶ From <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/progressive?s=t>

⁵⁷ Access to lessons and resources on Gilder Lehrman requires a free [Affiliate School account](#).

government corruption, labor conditions, living conditions for the urban poor, corporate greed, temperance, the fight for women’s suffrage, and racial equality.

11. Say: “We are now going to explore in depth the progressive issues of labor conditions, corruption, women’s suffrage, and racial equality. First, we will explore the labor movement.”
12. Divide students into small groups according to an established classroom routine.
13. Provide students with [Building Industrial America on the Backs of Labor](#). Instruct students to read the text independently, and then discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What were the social, political, and economic struggles faced by the labor force?
 - b. What was the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor?
 - c. What were the goals of the labor unions? What tactics did they use to reach those goals?
 - d. Were the labor unions successful? Why or why not?
14. Say: “Now we will explore corruption, and the progressives who attempted to expose it. First, let’s learn about an important group of progressives, the muckrakers.”
15. Provide students with [Muckrakers](#). Instruct students to read the text independently, and then discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What is a muckraker?
 - b. What role did muckrakers play in the progressive movement?
16. Conduct steps 1-5 of the [Political Bosses](#)⁵⁸ lesson from the Stanford History Education Group with the following adjustments:
 - a. Step 1: While the term Progressives doesn’t need to be reviewed, make sure to define the terms “political bosses” and “political machine” by following the rest of the instructions in step 1.
 - b. Step 2: suggested questions can be briefly discussed orally instead of written if teacher chooses.
 - c. Steps 4-5: adjust amount of metacognitive modeling based on needs of the class.
 - d. Step 6: can be used as an optional homework assignment.
17. After completing the lesson, lead students in a brief discussion on the following questions: “What tactics did muckrakers use to expose corruption? Were muckrakers successful? Why or why not?”
18. Say: “We will now explore the social issues of women’s suffrage and racial equality.”
19. Provide students with [New Voices for Women and African Americans](#). Instruct students to read the text independently, and then discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Who were the two groups of Suffragists, and how were their tactics to gain a woman’s right to vote different?
 - b. Who were the two key figures in the early African American civil rights movement? What were their philosophies and how did they differ?
20. Conduct steps 3-7 of the [Anti-Suffragists](#)⁵⁹ lesson from the Stanford History Education Group with the following adjustments:

⁵⁸ Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page.

⁵⁹ Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page.

- a. **NOTE:** the lesson recommends watching the movie *Iron Jawed Angels*, which is not necessary for the completion of the task. If the teacher opts to show the film, it will lengthen the task by at least two class periods.
 - b. Step 7: do not ask the final discussion question, as it assumes the movie *Iron Jawed Angels* has been seen by students.
21. Conduct steps 4-7 of the [Booker T. Washington vs W.E.B DuBois](#)⁶⁰ lesson from the Stanford History Education Group with the following adjustments:
- a. Steps 1-3: The teacher may decide to implement these steps if they feel their students will not understand the documents without context of Reconstruction.
22. Direct students to write an extended paragraph (half to one page, but not a full essay) answering the supporting question for the task: “What were the goals of the Progressive movement?”
23. Say: “Now that we have learned about the goals of progressivism, tactics used by progressives to create change, and key figures of the progressive movement, let’s investigate political champions of progressive issues”
24. Provide students with [Progressivism in the White House](#). Instruct students to read the text independently, and then discuss the following questions in small groups:
- a. What were some key pieces of progressive legislation?
 - b. How did President Theodore Roosevelt’s “Square Deal” epitomize the notion that the federal government should serve as a steward protecting the public’s interests?
 - c. How did the goals and reform agenda of the Progressive Era manifest themselves during the presidential administrations of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson?
 - d. What vestiges of Progressivism can we see in our modern lives—politically, economically, and socially? Which of our present-day political processes, laws, institutions, and attitudes have roots in this era? Why have they had such staying power?
25. To culminate the task, direct students to write an essay in response to the task’s compelling question: “Was the Progressive movement successful?”
26. Use the Social [Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

⁶⁰ Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page.

Building Industrial America on the Backs of Labor⁶¹

The growth of the American economy in the last half of the nineteenth century presented a paradox. The standard of living for many American workers increased. As Carnegie said in *The Gospel of Wealth*, “the poor enjoy what the rich could not before afford. What were the luxuries have become the necessities of life. The laborer has now more comforts than the landlord had a few generations ago.” In many ways, Carnegie was correct. The decline in prices and the cost of living meant that the industrial era offered many Americans relatively better lives in 1900 than they had only decades before. For some Americans, there were also increased opportunities for upward mobility. For the multitudes in the working class, however, conditions in the factories and at home remained deplorable. The difficulties they faced led many workers to question an industrial order in which a handful of wealthy Americans built their fortunes on the backs of workers.

WORKING-CLASS LIFE

Between the end of the Civil War and the turn of the century, the American workforce underwent a transformative shift. In 1865, nearly 60 percent of Americans still lived and worked on farms; by the early 1900s, that number had reversed itself, and only 40 percent still lived in rural areas, with the remainder living and working in urban and early suburban areas. A significant number of these urban and suburban dwellers earned their wages in factories. Advances in farm machinery allowed for greater production with less manual labor, thus leading many Americans to seek job opportunities in the burgeoning factories in the cities. Not surprisingly, there was a concurrent trend of a decrease in American workers being self-employed and an increase of those working for others and being dependent on a factory wage system for their living.

Yet factory wages were, for the most part, very low. In 1900, the average factory wage was approximately twenty cents per hour, for an annual salary of barely six hundred dollars. According to some historical estimates, that wage left approximately 20 percent of the population in industrialized cities at, or below, the poverty level. An average factory work week was sixty hours, ten hours per day, six days per week, although in steel mills, the workers put in twelve hours per day, seven days a week. Factory owners had little concern for workers’ safety. According to one of the few available accurate measures, as late as 1913, nearly 25,000 Americans lost their lives on the job, while another 700,000 workers suffered from injuries that resulted in at least one missed month of work. Another element of hardship for workers was the increasingly dehumanizing nature of their work. Factory workers executed repetitive tasks throughout the long hours of their shifts, seldom interacting with coworkers or supervisors. This solitary and repetitive work style was a difficult adjustment for those used to more collaborative and skill-based work, whether on farms or in crafts shops. Managers embraced Fredrick Taylor’s principles of scientific management, also called “stop-watch management,” where he used stop-watch studies to divide manufacturing tasks into short, repetitive segments. A mechanical engineer by training, Taylor encouraged factory owners to seek efficiency and profitability over any benefits of personal interaction. Owners adopted this model, effectively making workers cogs in a well-oiled machine.

One result of the new breakdown of work processes was that factory owners were able to hire women and children to perform many of the tasks. From 1870 through 1900, the number of women working outside the home tripled. By the

⁶¹ This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:wu2ZNjDB@3/Building-Industrial-America-on>.

end of this period, five million American women were wage earners, with one-quarter of them working factory jobs. Most were young, under twenty-five, and either immigrants themselves or the daughters of immigrants. Their foray into the working world was not seen as a step towards empowerment or equality, but rather a hardship born of financial necessity. Women's factory work tended to be in clothing or textile factories, where their appearance was less offensive to men who felt that heavy industry was their purview. Other women in the workforce worked in clerical positions as bookkeepers and secretaries, and as salesclerks. Not surprisingly, women were paid less than men, under the pretense that they should be under the care of a man and did not require a living wage.

Factory owners used the same rationale for the exceedingly low wages they paid to children. Children were small enough to fit easily among the machines and could be hired for simple work for a fraction of an adult man's pay. The image below ([Figure](#)) shows children working the night shift in a glass factory. From 1870 through 1900, child labor in factories tripled. Growing concerns among progressive reformers over the safety of women and children in the workplace would eventually result in the development of political lobby groups. Several states passed legislative efforts to ensure a safe workplace, and the lobby groups pressured Congress to pass protective legislation. However, such legislation would not be forthcoming until well into the twentieth century. In the meantime, many working-class immigrants still desired the additional wages that child and women labor produced, regardless of the harsh working conditions.



Figure 1. A photographer took this image of children working in a New York glass factory at midnight. There, as in countless other factories around the country, children worked around the clock in difficult and dangerous conditions.

WORKER PROTESTS AND VIOLENCE

Workers were well aware of the vast discrepancy between their lives and the wealth of the factory owners. Lacking the assets and legal protection needed to organize, and deeply frustrated, some working communities erupted in spontaneous violence. The coal mines of eastern Pennsylvania and the railroad yards of western Pennsylvania, central to both respective industries and home to large, immigrant, working enclaves, saw the brunt of these outbursts. The combination of violence, along with several other factors, blunted any significant efforts to organize workers until well into the twentieth century.

Business owners viewed organization efforts with great mistrust, capitalizing upon widespread anti-union sentiment among the general public to crush unions through open shops, the use of strikebreakers, yellow-dog contracts (in which the employee agrees to not join a union as a pre-condition of employment), and other means. Workers also faced obstacles to organization associated with race and ethnicity, as questions arose on how to address the increasing number of low-paid African American workers, in addition to the language and cultural barriers introduced by the large wave of southeastern European immigration to the United States. But in large part, the greatest obstacle to effective unionization was the general public's continued belief in a strong work ethic and that an individual work ethic—not organizing into radical collectives—would reap its own rewards. As violence erupted, such events seemed only to confirm widespread popular sentiment that radical, un-American elements were behind all union efforts.

In the 1870s, Irish coal miners in eastern Pennsylvania formed a secret organization known as the Molly Maguires, named for the famous Irish patriot. Through a series of scare tactics that included kidnappings, beatings, and even murder, the Molly Maguires sought to bring attention to the miners' plight, as well as to cause enough damage and concern to the mine owners that the owners would pay attention to their concerns. Owners paid attention, but not in the way that the protesters had hoped. They hired detectives to pose as miners and mingle among the workers to obtain the names of the Molly Maguires. By 1875, they had acquired the names of twenty-four suspected Maguires, who were subsequently convicted of murder and violence against property. All were convicted and ten were hanged in 1876, at a public "Day of the Rope." This harsh reprisal quickly crushed the remaining Molly Maguires movement. The only substantial gain the workers had from this episode was the knowledge that, lacking labor organization, sporadic violent protest would be met by escalated violence.

Public opinion was not sympathetic towards labor's violent methods as displayed by the Molly Maguires. But the public was further shocked by some of the harsh practices employed by government agents to crush the labor movement, as seen the following year in the Great Railroad Strike of 1877. After incurring a significant pay cut earlier that year, railroad workers in West Virginia spontaneously went on strike and blocked the tracks ([Figure](#)). As word spread of the event, railroad workers across the country joined in sympathy, leaving their jobs and committing acts of vandalism to show their frustration with the ownership. Local citizens, who in many instances were relatives and friends, were largely sympathetic to the railroad workers' demands.



Figure 2. This engraving of the “Blockade of Engines at Martinsburg, West Virginia” appeared on the front cover of *Harper’s Weekly* on August 11, 1877, while the Great Railroad Strike was still underway.

The most significant violent outbreak of the railroad strike occurred in Pittsburgh, beginning on July 19. The governor ordered militiamen from Philadelphia to the Pittsburgh roundhouse to protect railroad property. The militia opened fire to disperse the angry crowd and killed twenty individuals while wounding another twenty-nine. A riot erupted, resulting in twenty-four hours of looting, violence, fire, and mayhem, and did not die down until the rioters wore out in the hot summer weather. In a subsequent skirmish with strikers while trying to escape the roundhouse, militiamen killed another twenty individuals. Violence erupted in Maryland and Illinois as well, and President Hayes eventually sent federal troops into major cities to restore order. This move, along with the impending return of cooler weather that brought with it the need for food and fuel, resulted in striking workers nationwide returning to the railroad. The strike had lasted for forty-five days, and they had gained nothing but a reputation for violence and aggression that left the public less sympathetic than ever. Dissatisfied laborers began to realize that there would be no substantial improvement in their quality of life until they found a way to better organize themselves.

WORKER ORGANIZATION AND THE STRUGGLES OF UNIONS

Prior to the Civil War, there were limited efforts to create an organized labor movement on any large scale. With the majority of workers in the country working independently in rural settings, the idea of organized labor was not largely understood. But, as economic conditions changed, people became more aware of the inequities facing factory wage workers. By the early 1880s, even farmers began to fully recognize the strength of unity behind a common cause.

Models of Organizing: The Knights of Labor and American Federation of Labor

In 1866, seventy-seven delegates representing a variety of different occupations met in Baltimore to form the National Labor Union (NLU). The NLU had ambitious ideas about equal rights for African Americans and women, currency reform, and a legally mandated eight-hour workday. The organization was successful in convincing Congress to adopt the eight-hour workday for federal employees, but their reach did not progress much further. The Panic of 1873 and the economic recession that followed as a result of overspeculation on railroads and the subsequent closing of several banks—during which workers actively sought any employment regardless of the conditions or wages—as well as the death of the NLU’s founder, led to a decline in their efforts.

A combination of factors contributed to the debilitating Panic of 1873, which triggered what the public referred to at the time as the “Great Depression” of the 1870s. Most notably, the railroad boom that had occurred from 1840 to 1870 was rapidly coming to a close. Overinvestment in the industry had extended many investors’ capital resources in the form of railroad bonds. However, when several economic developments in Europe affected the value of silver in America, which in turn led to a de facto gold standard that shrunk the U.S. monetary supply, the amount of cash capital available for railroad investments rapidly declined. Several large business enterprises were left holding their wealth in all but worthless railroad bonds. When Jay Cooke & Company, a leader in the American banking industry, declared bankruptcy on the eve of their plans to finance the construction of a new transcontinental railroad, the panic truly began. A chain reaction of bank failures culminated with the New York Stock Exchange suspending all trading for ten days at the end of September 1873. Within a year, over one hundred railroad enterprises had failed; within two years, nearly twenty thousand businesses had failed. The loss of jobs and wages sent workers throughout the United States seeking solutions and clamoring for scapegoats.

Although the NLU proved to be the wrong effort at the wrong time, in the wake of the Panic of 1873 and the subsequent frustration exhibited in the failed Molly Maguires uprising and the national railroad strike, another, more significant, labor organization emerged. The Knights of Labor (KOL) was more able to attract a sympathetic following than the Molly Maguires and others by widening its base and appealing to more members. Philadelphia tailor Uriah Stephens grew the KOL from a small presence during the Panic of 1873 to an organization of national importance by 1878. That was the year the KOL held their first general assembly, where they adopted a broad reform platform, including a renewed call for an eight-hour workday, equal pay regardless of gender, the elimination of convict labor, and the creation of greater cooperative enterprises with worker ownership of businesses. Much of the KOL’s strength came from its concept of “One Big Union”—the idea that it welcomed all wage workers, regardless of occupation, with the exception of doctors, lawyers, and bankers. It welcomed women, African Americans, Native Americans, and immigrants, of all trades and skill levels. This was a notable break from the earlier tradition of craft unions, which were highly specialized and limited to a particular group. In 1879, a new leader, Terence V. Powderly, joined the organization, and he gained even more followers due to his marketing and promotional efforts. Although largely opposed to strikes as effective tactics, through their sheer size, the Knights claimed victories in several railroad strikes in 1884–1885, including one against notorious “robber baron” Jay Gould, and their popularity consequently rose among workers. By 1886, the KOL had a membership in excess of 700,000.

In one night, however, the KOL’s popularity—and indeed the momentum of the labor movement as a whole—plummeted due to an event known as the Haymarket affair, which occurred on May 4, 1886, in Chicago’s Haymarket Square ([Figure](#)). There, an anarchist group had gathered in response to a death at an earlier nationwide demonstration for the eight-hour workday. At the earlier demonstration, clashes between police and strikers at the International Harvester Company of Chicago led to the death of a striking worker. The anarchist group decided to hold a protest the following night in Haymarket Square, and, although the protest was quiet, the police arrived armed for conflict. Someone in the crowd threw a bomb at the police, killing one officer and injuring another. The seven anarchists speaking at the protest were arrested and charged with murder. They were sentenced to death, though two were later pardoned and one committed suicide in prison before his execution.



Figure 3. The Haymarket affair, as it was known, began as a rally for the eight-hour workday. But when police broke it up, someone threw a bomb into the crowd, causing mayhem. The organizers of the rally, although not responsible, were sentenced to death. The affair and subsequent hangings struck a harsh blow against organized labor.

The press immediately blamed the KOL as well as Powderly for the Haymarket affair, despite the fact that neither the organization nor Powderly had anything to do with the demonstration. Combined with the American public's lukewarm reception to organized labor as a whole, the damage was done. The KOL saw its membership decline to barely 100,000 by the end of 1886. Nonetheless, during its brief success, the Knights illustrated the potential for success with their model of "industrial unionism," which welcomed workers from all trades.

THE HAYMARKET RALLY

On May 1, 1886, recognized internationally as a day for labor celebration, labor organizations around the country engaged in a national rally for the eight-hour workday. While the number of striking workers varied around the country, estimates are that between 300,000 and 500,000 workers protested in New York, Detroit, Chicago, and beyond. In Chicago, clashes between police and protesters led the police to fire into the crowd, resulting in fatalities. Afterward, angry at the deaths of the striking workers, organizers quickly organized a "mass meeting," per the poster below (Figure).



Figure 4. This poster invited workers to a meeting denouncing the violence at the labor rally earlier in the week. Note that the invitation is written in both English and German, evidence of the large role that the immigrant population played in the labor movement.

While the meeting was intended to be peaceful, a large police presence made itself known, prompting one of the event organizers to state in his speech, "There seems to prevail the opinion in some quarters that this meeting has been called for the purpose of inaugurating a riot, hence these warlike preparations on the part of so-called 'law and order.' However, let me tell you at the beginning that this meeting has not been called for any such purpose. The object of this meeting is to explain the general situation of the eight-hour movement and to throw light upon various incidents in connection with it." The mayor of Chicago later corroborated accounts of the meeting, noted that it was a peaceful rally, but as it was winding down, the police marched into the crowd, demanding they disperse. Someone in the crowd threw a bomb, killing one policeman immediately and wounding many others, some of whom died later. Despite the aggressive actions of the police, public opinion was strongly against the striking laborers. The *New York Times*, after the events played out, reported on it with the headline "Rioting and Bloodshed in the Streets of Chicago: Police Mowed Down with Dynamite." Other papers echoed the tone and often exaggerated the chaos, undermining organized labor's efforts and leading to the ultimate conviction and hanging of the rally organizers. Labor activists considered those hanged after the Haymarket affair to be martyrs for the cause and created an informal memorial at their gravesides in Park Forest, Illinois.

During the effort to establish industrial unionism in the form of the KOL, craft unions had continued to operate. In 1886, twenty different craft unions met to organize a national federation of autonomous craft unions. This group became the American Federation of Labor (AFL), led by Samuel Gompers from its inception until his death in 1924. More so than any of its predecessors, the AFL focused almost all of its efforts on economic gains for its members, seldom straying into political issues other than those that had a direct impact upon working conditions. The AFL also kept a strict policy of not interfering in each union's individual business. Rather, Gompers often settled disputes between unions, using the AFL to represent all unions of matters of federal legislation that could affect all workers, such as the eight-hour workday.

By 1900, the AFL had 500,000 members; by 1914, its numbers had risen to one million, and by 1920 they claimed four million working members. Still, as a federation of craft unions, it excluded many factory workers and thus, even at its height, represented only 15 percent of the nonfarm workers in the country. As a result, even as the country moved towards an increasingly industrial age, the majority of American workers still lacked support, protection from ownership, and access to upward mobility.

The Decline of Labor: The Homestead and Pullman Strikes

While workers struggled to find the right organizational structure to support a union movement in a society that was highly critical of such worker organization, there came two final violent events at the close of the nineteenth century. These events, the Homestead Steel Strike of 1892 and the Pullman Strike of 1894, all but crushed the labor movement for the next forty years, leaving public opinion of labor strikes lower than ever and workers unprotected.

At the Homestead factory of the Carnegie Steel Company, workers represented by the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers enjoyed relatively good relations with management until Henry C. Frick became the factory manager in 1889. When the union contract was up for renewal in 1892, Carnegie—long a champion of living wages for his employees—had left for Scotland and trusted Frick—noted for his strong anti-union stance—to manage the negotiations. When no settlement was reached by June 29, Frick ordered a lockout of the workers and hired three hundred Pinkerton detectives to protect company property. On July 6, as the Pinkertons arrived on barges on the river, union workers along the shore engaged them in a gunfight that resulted in the deaths of three Pinkertons and six workers. One week later, the Pennsylvania militia arrived to escort strike-breakers into the factory to resume production. Although the lockout continued until November, it ended with the union defeated and individual workers asking for their jobs back. A subsequent failed assassination attempt by anarchist Alexander Berkman on Frick further strengthened public animosity towards the union.

Two years later, in 1894, the Pullman Strike was another disaster for unionized labor. The crisis began in the company town of Pullman, Illinois, where Pullman "sleeper" cars were manufactured for America's railroads. When the depression of 1893 unfolded in the wake of the failure of several northeastern railroad companies, mostly due to overconstruction and poor financing, company owner George Pullman fired three thousand of the factory's six thousand employees, cut the remaining workers' wages by an average of 25 percent, and then continued to charge the same high rents and prices in the company homes and store where workers were required to live and shop. Workers began the strike on May 11, when Eugene V. Debs, the president of the American Railway Union, ordered rail workers throughout the country to stop handling any trains that had Pullman cars on them. In practicality, almost all of the trains fell into this category, and, therefore, the strike created a nationwide train stoppage, right on the heels of the depression of 1893. Seeking justification for sending in federal troops, President Grover Cleveland turned to his attorney general, who came

up with a solution: Attach a mail car to every train and then send in troops to ensure the delivery of the mail. The government also ordered the strike to end; when Debs refused, he was arrested and imprisoned for his interference with the delivery of U.S. mail. The image below ([Figure](#)) shows the standoff between federal troops and the workers. The troops protected the hiring of new workers, thus rendering the strike tactic largely ineffective. The strike ended abruptly on July 13, with no labor gains and much lost in the way of public opinion.



Figure 5. In this photo of the Pullman Strike of 1894, the Illinois National Guard and striking workers face off in front of a railroad building.

GEORGE ESTES ON THE ORDER OF RAILROAD TELEGRAPHERS

The following excerpt is a reflection from George Estes, an organizer and member of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, a labor organization at the end of the nineteenth century. His perspective on the ways that labor and management related to each other illustrates the difficulties at the heart of their negotiations. He notes that, in this era, the two groups saw each other as enemies and that any gain by one was automatically a loss by the other.

"I have always noticed that things usually have to get pretty bad before they get any better. When inequities pile up so high that the burden is more than the underdog can bear, he gets his dander up and things begin to happen. It was that way with the telegraphers' problem. These exploited individuals were determined to get for themselves better working conditions—higher pay, shorter hours, less work which might not properly be classed as telegraphy, and the high and mighty Mr. Fillmore [railroad company president] was not going to stop them. It was a bitter fight. At the outset, Mr. Fillmore let it be known, by his actions and comments, that he held the telegraphers in the utmost contempt."

"With the papers crammed each day with news of labor strife—and with two great labor factions at each other's throats, I am reminded of a parallel in my own early and more active career. Shortly before the turn of the century, in 1898 and 1899 to be more specific, I occupied a position with regard to a certain class of skilled labor, comparable to that held by the Lewises and Greens of today. I refer, of course, to the telegraphers and station agents. These hard-working gentlemen—servants of the public—had no regular hours, performed a multiplicity of duties, and, considering the service they rendered, were sorely and inadequately paid. A telegrapher's day included a considerable number of chores that present-day telegraphers probably never did or will do in the course of a day's work. He used to clean and fill lanterns, block lights, etc. Used to do the janitor work around the small town depot, stoke the pot-bellied stove of the waiting-room, sweep the floors, picking up papers and waiting-room litter. . . ."

"Today, capital and labor seem to understand each other better than they did a generation or so ago. Capital is out to make money. So is labor—and each is willing to grant the other a certain amount of tolerant leeway, just so he doesn't go too far. In the old days there was a breach as wide as the Pacific separating capital and labor. It wasn't money altogether in those days, it was a matter of principle. Capital and labor couldn't see eye to eye on a single point. Every gain that either made was at the expense of the other, and was fought tooth and nail. No difference seemed ever possible of amicable settlement. Strikes were riots. Murder and mayhem was common. Railroad labor troubles were frequent. The railroads, in the nineties, were the country's largest employers. They were so big, so powerful, so perfectly organized themselves—I mean so in accord among themselves as to what treatment they felt like offering the man who worked for them—that it was extremely difficult for labor to gain a single advantage in the struggle for better conditions."

"—George Estes, interview with Andrew Sherbert, 1938"

Muckrakers⁶²

The pen is sometimes mightier than the sword.

It may be a cliché, but it was all too true for journalists at the turn of the century. The print revolution enabled publications to increase their subscriptions dramatically. What appeared in print was now more powerful than ever. Writing to Congress in hopes of correcting abuses was slow and often produced zero results. Publishing a series of articles had a much more immediate impact. Collectively called MUCKRAKERS, a brave cadre of reporters exposed injustices so grave they made the blood of the average American run cold.

Steffens Takes on Corruption

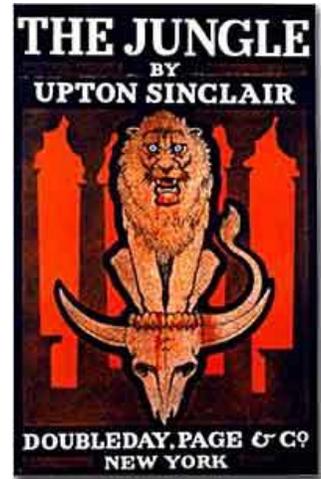
The first to strike was LINCOLN STEFFENS. In 1902, he published an article in *MCCLURE'S* magazine called "TWEED DAYS IN ST. LOUIS." Steffens exposed how city officials worked in league with big business to maintain power while corrupting the public treasury.

More and more articles followed, and soon Steffens published the collection as a book entitled *THE SHAME OF THE CITIES*. Soon public outcry demanded reform of city government and gave strength to the progressive ideas of a city commission or city manager system.

Tarbell vs. Standard Oil

IDA TARBELL struck next. One month after Lincoln Steffens launched his assault on urban politics, Tarbell began her *McClure's* series entitled "HISTORY OF THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY." She outlined and documented the cutthroat business practices behind John Rockefeller's meteoric rise. Tarbell's motives may also have been personal: her own father had been driven out of business by Rockefeller.

Once other publications saw how profitable these exposés had been, they courted muckrakers of their own. In 1905, THOMAS LAWSON brought the inner workings of the stock market to light in *FRENZIED FINANCE*. JOHN SPARGO unearthed the horrors of child labor in *THE BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN* in 1906. That same year, DAVID PHILLIPS linked 75 senators to big business interests in *THE TREASON OF THE SENATE*. In 1907, WILLIAM HARD went public with industrial accidents in the steel industry in the blistering *MAKING STEEL AND KILLING MEN*. RAY STANNARD BAKER revealed the oppression of Southern blacks in *FOLLOWING THE COLOR LINE* in 1908.



Upton Sinclair published *The Jungle* in 1905 to expose labor abuses in the meat packing industry. But it was food, not labor, that most concerned the public. Sinclair's horrific descriptions of the industry led to the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act, not to labor legislation.



John Spargo's 1906 *The Bitter Cry of the Children* exposed hardships suffered by child laborers, such as these coal miners. "From the cramped position [the boys] have to assume," wrote Spargo, "most of them become more or less deformed and bent-backed like old men..."

⁶² This work by The Independence Hall Association is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at: <http://www.ushistory.org/us/42b.asp>.

The Meatpacking Jungle

Perhaps no muckraker caused as great a stir as UPTON SINCLAIR. An avowed Socialist, Sinclair hoped to illustrate the horrible effects of capitalism on workers in the Chicago meatpacking industry. His bone-chilling account, *THE JUNGLE*, detailed workers sacrificing their fingers and nails by working with acid, losing limbs, catching diseases, and toiling long hours in cold, cramped conditions. He hoped the public outcry would be so fierce that reforms would soon follow.



Yale University

This sketch of "Gotham Court" from Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* shows the bitter side of tenement life.

The clamor that rang throughout America was not, however, a response to the workers' plight. Sinclair also uncovered the contents of the products being sold to the general public. Spoiled meat was covered with chemicals to hide the smell. Skin, hair, stomach, ears, and nose were ground up and packaged as head cheese. Rats climbed over warehouse meat, leaving piles of excrement behind.

Sinclair said that he aimed for America's heart and instead hit its stomach. Even President Roosevelt, who coined the derisive term "muckraker," was propelled to act. Within months, Congress passed the PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT and the MEAT INSPECTION ACT to curb these sickening abuses.

New Voices for Women and African Americans⁶³

The Progressive drive for a more perfect democracy and social justice also fostered the growth of two new movements that attacked the oldest and most long-standing betrayals of the American promise of equal opportunity and citizenship—the disfranchisement of women and civil rights for African Americans. African Americans across the nation identified an agenda for civil rights and economic opportunity during the Progressive Era, but they disagreed strongly on how to meet these goals in the face of universal discrimination and disfranchisement, segregation, and racial violence in the South. And beginning in the late nineteenth century, the women’s movement cultivated a cadre of new leaders, national organizations, and competing rationales for women’s rights—especially the right to vote.

LEADERS EMERGE IN THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT

Women like Jane Addams and Florence Kelley were instrumental in the early Progressive settlement house movement, and female leaders dominated organizations such as the WCTU and the Anti-Saloon League. From these earlier efforts came new leaders who, in their turn, focused their efforts on the key goal of the Progressive Era as it pertained to women: the right to vote.

Women had first formulated their demand for the right to vote in the Declaration of Sentiments at a convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, and saw their first opportunity of securing suffrage during Reconstruction when legislators—driven by racial animosity—sought to enfranchise women to counter the votes of black men following the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. By 1900, the western frontier states of Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming had already responded to women’s movements with the right to vote in state and local elections, regardless of gender. They conceded to the suffragists’ demands, partly in order to attract more women to these male-dominated regions. But women’s lives in the West also rarely fit with the nineteenth-century ideology of “separate spheres” that had legitimized the exclusion of women from the rough-and-tumble party competitions of public politics. In 1890, the National American Women’s Suffrage Association (NAWSA) organized several hundred state and local chapters to urge the passage of a federal amendment to guarantee a woman’s right to vote. Its leaders, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, were veterans of the women’s suffrage movement and had formulated the first demand for the right to vote at Seneca Falls in 1848 ([Figure](#)). Under the subsequent leadership of Carrie Chapman Catt, beginning in 1900, the group decided to make suffrage its first priority. Soon, its membership began to grow. Using modern marketing efforts like celebrity endorsements to attract a younger audience, the NAWSA became a significant political pressure group for the passage of an amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

⁶³This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](#). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovukl@3.84:jWahuKx2@3/New-Voices-for-Women-and-Afric>.



Figure 1. Women suffragists in Ohio sought to educate and convince men that they should support a woman’s rights to vote. As the feature below on the backlash against suffragists illustrates, it was a far from simple task.

For some in the NAWSA, however, the pace of change was too slow. Frustrated with the lack of response by state and national legislators, Alice Paul, who joined the organization in 1912, sought to expand the scope of the organization as well as to adopt more direct protest tactics to draw greater media attention. When others in the group were unwilling to move in her direction, Paul split from the NAWSA to create the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, later renamed the National Woman’s Party, in 1913. Known as the Silent Sentinels ([Figure](#)), Paul and her group picketed outside the White House for nearly two years, starting in 1917. In the latter stages of their protests, many women, including Paul, were arrested and thrown in jail, where they staged a hunger strike as self-proclaimed political prisoners. Prison guards ultimately force-fed Paul to keep her alive. At a time—during World War I—when women volunteered as army nurses, worked in vital defense industries, and supported Wilson’s campaign to “make the world safe for democracy,” the scandalous mistreatment of Paul embarrassed President Woodrow Wilson. Enlightened to the injustice toward all American women, he changed his position in support of a woman’s constitutional right to vote.



Alice Paul and her Silent Sentinels picketed outside the White House for almost two years, and, when arrested, went on hunger strike until they were force-fed in order to save their lives.

While Catt and Paul used different strategies, their combined efforts brought enough pressure to bear for Congress to pass the Nineteenth Amendment, which prohibited voter discrimination on the basis of sex, during a special session in

the summer of 1919. Subsequently, the required thirty-six states approved its adoption, with Tennessee doing so in August of 1920, in time for that year's presidential election.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGIST MOVEMENT

The early suffragists may have believed that the right to vote was a universal one, but they faced waves of discrimination and ridicule from both men and women. The image below (Figure) shows one of the organizations pushing back against the suffragist movement, but much of the anti-suffrage campaign was carried out through ridiculing postcards and signs that showed suffragists as sexually wanton, grasping, irresponsible, or impossibly ugly. Men in anti-suffragist posters were depicted as henpecked, crouching to clean the floor, while their suffragist wives marched out the door to campaign for the vote. They also showed cartoons of women gambling, drinking, and smoking cigars, that is, taking on men's vices, once they gained voting rights.



Figure 3. The anti-suffrage group used ridicule and embarrassment to try and sway the public away from supporting a woman's right to vote.

Other anti-suffragists believed that women could better influence the country from outside the realm of party politics, through their clubs, petitions, and churches. Many women also opposed women's suffrage because they thought the dirty world of politics was a morass to which ladies should not be exposed. The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage formed in 1911; around the country, state representatives used the organization's speakers, funds, and literature to promote the anti-suffragist cause. As the link below illustrates, the suffragists endured much prejudice and backlash in their push for equal rights.

LEADERS EMERGE IN THE EARLY CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Racial mob violence against African Americans permeated much of the “New South”—and, to a lesser extent, the West, where Mexican Americans and other immigrant groups also suffered severe discrimination and violence—by the late nineteenth century. The Ku Klux Klan and a system of Jim Crow laws governed much of the South (discussed in a previous chapter). White middle-class reformers were appalled at the violence of race relations in the nation but typically shared the belief in racial characteristics and the superiority of Anglo-Saxon whites over African Americans, Asians, “ethnic” Europeans, Indians, and Latin American populations. Southern reformers considered segregation a Progressive solution to racial violence; across the nation, educated middle-class Americans enthusiastically followed the work of eugenicists who identified virtually all human behavior as inheritable traits and issued awards at county fairs to families and individuals for their “racial fitness.” It was against this tide that African American leaders developed their own voice in the Progressive Era, working along diverse paths to improve the lives and conditions of African Americans throughout the country.

Born into slavery in Virginia in 1856, Booker T. Washington became an influential African American leader at the outset of the Progressive Era. In 1881, he became the first principal for the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama, a position he held until he died in 1915. Tuskegee was an all-black “normal school”—an old term for a Return to [U.S. History: How to Navigate This Document](#)

teachers' college—teaching African Americans a curriculum geared towards practical skills such as cooking, farming, and housekeeping. Graduates would often then travel through the South, teaching new farming and industrial techniques to rural communities. Washington extolled the school's graduates to focus on the black community's self-improvement and prove that they were productive members of society even in freedom—something white Americans throughout the nation had always doubted.

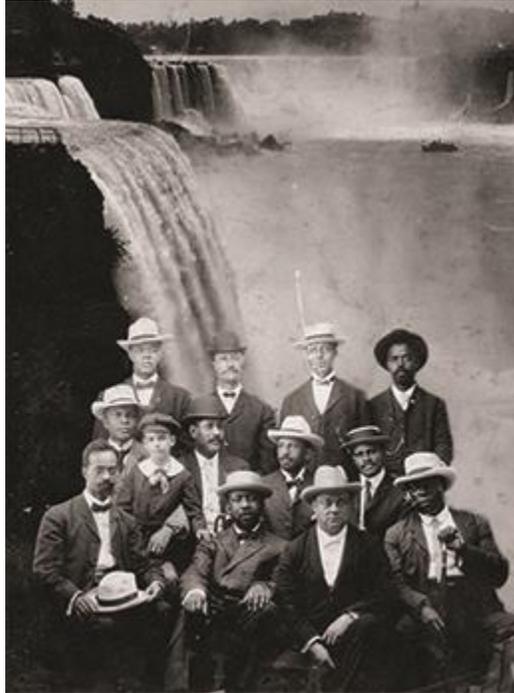
In a speech delivered at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta in 1895, which was meant to promote the economy of a “New South,” Washington proposed what came to be known as the Atlanta Compromise ([Figure](#)). Speaking to a racially mixed audience, Washington called upon African Americans to work diligently for their own uplift and prosperity rather than preoccupy themselves with political and civil rights. Their success and hard work, he implied, would eventually convince southern whites to grant these rights. Not surprisingly, most whites liked Washington's model of race relations, since it placed the burden of change on blacks and required nothing of them. Wealthy industrialists such as Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller provided funding for many of Washington's self-help programs, as did Sears, Roebuck & Co. co-founder Julius Rosenwald, and Washington was the first African American invited to the White House by President Roosevelt in 1901. At the same time, his message also appealed to many in the black community, and some attribute this widespread popularity to his consistent message that social and economic growth, even within a segregated society, would do more for African Americans than an all-out agitation for equal rights on all fronts.



In Booker T. Washington's speech at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, he urged his audience to “cast down your bucket where you are” and make friends with the people around them.

Yet, many African Americans disagreed with Washington's approach. Much in the same manner that Alice Paul felt the pace of the struggle for women's rights was moving too slowly under the NAWSA, some within the African American community felt that immediate agitation for the rights guaranteed under the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, established during the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, was necessary. In 1905, a group of prominent civil rights leaders, led by W. E. B. Du Bois, met in a small hotel on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls—where segregation laws did not bar them from hotel accommodations—to discuss what immediate steps were needed for equal rights ([Figure](#)). Du Bois, a professor at the all-black Atlanta University and the first African American with a doctorate from Harvard, emerged as the prominent spokesperson for what would later be dubbed the Niagara

Movement. By 1905, he had grown wary of Booker T. Washington's calls for African Americans to accommodate white racism and focus solely on self-improvement. Du Bois, and others alongside him, wished to carve a more direct path towards equality that drew on the political leadership and litigation skills of the black, educated elite, which he termed the "talented tenth."



This photo of the Niagara Movement shows W. E. B. Du Bois seated in the second row, center, in the white hat. The proud and self-confident postures of this group stood in marked contrast to the humility that Booker T. Washington urged of blacks.

At the meeting, Du Bois led the others in drafting the "Declaration of Principles," which called for immediate political, economic, and social equality for African Americans. These rights included universal suffrage, compulsory education, and the elimination of the convict lease system in which tens of thousands of blacks had endured slavery-like conditions in southern road construction, mines, prisons, and penal farms since the end of Reconstruction. Within a year, Niagara chapters had sprung up in twenty-one states across the country. By 1908, internal fights over the role of women in the fight for African American equal rights lessened the interest in the Niagara Movement. But the movement laid the groundwork for the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909. Du Bois served as the influential director of publications for the NAACP from its inception until 1933. As the editor of the journal *The Crisis*, Du Bois had a platform to express his views on a variety of issues facing African Americans in the later Progressive Era, as well as during World War I and its aftermath.

In both Washington and Du Bois, African Americans found leaders to push forward the fight for their place in the new century, each with a very different strategy. Both men cultivated ground for a new generation of African American spokespeople and leaders who would then pave the road to the modern civil rights movement after World War II.

Progressivism in the White House⁶⁴

Progressive groups made tremendous strides on issues involving democracy, efficiency, and social justice. But they found that their grassroots approach was ill-equipped to push back against the most powerful beneficiaries of growing inequality, economic concentration, and corruption—big business. In their fight against the trusts, Progressives needed the leadership of the federal government, and they found it in Theodore Roosevelt in 1901, through an accident of history.

In 1900, a sound economic recovery, a unifying victory in the Spanish-American War, and the annexation of the Philippines had helped President William McKinley secure his reelection with the first solid popular majority since 1872. His new vice president was former New York Governor and Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt. But when an assassin shot and killed President McKinley in 1901 (Figure) at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, Theodore Roosevelt unexpectedly became the youngest president in the nation's history. More importantly, it ushered in a new era of progressive national politics and changed the role of the presidency for the twentieth century.



(a)



(b)

Figure 1. President William McKinley's assassination (a) at the hands of an anarchist made Theodore Roosevelt (b) the country's youngest president.

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BUSTING THE TRUSTS

Roosevelt's early career showed him to be a dynamic leader with a Progressive agenda. Many Republican Party leaders disliked Roosevelt's Progressive ideas and popular appeal and hoped to end his career with a nomination to the vice presidency—long considered a dead end in politics. When an assassin's bullet toppled this scheme, Mark Hanna, a prominent Republican senator and party leader, lamented, "Now look! That damned cowboy is now president!" As the new president, however, Roosevelt moved cautiously with his agenda while he finished out McKinley's term. Roosevelt kept much of McKinley's cabinet intact, and his initial message to Congress gave only one overriding Progressive goal for his presidency: to eliminate business trusts. In the three years prior to Roosevelt's presidency, the nation had witnessed a wave of mergers and the creation of mega-corporations. To counter this trend, Roosevelt created the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903, which included the Bureau of Corporations, whose job it was to investigate trusts. He also asked the Department of Justice to resume prosecutions under the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. Intended to empower federal prosecutors to ban monopolies as conspiracies against interstate trade, the law had run afoul of a conservative Supreme Court.

In 1902, Roosevelt launched his administration's first antitrust suit against the Northern Securities Trust Company, which included powerful businessmen, like John D. Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan, and controlled many of the large midwestern railroads. The suit wound through the judicial system, all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1904, the highest court in the land ultimately affirmed the ruling to break up the trust in a narrow five-to-four vote. For Roosevelt, that was enough of a mandate; he immediately moved against other corporations as well, including the American Tobacco Company and—most significantly—Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company.

Although Roosevelt enjoyed the nickname "the Trustbuster," he did not consider all trusts dangerous to the public welfare. The "good trusts," Roosevelt reasoned, used their power in the marketplace and economies of scale to deliver goods and services to customers more cheaply. For example, he allowed Morgan's U.S. Steel Corporation to continue its operations and let it take over smaller steel companies. At the same time, Roosevelt used the presidency as a "bully pulpit" to publicly denounce "bad trusts"—those corporations that exploited their market positions for short-term gains—before he ordered prosecutions by the Justice Department. In total, Roosevelt initiated over two dozen successful anti-trust suits, more than any president before him.

Roosevelt also showed in other contexts that he dared to face the power of corporations. When an anthracite coal strike gripped the nation for much of the year in 1902, Roosevelt directly intervened in the dispute and invited both sides to the White House to negotiate a deal that included minor wage increases and a slight improvement in working hours. For Roosevelt, his intervention in the matter symbolized his belief that the federal government should adopt a more proactive role and serve as a steward of all Americans ([Figure](#)). This stood in contrast to his predecessors, who had time and again bolstered industrialists in their fight against workers' rights with the deployment of federal troops.



THE WASHINGTON SCHOOLMASTER
From the *Chronicle* (Chicago)

Figure 2. This cartoon shows President Roosevelt disciplining coal barons like J. P. Morgan, threatening to beat them with a stick labeled “Federal Authority.” It illustrates Roosevelt’s new approach to business.

THE SQUARE DEAL

Roosevelt won his second term in 1904 with an overwhelming 57 percent of the popular vote. After the election, he moved quickly to enact his own brand of Progressivism, which he called a Square Deal for the American people. Early in his second term, Roosevelt read muckraker Upton Sinclair’s 1905 novel and exposé on the meatpacking industry, *The Jungle*. Although Roosevelt initially questioned the book due to Sinclair’s professed Socialist leanings, a subsequent presidential commission investigated the industry and corroborated the deplorable conditions under which Chicago’s meatpackers processed meats for American consumers. Alarmed by the results and under pressure from an outraged public disgusted with the revelations, Roosevelt moved quickly to protect public health. He urged the passage of two laws to do so. The first, the Meat Inspection Act of 1906, established a system of government inspection for meat products, including grading the meat based on its quality. This standard was also used for imported meats. The second was the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, which required labels on all food and drug products that clearly stated the materials in the product. The law also prohibited any “adulterated” products, a measure aimed at some specific, unhealthy food preservatives. For Sinclair, this outcome was a disappointment nonetheless, since he had sought to draw attention to the plight of workers in the slaughterhouses, not the poor quality of the meat products. “I aimed at the public’s heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach,” he concluded with frustration.

Another key element of Roosevelt’s Progressivism was the protection of public land ([Figure](#)). Roosevelt was a longtime outdoorsman, with an interest that went back to his childhood and college days, as well as his time cattle ranching in the West, and he chose to appoint his good friend Gifford Pinchot as the country’s first chief of the newly created U.S. Forestry Service. Under Pinchot’s supervision, the department carved out several nature habitats on federal land in order to preserve the nation’s environmental beauty and protect it from development or commercial use. Apart from

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national parks like Oregon’s Crater Lake or Colorado’s Mesa Verde, and monuments designed for preservation, Roosevelt conserved public land for regulated use for future generations. To this day, the 150 national forests created under Roosevelt’s stewardship carry the slogan “land of many uses.” In all, Roosevelt established eighteen national monuments, fifty-one federal bird preserves, five national parks, and over one hundred fifty national forests, which amounted to about 230 million acres of public land.



Figure 3. Theodore Roosevelt’s interest in the protection of public lands was encouraged by conservationists such as John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club, with whom he toured Yosemite National Park in California, ca. 1906.

In his second term in office, Roosevelt signed legislation on Progressive issues such as factory inspections, child labor, and business regulation. He urged the passage of the Elkins Act of 1903 and the Hepburn Act of 1906, both of which strengthened the position of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate railroad prices. These laws also extended the Commission’s authority to regulate interstate transportation on bridges, ferries, and even oil pipelines.

As the 1908 election approached, Roosevelt was at the height of popularity among the American public, if not among the big businesses and conservative leaders of his own Republican Party. Nonetheless, he promised on the night of his reelection in 1904 that he would not seek a third term. Roosevelt stepped aside as the election approached, but he did hand-pick a successor—Secretary of War and former Governor General of the Philippines William Howard Taft of Ohio—a personal friend who, he assured the American public, would continue the path of the “Square Deal” ([Figure](#)). With such a ringing endorsement, Taft easily won the 1908 presidential election, defeating three-time Democratic presidential nominee William Jennings Bryan, whose ideas on taxes and corporate regulations reminded voters of the more far-reaching Populist platforms of Bryan’s past candidacies.



(a)



(b)

Figure 4. This photograph (a) of Theodore Roosevelt (left) and his hand-picked successor William Howard Taft (right) just before Taft’s inauguration in 1909, was echoed in a Puck magazine cartoon (b) where “cowboy” Roosevelt hands off his “Policies” baby to “nurse-maid” Taft. Taft was seen, initially at least, as being a president who would continue Roosevelt’s same policies.

THE TAFT PRESIDENCY

Although six feet tall and nearly 340 pounds, as Roosevelt’s successor, Taft had big shoes to fill. The public expected much from Roosevelt’s hand-picked replacement, as did Roosevelt himself, who kept a watchful eye over Taft’s presidency.

The new president’s background suggested he would be a strong administrator. He had previously served as the governor of the Philippines following the Spanish-American War, had a distinguished judicial career, and served as Roosevelt’s Secretary of War from 1904 to 1908. Republican leaders, however, were anxious to reestablish tighter control over the party after Roosevelt’s departure, and they left Taft little room to maneuver. He stayed the course of his predecessor by signing the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910, which extended the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission over telephones and telegraphs. Additionally, during his tenure, Congress proposed constitutional amendments to authorize a federal income tax and mandate the direct election of U.S. senators. But even though Taft initiated twice as many antitrust suits against big business as Roosevelt, he lacked the political negotiating skills and focus on the public good of his predecessor, who felt betrayed when Taft took J.P. Morgan’s U.S. Steel Corporation to court over an acquisition that Roosevelt had promised Morgan would not result in a prosecution.

Political infighting within his own party exposed the limitations of Taft’s presidential authority, especially on the issue of protective tariffs. When House Republicans passed a measure to significantly reduce tariffs on several imported goods, Taft endorsed the Senate version, later known as the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909, which raised tariff rates on over eight hundred products in the original bill. Taft also angered Progressives in his own party when he created the U.S. Chamber

of Commerce in 1912, viewed by many as an attempt to offset the growing influence of the labor union movement at the time. The rift between Taft and his party's Progressives widened when the president supported conservative party candidates for the 1910 House and Senate elections.

Taft's biggest political blunder came in the area of land conservation. In 1909, Taft's Secretary of the Interior, Richard Ballinger, approved the sale of millions of acres of federal land to a company for which he had previously worked over Gifford Pinchot's objections. Pinchot publicly criticized the secretary for violating the principle of conservation and for his conflict of interest—a charge that in the public debate also reflected on the president. Taft fired Pinchot, a move that widened the gap between him and the former president. Upon his return from Africa, Roosevelt appeared primed to attack. He referred to the sitting president as a "fathead" and a "puzzlewit," and announced his intention to "throw my hat in the ring for the 1912 presidential election."

THE 1912 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Although not as flamboyant or outwardly progressive as Roosevelt, Taft's organizational skills and generally solid performance as president aligned with the party leadership's concerns over another Roosevelt presidency and secured for him the Republican Party's nomination. Angry over this snub, in 1912, Roosevelt and the other Progressive Republicans bolted from the Republican Party and formed the Progressive Party. His popularity had him hoping to win the presidential race as a third-party candidate. When he survived an assassination attempt in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in October 1912—the assassin's bullet hit his eyeglass case and only injured him superficially—he turned the near-death experience into a political opportunity. Insisting upon delivering the speech before seeking medical attention, he told the crowd, "It takes more than a bullet to kill a bull moose!" The moniker stuck, and Roosevelt's Progressive Party would be known as the Bull Moose Party for the remainder of the campaign ([Figure](#)).

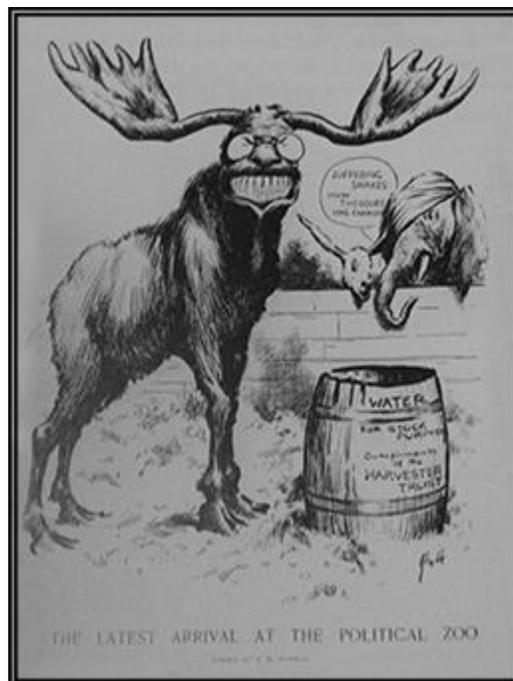


Figure 5. Theodore Roosevelt, now running as the Progressive Party, or Bull Moose Party, candidate, created an unprecedented moment in the country's history, where a former president was running against both an incumbent president and a future president.

The Democrats realized that a split Republican Party gave them a good chance of regaining the White House for the first time since 1896. They found their candidate in the Progressive governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson. A former history professor and president at Princeton University, Wilson had an academic demeanor that appealed to many Progressive reformers. Many Democrats also viewed Wilson as a Washington outsider who had made far fewer political enemies than Roosevelt and Taft.

Taft never truly campaigned for the post, did not deliver a single speech, and did not seem like a serious contender. In their campaigns, Roosevelt and Wilson formulated competing Progressive platforms. Wilson described his more moderate approach as one of New Freedom, which stood for a smaller federal government to protect public interests from the evils associated with big businesses and banks. Roosevelt campaigned on the promise of New Nationalism, a charge that he said required a vigorous and powerful federal government to protect public interests. He sought to capitalize on the stewardship approach that he had made famous during his previous administration.

Wilson won the 1912 election with over six million votes, with four million votes going to Roosevelt and three and one-half million for Taft. The internal split among Republicans not only cost them the White House but control of the Senate as well—and Democrats had already won a House majority in 1910. Wilson won the presidency with just 42 percent of the popular vote, which meant that he would have to sway a large number of voters should he have any aspirations for a second term.

THE UNPRECEDENTED ELECTION OF 1912

In his 2002 article on the 1912 election, historian Sidney M. Milkis writes,

"The Progressive Party's "compromise" with public opinion in the United States points to its legacy for American politics and government. Arguably, the failure of the 1912 experiment and the Progressive Party's demise underscore the incoherence of the Progressive movement. Nevertheless, it was neither the Democrats, nor the Republicans, nor the Socialists who set the tone of the 1912 campaign. It was the Progressives. Beyond the 1912 election, their program of political and social reform has been an enduring feature of American political discourse and electoral struggle. The Progressive Party forged a path of reform that left both social democracy and conservatism—Taft's constitutional sobriety—behind. Similarly, T.R.'s celebrity, and the popularity of the Progressive doctrine of the people's right to rule, tended to subordinate the more populist to the more plebiscitary schemes in the platform, such as the initiative, the referendum, and the direct primary, which exalted not the "grass roots" but mass opinion. Indeed, in the wake of the excitement aroused by the Progressive Party, Wilson, whose New Freedom campaign was far more sympathetic to the decentralized state of courts and parties than T.R.'s, felt compelled, as president, to govern as a New Nationalist Progressive."

It is interesting to think of how this most unusual election—one with three major candidates that pitted a former president against an incumbent and a major party contender—related to the larger Progressive movement. The cartoon below is only one of many cartoons of that era that sought to point out the differences between the candidates (Figure). While Roosevelt and the Progressive Party ultimately lost the election, they required the dialogue of the campaign to remain on the goals of Progressivism, particularly around more direct democracy and business regulation. The American public responded with fervor to Roosevelt's campaign, partly because of his immense popularity, but partly also because he espoused a kind of direct democracy that gave people a voice in federal politics. Although Wilson and his New Freedom platform won the election, his presidency undertook a more activist role than his campaign suggested. The American public had made clear that, no matter who sat in the White House, they were seeking a more progressive America.



Figure 6. This cartoon, from the 1912 election, parodies how the voters might perceive the three major candidates. As can be seen, Taft was never a serious contender.

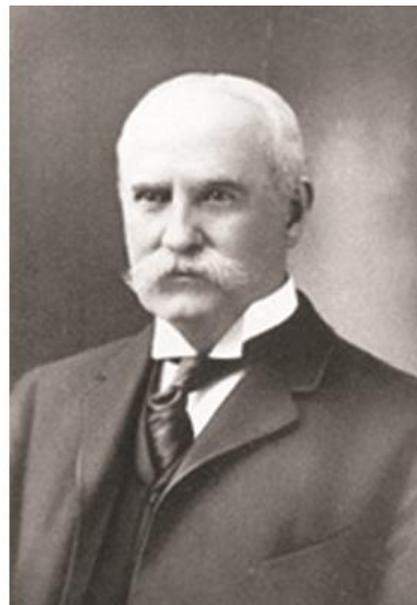
WILSON'S NEW FREEDOM

When Wilson took office in March 1913, he immediately met with Congress to outline his New Freedom agenda for how progressive interests could be best preserved. His plan was simple: regulate the banks and big businesses, and lower tariff rates to increase international trade, increasing competition in the interest of consumers. Wilson took the unusual step of calling a special session of Congress in April 1913 to tackle the tariff question, which resulted in the Revenue Act of 1913, also known as the Underwood Tariff Act. This legislation lowered tariff rates across the board by approximately 15 percent and completely eliminated tariffs on several imports, including steel, iron ore, woolen products, and farm tools. To offset the potential loss of federal revenue, this new law reinstated the federal income tax, which followed the ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment. This first income tax required married couples who earned \$4000 or more, and single people who earned \$3000 or more, to pay a 1-percent, graduated income tax, with the tax rate getting progressively higher for those who earned more.

Late in 1913, Wilson signed the Federal Reserve Act to regulate the banking industry and establish a federal banking system (Figure). Designed to remove power over interest rates from the hands of private bankers, the new system created twelve privately owned regional reserve banks regulated by a presidentially appointed Federal Reserve Board. The Board, known informally as the Fed, regulated the interest rate at which reserve banks loaned or distributed money to other banks around the country. Thus, when economic times were challenging, such as during a recession, the Fed could lower this “discount rate” and encourage more borrowing, which put more currency in circulation for people to spend or invest. Conversely, the Fed could curb inflationary trends with interest hikes that discouraged borrowing. This system is still the basis for the country’s modern banking model.



(a)



(b)

Figure 7. With the creation of the Federal Reserve Board, President Wilson set the stage for the modern banking system (a). This restructuring of the American financial system, which included the authorization of a federal income tax, was supported in large part by an influential Republican senator from Rhode Island, Nelson Aldrich (b), co-author of the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909.

In early 1914, Wilson completed his New Freedom agenda with the passage of the Clayton Antitrust Act. This law expanded the power of the original Sherman Antitrust Act in order to allow the investigation and dismantling of more monopolies. The new act also took on the “interlocking directorates”—competing companies that still operated together in a form of oligopoly or conspiracy to restrain trade. His New Freedom agenda complete, Wilson turned his attention to foreign affairs, as war was quickly encompassing Europe.

THE FINAL VESTIGES OF PROGRESSIVISM

As the 1916 election approached, Wilson’s focus on foreign affairs, as well as the natural effect of his small government agenda, left the 60 percent of the American public who had not voted for him the first time disinclined to change their minds and keep him in office. Realizing this, Wilson began a flurry of new Progressive reforms that impressed the voting public and ultimately proved to be the last wave of the Progressive Era. Some of the important measures that Wilson undertook to pass included the Federal Farm Act, which provided oversight of low-interest loans to millions of farmers in need of debt relief; the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act, which, although later deemed unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court, prohibited the interstate distribution of products by child workers under the age of fourteen; and the Adamson Act, which put in place the first federally mandated eight-hour workday for railroad workers.

Wilson also gained significant support from Jewish voters with his 1916 appointment of the first Jewish U.S. Supreme Court justice, Louis D. Brandeis. Popular among social justice Progressives, Brandeis went on to become one of the most renowned justices on the court for his defense of freedom of speech and right to privacy issues. Finally, Wilson gained the support of many working-class voters with his defense of labor and union rights during a violent coal strike in Ludlow, Colorado, as well as his actions to forestall a potential railroad strike with the passage of the aforementioned Adamson Act.

Wilson’s actions in 1916 proved enough, but barely. In a close presidential election, he secured a second term by defeating former New York governor Charles Evans Hughes by a scant twenty-three electoral votes, and less than 600,000 popular votes. Influential states like Minnesota and New Hampshire were decided by less than four hundred votes.

Despite the fact that he ran for reelection with the slogan, “He Kept Us Out of the War,” Wilson could not avoid the reach of World War I much longer. For Wilson and the American public, the Progressive Era was rapidly winding down. Although a few Progressive achievements were still to come in the areas of women’s suffrage and prohibition, the country would soon be gripped by the war that Wilson had tried to avoid during his first term in office. When he took the oath for his second term, on March 4, 1917, Wilson was barely five weeks away from leading the United States in declaring war on Germany, a move that would put an end to the Progressive Era.

Unit One Assessment

Description: Students write an essay addressing the unit claim question: “How do innovation and expansion affect a nation’s identity?”

Suggested Timeline: 2 class periods

Student Directions: Based on the sources in this unit and your knowledge of U.S. History, evaluate how industry and agriculture innovations, as well as expansion in the forms of migration westward, immigration, and urbanization affected the nation’s identity. Consider the following as you construct your argument:

- Innovations impacting the west (railroad expansion, barbed wire)
- Antagonism between ethnic groups in the West
- Causes and outcomes of the Populist movement
- Impacts of immigration and urbanization
- Industrial innovations (electricity, steel production, etc.)
- Robber Barons/Captains of Industry and the growth of the Industrial economy
- The successes and failures of the Progressive movement

Resources:

- [LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#)

Teacher Notes: In completing this task, students meet the expectations for social studies GLEs US.2.1-8, US.1.1-3. They also meet the expectations for [ELA/Literacy Standards](#): RH.11-12.1, RH.11-12.2, RH.11-12.3, RH.11-12.9, RH.11-12.10, WHST.11-12.2a-e, WHS.T11-12.4, WHST.11-12.5, WHST.11-12.9, WHST.11-12.10.

Use the [LEAP Assessment Social Studies extended response rubric](#) to grade this assessment. Note: Customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

Unit Two Overview

Description: Students explore U.S. imperialism and the events and foreign policy stances that started the American empire, as well as U.S. involvement in WWI, and the post-war peace process and its impacts, in order to answer the unit claim question, how can world conflict redefine how a nation identifies itself?

Suggested Timeline: 5 weeks

U.S. History Content	U.S. History Claims
Foreign Policy through the Great War	How can world conflict redefine how a nation identifies itself?

Topics (GLEs):

1. [U.S. Imperialism Before 1917](#) (US.3.1-2, US.1.1-5)
2. [World War I and its Aftermath](#) (US.3.3-6, US.1.1-5)

Unit Assessment: Students write an essay addressing the unit claim question: “How can world conflict redefine how a nation identifies itself?”

Unit Two Instruction

Topic One: U.S. Imperialism Before 1917 (US.3.1-2)

Connections to the unit claim: Students explore the various methods of U.S. Imperialism and empire building, and investigate the outcomes of imperialist U.S. foreign policy. Students will gain knowledge of imperialism (foreign and domestic) in order to understand how imperialism influenced the onset of WW1, and will use that knowledge to answer the 2nd unit claim question.

Suggested Timeline: 8 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [American Imperialism](#)

To explore these key questions:

- Was American imperialism justified?
- Why did the U.S. abandon its policies of isolation and pursue imperialist policies?
- What were the results of the Spanish-American war, and did the U.S. benefit from it?
- What did U.S. Imperialism look like after the Spanish-American War?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students will write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: “Why did the U.S. abandon its policies of isolation and pursue imperialist policies?”
- Students will write an extended paragraph (half to one page but not an essay) answering the second supporting question for the task: “What were the results of the Spanish-American war, and did the U.S. benefit from it?”
- Students will complete the [U.S. Imperialism after the Spanish-American War graphic organizer](#) outlining key U.S. foreign policies after the Spanish-American war.
- Students will participate in a [philosophical chairs debate](#) in response to the compelling question “Was American Imperialism justified?” Participation can be assessed with a [discussion tracker](#).

US History Instructional Task: American Imperialism

Unit Two: Foreign Policy through the Great War, Topic One: U.S. Imperialism Before 1917

Description: Students investigate the move away from isolationism in U.S. foreign policy, U.S. involvement in and result of the Spanish-American War, and U.S. economic imperialism. At the end of the task, students will participate in a philosophical chairs debate around the compelling question of “was American imperialism justified?”

Suggested Timeline: 8 class periods

Materials: [Introduction to the Age of Empire](#); [The United States Becomes a World Power](#), [Excerpts from Alfred Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*](#); [1896 Republican Party Platform \(Foreign Policy Excerpts\)](#); [The Spanish-American War and Overseas Empire](#); [Map of American Expansion 1867-1899](#); [William McKinley speech on imperialism, 1900](#); [Excerpts from the Roosevelt Corollary \(to the Monroe Doctrine\) 1904](#); U.S. Imperialism after the Spanish-American War ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); [Economic Imperialism in East Asia](#); [Roosevelt's "Big Stick" Foreign Policy](#); [Taft's "Dollar Diplomacy"](#); [Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Post and read aloud the unit claim question for unit 2: “How can world conflict redefine how a nation identifies itself?”
2. Say: “In the previous unit, we saw how growth in land and economy impacted the national identity as an emerging powerful nation, and how inequality in wealth and social status led to a progressive identity. In this unit, we will explore American foreign policy leading up to World War I, America’s involvement in World War I, and the Great War’s aftermath. At the end of this unit, you will write an essay making a claim on how conflict redefines a nation’s identity, through the lense of World War I.”
3. Say: “As we learned in the previous unit, the turn of the 19th century into the 20th was marked by continued industrialization, immigration, and progressivism. In this unit, we’re going to learn that this time period was also marked by something else - Imperialism. Throughout this task we will explore the causes for and outcomes of U.S. Imperialism before 1917.”
4. Write the word *imperialism* on the board and read or project the following definitions:⁶⁵
 - a. the policy of extending the rule or authority of an empire or nation over foreign countries, or of acquiring and holding colonies and dependencies
 - b. advocacy of imperial or sovereign interests over the interests of the dependent states
5. Read aloud the [first two paragraphs](#) of the meaning of imperialism.
6. Ask students: “What do these definitions have in common?”
7. Take notes for the class or annotate the definitions as students share their answers.
8. Direct students to explain the meaning of *imperialism* in their own words orally or in writing.
9. Say: “We will use the following question to guide our inquiry: “Was American Imperialism justified?” At the end of this task, we will participate in a [Philosophical Chairs](#) debate around this question.
10. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “Why did the U.S. abandon its policies of isolation and pursue imperialist policies?”

⁶⁵ From <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/imperialism?s=t>
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11. Divide the class into groups of four using a previously established classroom routine.
12. To build historical context, provide students with access to [Introduction to the Age of Empire](#) by Dr. Kimberly Kutz Elliott for Khan Academy⁶⁶. Instruct students to read independently, and then answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What does “isolationism” mean?
 - b. Why did, for the most part, America adopt an isolationist foreign policy after the Revolutionary War?
 - c. What are some reasons suggested in the article for the U.S. abandoning policies of isolationism?
13. Say: “We will continue to investigate the reasons that led to U.S. imperial policies by exploring more sources. By the end of our investigation, we will have a concise list of factors that fueled new American Imperialism.”
14. Provide students with the following texts: [The United States Becomes a World Power, Excerpts from Alfred Mahan's The Influence of Sea Power Upon History](#), and [1896 Republican Party Platform \(Foreign Policy Excerpts\)](#). Instruct students to read each document, underlining evidence of factors that influenced imperialism.
15. **NOTE:** students must have a general understanding of the Monroe Doctrine to fully access the ideas in [1896 Republican Party Platform \(Foreign Policy Excerpts\)](#). The teacher may use to review this U.S. foreign policy doctrine students learned about in 7th grade by utilizing [this source](#) or a similar one, or asking students to recall what the Monroe Doctrine was, and defining it for students as President Monroe’s unilateral declaration of American foreign policy, made in 1823, stating that the Western Hemisphere was closed to further European colonization, and that the U.S. would not interfere in internal European Affairs, thus initiating an isolationist stance in foreign policy.
16. After students have finished reading, direct each small group to create a list of factors that influenced imperialism. Each group should narrow down their list to 3-4 most influential factors. After each group has their prioritized list, invite groups to share the factors they came up with, while charting each one to create an entire class list. Once all factors have been charted, invite the class to combine like factors into general trends (for example, to gain resources from newly acquired colonies, and to sell goods to new colonies can be combined as “economic factors.”). Once all factors have been combined, have the class prioritize three to four general trends in the factors that led to imperialism. **NOTE:** *students should come up with something along the lines of a desire for military strength, economic factors of resources and new markets, and a belief in cultural superiority. if students are not able to come up with these trends, refer them back to specific parts in the documents they read and guide their reading.*
17. Instruct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: “Why did the U.S. abandon its policies of isolation and pursue imperialist policies?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
18. Say: “as the sources you’ve read thus far in the task have alluded to, America goes to war with Spain and the result of that war is new colonies acquired by the U.S. We are now going to investigate the Spanish-American war to learn about its causes and how it led to new U.S. colonies.”
19. Post the second supporting question for the task: “What were the results of the Spanish-American war, and did the U.S. benefit from it?”
20. To build historical context, provide students with access to [The Spanish-American War and Overseas Empire](#). Instruct students to read independently, and to underline evidence in the text outlining benefits and drawbacks

⁶⁶ This article is licensed under a [CC-BY-NC-SA 4.0](#) license and can be found at: <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-7/apush-age-of-empire/a/intro-to-age-of-empire>

for America in the Spanish-American war. After reading, instruct students to answer the following questions in small groups:

- a. What were the reasons for the U.S. declaring war against Spain, and what role did yellow journalism play in the onset of the war?
 - b. How did the war end, and what were the terms agreed upon at the peace conference in Paris in 1898?
 - c. Why did the Anti-Imperial league oppose the creation of an American empire?
 - d. What are some benefits and drawbacks of the new American empire?
21. Provide students with the following: [Map of American Expansion 1867-1899](#), [William McKinley speech on imperialism, 1900](#), and [Excerpts from the Roosevelt Corollary \(to the Monroe Doctrine\) 1904](#). Direct students to read the documents independently, noting evidence in the texts or map outlining benefits and drawbacks for America in the outcome of the Spanish-American War. After reading, instruct students to answer the following questions in small groups.
- a. In William McKinley’s speech on imperialism, what does he mean when he says “as it was the nation’s war, so are its the nation’s problem?”
 - b. In his Corollary speech, Theodore Roosevelt states “It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards to the others nations of the Western Hemisphere save such as are for their welfare.” How do you think residents of the new colonies, or Spain, would respond to this statement?
22. Direct students to write an extended paragraph (half to one page but not an essay) answering the second supporting question for the task: “What were the results of the Spanish-American war, and did the U.S. benefit from it?” Encourage students to use information from previous sources and discussions to make a claim on whether or not America benefited from the results of the Spanish-American war. Collect and grade for content accuracy.
23. Say: “The end of the Spanish-American War marked the United States as a true empire. U.S. imperialism did not stop after the end of the Spanish-American War, but empire building did take different forms. We are now going to investigate the forms it took through exploring U.S. foreign policy under presidents McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson.”
24. Post and read aloud the third supporting question for the task: “What did U.S. Imperialism look like after the Spanish-American War?”
25. Divide the class into groups of four using an established classroom routine. Conduct a [jigsaw](#) reading of the following sources. Instruct each expert group to complete the corresponding section of the [U.S. Imperialism after the Spanish-American War graphic organizer](#) to prepare for expert presentations in their original group of three. Instruct each expert group to discuss the following questions after reading:
- a. [Economic Imperialism in East Asia](#)
 - What is the “Open Door Policy,” and why did it favor the U.S.?
 - What does “Sphere of Influence” mean?
 - What were the aims of the Boxer Rebellion, and what was its impact on U.S./China relations?
 - b. [Roosevelt's "Big Stick" Foreign Policy](#)
 - What was the “Big Stick” policy?
 - What were the motivations for creating the Panama Canal?
 - How did the Big Stick policy play out in the creation of the Panama Canal?

- What does the Roosevelt Corollary seek to establish, and why does the article call it a “double standard?”
 - c. [Taft's "Dollar Diplomacy"](#)
 - What is “Dollar Diplomacy,” and how is it different than the Big Stick policy?
 - What were the reactions of Central American countries to Dollar Diplomacy policies?
 - What was Japan’s reaction to Dollar Diplomacy policies?
 - Was the Dollar Diplomacy effective? Why or why not?
 - d. [Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom](#)
 - How did Wilson’s plans for foreign policy differ from his predecessors?
 - Explain Wilson’s ideas of foreign policy based on morality
 - Was the U.S. truly isolationist under Wilson? Why or Why not?
 - Explain why Pancho Villa’s forces advanced on New Mexico.
26. After expert presentations in original groups of three, collect each student’s [U.S. Imperialism after the Spanish-American War graphic organizer](#) and check for content accuracy.
27. After experts are finished presenting their article to their group of four, conduct a brief whole class discussion on the third supporting question for the task: “What did U.S. Imperialism look like after the Spanish-American War?”
28. Direct students to prepare for the [philosophical chairs debate](#) by reviewing all of the sources already read in class, as well as their [U.S. Imperialism after the Spanish-American War graphic organizer](#), to formulate their claim on the compelling question for the task: “Was American Imperialism justified?”
29. Once students have formed their claims and have sufficient evidence for support, engage the class in a [philosophical chairs debate](#) in response to the compelling question “Was American Imperialism justified?” Direct students to use evidence from the various sources to support their positions. Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) and assess participation with a [discussion tracker](#).

The United States Becomes a World Power⁶⁷

By 1890, the United States had by far the world's most productive economy. American industry produced twice as much as its closest competitor—Britain. But the United States was not a great military or diplomatic power. Its army numbered less than 30,000 troops, and its navy had only about 10,000 seamen. Britain's army was five times the size of its American counterpart, and its navy was ten times bigger. The United States' military was small because the country was situated between two large oceans and was surrounded by weak or friendly nations. It faced no serious military threats and had little interest in asserting military power overseas.

From the Civil War until the 1890s, most Americans had little interest in territorial expansion. William Seward, the secretary of state under presidents Lincoln and Johnson, did envision American expansion into Alaska, Canada, Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, Iceland, Greenland, Hawaii, and other Pacific islands. But he realized only two small parts of this vision. In 1867, the United States purchased Alaska from Russia for \$7.2 million and occupied the Midway Islands in the Pacific.

Americans resisted expansion for two major reasons. One was that imperial rule seemed inconsistent with America's republican principles. The other was that the United States was uninterested in acquiring people with different cultures, languages, and religions. But where an older generation of moralists thought that ruling a people without their consent violated a core principle of republicanism, a younger generation believed that the United States had a duty to uplift backward societies.

By the mid-1890s, a shift had taken place in American attitudes toward expansion that was sparked partly by a European scramble for empire. Between 1870 and 1900, the European powers seized 10 million square miles of territory in Africa and Asia, a fifth of the world's land mass. About 150 million people were subjected to colonial rule. In the United States, a growing number of policy makers, bankers, manufacturers, and trade unions grew fearful that the country might be closed out in the struggle for global markets and raw materials.

A belief that the world's nations were engaged in a Darwinian struggle for survival and that countries that failed to compete were doomed to decline also contributed to a new assertiveness on the part of the United States. By the 1890s, the American economy was increasingly dependent on foreign trade. A quarter of the nation's farm products and half its petroleum were sold overseas.

Thayer Mahan, a naval strategist and the author of *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, argued that national prosperity and power depended on control of the world's sea-lanes. "Whoever rules the waves rules the world," Mahan wrote. To become a major naval power, the United States began to replace its wooden sailing ships with steel vessels powered by coal or oil in 1883. But control of the seas would also require the acquisition of naval bases and coaling

⁶⁷ This task is adapted from the http://www.c3teachers.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/NewYork_8_American_Expansion.pdf task developed for the New York State Social Studies Resource Toolkit. The task is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/), which allows for it to be shared and adapted as long as the user agrees to the terms of the license.

stations. Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm had copies of Mahan's books placed on every ship in the German High Seas Fleet and the Japanese government put translations in its imperial bureaus.

During the late 19th century, the idea that the United States had a special mission to uplift "backward" people around the world also commanded growing support. The mainstream Protestant religious denominations established religion missions in Africa and Asia, including 500 missions in China by 1890.

During the late 1880s, American foreign policy makers began to display a new assertiveness. The United States came close to declaring war against Germany over Samoa in 1889; against Chile in 1891, over the treatment of U.S. sailors; and against Britain in 1895, over a territorial dispute between Venezuela and Britain.

American involvement in the overthrow of Hawaii's monarchy in 1893 precipitated a momentous debate over the United States' global role. They debated whether the U.S. should behave like a great power and seize colonies or whether it should remain something different.

Mintz, S., & McNeil, S. (2015). The United States Becomes a World Power. Digital History. Retrieved September 9, 2015 from http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3158.

Excerpts from Alfred Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*

...The question is eminently one in which the influence of the government should make itself felt, to build up for the nation a navy which, if not capable of reaching distant countries, shall at least be able to keep clear the chief approaches to its own. The eyes of the country have for a quarter of a century been turned from the sea....[I]t may safely be said that it is essential to the welfare of the whole country that the conditions of trade and commerce should remain, as far as possible, unaffected by an external war. In order to do this, the enemy must be kept not only out of our ports, but far away from our coasts.

Can this navy be had without restoring the merchant shipping? It is doubtful....But in a representative government any military expenditure must have a strongly represented interest behind it, convinced of its necessity. Such an interest in sea power does not exist, cannot exist here without action by the government. How such a merchant shipping should be built up, whether by subsidies or by free trade, by constant administration of tonics or by free movement in the open air, is not a military but an economical question. Even had the United States a great national shipping, it may be doubted whether a sufficient navy would follow; the distance which separates her from other great powers, in one way a protection, is also a snare. The motive, if any there be, which will give the United States a navy, is probably now quickening in the Central American Isthmus. Let us hope it will not come to the birth too late....

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1896 Republican Party Platform - Foreign Policy Excerpts

...Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous and dignified, and all our interests in the western hemisphere should be carefully watched and guarded.

The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them. The Nicaragua Canal should be built, owned and operated by the United States. And, by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a much needed Naval station in the West Indies.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey, American residents have been exposed to gravest [grievous] dangers and American property destroyed. There, and everywhere, American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the rights of the United States to give the Doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment.

We have not interfered and shall not interfere, with the existing possession of any European power in this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all the English speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants; from the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battles of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its Treaty obligations, we believe that the government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the Island.

The peace and security of the Republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibilities. We, therefore, favor the continued enlargement of the navy, and a complete system of harbor and sea-coast defenses....

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The Spanish-American War and Overseas Empire⁶⁸

The Spanish-American War was the first significant international military conflict for the United States since its war against Mexico in 1846; it came to represent a critical milestone in the country's development as an empire. Ostensibly about the rights of Cuban rebels to fight for freedom from Spain, the war had, for the United States at least, a far greater importance in the country's desire to expand its global reach.

The Spanish-American War was notable not only because the United States succeeded in seizing territory from another empire, but also because it caused the global community to recognize that the United States was a formidable military power. In what Secretary of State John Hay called "a splendid little war," the United States significantly altered the balance of world power, just as the twentieth century began to unfold (Figure).

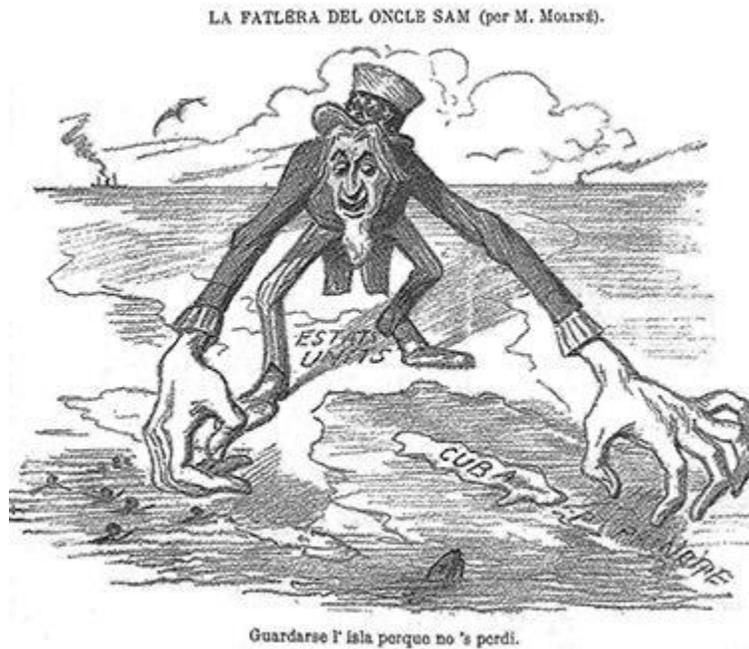


Figure 1. Whereas Americans thought of the Spanish colonial regime in Cuba as a typical example of European imperialism, this 1896 Spanish cartoon depicts the United States as a land-grabbing empire. The caption, written in Catalan, states "Keep the island so it won't get lost."

THE CHALLENGE OF DECLARING WAR

Despite its name, the Spanish-American War had less to do with the foreign affairs between the United States and Spain than Spanish control over Cuba. Spain had dominated Central and South America since the late fifteenth century. But, by 1890, the only Spanish colonies that had not yet acquired their independence were Cuba and Puerto Rico. On several occasions prior to the war, Cuban independence fighters in the "Cuba Libre" movement had attempted unsuccessfully to end Spanish control of their lands. In 1895, a similar revolt for independence erupted in Cuba; again, Spanish forces under the command of General Valeriano Weyler repressed the insurrection. Particularly notorious was their policy of re-concentration in which Spanish troops forced rebels from the countryside into military-controlled camps in the cities, where many died from harsh conditions.

⁶⁸This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:4SzqFapv@4/The-Spanish-American-War-and-O>.

As with previous uprisings, Americans were largely sympathetic to the Cuban rebels' cause, especially as the Spanish response was notably brutal. Evoking the same rhetoric of independence with which they fought the British during the American Revolution, several people quickly rallied to the Cuban fight for freedom. Shippers and other businessmen, particularly in the sugar industry, supported American intervention to safeguard their own interests in the region. Likewise, the "Cuba Libre" movement founded by José Martí, who quickly established offices in New York and Florida, further stirred American interest in the liberation cause. The difference in this uprising, however, was that supporters saw in the renewed U.S. Navy a force that could be a strong ally for Cuba. Additionally, the late 1890s saw the height of yellow journalism, in which newspapers such as the *New York Journal*, led by William Randolph Hearst, and the *New York World*, published by Joseph Pulitzer, competed for readership with sensationalistic stories. These publishers, and many others who printed news stories for maximum drama and effect, knew that war would provide sensational copy. However, even as sensationalist news stories fanned the public's desire to try out their new navy while supporting freedom, one key figure remained unmoved. President William McKinley, despite commanding a new, powerful navy, also recognized that the new fleet—and soldiers—were untested. Preparing for a reelection bid in 1900, McKinley did not see a potential war with Spain, acknowledged to be the most powerful naval force in the world, as a good bet. McKinley did publicly admonish Spain for its actions against the rebels, and urged Spain to find a peaceful solution in Cuba, but he remained resistant to public pressure for American military intervention.

McKinley's reticence to involve the United States changed in February 1898. He had ordered one of the newest navy battleships, the USS *Maine*, to drop anchor off the coast of Cuba in order to observe the situation, and to prepare to evacuate American citizens from Cuba if necessary. Just days after it arrived, on February 15, an explosion destroyed the *Maine*, killing over 250 American sailors ([Figure](#)). Immediately, yellow journalists jumped on the headline that the explosion was the result of a Spanish attack, and that all Americans should rally to war. The newspaper battle cry quickly emerged, "Remember the Maine!" Recent examinations of the evidence of that time have led many historians to conclude that the explosion was likely an accident due to the storage of gun powder close to the very hot boilers. But in 1898, without ready evidence, the newspapers called for a war that would sell papers, and the American public rallied behind the cry.



Figure 2. Although later reports would suggest the explosion was due to loose gunpowder onboard the ship, the press treated the explosion of the USS *Maine* as high drama. Note the lower headline citing that the ship was destroyed by a mine, despite the lack of evidence.

McKinley made one final effort to avoid war, when late in March, he called on Spain to end its policy of concentrating the native population in military camps in Cuba, and to formally declare Cuba's independence. Spain refused, leaving McKinley little choice but to request a declaration of war from Congress. Congress received McKinley's war message, and on April 19, 1898, they officially recognized Cuba's independence and authorized McKinley to use military force to remove Spain from the island. Equally important, Congress passed the Teller Amendment to the resolution, which stated that the United States would not annex Cuba following the war, appeasing those who opposed expansionism.

WAR: BRIEF AND DECISIVE

The Spanish-American War lasted approximately ten weeks, and the outcome was clear: The United States triumphed in its goal of helping liberate Cuba from Spanish control. Despite the positive result, the conflict did present significant challenges to the United States military. Although the new navy was powerful, the ships were, as McKinley feared, largely untested. Similarly untested were the American soldiers. The country had fewer than thirty thousand soldiers and sailors, many of whom were unprepared to do battle with a formidable opponent. But volunteers sought to make up the difference. Over one million American men—many lacking a uniform and coming equipped with their own guns—quickly answered McKinley's call for able-bodied men. Nearly ten thousand African American men also volunteered for service, despite the segregated conditions and additional hardships they faced, including violent uprisings at a few

American bases before they departed for Cuba. The government, although grateful for the volunteer effort, was still unprepared to feed and supply such a force, and many suffered malnutrition and malaria for their sacrifice.

To the surprise of the Spanish forces who saw the conflict as a clear war over Cuba, American military strategists prepared for it as a war for empire. More so than simply the liberation of Cuba and the protection of American interests in the Caribbean, military strategists sought to further Mahan's vision of additional naval bases in the Pacific Ocean, reaching as far as mainland Asia. Such a strategy would also benefit American industrialists who sought to expand their markets into China. Just before leaving his post for volunteer service as a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. cavalry, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt ordered navy ships to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines, another island chain under Spanish control. As a result, the first significant military confrontation took place not in Cuba but halfway around the world in the Philippines. Commodore George Dewey led the U.S. Navy in a decisive victory, sinking all of the Spanish ships while taking almost no American losses. Within a month, the U.S. Army landed a force to take the islands from Spain, which it succeeded in doing by mid-August 1899.

The victory in Cuba took a little longer. In June, seventeen thousand American troops landed in Cuba. Although they initially met with little Spanish resistance, by early July, fierce battles ensued near the Spanish stronghold in Santiago. Most famously, Theodore Roosevelt led his Rough Riders, an all-volunteer cavalry unit made up of adventure-seeking college graduates, and veterans and cowboys from the Southwest, in a charge up Kettle Hill, next to San Juan Hill, which resulted in American forces surrounding Santiago. The victories of the Rough Riders are the best known part of the battles, but in fact, several African American regiments, made up of veteran soldiers, were instrumental to their success. The Spanish fleet made a last-ditch effort to escape to the sea but ran into an American naval blockade that resulted in total destruction, with every Spanish vessel sunk. Lacking any naval support, Spain quickly lost control of Puerto Rico as well, offering virtually no resistance to advancing American forces. By the end of July, the fighting had ended and the war was over. Despite its short duration and limited number of casualties—fewer than 350 soldiers died in combat, about 1,600 were wounded, while almost 3,000 men died from disease—the war carried enormous significance for Americans who celebrated the victory as a reconciliation between North and South.

"SMOKED YANKEES": BLACK SOLDIERS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

The most popular image of the Spanish-American War is of Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders, charging up San Juan Hill. But less well known is that the Rough Riders struggled mightily in several battles and would have sustained far more serious casualties, if not for the experienced black veterans—over twenty-five hundred of them—who joined them in battle (Figure). These soldiers, who had been fighting the Indian wars on the American frontier for many years, were instrumental in the U.S. victory in Cuba.



Figure 3. The decision to fight or not was debated in the black community, as some felt they owed little to a country that still granted them citizenship in name only, while others believed that proving their patriotism would enhance their opportunities. (credit: Library of Congress)

The choice to serve in the Spanish-American War was not a simple one. Within the black community, many spoke out both for and against involvement in the war. Many black Americans felt that because they were not offered the true rights of citizenship it was not their burden to volunteer for war. Others, in contrast, argued that participation in the war offered an opportunity for black Americans to prove themselves to the rest of the country. While their presence was welcomed by the military which desperately needed experienced soldiers, the black regiments suffered racism and harsh treatment while training in the southern states before shipping off to battle.

Once in Cuba, however, the "Smoked Yankees," as the Cubans called the black American soldiers, fought side-by-side with Roosevelt's Rough Riders, providing crucial tactical support to some of the most important battles of the war. After the Battle of San Juan, five black soldiers received the Medal of Honor and twenty-five others were awarded a certificate of merit. One reporter wrote that "if it had not been for the Negro cavalry, the Rough Riders would have been exterminated." He went on to state that, having grown up in the South, he had never been fond of black people before witnessing the battle. For some of the soldiers, their recognition made the sacrifice worthwhile. Others, however, struggled with American oppression of Cubans and Puerto Ricans, feeling kinship with the black residents of these countries now under American rule.

ESTABLISHING PEACE AND CREATING AN EMPIRE

As the war closed, Spanish and American diplomats made arrangements for a peace conference in Paris. They met in October 1898, with the Spanish government committed to regaining control of the Philippines, which they felt were unjustly taken in a war that was solely about Cuban independence. While the Teller Amendment ensured freedom for Cuba, President McKinley was reluctant to relinquish the strategically useful prize of the Philippines. He certainly did not want to give the islands back to Spain, nor did he want another European power to step in to seize them. Neither the Spanish nor the Americans considered giving the islands their independence, since, with the pervasive racism and cultural stereotyping of the day, they believed the Filipino people were not capable of governing themselves. William Howard Taft, the first American governor-general to oversee the administration of the new U.S. possession, accurately captured American sentiments with his frequent reference to Filipinos as “our little brown brothers.”

As the peace negotiations unfolded, Spain agreed to recognize Cuba’s independence, as well as recognize American control of Puerto Rico and Guam. McKinley insisted that the United States maintain control over the Philippines as an annexation, in return for a \$20 million payment to Spain. Although Spain was reluctant, they were in no position militarily to deny the American demand. The two sides finalized the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898. With it came the international recognition that there was a new American empire that included the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam. The American press quickly glorified the nation’s new reach, as expressed in the cartoon below, depicting the glory of the American eagle reaching from the Philippines to the Caribbean ([Figure](#)).

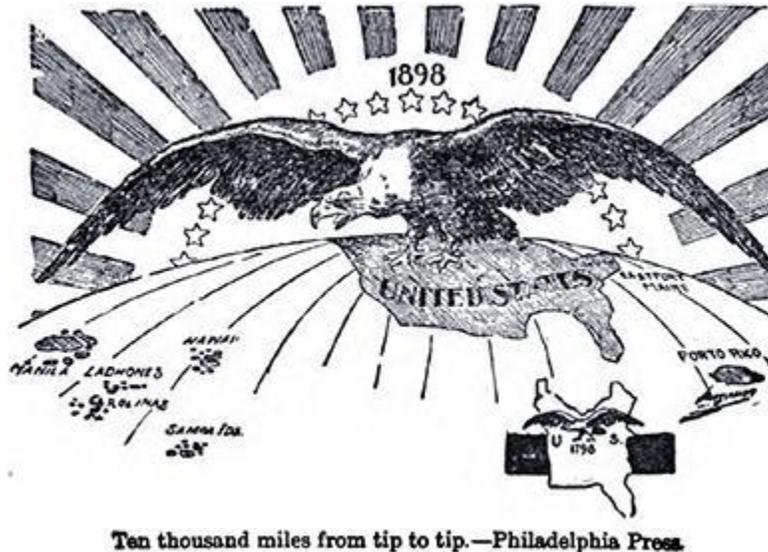


Figure 4. This cartoon from the *Philadelphia Press*, showed the reach of the new American empire, from Puerto Rico to the Philippines.

Domestically, the country was neither unified in their support of the treaty nor in the idea of the United States building an empire at all. Many prominent Americans, including Jane Addams, former President Grover Cleveland, Andrew Carnegie, Mark Twain, and Samuel Gompers, felt strongly that the country should not be pursuing an empire, and, in 1898, they formed the Anti-Imperialist League to oppose this expansionism. The reasons for their opposition were varied: Some felt that empire building went against the principles of democracy and freedom upon which the country was founded, some worried about competition from foreign workers, and some held the xenophobic viewpoint that the assimilation of other races would hurt the country. Regardless of their reasons, the group, taken together, presented a Return to [U.S. History: How to Navigate This Document](#)

formidable challenge. As foreign treaties require a two-thirds majority in the U.S. Senate to pass, the Anti-Imperialist League's pressure led them to a clear split, with the possibility of defeat of the treaty seeming imminent. Less than a week before the scheduled vote, however, news of a Filipino uprising against American forces reached the United States. Undecided senators were convinced of the need to maintain an American presence in the region and preempt the intervention of another European power, and the Senate formally ratified the treaty on February 6, 1899.

The newly formed American empire was not immediately secure, as Filipino rebels, led by Emilio Aguinaldo ([Figure](#)), fought back against American forces stationed there. The Filipinos' war for independence lasted three years, with over four thousand American and twenty thousand Filipino combatant deaths; the civilian death toll is estimated as high as 250,000. Finally, in 1901, President McKinley appointed William Howard Taft as the civil governor of the Philippines in an effort to disengage the American military from direct confrontations with the Filipino people. Under Taft's leadership, Americans built a new transportation infrastructure, hospitals, and schools, hoping to win over the local population. The rebels quickly lost influence, and Aguinaldo was captured by American forces and forced to swear allegiance to the United States. The Taft Commission, as it became known, continued to introduce reforms to modernize and improve daily life for the country despite pockets of resistance that continued to fight through the spring of 1902. Much of the commission's rule centered on legislative reforms to local government structure and national agencies, with the commission offering appointments to resistance leaders in exchange for their support. The Philippines continued under American rule until they became self-governing in 1946.



Figure 5. Philippine president Emilio Aguinaldo was captured after three years of fighting with U.S. troops. He is seen here boarding the USS *Vicksburg* after taking an oath of loyalty to the United States in 1901.

After the conclusion of the Spanish-American War and the successful passage of the peace treaty with Spain, the United States continued to acquire other territories. Seeking an expanded international presence, as well as control of maritime routes and naval stations, the United States grew to include Hawaii, which was granted territorial status in 1900, and Alaska, which, although purchased from Russia decades earlier, only became a recognized territory in 1912. In both cases, their status as territories granted U.S. citizenship to their residents. The Foraker Act of 1900 established Puerto Rico as an American territory with its own civil government. It was not until 1917 that Puerto Ricans were granted

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American citizenship. Guam and Samoa, which had been taken as part of the war, remained under the control of the U.S. Navy. Cuba, which after the war was technically a free country, adopted a constitution based on the U.S. Constitution. While the Teller Amendment had prohibited the United States from annexing the country, a subsequent amendment, the Platt Amendment, secured the right of the United States to interfere in Cuban affairs if threats to a stable government emerged. The Platt Amendment also guaranteed the United States its own naval and coaling station on the island's southern Guantanamo Bay and prohibited Cuba from making treaties with other countries that might eventually threaten their independence. While Cuba remained an independent nation on paper, in all practicality the United States governed Cuba's foreign policy and economic agreements.

Map of American Expansion 1867-1899⁶⁹

NOTE: This map shows the United States and its territorial possessions and the years when they were acquired.



Created for the New York State K–12 Social Studies Toolkit by Agate Publishing, Inc., 2015. Adapted from *Exciting Experiences in Our Wars with Spain and the Filipinos* (Chicago: Book Publishers Union, 1899), by Marshall Everett, p. 395. Available at:

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:GreaterAmericaMap.jpg>

⁶⁹This task is adapted from the [Was American Expansion Abroad Justified?](#) task developed for the New York State Social Studies Resource Toolkit. The task is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](#), which allows for it to be shared and adapted as long as the user agrees to the terms of the license.

William McKinley Speech on Imperialism, 1900

After thirty-three years of unbroken peace came an unavoidable war. Happily, the conclusion was quickly reached without a suspicion of unworthy motive, or practice, or purpose on our part and with fadeless honor on our arms. I cannot forget the quick response of the people to the country's need, and the quarter of a million men who freely offered their lives to the country's service. It was an impressive spectacle of national strength. It demonstrated our mighty reserve power and taught us that large standing armies are unnecessary as a "Minute Man" ready to join the ranks for national defense.

Out of these recent events have come to the United States grave trials and responsibilities. As it was the nation's war, so are its results the nation's problem. Its solution rests upon us all. It is too serious to stifle. It is too earnest for response. No phrase or catchword can conceal the sacred obligation it involves. No use of epithets, no aspersion of motive of those who differ, will contribute to that sober judgment so essential to right conclusions. No political outcry can abrogate our treaty of peace with Spain, or absolve us from its solemn engagements. It is the people's question, and will be until its determination is written out in their enlightened verdict. We must choose between manly doing and base desertion. It will never be the latter. It must be soberly settled in justice and good conscience, and it will be. Righteousness which exalteth a nation must control in its solution....

There can be no imperialism. Those who fear it are against it. Those who have faith in the republic are against it. So that there is universal abhorrence for it and unanimous opposition to it. Our only difference is that those who do not agree with us have no confidence in the virtue or capacity or high purpose or good faith of this free people as a civilizing agency: while we believe that the century of free government which the American people has enjoyed has not rendered them irresolute and faithless, but has fitted them for the great task of lifting up and assisting to better conditions and larger liberty those distant people who have through the issue of battle become our wards.

Let us fear not. There is no occasion for faint hearts, no excuse for regrets. Nations do not grow in strength and the cause of liberty and law by the doing of easy things. The harder the task the greater will be the result, the benefit, and the honor. To doubt our power to accomplish it is to lose our faith in the soundness and strengths of our popular institutions.

The liberators will never become the oppressors. A self-governed people will never permit despotism in any government which they foster and defend.

Gentlemen, we have the new care and can not shift it. And, breaking up the camp of ease and isolation, let us bravely and hopefully and soberly continue the march of faithful service and falter not until the work is done. It is not possible that 75 million American freemen are unable to establish liberty and justice and good government in our new possessions. The burden is our opportunity. The opportunity is greater than the burden. May God give us strength to bear the one and wisdom so to embrace the other as to carry to our distant acquisitions the guarantees of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

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Excerpts from the Roosevelt Corollary (to the Monroe Doctrine) 1904

It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards to the other nations of the Western Hemisphere save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States.

Chronic wrongdoing, or any impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society [however], may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.

...It is a mere truism to say that every nation, whether in America or any where else, which desires to maintain its freedom, its independence, must ultimately realize that the right of such independence can not be separated from the responsibility of making good use of it.

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U.S. Imperialism After the Spanish-American War Graphic Organizer

	Key Figures	Key Foreign Policies	Impacts of Policy on the U.S.	Impacts of the Policy on Foreign Nations
Economic Imperialism in East Asia				
Roosevelt's "Big Stick" Foreign Policy				

Taft's "Dollar Diplomacy"				
Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom				

U.S. Imperialism After the Spanish-American War Graphic Organizer (Completed)

	Key Figures	Key Foreign Policies	Impacts of Policy on the U.S.	Impacts of the Policy on Foreign Nations
Economic Imperialism in East Asia	John Hay - president McKinley's Secretary of State, wrote the Open Door notes	Open Door policy-all foreign nations had free and equal access to Chinese ports. Open Door notes - erased spheres of influence in China, opened the doors to free trade, only China can collect taxes on trade within its borders	Open Door notes - free trade actually benefited the U.S. because American business had the advantage since American companies were producing higher quality goods than other countries more efficiently and less expensively.	Open Door notes - squeezed other foreign countries (Germany, Spain, Great Britain, Russia, France) out of Chinese markets China - Boxer Rebellion sought to expel all Western Nations, U.S. troops intervened to withstand the rebellion, signifying American commitment to Chinese territorial integrity.
Roosevelt's "Big Stick" Foreign Policy	Theodore Roosevelt, president after McKinley	"Big Stick" policy - it's unnecessary to use force to achieve foreign policy goals as long as the military is big enough to threaten force. Roosevelt Corollary - based on the Monroe Doctrine, but instead of the U.S. not interfering with its neighbor's affairs, the Corollary states that the U.S. had the right and obligation to involve itself whenever necessary.	The U.S. took the role of "police power" in the Western Hemisphere, underwriting a revolution in Panama. The corollary was used as a rationale for American involvement (through economic influence) in the Caribbean and Central America.	Colombia - lost the territory of Panama after the U.S. influenced a Panamanian revolt and used a naval blockade to stop Colombia from intervening. Cuba and Panama became U.S. protectorates

<p>Taft's "Dollar Diplomacy"</p>	<p>William Taft, president after Roosevelt</p>	<p>Dollar Diplomacy - wield U.S. economic influence to coerce countries into agreements that benefit the United States, and use foreign policy to secure markets and opportunities for American businesses.</p>	<p>Indebted central American nations to the U.S. by buying their European debts</p> <p>interfered in Asia in an attempt to balance power between China and Japan</p> <p>Interference in Central America and Asia was done in an attempt to protect U.S. interests in those areas and maintain economic and military dominance</p>	<p>Central American countries - did not want to be indebted to the United States, resisted the U.S. purchasing their European debt. Created nationalist movements, resentful of U.S. interference</p> <p>Japan - alienated by U.S. attempts to interfere in China-Japan relations, caused Japan to further consolidate power in the region, and heightened tensions with the U.S.</p>
<p>Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom</p>	<p>Woodrow Wilson, president after Taft.</p> <p>William Jennings Bryan - Wilson's secretary of state and previous populist candidate for president.</p>	<p>"Cooling off treaties" - agreements between the U.S. and nations around the world in which they agreed to resolve disputes through talks, not war.</p> <p>"moral diplomacy" - a U.S. foreign policy based on morality rather than economic interests, American interference in another nation's affairs should only occur when the circumstances rose to the level of a moral imperative.</p>	<p>Returned to policies more similar to isolationism, but the U.S. was still interventionists in areas where its direct or indirect interests were threatened</p> <p>sent troops to Haiti, Dominican Republic, and Cuba to protect American interests, and intervened in Mexico's government to promote democratic ideals</p> <p>Backed a rebel group in Mexico that attempted to overthrow the Mexican government led by Pancho Villa (which was not successful)</p>	<p>With less American intervention, Japan moved to declare China its protectorate (through diplomacy, the U.S. only recognized Japanese control over the Manchurian region)</p> <p>Mexico came to resent U.S. involvement in their affairs, and attempted to threaten U.S. oil company interests. When U.S. troops invaded Mexico (in retaliation for Pancho Villa's attack in New Mexico), Mexico demanded they withdraw.</p>

Economic Imperialism in East Asia⁷⁰

While American forays into empire building began with military action, the country concurrently grew its scope and influence through other methods as well. In particular, the United States used its economic and industrial capacity to add to its empire, as can be seen in a study of the China market and the “Open Door notes” discussed below.

WHY CHINA?

Since the days of Christopher Columbus’s westward journey to seek a new route to the East Indies (essentially India and China, but loosely defined as all of Southeast Asia), many westerners have dreamt of the elusive “China Market.” With the defeat of the Spanish navy in the Atlantic and Pacific, and specifically with the addition of the Philippines as a base for American ports and coaling stations, the United States was ready to try and make the myth a reality. Although China originally accounted for only a small percentage of American foreign trade, captains of American industry dreamed of a vast market of Asian customers desperate for manufactured goods they could not yet produce in large quantities for themselves.

American businesses were not alone in seeing the opportunities. Other countries—including Japan, Russia, Great Britain, France, and Germany—also hoped to make inroads in China. Previous treaties between Great Britain and China in 1842 and 1844 during the Opium Wars, when the British Empire militarily coerced the Chinese empire to accept the import of Indian opium in exchange for its tea, had forced an “open door” policy on China, in which all foreign nations had free and equal access to Chinese ports. This was at a time when Great Britain maintained the strongest economic relationship with China; however, other western nations used the new arrangement to send Christian missionaries, who began to work across inland China. Following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 over China’s claims to Korea, western countries hoped to exercise even greater influence in the region. By 1897, Germany had obtained exclusive mining rights in northern coastal China as reparations for the murder of two German missionaries. In 1898, Russia obtained permission to build a railroad across northeastern Manchuria. One by one, each country carved out their own sphere of influence, where they could control markets through tariffs and transportation, and thus ensure their share of the Chinese market.

Alarmed by the pace at which foreign powers further divided China into pseudo-territories, and worried that they had no significant piece for themselves, the United States government intervened. In contrast to European nations, however, American businesses wanted the whole market, not just a share of it. They wanted to do business in China with no artificially constructed spheres or boundaries to limit the extent of their trade, but without the territorial entanglements or legislative responsibilities that anti-imperialists opposed. With the blessing and assistance of Secretary of State John Hay, several American businessmen created the American Asiatic Association in 1896 to pursue greater trade opportunities in China.

THE OPEN DOOR NOTES

In 1899, Secretary of State Hay made a bold move to acquire China’s vast markets for American access by introducing Open Door notes, a series of circular notes that Hay himself drafted as an expression of U.S. interests in the region and

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sent to the other competing powers (Figure). These notes, if agreed to by the other five nations maintaining spheres of influences in China, would erase all spheres and essentially open all doors to free trade, with no special tariffs or transportation controls that would give unfair advantages to one country over another. Specifically, the notes required that all countries agree to maintain free access to all treaty ports in China, to pay railroad charges and harbor fees (with no special access), and that only China would be permitted to collect any taxes on trade within its borders. While on paper, the Open Door notes would offer equal access to all, the reality was that it greatly favored the United States. Free trade in China would give American businesses the ultimate advantage, as American companies were producing higher-quality goods than other countries, and were doing so more efficiently and less expensively. The “open doors” would flood the Chinese market with American goods, virtually squeezing other countries out of the market.



Figure 1. This political cartoon shows Uncle Sam standing on a map of China, while Europe’s imperialist nations (from left to right: Germany, Spain, Great Britain, Russia, and France) try to cut out their “sphere of influence.”

Although the foreign ministers of the other five nations sent half-hearted replies on behalf of their respective governments, with some outright denying the viability of the notes, Hay proclaimed them the new official policy on China, and American goods were unleashed throughout the nation. China was quite welcoming of the notes, as they also stressed the U.S. commitment to preserving the Chinese government and territorial integrity.

The notes were invoked barely a year later, when a group of Chinese insurgents, the Righteous and Harmonious Fists—also known as the Boxer Rebellion (1899)—fought to expel all western nations and their influences from China (Figure). The United States, along with Great Britain and Germany, sent over two thousand troops to withstand the rebellion. The troops signified American commitment to the territorial integrity of China, albeit one flooded with American products. Despite subsequent efforts, by Japan in particular, to undermine Chinese authority in 1915 and again during the Manchurian crisis of 1931, the United States remained resolute in defense of the open door principles through World

War II. Only when China turned to communism in 1949 following an intense civil war did the principle become relatively meaningless. However, for nearly half a century, U.S. military involvement and a continued relationship with the Chinese government cemented their roles as preferred trading partners, illustrating how the country used economic power, as well as military might, to grow its empire.



Figure 2. The Boxer Rebellion in China sought to expel all western influences, including Christian missionaries and trade partners. The Chinese government appreciated the American, British, and German troops that helped suppress the rebellion.

Roosevelt's "Big Stick" Foreign Policy⁷¹

While President McKinley ushered in the era of the American empire through military strength and economic coercion, his successor, Theodore Roosevelt, established a new foreign policy approach, allegedly based on a favorite African proverb, "speak softly, and carry a big stick, and you will go far" (Figure). At the crux of his foreign policy was a thinly veiled threat. Roosevelt believed that in light of the country's recent military successes, it was unnecessary to *use* force to achieve foreign policy goals, so long as the military could *threaten* force. This rationale also rested on the young president's philosophy, which he termed the "strenuous life," and that prized challenges overseas as opportunities to instill American men with the resolve and vigor they allegedly had once acquired in the Trans-Mississippi West.



Figure 1. Roosevelt was often depicted in cartoons wielding his "big stick" and pushing the U.S. foreign agenda, often through the power of the U.S. Navy.

Roosevelt believed that while the coercive power wielded by the United States could be harmful in the wrong hands, the Western Hemisphere's best interests were also the best interests of the United States. He felt, in short, that the United States had the right and the obligation to be the policeman of the hemisphere. This belief, and his strategy of "speaking softly and carrying a big stick," shaped much of Roosevelt's foreign policy.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PANAMA CANAL

As early as the mid-sixteenth century, interest in a canal across the Central American isthmus began to take root, primarily out of trade interests. The subsequent discovery of gold in California in 1848 further spurred interest in connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and led to the construction of the Panama Railway, which began operations in 1855. Several attempts by France to construct a canal between 1881 and 1894 failed due to a combination of financial crises and health hazards, including malaria and yellow fever, which led to the deaths of thousands of French workers.

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Upon becoming president in 1901, Roosevelt was determined to succeed where others had failed. Following the advice that Mahan set forth in his book *The Influence of Seapower upon History*, he sought to achieve the construction of a canal across Central America, primarily for military reasons associated with empire, but also for international trade considerations. The most strategic point for the construction was across the fifty-mile isthmus of Panama, which, at the turn of the century, was part of the nation of Colombia. Roosevelt negotiated with the government of Colombia, sometimes threatening to take the project away and build through Nicaragua, until Colombia agreed to a treaty that would grant the United States a lease on the land across Panama in exchange for a payment of \$10 million and an additional \$250,000 annual rental fee. The matter was far from settled, however. The Colombian people were outraged over the loss of their land to the United States, and saw the payment as far too low. Influenced by the public outcry, the Colombian Senate rejected the treaty and informed Roosevelt there would be no canal.

Undaunted, Roosevelt chose to now wield the “big stick.” In comments to journalists, he made it clear that the United States would strongly support the Panamanian people should they choose to revolt against Colombia and form their own nation. In November 1903, he even sent American battleships to the coast of Colombia, ostensibly for practice maneuvers, as the Panamanian revolution unfolded. The warships effectively blocked Colombia from moving additional troops into the region to quell the growing Panamanian uprising. Within a week, Roosevelt immediately recognized the new country of Panama, welcoming them to the world community and offering them the same terms—\$10 million plus the annual \$250,000 rental fee—he had previously offered Colombia. Following the successful revolution, Panama became an American protectorate, and remained so until 1939.

Once the Panamanian victory was secured, with American support, construction on the canal began in May 1904. For the first year of operations, the United States worked primarily to build adequate housing, cafeterias, warehouses, machine shops, and other elements of infrastructure that previous French efforts had failed to consider. Most importantly, the introduction of fumigation systems and mosquito nets following Dr. Walter Reed’s discovery of the role of mosquitoes in the spread of malaria and yellow fever reduced the death rate and restored the fledgling morale among workers and American-born supervisors. At the same time, a new wave of American engineers planned for the construction of the canal. Even though they decided to build a lock-system rather than a sea-level canal, workers still had to excavate over 170 million cubic yards of earth with the use of over one hundred new rail-mounted steam shovels (Figure). Excited by the work, Roosevelt became the first sitting U.S. president to conduct an official international trip. He traveled to Panama where he visited the construction site, taking a turn at the steam shovel and removing dirt. The canal opened in 1914, permanently changing world trade and military defense patterns.



Figure 2. Recurring landslides made the excavation of the Culebra Cut one of the most technically challenging elements in the construction of the Panama Canal.

THE ROOSEVELT COROLLARY

With the construction of the canal now underway, Roosevelt next wanted to send a clear message to the rest of the world—and in particular to his European counterparts—that the colonization of the Western Hemisphere had now ended, and their interference in the countries there would no longer be tolerated. At the same time, he sent a message to his counterparts in Central and South America, should the United States see problems erupt in the region, that it would intervene in order to maintain peace and stability throughout the hemisphere.

Roosevelt articulated this seeming double standard in a 1904 address before Congress, in a speech that became known as the Roosevelt Corollary. The Roosevelt Corollary was based on the original Monroe Doctrine of the early nineteenth century, which warned European nations of the consequences of their interference in the Caribbean. In this addition, Roosevelt states that the United States would use military force “as an international police power” to correct any “chronic wrongdoing” by any Latin American nation that might threaten stability in the region. Unlike the Monroe Doctrine, which proclaimed an American policy of noninterference with its neighbors’ affairs, the Roosevelt Corollary loudly proclaimed the right and obligation of the United States to involve itself whenever necessary.

Roosevelt immediately began to put the new corollary to work. He used it to establish protectorates over Cuba and Panama, as well as to direct the United States to manage the Dominican Republic’s custom service revenues. Despite growing resentment from neighboring countries over American intervention in their internal affairs, as well as European concerns from afar, knowledge of Roosevelt’s previous actions in Colombia concerning acquisition of land upon which to build the Panama Canal left many fearful of American reprisals should they resist. Eventually, Presidents Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt softened American rhetoric regarding U.S. domination of the Western Hemisphere, with the latter proclaiming a new “Good Neighbor Policy” that renounced American intervention in other nations’ affairs.

However, subsequent presidents would continue to reference aspects of the Roosevelt Corollary to justify American

involvement in Haiti, Nicaragua, and other nations throughout the twentieth century. The map below (Figure) shows the widespread effects of Roosevelt’s policies throughout Latin America.



Figure 3. From underwriting a revolution in Panama with the goal of building a canal to putting troops in Cuba, Roosevelt vastly increased the U.S. impact in Latin America.

THE ROOSEVELT COROLLARY AND ITS IMPACT

In 1904, Roosevelt put the United States in the role of the “police power” of the Western Hemisphere and set a course for the U.S. relationship with Central and Latin America that played out over the next several decades. He did so with the Roosevelt Corollary, in which he stated:

“It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere save as such are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. . . . Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however, reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.”

In the twenty years after he made this statement, the United States would use military force in Latin America over a dozen times. The Roosevelt Corollary was used as a rationale for American involvement in the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Haiti, and other Latin American countries, straining relations between Central America and its dominant neighbor to the north throughout the twentieth century.

AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

Although he supported the Open Door notes as an excellent economic policy in China, Roosevelt lamented the fact that the United States had no strong military presence in the region to enforce it. Clearly, without a military presence there, he could not as easily use his “big stick” threat credibly to achieve his foreign policy goals. As a result, when conflicts did arise on the other side of the Pacific, Roosevelt adopted a policy of maintaining a balance of power among the nations there. This was particularly evident when the Russo-Japanese War erupted in 1904.

In 1904, angered by the massing of Russian troops along the Manchurian border, and the threat it represented to the region, Japan launched a surprise naval attack upon the Russian fleet. Initially, Roosevelt supported the Japanese position. However, when the Japanese fleet quickly achieved victory after victory, Roosevelt grew concerned over the growth of Japanese influence in the region and the continued threat that it represented to China and American access to those markets ([Figure](#)). Wishing to maintain the aforementioned balance of power, in 1905, Roosevelt arranged for diplomats from both nations to attend a secret peace conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The resultant negotiations secured peace in the region, with Japan gaining control over Korea, several former Russian bases in Manchuria, and the southern half of Sakhalin Island. These negotiations also garnered the Nobel Peace Prize for Roosevelt, the first American to receive the award.



Figure 4. Japan’s defense against Russia was supported by President Roosevelt, but when Japan’s ongoing victories put the United States’ own Asian interests at risk, he stepped in.

When Japan later exercised its authority over its gains by forcing American business interests out of Manchuria in 1906–1907, Roosevelt felt he needed to invoke his “big stick” foreign policy, even though the distance was great. He did so by sending the U.S. Great White Fleet on maneuvers in the western Pacific Ocean as a show of force from December 1907 through February 1909. Publicly described as a goodwill tour, the message to the Japanese government regarding American interests was equally clear. Subsequent negotiations reinforced the Open Door policy throughout China and the rest of Asia. Roosevelt had, by both the judicious use of the “big stick” and his strategy of maintaining a balance of power, kept U.S. interests in Asia well protected.

Taft's "Dollar Diplomacy"⁷²

When William Howard Taft became president in 1909, he chose to adapt Roosevelt's foreign policy philosophy to one that reflected American economic power at the time. In what became known as "dollar diplomacy," Taft announced his decision to "substitute dollars for bullets" in an effort to use foreign policy to secure markets and opportunities for American businessmen ([Figure](#)). Not unlike Roosevelt's threat of force, Taft used the threat of American economic clout to coerce countries into agreements to benefit the United States.



Figure 1. Although William Howard Taft was Theodore Roosevelt's hand-picked successor to the presidency, he was less inclined to use Roosevelt's "big stick," choosing instead to use the economic might of the United States to influence foreign affairs.

Of key interest to Taft was the debt that several Central American nations still owed to various countries in Europe. Fearing that the debt holders might use the monies owed as leverage to use military intervention in the Western Hemisphere, Taft moved quickly to pay off these debts with U.S. dollars. Of course, this move made the Central American countries indebted to the United States, a situation that not all nations wanted. When a Central American nation resisted this arrangement, however, Taft responded with military force to achieve the objective. This occurred in Nicaragua when the country refused to accept American loans to pay off its debt to Great Britain. Taft sent a warship with marines to the region to pressure the government to agree. Similarly, when Mexico considered the idea of allowing a Japanese corporation to gain significant land and economic advantages in its country, Taft urged Congress to pass the Lodge Corollary, an addendum to the Roosevelt Corollary, stating that no foreign corporation—other than American ones—could obtain strategic lands in the Western Hemisphere.

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In Asia, Taft's policies also followed those of Theodore Roosevelt. He attempted to bolster China's ability to withstand Japanese interference and thereby maintain a balance of power in the region. Initially, he experienced tremendous success in working with the Chinese government to further develop the railroad industry in that country through arranging international financing. However, efforts to expand the Open Door policy deeper into Manchuria met with resistance from Russia and Japan, exposing the limits of the American government's influence and knowledge about the intricacies of diplomacy. As a result, he reorganized the U.S. State Department to create geographical divisions (such as the Far East Division, the Latin American Division, etc.) in order to develop greater foreign policy expertise in each area. Taft's policies, although not as based on military aggression as his predecessors, did create difficulties for the United States, both at the time and in the future. Central America's indebtedness would create economic concerns for decades to come, as well as foster nationalist movements in countries resentful of American's interference. In Asia, Taft's efforts to mediate between China and Japan served only to heighten tensions between Japan and the United States. Furthermore, it did not succeed in creating a balance of power, as Japan's reaction was to further consolidate its power and reach throughout the region.

As Taft's presidency came to a close in early 1913, the United States was firmly entrenched on its path towards empire. The world perceived the United States as the predominant power of the Western Hemisphere—a perception that few nations would challenge until the Soviet Union during the Cold War era. Likewise, the United States had clearly marked its interests in Asia, although it was still searching for an adequate approach to guard and foster them. The development of an American empire had introduced with it several new approaches to American foreign policy, from military intervention to economic coercion to the mere threat of force.

The playing field would change one year later in 1914 when the United States witnessed the unfolding of World War I, or "the Great War." A new president would attempt to adopt a new approach to diplomacy—one that was well-intentioned but at times impractical. Despite Woodrow Wilson's best efforts to the contrary, the United States would be drawn into the conflict and subsequently attempt to reshape the world order as a result.

Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom⁷³

When Woodrow Wilson took over the White House in March 1913, he promised a less expansionist approach to American foreign policy than Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft had pursued. Wilson did share the commonly held view that American values were superior to those of the rest of the world, that democracy was the best system to promote peace and stability, and that the United States should continue to actively pursue economic markets abroad. But he proposed an idealistic foreign policy based on morality, rather than American self-interest, and felt that American interference in another nation's affairs should occur only when the circumstances rose to the level of a moral imperative.

Wilson appointed former presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, a noted anti-imperialist and proponent of world peace, as his Secretary of State. Bryan undertook his new assignment with great vigor, encouraging nations around the world to sign "cooling off treaties," under which they agreed to resolve international disputes through talks, not war, and to submit any grievances to an international commission. Bryan also negotiated friendly relations with Colombia, including a \$25 million apology for Roosevelt's actions during the Panamanian Revolution, and worked to establish effective self-government in the Philippines in preparation for the eventual American withdrawal. Even with Bryan's support, however, Wilson found that it was much harder than he anticipated to keep the United States out of world affairs (Figure). In reality, the United States was interventionist in areas where its interests—direct or indirect—were threatened.



Figure 2. While Wilson strove to be less of an interventionist, he found that to be more difficult in practice than in theory. Here, a political cartoon depicts him as a rather hapless cowboy, unclear on how to harness a foreign challenge, in this case, Mexico.

Wilson's greatest break from his predecessors occurred in Asia, where he abandoned Taft's "dollar diplomacy," a foreign policy that essentially used the power of U.S. economic dominance as a threat to gain favorable terms. Instead, Wilson

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revived diplomatic efforts to keep Japanese interference there at a minimum. But as World War I, also known as the Great War, began to unfold, and European nations largely abandoned their imperialistic interests in order to marshal their forces for self-defense, Japan demanded that China succumb to a Japanese protectorate over their entire nation. In 1917, William Jennings Bryan's successor as Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, signed the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, which recognized Japanese control over the Manchurian region of China in exchange for Japan's promise not to exploit the war to gain a greater foothold in the rest of the country.

Furthering his goal of reducing overseas interventions, Wilson had promised not to rely on the Roosevelt Corollary, Theodore Roosevelt's explicit policy that the United States could involve itself in Latin American politics whenever it felt that the countries in the Western Hemisphere needed policing. Once president, however, Wilson again found that it was more difficult to avoid American interventionism in practice than in rhetoric. Indeed, Wilson intervened more in Western Hemisphere affairs than either Taft or Roosevelt. In 1915, when a revolution in Haiti resulted in the murder of the Haitian president and threatened the safety of New York banking interests in the country, Wilson sent over three hundred U.S. Marines to establish order. Subsequently, the United States assumed control over the island's foreign policy as well as its financial administration. One year later, in 1916, Wilson again sent marines to Hispaniola, this time to the Dominican Republic, to ensure prompt payment of a debt that nation owed. In 1917, Wilson sent troops to Cuba to protect American-owned sugar plantations from attacks by Cuban rebels; this time, the troops remained for four years.

Wilson's most noted foreign policy foray prior to World War I focused on Mexico, where rebel General Victoriano Huerta had seized control from a previous rebel government just weeks before Wilson's inauguration. Wilson refused to recognize Huerta's government, instead choosing to make an example of Mexico by demanding that they hold democratic elections and establish laws based on the moral principles he espoused. Officially, Wilson supported Venustiano Carranza, who opposed Huerta's military control of the country. When American intelligence learned of a German ship allegedly preparing to deliver weapons to Huerta's forces, Wilson ordered the U.S. Navy to land forces at Veracruz to stop the shipment.

On April 22, 1914, a fight erupted between the U.S. Navy and Mexican troops, resulting in nearly 150 deaths, nineteen of them American. Although Carranza's faction managed to overthrow Huerta in the summer of 1914, most Mexicans—including Carranza—had come to resent American intervention in their affairs. Carranza refused to work with Wilson and the U.S. government, and instead threatened to defend Mexico's mineral rights against all American oil companies established there. Wilson then turned to support rebel forces who opposed Carranza, most notably Pancho Villa ([Figure](#)). However, Villa lacked the strength in number or weapons to overtake Carranza; in 1915, Wilson reluctantly authorized official U.S. recognition of Carranza's government.



Figure 3. Pancho Villa, a Mexican rebel who Wilson supported, then ultimately turned from, attempted an attack on the United States in retaliation. Wilson's actions in Mexico were emblematic of how difficult it was to truly set the United States on a course of moral leadership.

As a postscript, an irate Pancho Villa turned against Wilson, and on March 9, 1916, led a fifteen-hundred-man force across the border into New Mexico, where they attacked and burned the town of Columbus. Over one hundred people died in the attack, seventeen of them American. Wilson responded by sending General John Pershing into Mexico to capture Villa and return him to the United States for trial. With over eleven thousand troops at his disposal, Pershing marched three hundred miles into Mexico before an angry Carranza ordered U.S. troops to withdraw from the nation. Although reelected in 1916, Wilson reluctantly ordered the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Mexico in 1917, avoiding war with Mexico and enabling preparations for American intervention in Europe. Again, as in China, Wilson's attempt to impose a moral foreign policy had failed in light of economic and political realities.

Unit Two Instruction

Topic Two: World War I and its Aftermath (US.3.3-6)

Connections to the unit claim: Students explore the onset of WWI and the reasons for U.S. entry into the war, as well as methods implemented to build support and control dissent on the homefront. Students will also investigate how new technologies and innovations in weapons of war made WWI different than previous wars, and students will explore the peace process at the end of the war, and make a claim on whether or not the agreements in the Treaty of Versailles made another world war inevitable. Students will use information gained on WWI to make a claim about how the world conflict of WWI changed how America identified itself.

Suggested Timeline: 15 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [WWI and America](#)

Note: prior to conducting this task with students, read the [Causes of WWI \(The Great War\)](#) by Brandon Brown to build background knowledge

- [Consequences of WW1](#)

To explore these key questions:

- Why did the U.S. enter WWI?
- Were critics of WWI anti-American?
- What caused WWI?
- Did the peace agreements at the end of WWI make another world war inevitable?
- How did innovations in weapons of war affect the outcome of WWI?
- Why did Congress reject the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students complete a [cartoon analysis handout](#) on a [WWI Causes Political Cartoon](#)
- Students write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: “What caused WWI?”
- Students write a paragraph answering the first compelling question for the task: “Why did the U.S. enter WWI?”
- Students participate in a class discussion on the second compelling question for the task: “Were critics of WWI anti-American?” Assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#).
- Students write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: “How did innovations in weapons of war affect the outcome of WWI?”
- Students complete a [graphic organizer](#) analyzing speeches by Woodrow Wilson and Henry Cabot Lodge voicing support and dissent for the U.S. joining the League of Nations
- Students write a paragraph on the second supporting question for the task: “Why did Congress reject the League of Nations, and reject the Treaty of Versailles by not ratifying it?”
- Students write an essay in response to the task’s compelling question: “Did the peace agreements at the end of WWI make another world war inevitable?”

US History Instructional Task: WWI and America

Unit Two: Foreign Policy through the Great War, Topic Two: World War I and its Aftermath

Description: Students investigate the causes of WWI, the events leading up to U.S. entry into the war and the causes for U.S. entry, and efforts to promote support for the war on the homefront, and control dissent.

Suggested Timeline: 8 class periods

Materials: [M.A.N.I.A](#) handout; [War Erupts in Europe](#); [Map of Europe 1914 \(before WW1\)](#); [WWI Causes Political Cartoon](#); [Blockades, u-boats, and sinking of the Lusitania](#); [Zimmerman Telegram](#); [U.S. Entry into WWI](#); [The United States in World War I](#); [The Ingredients of War](#); [Controlling Dissent](#); [Liberty Bond Propaganda Poster](#); [Sedition in WWI](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “As we learned in our last task on imperialism, America under President Wilson had started to favor a more isolationist, and less interventionist approach to the foreign affairs of other countries. Or, at least, that was the intent. U.S. isolation or neutrality in the face of foreign affairs would be greatly tested with the onset of World War 1 in Europe in 1914. In this task, we will investigate the causes of World War I and American involvement in the Great War. We will use two compelling questions to guide our inquiry in this task: “Why did the U.S. enter WWI, and were critics of WWI anti-American?” First, we must investigate what led to the start of WWI.”
2. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “What caused WWI?”
3. Write the following terms on the board: *Militarism, Alliances, Nationalism, Imperialism, Assassination*
4. Provide students with the [M.A.N.I.A](#)⁷⁴ handout, and allow students to read through the definitions of each term.
5. To continue to build context for each M.A.N.I.A term, provide students with [War Erupts in Europe](#). Instruct students to read the text independently. Before reading, prompt students to underline information in the text that explains the role of militarism, alliances, nationalism, imperialism, and assassination in the start of WWI. After students have finished reading, lead a whole class discussion on the meaning of each term, and how it contributed to the start of war. As students provide explanations, annotate the terms previously written on the board with student statements.
 - a. What is militarism? How did militarism contribute to the start of WWI?
 - b. What does alliance mean? How did alliances contribute to the start of WWI?
NOTE: to help students visualize European alliances, project the [Alliances of WW1 image](#). *It is not important for students to be able to name all the alliances, it is important for students to see how many European countries were bound by aid, treaty, or alliance, setting up a domino effect.*
 - c. What is nationalism? How did nationalism contribute to the start of WW1?
 - d. Review the term imperialism. How did imperialism contribute to the start of WW1?
NOTE: project the [Map of Europe 1914 \(before WW1\)](#) so students can see that empires covered Europe instead of the countries we know today. Discuss the names of the different empires and the areas they covered.
 - e. Who was assassinated? How did that assassination contribute to the start of WW1?

⁷⁴ Produced by Oakland School District in Waterford, Michigan. Available at:

http://moodle.oakland.k12.mi.us/clarenceville/pluginfile.php/54353/mod_resource/content/1/MANIA.pdf

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- f. Refer to the [Map of Europe 1914 \(before WW1\)](#) again - what were the two main military alliances? Which countries/empires were a part of the Central Powers? Of the Triple Entente?
6. Assign students into pairs using an established classroom routine.
 7. Provide each pair a copy of [WWI Causes Political Cartoon](#) and the [cartoon analysis handout](#) from the National Archives. Instruct each pair to complete the [cartoon analysis handout](#) as they examine the political cartoon. As needed, provide students with basic information about the image (e.g., Alsace-Lorraine and Algeciras were disputed territories).
 8. Conduct a whole class discussion around what this political cartoon tells us about the causes of WWI.
 9. Instruct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task, “what caused WWI?” In addition to answering the question, ask students to make a claim on what the most important factor was in the start of the war: militarism, alliances, nationalism, imperialism, or the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Check for content accuracy.
 10. Post and read aloud the first compelling question on the board: “Why did the U.S. enter WWI?”
 11. Show the class the 12 minute video [Blockades, u-boats, and sinking of the Lusitania](#)⁷⁵. Direct students to take notes on the sinking of the Lusitania and U.S. reaction to it. After watching the video, briefly discuss the following question as a class: “how did the sinking of the Lusitania impact U.S. sentiments for war?”
 12. Show the class the 4 minute video [Zimmerman Telegram](#)⁷⁶. Direct students to take notes on the purpose of the Zimmerman telegram, and the effect it had on the U.S. populace. After watching the video, briefly discuss the following question as a class: “what was the impact of the Zimmerman telegram?”
 13. Conduct steps 1-7 of the lesson [U.S. Entry into WWI](#)⁷⁷ from the Stanford History Education Group with the following adjustments:
 - a. Step 2: excerpts of both Wilson speeches are contained in the lesson plan, and full versions are contained in the original documents file. It is recommended to use the excerpts.
 - b. Step 3: [The United States in World War I](#)⁷⁸ can be used for a textbook excerpt if the classroom does not already have a textbook. Instruct students to only read the section titled “The United States enters World War I.”
 14. Instruct students to write a paragraph answering the first compelling question for the task: “Why did the U.S. enter WWI?” Grade for content accuracy.
 15. Say: “We are now going to investigate how the U.S. mobilized the homefront to help finance the war, and managed public support for the war effort. We will use the second compelling question to guide our inquiry in this part of the task - were critics of WWI anti-American?”
 16. Divide the class into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [The Ingredients of War](#). Direct students to read independently, and then answer the following questions in small groups:

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⁷⁷ Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page

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- a. What efforts on the homefront were promoted to support the war?
 - b. What were some strategies the U.S. implemented to finance the war?
17. Write the term *propaganda* on the board. Briefly discuss what students already know about this term. Define propaganda as information, ideas, or rumors deliberately spread widely to help or harm a person, group, movement, institution, or nation.⁷⁹
18. Provide students with [Controlling Dissent](#). Direct students to read independently, and then answer the following questions in small groups:
- a. How was propaganda used to promote support for the war?
 - b. How were acts passed by congress (Espionage Act, Sedition Act) used to control dissent?
19. Project the [Liberty Bond Propaganda Poster](#), along with the two propaganda images from the [Controlling Dissent](#) article. Looking at each image, briefly discuss with students what is happening in each image, and the intended outcome of the propaganda. Use the [analyze a poster handout](#) from the National Archives to help guide questions. After looking at all three images, briefly discuss as a whole class how propaganda was used to promote support for WWI.
20. Conduct steps 3-7 of the lesson [Sedition in WWI](#)⁸⁰ from the Stanford History Education Group with the following adjustments:
- a. Steps 3, 5, and 7: excerpts of documents A-D are contained in the lesson plan, and full versions are contained in the original documents file. It is recommended to use the excerpts.
21. Conclude the task with a class discussion on the second compelling question for the task: “Were critics of WWI anti-American?” Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) and assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#).

⁷⁹<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/propaganda>

⁸⁰ Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page

War Erupts in Europe⁸¹

When a Serbian nationalist murdered the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on June 29, 1914, the underlying forces that led to World War I had already long been in motion and seemed, at first, to have little to do with the United States. At the time, the events that pushed Europe from ongoing tensions into war seemed very far away from U.S. interests. For nearly a century, nations had negotiated a series of mutual defense alliance treaties to secure themselves against their imperialistic rivals. Among the largest European powers, the Triple Entente included an alliance of France, Great Britain, and Russia. Opposite them, the Central powers, also known as the Triple Alliance, included Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and initially Italy. A series of “side treaties” likewise entangled the larger European powers to protect several smaller ones should war break out.

At the same time that European nations committed each other to defense pacts, they jockeyed for power over empires overseas and invested heavily in large, modern militaries. Dreams of empire and military supremacy fueled an era of nationalism that was particularly pronounced in the newer nations of Germany and Italy, but also provoked separatist movements among Europeans. The Irish rose up in rebellion against British rule, for example. And in Bosnia’s capital of Sarajevo, Gavrilo Princip and his accomplices assassinated the Austro-Hungarian archduke in their fight for a pan-Slavic nation. Thus, when Serbia failed to accede to Austro-Hungarian demands in the wake of the archduke’s murder, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia with the confidence that it had the backing of Germany. This action, in turn, brought Russia into the conflict, due to a treaty in which they had agreed to defend Serbia. Germany followed suit by declaring war on Russia, fearing that Russia and France would seize this opportunity to move on Germany if it did not take the offensive. The eventual German invasion of Belgium drew Great Britain into the war, followed by the attack of the Ottoman Empire on Russia. By the end of August 1914, it seemed as if Europe had dragged the entire world into war. The Great War was unlike any war that came before it. Whereas in previous European conflicts, troops typically faced each other on open battlefields, World War I saw new military technologies that turned war into a conflict of prolonged trench warfare. Both sides used new artillery, tanks, airplanes, machine guns, barbed wire, and, eventually, poison gas: weapons that strengthened defenses and turned each military offense into barbarous sacrifices of thousands of lives with minimal territorial advances in return. By the end of the war, the total military death toll was ten million, as well as another million civilian deaths attributed to military action, and another six million civilian deaths caused by famine, disease, or other related factors.

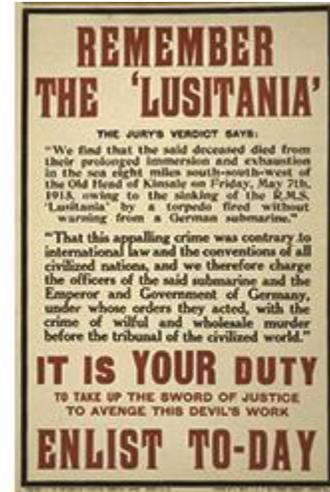
One terrifying new piece of technological warfare was the German *unterseeboot*—an “undersea boat” or U-boat. By early 1915, in an effort to break the British naval blockade of Germany and turn the tide of the war, the Germans dispatched a fleet of these submarines around Great Britain to attack both merchant and military ships. The U-boats acted in direct violation of international law, attacking without warning from beneath the water instead of surfacing and permitting the surrender of civilians or crew. By 1918, German U-boats had sunk nearly five thousand vessels. Of greatest historical note was the attack on the British passenger ship, *RMS Lusitania*, on its way from New York to Liverpool on May 7, 1915. The German Embassy in the United States had announced that this ship would be subject to attack for its cargo of ammunition: an allegation that later proved accurate. Nonetheless, almost 1,200 civilians died in the attack, including 128 Americans. The attack horrified the world, galvanizing support in England and beyond for the

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war (Figure). This attack, more than any other event, would test President Wilson's desire to stay out of what had been a largely European conflict.



(a)



(b)

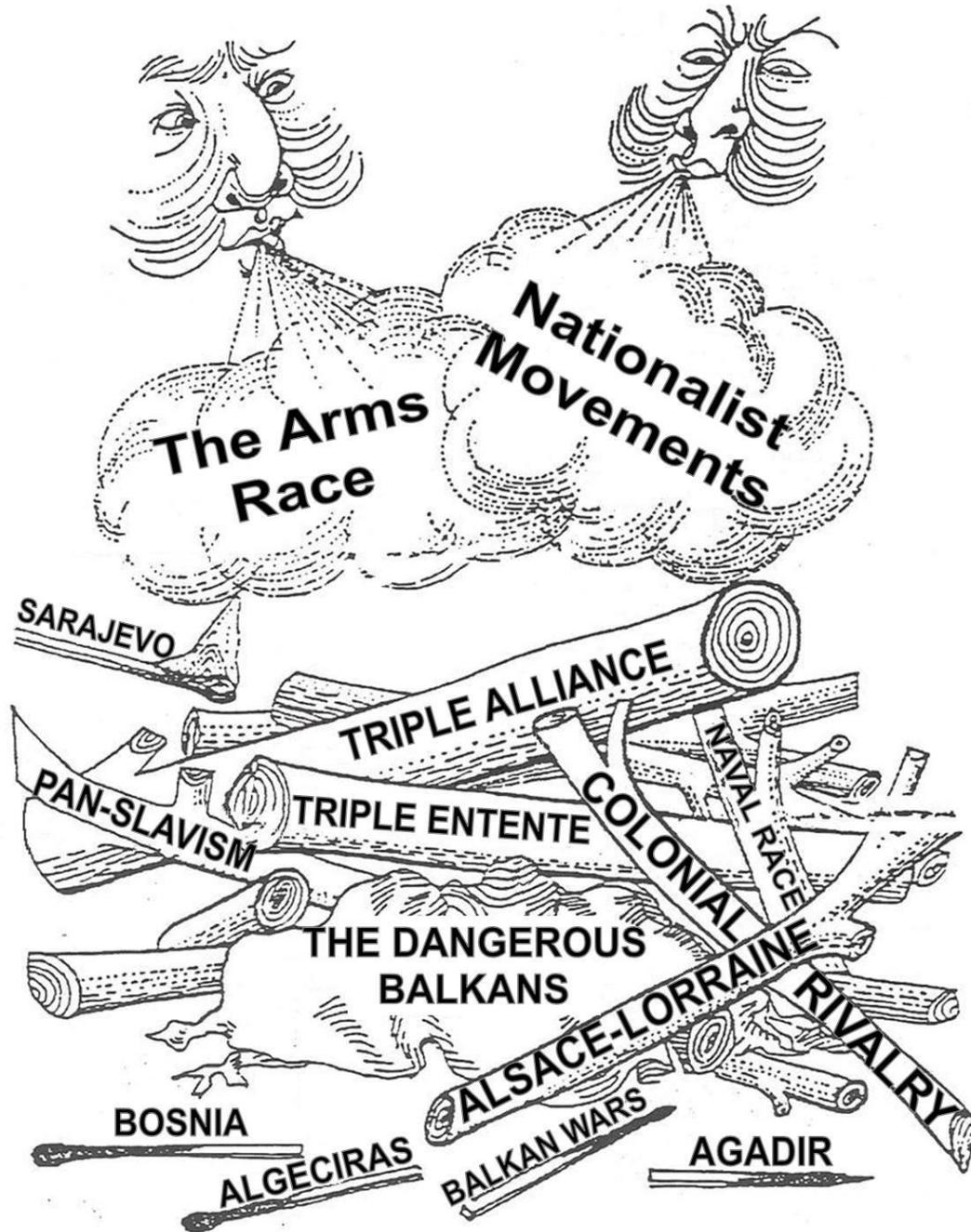
Figure 4. The torpedoing and sinking of the *Lusitania*, depicted in the English drawing above (a), resulted in the death over twelve hundred civilians and was an international incident that shifted American sentiment as to their potential role in the war, as illustrated in a British recruiting poster (b).

Map of Europe 1914 (before World War I)⁸²



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World War I Causes Political Cartoon⁸³



⁸³ Cartoon by Harris Morgan. Licensed under the [Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/). Available online at <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:WWI-Causes.jpg>.

The Ingredients of War⁸⁴

The First World War was, in many ways, a war of attrition, and the United States needed a large army to help the Allies. In 1917, when the United States declared war on Germany, the U.S. Army ranked seventh in the world in terms of size, with an estimated 200,000 enlisted men. In contrast, at the outset of the war in 1914, the German force included 4.5 million men, and the country ultimately mobilized over eleven million soldiers over the course of the entire war.

To compose a fighting force, Congress passed the Selective Service Act in 1917, which initially required all men aged twenty-one through thirty to register for the draft ([Figure](#)). In 1918, the act was expanded to include all men between eighteen and forty-five. Through a campaign of patriotic appeals, as well as an administrative system that allowed men to register at their local draft boards rather than directly with the federal government, over ten million men registered for the draft on the very first day. By the war's end, twenty-two million men had registered for the U.S. Army draft. Five million of these men were actually drafted, another 1.5 million volunteered, and over 500,000 additional men signed up for the navy or marines. In all, two million men participated in combat operations overseas. Among the volunteers were also twenty thousand women, a quarter of whom went to France to serve as nurses or in clerical positions.

But the draft also provoked opposition, and almost 350,000 eligible Americans refused to register for military service. About 65,000 of these defied the conscription law as conscientious objectors, mostly on the grounds of their deeply held religious beliefs. Such opposition was not without risks, and whereas most objectors were never prosecuted, those who were found guilty at military hearings received stiff punishments: Courts handed down over two hundred prison sentences of twenty years or more, and seventeen death sentences.



Figure 1. While many young men were eager to join the war effort, there were a sizable number who did not want to join, either due to a moral objection or simply because they did not want to fight in a war that seemed far from American interests. (credit: Library of Congress)

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With the size of the army growing, the U.S. government next needed to ensure that there were adequate supplies—in particular food and fuel—for both the soldiers and the home front. Concerns over shortages led to the passage of the Lever Food and Fuel Control Act, which empowered the president to control the production, distribution, and price of all food products during the war effort. Using this law, Wilson created both a Fuel Administration and a Food Administration. The Fuel Administration, run by Harry Garfield, created the concept of “fuel holidays,” encouraging civilian Americans to do their part for the war effort by rationing fuel on certain days. Garfield also implemented “daylight saving time” for the first time in American history, shifting the clocks to allow more productive daylight hours. Herbert Hoover coordinated the Food Administration, and he too encouraged volunteer rationing by invoking patriotism. With the slogan “food will win the war,” Hoover encouraged “Meatless Mondays,” “Wheatless Wednesdays,” and other similar reductions, with the hope of rationing food for military use ([Figure](#)).



Figure 2. With massive propaganda campaigns linking rationing and frugality to patriotism, the government sought to ensure adequate supplies to fight the war.

Wilson also created the War Industries Board, run by Bernard Baruch, to ensure adequate military supplies. The War Industries Board had the power to direct shipments of raw materials, as well as to control government contracts with private producers. Baruch used lucrative contracts with guaranteed profits to encourage several private firms to shift their production over to wartime materials. For those firms that refused to cooperate, Baruch’s government control over raw materials provided him with the necessary leverage to convince them to join the war effort, willingly or not. As a way to move all the personnel and supplies around the country efficiently, Congress created the U.S. Railroad Administration. Logistical problems had led trains bound for the East Coast to get stranded as far away as Chicago. To prevent these problems, Wilson appointed William McAdoo, the Secretary of the Treasury, to lead this agency, which had extraordinary war powers to control the entire railroad industry, including traffic, terminals, rates, and wages.

Almost all the practical steps were in place for the United States to fight a successful war. The only step remaining was to figure out how to pay for it. The war effort was costly—with an eventual price tag in excess of \$32 billion by 1920—and the government needed to finance it. The Liberty Loan Act allowed the federal government to sell liberty bonds to the American public, extolling citizens to “do their part” to help the war effort and bring the troops home. The government ultimately raised \$23 billion through liberty bonds. Additional monies came from the government’s use of federal income tax revenue, which was made possible by the passage of the Sixteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1913. With the financing, transportation, equipment, food, and men in place, the United States was ready to enter the war. The next piece the country needed was public support.

Controlling Dissent⁸⁵

Although all the physical pieces required to fight a war fell quickly into place, the question of national unity was another concern. The American public was strongly divided on the subject of entering the war. While many felt it was the only choice, others protested strongly, feeling it was not America’s war to fight. Wilson needed to ensure that a nation of diverse immigrants, with ties to both sides of the conflict, thought of themselves as American first, and their home country’s nationality second. To do this, he initiated a propaganda campaign, pushing the “America First” message, which sought to convince Americans that they should do everything in their power to ensure an American victory, even if that meant silencing their own criticisms.

AMERICAN FIRST, AMERICAN ABOVE ALL

At the outset of the war, one of the greatest challenges for Wilson was the lack of national unity. The country, after all, was made up of immigrants, some recently arrived and some well established, but all with ties to their home countries. These home countries included Germany and Russia, as well as Great Britain and France. In an effort to ensure that Americans eventually supported the war, the government pro-war propaganda campaign focused on driving home that message. The posters below, shown in both English and Yiddish, prompted immigrants to remember what they owed to America ([Figure](#)).



Figure 3. These posters clearly illustrate the pressure exerted on immigrants to quell any dissent they might feel about the United States at war.

Regardless of how patriotic immigrants might feel and act, however, an anti-German xenophobia overtook the country. German Americans were persecuted and their businesses shunned, whether or not they voiced any objection to the war. Some cities changed the names of the streets and buildings if they were German. Libraries withdrew German-language books from the shelves, and German Americans began to avoid speaking German for fear of reprisal. For some immigrants, the war was fought on two fronts: on the battlefields of France and again at home.

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The Wilson administration created the Committee of Public Information under director George Creel, a former journalist, just days after the United States declared war on Germany. Creel employed artists, speakers, writers, and filmmakers to develop a propaganda machine. The goal was to encourage all Americans to make sacrifices during the war and, equally importantly, to hate all things German ([Figure](#)). Through efforts such as the establishment of “loyalty leagues” in ethnic immigrant communities, Creel largely succeeded in molding an anti-German sentiment around the country. The result? Some schools banned the teaching of the German language and some restaurants refused to serve frankfurters, sauerkraut, or hamburgers, instead serving “liberty dogs with liberty cabbage” and “liberty sandwiches.” Symphonies refused to perform music written by German composers. The hatred of Germans grew so widespread that, at one point, at a circus, audience members cheered when, in an act gone horribly wrong, a Russian bear mauled a German animal trainer (whose ethnicity was more a part of the act than reality).

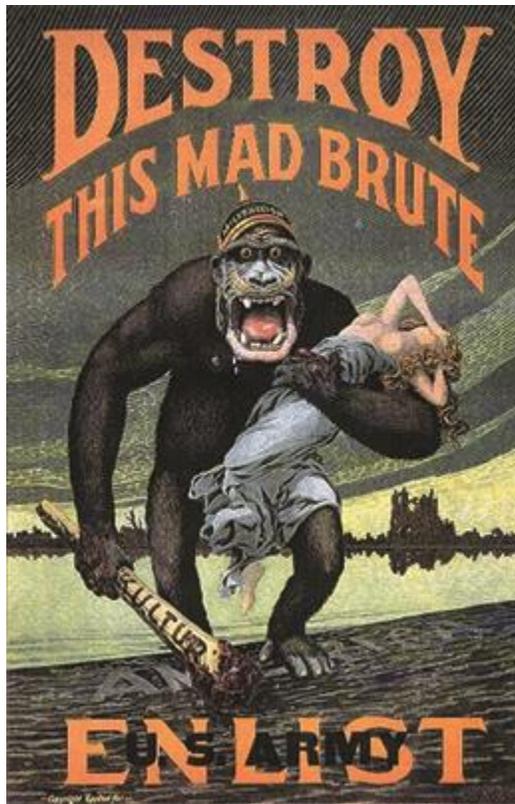


Figure 4. Creel’s propaganda campaign embodied a strongly anti-German message. The depiction of Germans as brutal apes, stepping on the nation’s shores with their crude weapon of “Kultur” (culture), stood in marked contrast to the idealized rendition of the nation’s virtue as a fair beauty whose clothes had been ripped off her.

In addition to its propaganda campaign, the U.S. government also tried to secure broad support for the war effort with repressive legislation. The Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917 prohibited individual trade with an enemy nation and banned the use of the postal service for disseminating any literature deemed treasonous by the postmaster general. That same year, the Espionage Act prohibited giving aid to the enemy by spying, or espionage, as well as any public comments that opposed the American war effort. Under this act, the government could impose fines and imprisonment of up to twenty years. The Sedition Act, passed in 1918, prohibited any criticism or disloyal language against the federal government and its policies, the U.S. Constitution, the military uniform, or the American flag. More than two thousand persons were charged with violating these laws, and many received prison sentences of up to twenty years. Immigrants

faced deportation as punishment for their dissent. Not since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 had the federal government so infringed on the freedom of speech of loyal American citizens.

In the months and years after these laws came into being, over one thousand people were convicted for their violation, primarily under the Espionage and Sedition Acts. More importantly, many more war critics were frightened into silence. One notable prosecution was that of Socialist Party leader Eugene Debs, who received a ten-year prison sentence for encouraging draft resistance, which, under the Espionage Act, was considered “giving aid to the enemy.” Prominent Socialist Victor Berger was also prosecuted under the Espionage Act and subsequently twice denied his seat in Congress, to which he had been properly elected by the citizens of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. One of the more outrageous prosecutions was that of a film producer who released a film about the American Revolution: Prosecutors found the film seditious, and a court convicted the producer to ten years in prison for portraying the British, who were now American allies, as the obedient soldiers of a monarchical empire.

State and local officials, as well as private citizens, aided the government’s efforts to investigate, identify, and crush subversion. Over 180,000 communities created local “councils of defense,” which encouraged members to report any antiwar comments to local authorities. This mandate encouraged spying on neighbors, teachers, local newspapers, and other individuals. In addition, a larger national organization—the American Protective League—received support from the Department of Justice to spy on prominent dissenters, as well as open their mail and physically assault draft evaders.

Understandably, opposition to such repression began mounting. In 1917, Roger Baldwin formed the National Civil Liberties Bureau—a forerunner to the American Civil Liberties Union, which was founded in 1920—to challenge the government’s policies against wartime dissent and conscientious objection. In 1919, the case of *Schenck v. United States* went to the U.S. Supreme Court to challenge the constitutionality of the Espionage and Sedition Acts. The case concerned Charles Schenck, a leader in the Socialist Party of Philadelphia, who had distributed fifteen thousand leaflets, encouraging young men to avoid conscription. The court ruled that during a time of war, the federal government was justified in passing such laws to quiet dissenters. The decision was unanimous, and in the court’s opinion, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote that such dissent presented a “clear and present danger” to the safety of the United States and the military, and was therefore justified. He further explained how the First Amendment right of free speech did not protect such dissent, in the same manner that a citizen could not be freely permitted to yell “fire!” in a crowded theater, due to the danger it presented. Congress ultimately repealed most of the Espionage and Sedition Acts in 1921, and several who were imprisoned for violation of those acts were then quickly released. But the Supreme Court’s deference to the federal government’s restrictions on civil liberties remained a volatile topic in future wars.

Liberty Bond Propaganda Poster⁸⁶



⁸⁶ Poster by F. Amorsolo. Licensed under the [Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/). Available online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:World War I anti-German propaganda#/media/File:Amorsoloposter.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:World_War_I_anti-German_propaganda#/media/File:Amorsoloposter.jpg). Return to [U.S. History: How to Navigate This Document](#)

US History Instructional Task: The Consequences of WWI

Unit Two: Foreign Policy through the Great War, Topic Two: World War I and its Aftermath

Description: Students will explore the new technologies used in WWI battles and how those technologies influenced the outcome of the war through readings and photographs. Students will also analyze the peace accords after WWI through readings, videos, and a forced choice discussion. By the end of the task, students will make a claim on the compelling question, “Did the peace agreements at the end of WWI make another world war inevitable?”

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Materials: [WWI: Technology and the Weapons of War](#); [The Atlantic's WWI in Photos](#); [Winning the War](#); [Map of Europe 1914 \(before WW1\)](#); [Map of Europe 1920 \(after WWI\)](#); [The Battle for Peace - The Paris Peace Conference](#); [Wilson's "Fourteen Points" Message](#); [Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points](#); [League of Nations](#); [League of Nations](#); [Ratification of the Treaty of Versailles](#); [Paris Peace Conference and Treaty of Versailles](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “Previously in this unit we learned about how industrialization and innovation changed life for many Americans- for example, we learned that the advent of electricity made live more convenient, but also allowed for longer working hours for factory workers. Industrialization and innovation led to different ways of war as well - all the services of modern industry were used to create new weapons of war with the sole purpose of killing more effectively. In this task, we will learn how new technologies impacted the outcome of WWI. We will also learn about how the war ended and the impacts of the peace agreements on the countries involved. We will use the question “Did the peace agreements at the end of WWI make another world war inevitable?” to guide our inquiry.”
2. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “how did innovations in weapons of war affect the outcome of WWI?”
3. Provide students with access to [WWI: Technology and the Weapons of War](#)⁸⁷ by A. Torrey McLean, and instruct them to read independently. After reading, lead the class in a brief discussion on new technologies in WWI, and the impact they had on battle. Possible questions include:
 - a. What new war technologies were used in WW1?
 - b. What impact did these new technologies have on the battlefield?
4. Say: “The term ‘war of attrition’ has been used to describe WWI, we’ve seen this term used in various articles we’ve read. Turn and tell a partner what you think ‘war of attrition’ means.” Give students a minute or less to turn and talk, then take a few responses. Come to a working definition on what the term means (the class definition should be close to a prolonged war where each side tries to wear out the other side by causing massive loss of life but not gaining much territory). Ask the class the following question: “how did new technologies make WWI a war of attrition?”

⁸⁷ Article by A. Torrey McLean, originally published in Tar Heel Junior Historian for the North Carolina Museum of History, available at <https://www.ncpedia.org/wwi-technology-and-weapons-war>

5. Conduct a [gallery walk](#) using photos of WWI war technologies and images of battle. Suggested photos to use can be found at [The Atlantic's WWI in Photos](#)⁸⁸. Choose 6-8 of the recommended images to display, making sure to accompany the picture with the caption provided in the article (recommended image numbers 1, 8, 10, 17, 19, 25, 26, 27, 31, 33, 40). While small groups are observing the pictures, have them discuss the following questions:
 - a. What new technology/weapon of war is being depicted?
 - b. How do you think this new technology/weapon of war impacted the fighting of WWI?
 - c. How do you think this new technology/weapon of war might have affected the outcome of WWI?
6. After the [gallery walk](#), bring students back together and lead a brief whole class discussion around the observed technologies/weapons of war and their impacts on the fighting and outcome of WWI.
7. Say: "Eventually, WWI came to an end in the fall of 1918. We will now investigate the events that led to the end of The Great War."
8. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Winning the War](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, instruct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What was the Bolshevik Revolution, and how did it impact the war between Germany and Russia on the Eastern Front?
 - b. How did U.S. entry into WWI on the Western Front turn the tide of the war in favor of the Triple Entente/Allied Powers (France, Great Britain)?
 - c. What led to Germany and the Allies declaring an armistice (a truce)?
 - d. How did innovations in weapons of war affect the outcome of WWI?
9. Project the [Map of Europe 1914 \(before WW1\)](#) and the [Map of Europe 1920 \(after WWI\)](#)⁸⁹ and ask students to compare the differences. Possible guiding questions include:
 - a. What has happened to land previously under the Austro-Hungarian Empire?
 - b. What has happened to the Russian empire?
 - c. How might this impact the balance of power in Europe?
10. Instruct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: "How did innovations in weapons of war affect the outcome of WWI?" Grade for content accuracy.
11. Say: "Once an armistice had been declared, peace negotiations began. We will now investigate the agreements made between the Allies and the Central powers at the end of the war, how guilt for the war was assigned, and the impact those agreements had on not only the countries themselves but the balance of political power in the world."
12. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: "Why did Congress reject the League of Nations, and reject the Treaty of Versailles by not ratifying it?"
13. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [The Battle for Peace - The Paris Peace Conference](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, instruct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What did Wilson's Fourteen Points post-war peace plan call for?

⁸⁸ Photo collection curated by Alan Taylor for the Atlantic, available at <http://www.diercke.com/kartenansicht.xtp?artId=978-3-14-100790-9&seite=36&id=17470&kartennr=2> <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2014/04/world-war-i-in-photos-introduction/507185/>

⁸⁹ Map provided by Diercke International Atlas and available at

- b. What were the motivations of the other Allies (Great Britain, France, Italy) in creating a post-war peace plan?
 - c. How did Wilson’s motivations for peace agreements differ from the other Allied countries’ motivations?
 - d. What is the League of Nations?
 - e. What is the Treaty of Versailles? What does it stipulate?
14. Provide students with [Wilson's "Fourteen Points" Message](#)⁹⁰. It is recommended that students are only provided with excerpts (the fourteen points and the two paragraphs that precede them). Show the video [Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points](#) from minute 2:38 to minute 15:25. Instruct students to [annotate](#) their copy of the Fourteen Points speech as the narrator of the video annotates his copy on the screen. After watching the video and completing annotations, briefly discuss with students the themes of the Fourteen Points.
15. Say: “The last point in Wilson’s Fourteen Points established the basis of the League of Nations. We will now investigate the League of Nations and determine why the U.S. congress rejected it.”
16. Read aloud the two paragraphs below the section titled “The United States and the League of Nations” in [The League of Nations](#)⁹¹ from Khan Academy.
17. After reading aloud the short excerpt, conduct steps 3-4 of the [League of Nations](#)⁹² lesson from Stanford History Education Group.
18. Say: “In addition to rejecting the League of Nations, the U.S. did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles either. Let’s investigate the reasoning behind that decision.”
19. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Ratification of the Treaty of Versailles](#), and direct students to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
- a. What was the main issue in the Treaty of Versailles that the U.S. Congress either all out rejected or had reservations about? Why?
 - b. How did objections to the League of Nations shape the U.S. Senate’s decision to reject the Treaty of Versailles?
20. Instruct students to write a paragraph on the second supporting question for the task: “Why did Congress reject the League of Nations, and reject the Treaty of Versailles by not ratifying it?”
21. Show the ten minute video [Paris Peace Conference and Treaty of Versailles](#)⁹³ and instruct students to take notes on the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and the reasons the agreements humiliated Germany. After viewing the video, lead the class in a discussion on the Treaty of Versailles’ stipulations and the impacts they had on Germany. Possible questions include:
- a. Why was guilt assigned to Germany?
 - b. What other stipulations in the Treaty were humiliating for Germany?

⁹⁰ Made available by [TeachingAmericanHistory.org](#), and can be found at:

<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/fourteen-points/>

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⁹² Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page

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- c. How did the reparations assigned to Germany impact their economy?
22. To culminate the task, direct students to write an essay in response to the task’s compelling question: “Did the peace agreements at the end of WWI make another world war inevitable?”
23. Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

Winning the War⁹⁴

When the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917, the Allied forces were close to exhaustion. Great Britain and France had already indebted themselves heavily in the procurement of vital American military supplies. Now, facing near-certain defeat, a British delegation to Washington, DC, requested immediate troop reinforcements to boost Allied spirits and help crush German fighting morale, which was already weakened by short supplies on the frontlines and hunger on the home front. Wilson agreed and immediately sent 200,000 American troops in June 1917. These soldiers were placed in “quiet zones” while they trained and prepared for combat.

By March 1918, the Germans had won the war on the eastern front. The Russian Revolution of the previous year had not only toppled the hated regime of Tsar Nicholas II but also ushered in a civil war from which the Bolshevik faction of Communist revolutionaries under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin emerged victorious. Weakened by war and internal strife, and eager to build a new Soviet Union, Russian delegates agreed to a generous peace treaty with Germany. Thus emboldened, Germany quickly moved upon the Allied lines, causing both the French and British to ask Wilson to forestall extensive training to U.S. troops and instead commit them to the front immediately. Although wary of the move, Wilson complied, ordering the commander of the American Expeditionary Force, General John “Blackjack” Pershing, to offer U.S. troops as replacements for the Allied units in need of relief. By May 1918, Americans were fully engaged in the war ([Figure](#)).



Figure 1. U.S. soldiers run past fallen Germans on their way to a bunker. In World War I, for the first time, photographs of the battles brought the war vividly to life for those at home.

In a series of battles along the front that took place from May 28 through August 6, 1918, including the battles of Cantigny, Chateau Thierry, Belleau Wood, and the Second Battle of the Marne, American forces alongside the British and French armies succeeded in repelling the German offensive. The Battle of Cantigny, on May 28, was the first American offensive in the war: In less than two hours that morning, American troops overran the German headquarters in the

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village, thus convincing the French commanders of their ability to fight against the German line advancing towards Paris. The subsequent battles of Chateau Thierry and Belleau Wood proved to be the bloodiest of the war for American troops. At the latter, faced with a German onslaught of mustard gas, artillery fire, and mortar fire, U.S. Marines attacked German units in the woods on six occasions—at times meeting them in hand-to-hand and bayonet combat—before finally repelling the advance. The U.S. forces suffered 10,000 casualties in the three-week battle, with almost 2,000 killed in total and 1,087 on a single day. Brutal as they were, they amounted to small losses compared to the casualties suffered by France and Great Britain. Still, these summer battles turned the tide of the war, with the Germans in full retreat by the end of July 1918 ([Figure](#)).

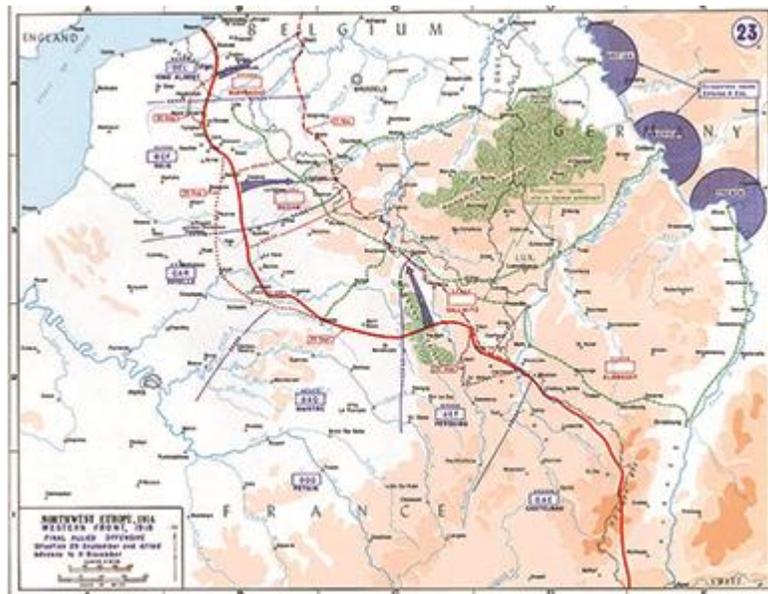


Figure 2. This map shows the western front at the end of the war, as the Allied Forces decisively break the German line.

SGT. CHARLES LEON BOUCHER: LIFE AND DEATH IN THE TRENCHES OF FRANCE

Wounded in his shoulder by enemy forces, George, a machine gunner posted on the right end of the American platoon, was taken prisoner at the Battle of Seicheprey in 1918. However, as darkness set in that evening, another American soldier, Charlie, heard a noise from a gully beside the trench in which he had hunkered down. "I figured it must be the enemy mop-up patrol," Charlie later said.

"I only had a couple of bullets left in the chamber of my forty-five. The noise stopped and a head popped into sight. When I was about to fire, I gave another look and a white and distorted face proved to be that of George, so I grabbed his shoulders and pulled him down into our trench beside me. He must have had about twenty bullet holes in him but not one of them was well placed enough to kill him. He made an effort to speak so I told him to keep quiet and conserve his energy. I had a few malted milk tablets left and, I forced them into his mouth. I also poured the last of the water I had left in my canteen into his mouth."

Following a harrowing night, they began to crawl along the road back to their platoon. As they crawled, George explained how he survived being captured. Charlie later told how George "was taken to an enemy First Aid Station where his wounds were dressed. Then the doctor motioned to have him taken to the rear of their lines. But, the Sergeant Major pushed him towards our side and 'No Mans Land,' pulled out his Luger Automatic and shot him down. Then, he began to crawl towards our lines little by little, being shot at consistently by the enemy snipers till, finally, he arrived in our position."

The story of Charlie and George, related later in life by Sgt. Charles Leon Boucher to his grandson, was one replayed many times over in various forms during the American Expeditionary Force's involvement in World War I. The industrial scale of death and destruction was as new to American soldiers as to their European counterparts, and the survivors brought home physical and psychological scars that influenced the United States long after the war was won (Figure).



Figure 3. This photograph of U.S. soldiers in a trench hardly begins to capture the brutal conditions of trench warfare, where disease, rats, mud, and hunger plagued the men.

By the end of September 1918, over one million U.S. soldiers staged a full offensive into the Argonne Forest. By November—after nearly forty days of intense fighting—the German lines were broken, and their military command reported to German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II of the desperate need to end the war and enter into peace negotiations. Facing civil unrest from the German people in Berlin, as well as the loss of support from his military high command, Kaiser Wilhelm abdicated his throne on November 9, 1918, and immediately fled by train to the Netherlands. Two days later, on November 11, 1918, Germany and the Allies declared an immediate armistice, thus bring the fighting to a stop and signaling the beginning of the peace process.

When the armistice was declared, a total of 117,000 American soldiers had been killed and 206,000 wounded. The Allies as a whole suffered over 5.7 million military deaths, primarily Russian, British, and French men. The Central powers suffered four million military deaths, with half of them German soldiers. The total cost of the war to the United States alone was in excess of \$32 billion, with interest expenses and veterans' benefits eventually bringing the cost to well over \$100 billion. Economically, emotionally, and geopolitically, the war had taken an enormous toll.

The Battle for Peace - The Paris Peace Conference⁹⁵

While Wilson had been loath to involve the United States in the war, he saw the country's eventual participation as justification for America's involvement in developing a moral foreign policy for the entire world. The "new world order" he wished to create from the outset of his presidency was now within his grasp. The United States emerged from the war as the predominant world power. Wilson sought to capitalize on that influence and impose his moral foreign policy on all the nations of the world.

The Paris Peace Conference

As early as January 1918—a full five months before U.S. military forces fired their first shot in the war, and eleven months before the actual armistice—Wilson announced his postwar peace plan before a joint session of Congress. Referring to what became known as the Fourteen Points, Wilson called for openness in all matters of diplomacy and trade, specifically, free trade, freedom of the seas, an end to secret treaties and negotiations, promotion of self-determination of all nations, and more. In addition, he called for the creation of a League of Nations to promote the new world order and preserve territorial integrity through open discussions in place of intimidation and war.

As the war concluded, Wilson announced, to the surprise of many, that he would attend the Paris Peace Conference himself, rather than ceding to the tradition of sending professional diplomats to represent the country ([Figure](#)). His decision influenced other nations to follow suit, and the Paris conference became the largest meeting of world leaders to date in history. For six months, beginning in December 1918, Wilson remained in Paris to personally conduct peace negotiations. Although the French public greeted Wilson with overwhelming enthusiasm, other delegates at the conference had deep misgivings about the American president's plans for a "peace without victory." Specifically, Great Britain, France, and Italy sought to obtain some measure of revenge against Germany for drawing them into the war, to secure themselves against possible future aggressions from that nation, and also to maintain or even strengthen their own colonial possessions. Great Britain and France in particular sought substantial monetary reparations, as well as territorial gains, at Germany's expense. Japan also desired concessions in Asia, whereas Italy sought new territory in Europe. Finally, the threat posed by a Bolshevik Russia under Vladimir Lenin, and more importantly, the danger of revolutions elsewhere, further spurred on these allies to use the treaty negotiations to expand their territories and secure their strategic interests, rather than strive towards world peace.

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Figure 4. The Paris Peace Conference held the largest number of world leaders in one place to date. The photograph shows (from left to right) Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Great Britain; Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, prime minister of Italy; Georges Clemenceau, prime minister of France; and President Woodrow Wilson discussing the terms of the peace.

In the end, the Treaty of Versailles that officially concluded World War I resembled little of Wilson's original Fourteen Points. The Japanese, French, and British succeeded in carving up many of Germany's colonial holdings in Africa and Asia. The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire created new nations under the quasi-colonial rule of France and Great Britain, such as Iraq and Palestine. France gained much of the disputed territory along their border with Germany, as well as passage of a "war guilt clause" that demanded Germany take public responsibility for starting and prosecuting the war that led to so much death and destruction. Great Britain led the charge that resulted in Germany agreeing to pay reparations in excess of \$33 billion to the Allies. As for Bolshevik Russia, Wilson had agreed to send American troops to their northern region to protect Allied supplies and holdings there, while also participating in an economic blockade designed to undermine Lenin's power. This move would ultimately have the opposite effect of galvanizing popular support for the Bolsheviks.

The sole piece of the original Fourteen Points that Wilson successfully fought to keep intact was the creation of a League of Nations. At a covenant agreed to at the conference, all member nations in the League would agree to defend all other member nations against military threats. Known as Article X, this agreement would basically render each nation equal in terms of power, as no member nation would be able to use its military might against a weaker member nation. Ironically, this article would prove to be the undoing of Wilson's dream of a new world order.

Ratification of the Treaty of Versailles⁹⁶

Although the other nations agreed to the final terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Wilson's greatest battle lay in the ratification debate that awaited him upon his return. As with all treaties, this one would require two-thirds approval by the U.S. Senate for final ratification, something Wilson knew would be difficult to achieve. Even before Wilson's return to Washington, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that oversaw ratification proceedings, issued a list of fourteen reservations he had regarding the treaty, most of which centered on the creation of a League of Nations. An isolationist in foreign policy issues, Lodge feared that Article X would require extensive American intervention, as more countries would seek her protection in all controversial affairs. But on the other side of the political spectrum, interventionists argued that Article X would impede the United States from using her rightfully attained military power to secure and protect America's international interests.

Wilson's greatest fight was with the Senate, where most Republicans opposed the treaty due to the clauses surrounding the creation of the League of Nations. Some Republicans, known as Irreconcilables, opposed the treaty on all grounds, whereas others, called Reservationists, would support the treaty if sufficient amendments were introduced that could eliminate Article X. In an effort to turn public support into a weapon against those in opposition, Wilson embarked on a cross-country railway speaking tour. He began travelling in September 1919, and the grueling pace, after the stress of the six months in Paris, proved too much. Wilson fainted following a public event on September 25, 1919, and immediately returned to Washington. There he suffered a debilitating stroke, leaving his second wife Edith Wilson in charge as de facto president for a period of about six months.

Frustrated that his dream of a new world order was slipping away—a frustration that was compounded by the fact that, now an invalid, he was unable to speak his own thoughts coherently—Wilson urged Democrats in the Senate to reject any effort to compromise on the treaty. As a result, Congress voted on, and defeated, the originally worded treaty in November. When the treaty was introduced with “reservations,” or amendments, in March 1920, it again fell short of the necessary margin for ratification. As a result, the United States never became an official signatory of the Treaty of Versailles. Nor did the country join the League of Nations, which shattered the international authority and significance of the organization. Although Wilson received the Nobel Peace Prize in October 1919 for his efforts to create a model of world peace, he remained personally embarrassed and angry at his country's refusal to be a part of that model. As a result of its rejection of the treaty, the United States technically remained at war with Germany until July 21, 1921, when it formally came to a close with Congress's quiet passage of the Knox-Porter Resolution.

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Unit Two Assessment

Description: Students write an essay addressing the unit claim question: “How can world conflict redefine how a nation identifies itself?”

Suggested Timeline: 2 class periods

Student Directions: Based on the sources in this unit and your knowledge of U.S. History, evaluate how World War I redefined the American identity and American politics. Consider the following as you construct your argument:

- American imperialism prior to entering WWI
- Causes for WWI
- New technologies and devastation during WWI
- Rejection of the League of Nations/Treaty of Versailles and a move towards isolationism
- The post-war peace process

Resources:

[LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#)

Teacher Notes: In completing this task, students meet the expectations for social studies GLEs US.3.1-3.6 and US.1.1-1.5. They also meet the expectations for [ELA/Literacy Standards](#): RH.11-12.1, RH.11-12.2, RH.11-12.3, RH.11-12.9, RH.11-12.10, WHST.11-12.1a-e, WHS.T11-12.4, WHST.11-12.5, WHST.11-12.9, WHST.11-12.10.

Use the [LEAP Assessment Social Studies extended response rubric](#) to grade this assessment. Note: Customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

Unit Three Overview

Description: Students learn about the prosperity and social change following World War I, and the subsequent economic downturn of the Great Depression and Recovery through the New Deal. Students will use this knowledge to make a claim on the question: What is the legacy of war and recovery on a nation’s identity?

Suggested Timeline: 5 weeks

U.S. History Content	U.S. History Claims
Growth and Decline Between the Wars	What is the legacy of war and recovery on a nation’s identity

Topics (GLEs):

1. [American Prosperity and Social Change](#) (US.4.1-3)
2. [Global Depression](#) (US.4.4)
3. [The New Deal](#) (US.4.5)

Unit Assessment: Students participate in a [Socratic Seminar](#) around the unit claim question: “What is the legacy of war and recovery on a nation’s identity?”

Unit Three Instruction

Topic One: American Prosperity and Social Change (US.4.1-3)

Connections to the unit claim: Students learn about the post-WWI societal factors that led Americans to seek a return to normalcy and elect Warren G. Harding as president, and students learn about American society in the 1920s, and how various social events were a reflection of and reaction to societal changes. After both tasks are completed, students will answer the compelling question “was the 1920s a time of innovation or conservatism?” Students will use what they learn about the changing American society and politics of the 1920s to make a claim on the legacy of war and recovery on a nation’s identity.

Suggested Timeline: 9 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [American Politics in the 1920s](#)
- [American Society in the 1920s](#)

To explore these key questions:

- What caused the desire for a return to normalcy?
- What caused the Palmer Raids?
- What factors led to the resurgence of the KKK in the 1920s?
- Was the 1920s a decade of innovation or conservatism?
- How were various social movements of the 1920s (Great Migration, Harlem Renaissance, Prohibition, women’s rights) a reaction to changes in early 20th century American society?
- What was the impact that various social movements of the 1920s (Great Migration, Harlem Renaissance, Prohibition, women’s rights) had on society?
- What impact did technological innovations and scientific theories have on society in the 1920s?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students respond to guiding questions in writing from primary documents in the [Palmer Raids](#) lesson.
- Students write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: “What caused the Palmer Raids?”
- Students write an extended paragraph in response to the compelling question: “What caused the desire for a return to normalcy?”
- Students complete the [1920s Social Changes: Reflections and Reactions](#) graphic organizer.
- Students write a paragraph answering the supporting question for the task: “what impact did technological innovations and scientific theories have on society in the 1920s?”
- Students engage in a discussion on the compelling question “was the 1920s a decade of innovation or conservatism?” Assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#).

US History Instructional Task: American Politics in the 1920s

Unit Three: Growth and Decline Between the Wars, Topic One: American Prosperity and Social Change

Description: Students investigate the factors in American politics that proved destabilizing in society, impacted American sentiment, and led to the election of Warren G. Harding and the return to normalcy. Students will investigate primary sources from the Red Scare, and conduct a jigsaw using Harding’s Return to Normalcy speech.

Suggested Timeline: 4 class periods

Materials: [Disorder and Fear in America](#); [Palmer Raids](#); [The Reemergence of the KKK](#); [A Return to Normalcy](#); [Warren Harding and the Return to Normalcy](#); [Return to Normalcy \(Speech Transcript\)](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Post and read aloud the unit claim question for this unit: “What is the legacy of war and recovery on a nation’s identity?”
2. Say: “In the previous unit, we learned the ways in which the conflict of World War I redefined the nation, and how America moved away from isolationist tendencies, and towards imperialist and globally interventionist tendencies. In this unit, you will explore events between the two world wars - politics and society in the 1920s, the Great Depression, and the subsequent recovery attempts of the New Deal. At the end of this unit, you will engage in a [Socratic Seminar](#) where you will make a claim on how the legacy of war and recovery impact a nation’s identity through the lense of post-WWI society and politics in America, and the Great Depression.”
3. Say: “As we saw with the rejection of the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles, American sentiment regarding foreign policy was shifting back towards isolationism. American sentiment continues to change in the years following the end of WWI. In this task, we will explore the factors that led to this changing sentiment, and will use the question “What caused the desire for a return to normalcy?” to guide our inquiry.”
4. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Disorder and Fear in America](#), and instruct students to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What factors led to the feeling of upheaval in the U.S. in the years following WWI?
 - b. Think back to Unit 1 - What was American sentiment towards immigration like during this time? How the public opinion of immigration impact the feeling of upheaval?
 - c. Think back to the previous unit and how the Bolshevik Revolution influenced the end of WWI - how did the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia impact American sentiment at home? What was the Red Scare? What were the Palmer Raids?
 - d. How do the events discussed in the article reflect a return to isolationism?
5. After students have discussed in small groups, lead a brief classroom discussion on the connections between the Bolshevik Revolution and the Red Scare (question c from the previous small group discussion can be asked again whole group).
6. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “What caused the Palmer Raids?”

7. Conduct steps 1-7 in the [Palmer Raids](#)⁹⁷ lesson from the Stanford History Education Group with the following adjustments:
 - a. Step 2 (optional): it is recommended that this optional step be implemented so students have a full understanding of the terms “communism” and “socialism” as that understanding will be critical throughout the rest of this course of study.
 - b. Step 2: the video does not need to be shown, as it covers the same information that is covered in the [Disorder and Fear in America](#) article (and an account is needed to view the video).
8. Instruct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: “What caused the Palmer Raids?” Grade for content accuracy.
9. Say: “In addition to fears around Communist and Socialist infiltrators, racial tension and racial violence was another destabilizing factor in American politics in the years following the end of WWI.”
10. Provide students with access to [The Reemergence of the KKK](#)⁹⁸ and instruct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What were the goals of the Ku Klux Klan? What sorts of tactics did they use to achieve those goals?
 - b. What factors led to the resurgence of the KKK in the 1920s?
11. Say: “In the midst of various destabilizing factors present in American politics came the presidential election of 1920. Woodrow Wilson experienced a stroke towards the end of his presidency leaving the Democratic Party in a bit of disarray, and the Republican Party was looking to take back the White House.”
12. Provide students with [A Return to Normalcy](#) and [Warren Harding and the Return to Normalcy](#). Instruct students to read both texts independently, and then discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What societal factors led to the election of Warren Harding in 1920?
 - b. What does “return to normalcy” mean?
 - c. What are some features of the Harding/Coolidge political agenda, and how do they reflect a return to isolationism?
 - d. How does Harding’s pro-business agenda signal a return to laissez-faire economics?
 - e. **NOTE:** teachers may choose to review laissez-faire economics from the [Robber Barons and the Industrial Economy Task](#) in Unit 1.
13. Say: “In May of 1920, Harding gave a speech on the campaign trail where he laid out his vision to bring America back to normalcy. In preparation to make a claim on this task’s compelling question - What caused the desire for a return to normalcy? - you will complete a [jigsaw](#) in your small groups using a transcript of that speech.”
14. Provide students with access to the [Return to Normalcy \(Speech Transcript\)](#)⁹⁹. Instruct each group to divide the 7 short paragraphs of the speech equally among group members. Direct each group member to prepare to share their expertise by reading and [annotating](#) their assigned paragraphs, and answer the following questions:
 - a. What reasoning does Harding give for a return to normalcy?

⁹⁷ Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page

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⁹⁹ Made available by [TeachingAmericanHistory.org](http://teachingamericanhistory.org), and can be found at: <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/return-to-normalcy/>

- b. Is his reasoning based on any of the destabilizing factors experienced by society after WWI that we've learned about? Which one(s)?
15. After each group finishes expert presentations, lead the class in a brief discussion of Harding's reasoning for a return to normalcy.
16. Instruct students to write an extended paragraph (half to one page but not a full essay) in response to the compelling question: "What caused the desire for a return to normalcy?" Collect and grade for content accuracy.

Disorder and Fear in America¹⁰⁰

After the war ended, U.S. troops were demobilized and rapidly sent home. One unanticipated and unwanted effect of their return was the emergence of a new strain of influenza that medical professionals had never before encountered. Within months of the war's end, over twenty million Americans fell ill from the flu. Eventually, 675,000 Americans died before the disease mysteriously ran its course in the spring of 1919. Worldwide, recent estimates suggest that 500 million people suffered from this flu strain, with as many as fifty million people dying. Throughout the United States, from the fall of 1918 to the spring of 1919, fear of the flu gripped the country. Americans avoided public gatherings, children wore surgical masks to school, and undertakers ran out of coffins and burial plots in cemeteries. Hysteria grew as well, and instead of welcoming soldiers home with a postwar celebration, people hunkered down and hoped to avoid contagion.

Another element that greatly influenced the challenges of immediate postwar life was economic upheaval. As discussed above, wartime production had led to steady inflation; the rising cost of living meant that few Americans could comfortably afford to live off their wages. When the government's wartime control over the economy ended, businesses slowly recalibrated from the wartime production of guns and ships to the peacetime production of toasters and cars. Public demand quickly outpaced the slow production, leading to notable shortages of domestic goods. As a result, inflation skyrocketed in 1919. By the end of the year, the cost of living in the United States was nearly double what it had been in 1916. Workers, facing a shortage in wages to buy more expensive goods, and no longer bound by the no-strike pledge they made for the National War Labor Board, initiated a series of strikes for better hours and wages. In 1919 alone, more than four million workers participated in a total of nearly three thousand strikes: both records within all of American history.

In addition to labor clashes, race riots shattered the peace at the home front. The sporadic race riots that had begun during the Great Migration only grew in postwar America. White soldiers returned home to find black workers in their former jobs and neighborhoods, and were committed to restoring their position of white supremacy. Black soldiers returned home with a renewed sense of justice and strength, and were determined to assert their rights as men and as citizens. Meanwhile, southern lynchings continued to escalate, with white mobs burning African Americans at the stake. During the "Red Summer" of 1919, northern cities recorded twenty-five bloody race riots that killed over 250 people. Among these was the Chicago Race Riot of 1919, where a white mob stoned a young black boy to death because he swam too close to the "white beach" on Lake Michigan. Police at the scene did not arrest the perpetrator who threw the rock. This crime prompted a week-long riot that left twenty-three blacks and fifteen whites dead, as well as millions of dollars' worth of damage to the city ([Figure](#)). Riots in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1921, turned out even more deadly, with estimates of black fatalities ranging from fifty to three hundred. Americans thus entered the new decade with a profound sense of disillusionment over the prospects of peaceful race relations.

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(a)



(b)

Figure 2. Riots broke out in Chicago in the wake of the stoning of a black boy. After two weeks, thirty-eight more people had died, some were stoned (a), and many had to abandon their vandalized homes (b).

While illness, economic hardship, and racial tensions all came from within, another destabilizing factor arrived from overseas. As revolutionary rhetoric emanating from Bolshevik Russia intensified in 1918 and 1919, a Red Scare erupted in the United States over fear that Communist infiltrators sought to overthrow the American government as part of an international revolution (Figure). When investigators uncovered a collection of thirty-six letter bombs at a New York City post office, with recipients that included several federal, state, and local public officials, as well as industrial leaders such as John D. Rockefeller, fears grew significantly. And when eight additional bombs actually exploded simultaneously on June 2, 1919, including one that destroyed the entrance to U.S. attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer's house in Washington, the country was convinced that all radicals, no matter what ilk, were to blame. Socialists, Communists, members of the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies), and anarchists: They were all threats to be taken down.

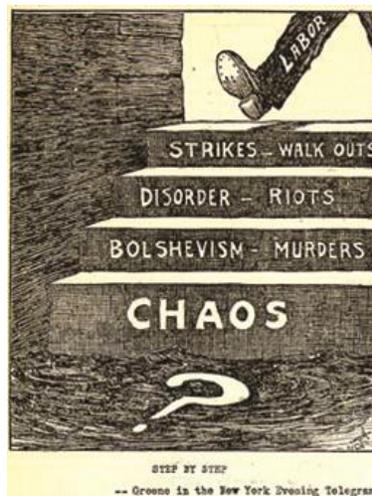


Figure 3. Some Americans feared that labor strikes were the first step on a path that led ultimately to Bolshevik revolutions and chaos. This political cartoon depicts that fear.

Private citizens who considered themselves upstanding and loyal Americans, joined by discharged soldiers and sailors, raided radical meeting houses in many major cities, attacking any alleged radicals they found inside. By November 1919, Palmer's new assistant in charge of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, organized nationwide raids on radical

headquarters in twelve cities around the country. Subsequent “Palmer raids” resulted in the arrests of four thousand alleged American radicals who were detained for weeks in overcrowded cells. Almost 250 of those arrested were subsequently deported on board a ship dubbed “the Soviet Ark” (Figure).



Figure 4. This cartoon advocates for a restrictive immigration policy, recommending the United States “close the gate” on undesirable (and presumably dangerous) immigrants.

A Return to Normalcy¹⁰¹

By 1920, Americans had failed their great expectations to make the world safer and more democratic. The flu epidemic had demonstrated the limits of science and technology in making Americans less vulnerable. The Red Scare signified Americans' fear of revolutionary politics and the persistence of violent capital-labor conflicts. And race riots made it clear that the nation was no closer to peaceful race relations either. After a long era of Progressive initiatives and new government agencies, followed by a costly war that did not end in a better world, most of the public sought to focus on economic progress and success in their private lives instead. As the presidential election of 1920 unfolded, the extent of just how tired Americans were of an interventionist government—whether in terms of Progressive reform or international involvement—became exceedingly clear. Republicans, anxious to return to the White House after eight years of Wilson idealism, capitalized on this growing American sentiment to find the candidate who would promise a return to normalcy.

The Republicans found their man in Senator Warren G. Harding from Ohio. Although not the most energetic candidate for the White House, Harding offered what party handlers desired—a candidate around whom they could mold their policies of low taxes, immigration restriction, and noninterference in world affairs. He also provided Americans with what they desired: a candidate who could look and act presidential, and yet leave them alone to live their lives as they wished.

Democratic leaders realized they had little chance at victory. Wilson remained adamant that the election be a referendum over his League of Nations, yet after his stroke, he was in no physical condition to run for a third term. Political in-fighting among his cabinet, most notably between A. Mitchell Palmer and William McAdoo, threatened to split the party convention until a compromise candidate could be found in Ohio governor James Cox. Cox chose, for his vice presidential running mate, the young Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

At a time when Americans wanted prosperity and normalcy, rather than continued interference in their lives, Harding won in an overwhelming landslide, with 404 votes to 127 in the Electoral College, and 60 percent of the popular vote. With the war, the flu epidemic, the Red Scare, and other issues behind them, American looked forward to Harding's inauguration in 1921, and to an era of personal freedoms and hedonism that would come to be known as the Jazz Age.

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Warren Harding and the Return to Normalcy¹⁰²

In the election of 1920, professional Republicans were eager to nominate a man whom they could manage and control. Warren G. Harding, a senator from Ohio, represented just such a man (Figure). Before his nomination, Harding stated, “America’s present need is not heroics but healing; not nostrums but normalcy; not revolution but restoration.” Harding was genial and affable, but not everyone appreciated his speeches; Democratic presidential-hopeful William Gibbs McAdoo described Harding’s speeches as “an army of pompous phrases moving across the landscape in search of an idea.” H. L. Mencken, the great social critic of the 1920s, wrote of Harding’s speaking, “It drags itself out of the dark abysm of pish, and crawls insanely up to the top-most pinnacle of posh. It is rumble and bumble. It is flap and doodle. It is balder and dash.”

Harding was known for enjoying golf, alcohol, and poker (not necessarily in that order). Although his critics depicted him as weak, lazy, or incompetent, he was actually quite shrewd and politically astute. Together with his running mate, Calvin Coolidge, the governor of Massachusetts, they attracted the votes of many Americans who sought Harding’s promised return to normalcy. In the election, Harding defeated Governor James Cox of Ohio by the greatest majority in the history of two-party politics: 61 percent of the popular vote.

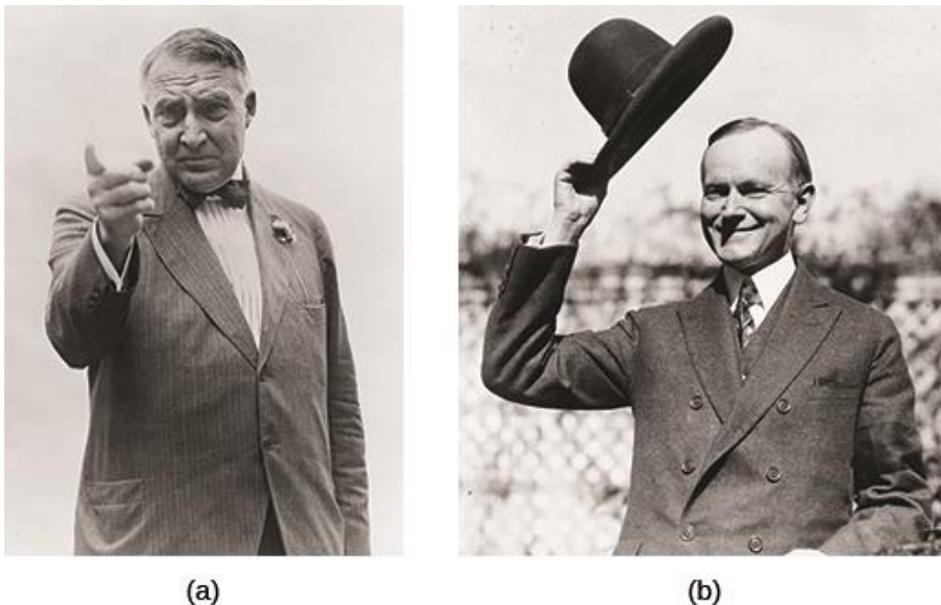


Figure 1. Warren Harding (a) poses on the campaign trail in 1920. His running mate, Calvin Coolidge (b), would go on to become president in 1923, when Harding died suddenly while touring the United States.

Harding’s cabinet reflected his pro-business agenda. Herbert Hoover, a millionaire mechanical engineer and miner, became his Secretary of Commerce. Hoover had served as head of the relief effort for Belgium during World War I and helped to feed those in Russia and Germany after the war ended. He was a very effective administrator, seeking to limit inefficiency in the government and promoting partnerships between government and businesses. Harding’s Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew Mellon, was also a pro-business multimillionaire with a fortune built in banking and aluminum. Even more so than Hoover, Mellon entered public service with a strong sense that government should run as efficiently as any business, famously writing that “the Government is just a business, and can and should be run on business principles.”

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Consistent with his principles of running government with business-like efficiency, Harding proposed and signed into law tax rate cuts as well as the country's first formal budgeting process, which created a presidential budget director and required that the president submit an annual budget to Congress. These policies helped to reduce the debt that the United States had incurred during World War I. However, as Europe began to recover, U.S. exports to the continent dwindled. In an effort to protect U.S. agriculture and other businesses threatened by lower-priced imports, Harding pushed through the Emergency Tariff of 1921. This defensive tariff had the effect of increasing American purchasing power, although it also inflated the prices of many goods.

In the area of foreign policy, Harding worked to preserve the peace through international cooperation and the reduction of armaments around the world. Despite the refusal of the U.S. Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, Harding was able to work with Germany and Austria to secure a formal peace. He convened a conference in Washington that brought world leaders together to agree on reducing the threat of future wars by reducing armaments. Out of these negotiations came a number of treaties designed to foster cooperation in the Far East, reduce the size of navies around the world, and establish guidelines for submarine usage. These agreements ultimately fell apart in the 1930s, as the world descended into war again. But, at the time, they were seen as a promising path to maintaining the peace.

Despite these developments, the Harding administration has gone down in history as one that was especially ridden with scandal. While Harding was personally honest, he surrounded himself with politicians who weren't. Harding made the mistake of often turning to unscrupulous advisors or even his "Ohio Gang" of drinking and poker buddies for advice and guidance. And, as he himself recognized, this group tended to cause him grief. "I have no trouble with my enemies," he once commented. "I can take care of my enemies in a fight. But my friends, my goddamned friends, they're the ones who keep me walking the floor at nights!"

The scandals mounted quickly. From 1920 to 1923, Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall was involved in a scam that became known as the Teapot Dome scandal. Fall had leased navy reserves in Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and two other sites in California to private oil companies without opening the bidding to other companies. In exchange, the companies gave him \$300,000 in cash and bonds, as well as a herd of cattle for his ranch. Fall was convicted of accepting bribes from the oil companies; he was fined \$100,000 and sentenced to a year in prison. It was the first time that a cabinet official had received such a sentence.

In 1923, Harding also learned that the head of the Veterans' Bureau, Colonel Charles Forbes, had absconded with most of the \$250 million set aside for extravagant bureau functions. Harding allowed Forbes to resign and leave the country; however, after the president died, Forbes returned and was tried, convicted, and sentenced to two years in Leavenworth prison.

Although the Harding presidency had a number of large successes and variety of dark scandals, it ended before the first term was up. In July 1923, while traveling in Seattle, the president suffered a heart attack. On August 2, in his weakened condition, he suffered a stroke and died in San Francisco, leaving the presidency to his vice president, Calvin Coolidge. As for Harding, few presidents were so deeply mourned by the populace. His kindly nature and ability to poke fun at himself endeared him to the public.

US History Instructional Task: American Society in the 1920s

Unit Three: Growth and Decline Between the Wars, Topic One: American Prosperity and Social Change

Description: Students investigate various social changes in the 1920s (The Great Migration, Harlem Renaissance, Prohibition, women’s changing roles, new technologies, and scientific theories) to explore how each was a reflection of changes in early 20th century American society, and how society reacted to each.

Suggested Timeline: 5 class periods

Materials: [To Live in the 1920s](#); 1920s Social Changes: Reflections and Reactions Graphic Organizer: ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); [The African American "Great Migration"](#) ; [The Harlem Renaissance and the New Negro](#); [Prohibition](#); [Prohibition by Stanford History Education Group](#); [The "New Woman"](#); [The Nineteenth Amendment](#); [1920s Consumption](#); [Faith, Fundamentalism, and Science](#)

Instructional Process:

1. To introduce the task, and to build a sense of what the 1920s looked like and sounded like, show a few minutes of the video [To Live in the 1920s](#) (make sure to stop the video before the 5 minute mark since the stock market crash will not be addressed in this task). While students are watching the clips of 1920s life and listening to the music, ask them to do a quick write about what they think life might be like in the 1920s. Ask a few students to share their thoughts with the class.
2. Say: “the 1920s were a decade of contrast - While it could be characterized as a time of disorder and fear in America with the first Red Scare and the revitalization of the KKK, the exuberant popular culture of jazz music, and new styles of dress and dance made for the “roaring 20s” as well. In this task, we will analyze society in the 1920s. We will investigate key social events, movements, and innovations in technology, and determine how these were a reflection of society at the time, and also how society reacted to the changes they brought about. We will compare what we learn about 1920s society in this task, to what we learned about 1920’s politics in the previous task, in order to answer the compelling question “was the 1920s a decade of innovation or conservatism?”
3. Provide students with the [1920s Social Changes: Reflections and Reactions](#) graphic organizer. Tell students that they will use this document as a place to collect information on each social event/movement that will be explored in this task.
4. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [The African American "Great Migration"](#) and instruct them to read independently. After students have finished reading, direct them to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What were the “push” and “pull” factors for African Americans migrating from the South to the Midwest and the North?
 - b. What events in society was the Great Migration a reflection of?
 - c. The author states that life in the north was “exceedingly difficult” for newly arrived African Americans. What are the reasons for this? How did northern society react to an influx of African Americans and immigrants?
5. When small groups have finished discussing, provide students a few minutes to answer the two key questions about the Great Migration in their [1920s Social Changes: Reflections and Reactions](#) graphic organizer.

6. Provide students with [The Harlem Renaissance and the New Negro](#) and instruct them to read independently. After students have finished reading, direct them to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Why did the Manhattan neighborhood of Harlem become a center for Afro-centric art, music, poetry, and politics?
 - b. What was the Harlem Renaissance?
 - c. How was the “negro nationalism” reflected in the art and politics of the Harlem Renaissance a reflection of previous societal events?
7. When small groups have finished discussing, provide students a few minutes to answer the two key questions about the Harlem Renaissance in their [1920s Social Changes: Reflections and Reactions](#) graphic organizer.
8. To build historical context on prohibition prior to primary source analysis on prohibition, direct students to read [Prohibition](#) independently. After students have finished reading, briefly discuss what prohibition was, and society’s reaction to passing the 18th Amendment (speakeasies, bootlegging, organized crime, political divides).
9. Conduct steps 1, 3, and 4 from the [Prohibition](#)¹⁰³ lesson by Stanford History Education Group with the following adjustments:
 - a. Step 2: if time allows, and the teacher has access to a United Streaming login, the video in step 2 can be shown in place of reading the [Prohibition](#) article in step 8 of this task.
10. When the primary source analysis from the above lesson is completed, provide students a few minutes to answer the two key questions about prohibition in their [1920s Social Changes: Reflections and Reactions](#) graphic organizer.
11. Provide students with [The "New Woman"](#) and [The Nineteenth Amendment](#)¹⁰⁴ and instruct them to read both independently. After students have finished reading, direct them to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What ultimately led to the ratification of the 19th Amendment?
 - b. Which strategies of the women’s rights movement were most effective? Why?
 - c. What other key pieces of early 20th century legislation, both passed and proposed, impacted the lives of women? How did each piece of legislation impact the lives of women?
 - d. How did the roles of women change in the 1920s?
 - e. Why did the women’s rights movement decline over the course of the 1920s?
12. When small groups have finished discussing, provide students a few minutes to answer the two key questions about the changing roles of women in their [1920s Social Changes: Reflections and Reactions](#) graphic organizer.
13. Say: “In addition to population shifts, artistic movements, and the other societal changes we’ve been exploring, the 1920s also marked a period of economic prosperity, technological advancements, and new scientific theories. In this part of the task, we will explore these events to answer the supporting question, “what impact did technological innovations and scientific theories have on society in the 1920s?”
14. Provide students with [1920s Consumption](#)¹⁰⁵ and instruct them to read independently. After students have finished reading, direct them to answer the following questions in small groups:

¹⁰³ Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page.

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- a. How did the assembly line make car ownership more attainable for the average American?
 - b. How did an increased car owning population impact American both economically and socially?
 - c. How did the commonality of airplanes impact American society?
 - d. How did household appliances (vacuums, refrigerators, etc.) impact women’s lives?
 - e. What were the benefits and drawbacks of buying on credit?
15. Provide students with [Faith, Fundamentalism, and Science](#) and instruct them to read independently. After students have finished reading, direct them to answer the following questions in small groups:
- a. What was the Scopes Monkey Trial?
 - b. How did Darwin’s theory of evolution impact the rural-urban divide in America?
 - c. To what extent do we see this divide in America today?
16. Instruct students to write a paragraph answering the supporting question for the task: “what impact did technological innovations and scientific theories have on society in the 1920s?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
17. Allow students time to look back on their graphic organizers, articles, guiding questions, and any notes they may have taken on both tasks in topic one of this unit ([American Politics in the 1920s](#), and [American Society in the 1920s](#)) in order to prepare for discussion on the compelling question “was the 1920s a decade of innovation or conservatism?”
18. Conduct a discussion around the compelling question “was the 1920s a decade of innovation or conservatism?” Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) and assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#).

1920's Social Changes: Reflections and Reactions

	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>REFLECTION</u></p> <p>What about this movement/event was a reflection of changes in early 20th century American society?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>REACTION</u></p> <p>How did this society react to this movement/event? What was its impact?</p>
<p>The Great Migration</p>		
<p>Harlem Renaissance and the Jazz Age</p>		

Prohibition		
Women's Changing Roles		

1920's Social Changes: Reflections and Reactions (Completed)

	<u>REFLECTION</u> What about this movement/event was a reflection of changes in early 20th century American society?	<u>REACTION</u> How did this society react to this movement/event? What was its impact?
The Great Migration	<p>The rise of the KKK in the South - as the KKK swelled in ranks, and Jim Crow segregation became the norm, African Americans were subject to death threats, violence, and lynchings. The Great Migration is in part a reaction to the rise of the KKK.</p> <p>The rise of industrialization in the North - Like European immigrants, African Americans moved to the North for better paying jobs in factories made available by rapid industrialization. The Great Migration is in part a reaction to industrialization.</p>	<p>Racial discrimination - African Americans faced racial discrimination north of the Mason Dixon line as well. European immigrants resented the arrival of African Americans, whom they feared would compete for the same jobs or offer to work at lower wages.</p> <p>Redlining - some bankers practiced mortgage discrimination in order to deny home loans to qualified African American buyers in certain neighborhoods. Homeowners in traditionally white neighborhoods also entered into covenants refusing to sell to black families, and landlords discriminated as well, leading to severe housing shortages and overcrowded tenements.</p>
Harlem Renaissance and the Jazz Age	<p>The Great Migration - African Americans who moved north gained access to better schooling, more protected voting, and lived in highly segregated neighborhoods. This led in part to a rediscovery of black culture, that encouraged racial pride, and rejected any emulation of white American culture</p>	<p>Black consciousness and "Negro nationalism" - Some leaders in the Harlem Renaissance advocated for a return to Africa, such as Marcus Garvey and the Black Star Steamship Line and the United Negro Improvement Association. Garvey's ideas laid the groundwork for future civil rights activists in the 1960s, such as Malcolm X and the Black Power movement. Others fought for inclusion and integration, such as W.E.B. Du Bois who believed that African Americans had a distinct and separate national heritage that should inspire pride and a sense of community.</p>
Prohibition	<p>Rapid urbanization and immigration - while historians don't agree on the motivation behind the temperance movement, some believe that prohibition was a reaction to immigration and urbanization by middle-class protestants attempting to control the actions of immigrants and the urban poor.</p>	<p>Bootlegging - once alcohol was outlawed, there was a rise in the occurrence of interstate smuggling, or "bootlegging" An erosion of the rule of law - even though alcohol was illegal, many Americans continued to consume alcohol that was imported from other countries by</p>

	<p>Others believe it was an attempt to help children and families.</p>	<p>bootleggers, drink in speakeasies, or participate in organized crime trafficking liquor, thus eroding the rule of law.</p> <p>Organized crime - mafia's became involved in trafficking illegal alcohol, specifically Al Capone and his Chicago mafia.</p>
<p>Women's Changing Roles</p>	<p>WWI - Carrie Chapman Catt led the effort to link the women's suffrage movement with the WWI war effort, and paint suffrage as patriotic. Despite various other suffrage tactics, this tactic was a success, getting president Wilson to support the suffrage movement in his 1918 state of the union address.</p> <p>The passing of the 19th Amendment - once women gained the right to vote, and therefore more political power, there was a movement to match gains in the social sphere as well, which was marked by women's changing dress and style (flappers), and women's forays into college and new professions.</p>	<p>The return to normalcy - after upheaval and change in American life in the early 20th century caused by the progressive movement, WWI, the first Red Scare and a resurgence of nativism and racism, Americans wanted to "return to normalcy" which also meant progressive ideals, like women's rights, decreased in popularity and stalled. The passing of the 19th Amendment also signaled a decline in the numbers of women working towards equality since many saw the 19th Amendment as evidence that the women's rights movement accomplished its goals.</p>

The African American “Great Migration”¹⁰⁶

Between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the Great Depression, nearly two million African Americans fled the rural South to seek new opportunities elsewhere. While some moved west, the vast majority of this Great Migration, as the large exodus of African Americans leaving the South in the early twentieth century was called, traveled to the Northeast and Upper Midwest. The following cities were the primary destinations for these African Americans: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Indianapolis. These eight cities accounted for over two-thirds of the total population of the African American migration.

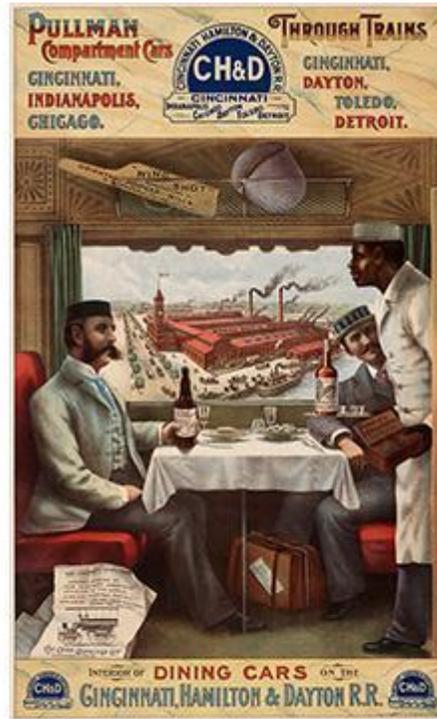
A combination of both “push” and “pull” factors played a role in this movement. Despite the end of the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution (ensuring freedom, the right to vote regardless of race, and equal protection under the law, respectively), African Americans were still subjected to intense racial hatred. The rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War led to increased death threats, violence, and a wave of lynchings. Even after the formal dismantling of the Klan in the late 1870s, racially motivated violence continued. According to researchers at the Tuskegee Institute, there were thirty-five hundred racially motivated lynchings and other murders committed in the South between 1865 and 1900. For African Americans fleeing this culture of violence, northern and midwestern cities offered an opportunity to escape the dangers of the South.

In addition to this “push” out of the South, African Americans were also “pulled” to the cities by factors that attracted them, including job opportunities, where they could earn a wage rather than be tied to a landlord, and the chance to vote (for men, at least), supposedly free from the threat of violence. Although many lacked the funds to move themselves north, factory owners and other businesses that sought cheap labor assisted the migration. Often, the men moved first then sent for their families once they were ensconced in their new city life. Racism and a lack of formal education relegated these African American workers to many of the lower-paying unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. More than 80 percent of African American men worked menial jobs in steel mills, mines, construction, and meat packing. In the railroad industry, they were often employed as porters or servants (Figure). In other businesses, they worked as janitors, waiters, or cooks. African American women, who faced discrimination due to both their race and gender, found a few job opportunities in the garment industry or laundries, but were more often employed as maids and domestic servants. Regardless of the status of their jobs, however, African Americans earned higher wages in the North than they did for the same occupations in the South, and typically found housing to be more available.

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(a)



(b)

Figure 1. African American men who moved north as part of the Great Migration were often consigned to menial employment, such as working in construction or as porters on the railways (a), such as in the celebrated Pullman dining and sleeping cars (b).

However, such economic gains were offset by the higher cost of living in the North, especially in terms of rent, food costs, and other essentials. As a result, African Americans often found themselves living in overcrowded, unsanitary conditions, much like the tenement slums in which European immigrants lived in the cities. For newly arrived African Americans, even those who sought out the cities for the opportunities they provided, life in these urban centers was exceedingly difficult. They quickly learned that racial discrimination did not end at the Mason-Dixon Line, but continued to flourish in the North as well as the South. European immigrants, also seeking a better life in the cities of the United States, resented the arrival of the African Americans, whom they feared would compete for the same jobs or offer to work at lower wages. Landlords frequently discriminated against them; their rapid influx into the cities created severe housing shortages and even more overcrowded tenements. Homeowners in traditionally white neighborhoods later entered into covenants in which they agreed not to sell to African American buyers; they also often fled neighborhoods into which African Americans had gained successful entry. In addition, some bankers practiced mortgage discrimination, later known as “redlining,” in order to deny home loans to qualified buyers. Such pervasive discrimination led to a concentration of African Americans in some of the worst slum areas of most major metropolitan cities, a problem that remained ongoing throughout most of the twentieth century.

So why move to the North, given that the economic challenges they faced were similar to those that African Americans encountered in the South? The answer lies in noneconomic gains. Greater educational opportunities and more expansive personal freedoms mattered greatly to the African Americans who made the trek northward during the Great Migration. State legislatures and local school districts allocated more funds for the education of both blacks and whites in the North, and also enforced compulsory school attendance laws more rigorously. Similarly, unlike the South where a simple gesture (or lack of a deferential one) could result in physical harm to the African American who committed it, life in larger, crowded northern urban centers permitted a degree of anonymity—and with it, personal freedom—that

enabled African Americans to move, work, and speak without deferring to every white person with whom they crossed paths. Psychologically, these gains more than offset the continued economic challenges that black migrants faced.

The Harlem Renaissance and The New Negro¹⁰⁷

It wasn't only women who found new forms of expression in the 1920s. African Americans were also expanding their horizons and embracing the concept of the "new Negro." The decade witnessed the continued Great Migration of African Americans to the North, with over half a million fleeing the strict Jim Crow laws of the South. Life in the northern states, as many African Americans discovered, was hardly free of discrimination and segregation. Even without Jim Crow, businesses, property owners, employers, and private citizens typically practiced *de facto* segregation, which could be quite stifling and oppressive. Nonetheless, many southern blacks continued to move north into segregated neighborhoods that were already bursting at the seams, because the North, at the very least, offered two tickets toward black progress: schools and the vote. The black population of New York City doubled during the decade. As a result, Harlem, a neighborhood at the northern end of Manhattan, became a center for Afro-centric art, music, poetry, and politics. Political expression in the Harlem of the 1920s ran the gamut, as some leaders advocated a return to Africa, while others fought for inclusion and integration.

Revived by the wartime migration and fired up by the white violence of the postwar riots, urban blacks developed a strong cultural expression in the 1920s that came to be known as the Harlem Renaissance. In this rediscovery of black culture, African American artists and writers formulated an independent black culture and encouraged racial pride, rejecting any emulation of white American culture. Claude McKay's poem "If We Must Die" called on African Americans to start fighting back in the wake of the Red Summer riots of 1919 (discussed in a previous chapter, [Figure](#)). Langston Hughes, often nicknamed the "poet laureate" of the movement, invoked sacrifice and the just cause of civil rights in "The Colored Soldier," while another author of the movement, Zora Neale Hurston, celebrated the life and dialect of rural blacks in a fictional, all-black town in Florida. Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* was only published posthumously in 1937.



Figure 3. The Jamaican-born poet and novelist Claude McKay articulated the new sense of self and urban community of African Americans during the Harlem Renaissance. Although centered in the Harlem neighborhood of Manhattan, this cultural movement emerged in urban centers throughout the Northeast and Midwest.

The new Negro found political expression in a political ideology that celebrated African Americans distinct national identity. This Negro nationalism, as some referred to it, proposed that African Americans had a distinct and separate national heritage that should inspire pride and a sense of community. An early proponent of such nationalism was W. E. B. Du Bois. One of the founders of the NAACP, a brilliant writer and scholar, and the first African American to earn a

¹⁰⁷ This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:221u9nVh@3/A-New-Generation>.

Ph.D. from Harvard, Du Bois openly rejected assumptions of white supremacy. His conception of Negro nationalism encouraged Africans to work together in support of their own interests, promoted the elevation of black literature and cultural expression, and, most famously, embraced the African continent as the true homeland of all ethnic Africans—a concept known as Pan-Africanism.

Taking Negro nationalism to a new level was Marcus Garvey. Like many black Americans, the Jamaican immigrant had become utterly disillusioned with the prospect of overcoming white racism in the United States in the wake of the postwar riots and promoted a “Back to Africa” movement. To return African Americans to a presumably more welcoming home in Africa, Garvey founded the Black Star Steamship Line. He also started the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which attracted thousands of primarily lower-income working people. UNIA members wore colorful uniforms and promoted the doctrine of a “negritude” that reversed the color hierarchy of white supremacy, prizing blackness and identifying light skin as a mark of inferiority. Intellectual leaders like Du Bois, whose lighter skin put him low on Garvey’s social order, considered the UNIA leader a charlatan. Garvey was eventually imprisoned for mail fraud and then deported, but his legacy set the stage for Malcolm X and the Black Power movement of the 1960s.

Prohibition¹⁰⁸

At precisely the same time that African Americans and women were experimenting with new forms of social expression, the country as a whole was undergoing a process of austere and dramatic social reform in the form of alcohol prohibition. After decades of organizing to reduce or end the consumption of alcohol in the United States, temperance groups and the Anti-Saloon League finally succeeded in pushing through the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, which banned the manufacture, sale, and transportation of intoxicating liquors (Figure). The law proved difficult to enforce, as illegal alcohol soon poured in from Canada and the Caribbean, and rural Americans resorted to home-brewed “moonshine.” The result was an eroding of respect for law and order, as many people continued to drink illegal liquor. Rather than bringing about an age of sobriety, as Progressive reformers had hoped, it gave rise to a new subculture that included illegal importers, interstate smuggling (or bootlegging), clandestine saloons referred to as “speakeasies,” hipflasks, cocktail parties, and the organized crime of trafficking liquor.

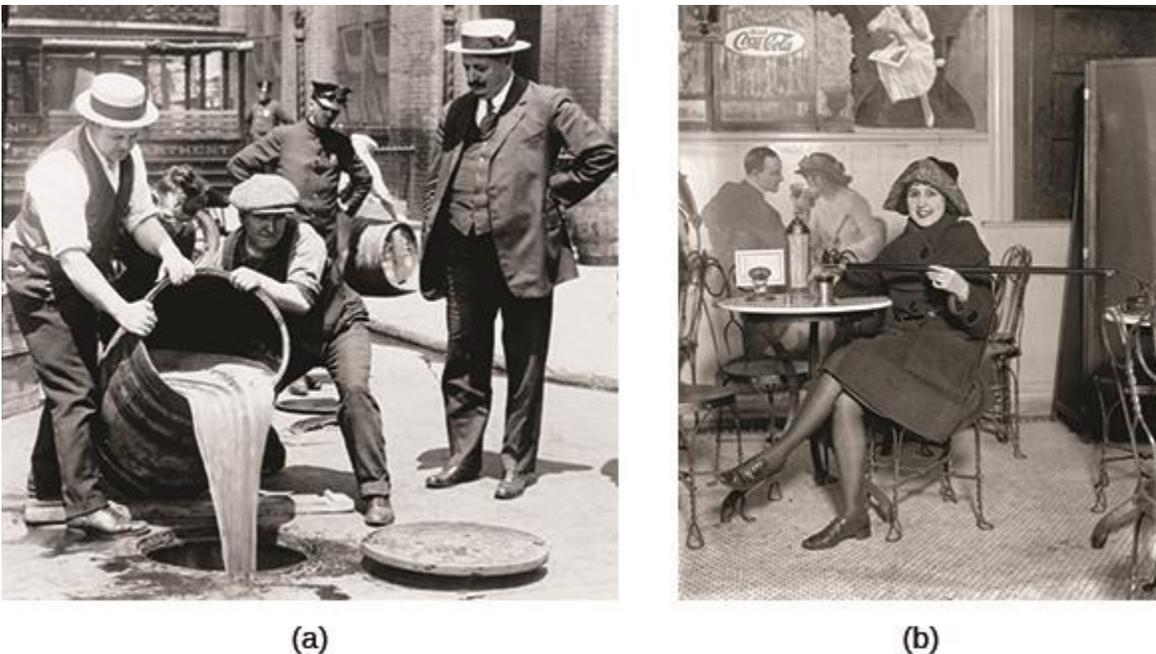


Figure 4. While forces of law and order confiscated and discarded alcohol when they found it (a), consumers found ingenious ways of hiding liquor during prohibition, such as this cane that served as a flask (b).

Prohibition also revealed deep political divisions in the nation. The Democratic Party found itself deeply divided between urban, northern “wets” who hated the idea of abstinence, and rural, southern “dries” who favored the amendment. This divided the party and opened the door for the Republican Party to gain ascendancy in the 1920s. All politicians, including Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, Robert La Follette, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, equivocated in their support for the law. Publicly, they catered to the Anti-Saloon League; however, they failed to provide funding for enforcement.

Prohibition sparked a rise in organized crime. “Scarface” Al Capone (Figure) ran an extensive bootlegging and criminal operation known as the Chicago Outfit or Chicago mafia. By 1927, Capone’s organization included a number of illegal activities including bootlegging, prostitution, gambling, loan sharking, and even murder. His operation was earning him more than \$100 million annually, and many local police were on his payroll. Although he did not have a monopoly on crime, his organizational structure was better than many other criminals of his era. His liquor trafficking business and his

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Chicago soup kitchens during the Great Depression led some Americans to liken Capone to a modern-day Robin Hood. Still, Capone was eventually imprisoned for eleven years for tax evasion, including a stint in California's notorious Alcatraz prison.



Figure 5. Al Capone, pictured here in his U.S. Department of Justice mug shot, was convicted of tax fraud and sent to prison in 1931.

The “New Woman”¹⁰⁹

The Jazz Age and the proliferation of the flapper lifestyle of the 1920s should not be seen merely as the product of postwar disillusionment and newfound prosperity. Rather, the search for new styles of dress and new forms of entertainment like jazz was part of a larger women’s rights movement. The early 1920s, especially with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteeing full voting rights to women, was a period that witnessed the expansion of women’s political power. The public flaunting of social and sexual norms by flappers represented an attempt to match gains in political equality with gains in the social sphere. Women were increasingly leaving the Victorian era norms of the previous generation behind, as they broadened the concept of women’s liberation to include new forms of social expression such as dance, fashion, women’s clubs, and forays into college and the professions.

Nor did the struggle for women’s rights through the promotion and passage of legislation cease in the 1920s. In 1921, Congress passed the Promotion of the Welfare and Hygiene of Maternity and Infancy Act, also known as the Sheppard-Towner Act, which earmarked \$1.25 million for well-baby clinics and educational programs, as well as nursing. This funding dramatically reduced the rate of infant mortality. Two years later, in 1923, Alice Paul drafted and promoted an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) that promised to end all sex discrimination by guaranteeing that “Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.”

Yet, ironically, at precisely the time when the Progressive movement was achieving its long-sought-after goals, the movement itself was losing steam and the Progressive Era was coming to a close. As the heat of Progressive politics grew less intense, voter participation from both sexes declined over the course of the 1920s. After the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, many women believed that they had accomplished their goals and dropped out of the movement. As a result, the proposed ERA stalled (the ERA eventually passed Congress almost fifty years later in 1972, but then failed to win ratification by a sufficient number of states), and, by the end of the 1920s, Congress even allowed funding for the Sheppard-Towner Act to lapse.

The growing lethargy toward women’s rights was happening at a time when an increasing number of women were working for wages in the U.S. economy—not only in domestic service, but in retail, healthcare and education, offices, and manufacturing. Beginning in the 1920s, women’s participation in the labor force increased steadily. However, most were paid less than men for the same type of work based on the rationale that they did not have to support a family. While the employment of single and unmarried women had largely won social acceptance, married women often suffered the stigma that they were working for pin money—frivolous additional discretionary income.

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Faith, Fundamentalism, and Science¹¹⁰

The sense of degeneration that the Klan and anxiety over mass immigration prompted in the minds of many Americans was in part a response to the process of postwar urbanization. Cities were swiftly becoming centers of opportunity, but the growth of cities, especially the growth of immigrant populations in those cities, sharpened rural discontent over the perception of rapid cultural change. As more of the population flocked to cities for jobs and quality of life, many left behind in rural areas felt that their way of life was being threatened. To rural Americans, the ways of the city seemed sinful and profligate. Urbanites, for their part, viewed rural Americans as hayseeds who were hopelessly behind the times.

In this urban/rural conflict, Tennessee lawmakers drew a battle line over the issue of evolution and its contradiction of the accepted, biblical explanation of history. Charles Darwin had first published his theory of natural selection in 1859, and by the 1920s, many standard textbooks contained information about Darwin's theory of evolution. Fundamentalist Protestants targeted evolution as representative of all that was wrong with urban society. Tennessee's Butler Act made it illegal "to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals."

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) hoped to challenge the Butler Act as an infringement of the freedom of speech. As a defendant, the ACLU enlisted teacher and coach John Scopes, who suggested that he may have taught evolution while substituting for an ill biology teacher. Town leaders in Dayton, Tennessee, for their part, sensed an opportunity to promote their town, which had lost more than one-third of its population, and welcomed the ACLU to stage a test case against the Butler Act. The ACLU and the town got their wish as the Scopes Monkey Trial, as the newspapers publicized it, quickly turned into a carnival that captured the attention of the country and epitomized the nation's urban/rural divide (Figure).



Figure 4. During the Scopes Monkey Trial, supporters of the Butler Act read literature at the headquarters of the Anti-Evolution League in Dayton, Tennessee.

Fundamentalist champion William Jennings Bryan argued the case for the prosecution. Bryan was a three-time presidential candidate and Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of State until 1915, at which point he began preaching across the country about the spread of secularism and the declining role of religion in education. He was known for offering

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\$100 to anyone who would admit to being descended from an ape. Clarence Darrow, a prominent lawyer and outspoken agnostic, led the defense team. His statement that, "Scopes isn't on trial, civilization is on trial. No man's belief will be safe if they win," struck a chord in society.

The outcome of the trial, in which Scopes was found guilty and fined \$100, was never really in question, as Scopes himself had confessed to violating the law. Nevertheless, the trial itself proved to be high drama. The drama only escalated when Darrow made the unusual choice of calling Bryan as an expert witness on the Bible. Knowing of Bryan's convictions of a literal interpretation of the Bible, Darrow peppered him with a series of questions designed to ridicule such a belief. The result was that those who approved of the teaching of evolution saw Bryan as foolish, whereas many rural Americans considered the cross-examination an attack on the Bible and their faith.

H. L. MENCKEN ON THE SCOPES TRIAL

H. L. Mencken covered the trial for Baltimore's *The Evening Sun*. One of most popular writers of social satire of his age, Mencken was very critical of the South, the trial, and especially Bryan. He coined the terms "monkey trial" and "Bible belt." In the excerpt below, Mencken reflects on the trial's outcome and its overall importance for the United States.

"The Scopes trial, from the start, has been carried on in a manner exactly fitted to the anti- evolution law and the simian imbecility under it. There hasn't been the slightest pretense to decorum. The rustic judge, a candidate for re-election, has postured the yokels like a clown in a ten-cent side show, and almost every word he has uttered has been an undisguised appeal to their prejudices and superstitions. The chief prosecuting attorney, beginning like a competent lawyer and a man of self-respect, ended like a convert at a Billy Sunday revival. It fell to him, finally, to make a clear and astounding statement of theory of justice prevailing under fundamentalism. What he said, in brief, was that a man accused of infidelity had no rights whatever under Tennessee law. . . ."

Darrow has lost this case. It was lost long before he came to Dayton. But it seems to me that he has nevertheless performed a great public service by fighting it to a finish and in a perfectly serious way. Let no one mistake it for comedy, farcical though it may be in all its details. It serves notice on the country that Neanderthal man is organizing in these forlorn backwaters of the land, led by a fanatic, rid of sense and devoid of conscience. Tennessee, challenging him too timorously and too late, now sees its courts converted into camp meetings and its Bill of Rights made a mock of by its sworn officers of the law. There are other States that had better look to their arsenals before the Hun is at their gates.

—H. L. Mencken, *The Evening Sun*, July 18, 1925

How does Mencken characterize Judge Raulston? About what threat is Mencken warning America?

Indicative of the revival of Protestant fundamentalism and the rejection of evolution among rural and white Americans was the rise of Billy Sunday. As a young man, Sunday had gained fame as a baseball player with exceptional skill and speed. Later, he found even more celebrity as the nation's most revered evangelist, drawing huge crowds at camp meetings around the country. He was one of the most influential evangelists of the time and had access to some of the wealthiest and most powerful families in the country (Figure). Sunday rallied many Americans around "old-time" fundamentalist religion and garnered support for prohibition. Recognizing Sunday's popular appeal, Bryan attempted to bring him to Dayton for the Scopes trial, although Sunday politely refused.



(a)



(b)

Figure 5. Billy Sunday, one of the most influential evangelists of his day, leaves the White House on February 20, 1922 (a). Aimee Semple McPherson, shown here preaching at the Angelus Temple in 1923 (b), founded the Foursquare Church.
(credit a: modification of work by Library of Congress)

Even more spectacular than the rise of Billy Sunday was the popularity of Aimee Semple McPherson, a Canadian Pentecostal preacher whose Foursquare Church in Los Angeles catered to the large community of midwestern transplants and newcomers to California ([Figure](#)). Although her message promoted the fundamental truths of the Bible, her style was anything but old fashioned. Dressed in tight-fitting clothes and wearing makeup, she held radio-broadcast services in large venues that resembled concert halls and staged spectacular faith-healing performances. Blending Hollywood style and modern technology with a message of fundamentalist Christianity, McPherson exemplified the contradictions of the decade well before public revelations about her scandalous love affair cost her much of her status and following.

Unit Three Instruction

Topic Two: Global Depression (US.4.4)

Connections to the unit claim: Students investigate the causes of the Great Depression and its impact on American life. Students will learn how war can positively impact a nation’s economy, and how recovery after a war can negatively impact a nation’s economy, and how an economic depression can impact a nation’s identity. Students will use that knowledge to make a claim on the question “What is the legacy of war and recovery on a nation’s identity?”

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [The Great Depression](#)
- **NOTE:** It is recommended that the teacher reads [The Great Depression](#)¹¹¹ by David M. Kennedy for Gilder Lehrman before executing the task in order to build background knowledge.

To explore these key questions:

- Was the Great Depression inevitable?
- What were the factors that caused the Great Depression? How did they cause the Great Depression?
- What were the effects of the Great Depression on the lives of American people?
- How did Hoover’s views shape his response to the economic crisis?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students complete the [Causes of the Great Depression Graphic Organizer](#).
- Students write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: “What were the effects of the Great Depression on the lives of American people?”
- Students write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task: “How did Hoover’s views shape his response to the economic crisis?”
- Students write an essay in response to the task’s compelling question: “Was the Great Depression inevitable?” Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

¹¹¹ Access to lessons and resources on Gilder Lehrman requires a free [Affiliate School account](#)
Return to [U.S. History: How to Navigate This Document](#)

US History Instructional Task: The Great Depression

Unit Three: Growth and Decline Between the Wars, Topic Two: Global Depression

Description: Students investigate the causes of the Great Depression, as well as its effect on the American populace and the government’s initial response, by reading primary and secondary sources and participating in simulations and discussions.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Materials: Causes of the Great Depression Graphic Organizer ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); [The Great Crash](#); [Environmental Catastrophe Meets Economic Hardship: The Dust Bowl](#); [Stock Market Crash Simulation](#); [In the Aftermath of the Crash](#); [Whatdunnit? The Great Depression Mystery](#); [The New Reality for Americans](#); [President Hoover's Response](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “Following the economic prosperity and cultural changes of the “roaring 20s” came a much darker turn - the Great Depression. During the late 20s and through the 30s, an economic depression swept the globe. European countries struggled to rebuild their economies after the costly WWI, or in the case of Germany, their economy struggled under the heavy reparations they had to pay to the victors of WWI. In America, the Great Depression had many causes. In this task, we will explore those causes, as well as the impacts of the Great Depression on the lives of Americans, and use the question “Was the Great Depression inevitable?” to guide our inquiry.
2. Introduce students to the [Causes of the Great Depression Graphic Organizer](#), explaining that they will use this graphic organizer to record what the causes of the Great Depression were, and how they impacted economic depression. The graphic organizer can be used to help students write their essays at the end of the task, and can also be collected for a grade.
3. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [The Great Crash](#) and direct them to read independently. Tell students to make notes in their [Causes of the Great Depression Graphic Organizer](#) on the causes of the Great Depression related to the stock market crash. After students have finished reading, direct them to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What factors led to the stock market crash in 1929?
 - b. How did each of those factors lead to the crash?
 - c. Why were people prone to invest in risky schemes in the 20s? Do we see this today in society?
 - d. How were people who didn’t even invest in the stock market impacted by the crash?
 - e. How did the “contagion of panic,” and other psychological effects, impact the crash?
4. After reading and discussing, conduct the [Stock Market Crash Simulation](#)¹¹² activity to provide students more context on how the stock market went from “boom” to “bust,” and how speculation and buying on margin led to the crash and the Great Depression. The simulation should take 20 minutes.

¹¹² Lesson made available by TeachBC, and can be found at

https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKewjJpuS7_Z_XAhUs74MKHd8ECUEQFggoMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fteachbcdb.bctf.ca%2Fdownload%2F111%3Ffilename%3D1929stockmarketcrashsimulation.pdf&usg=AOvVaw3sRzYOSRN3hh-sTOHxMxg6

5. After performing the simulation, give students time to independently complete the sections of their [Causes of the Great Depression Graphic Organizer](#) related to [The Great Crash](#).
6. Provide students with [Environmental Catastrophe Meets Economic Hardship: The Dust Bowl](#) and direct them to read independently. Tell students to make notes in their [Causes of the Great Depression Graphic Organizer](#) on the causes of the Great Depression related to agriculture. After students have finished reading, direct them to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. How did overproduction in the agricultural sector lead to the Great Depression?
 - b. How did the Dust Bowl exacerbate the challenges already faced by farmers?
 - c. Is the argument that farmers had it easier during the Great Depression because they could grow their own food a valid one? Why or why not?
7. After reading and discussing, give students time to independently complete the sections of their [Causes of the Great Depression Graphic Organizer](#) related to [Environmental Catastrophe Meets Economic Hardship: The Dust Bowl](#).
8. Say: “Now that we have a better understanding of what factors caused the Great Depression, let’s investigate the effects it had on the lives of Americans.”
9. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “What were the effects of the Great Depression on the lives of American people?”
10. Provide students with [In the Aftermath of the Crash](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, briefly discuss as a class how underconsumption, or the slowing down of buying consumer goods, leads to unemployment.
11. To better understand the causes of vast unemployment during the Great Depression, conduct steps 2-8 of the [Whatdunnit? The Great Depression Mystery](#)¹¹³ lesson from the National Council on Economic Education. **NOTE:** Steps 2-8 focus solely on the reverse multiplier effect, and how unemployment rose during the Great Depression. While the entire lesson is 45 minutes, it should take only 15-20 minutes to conduct steps 2-8. Conducting the entire activity is optional, and will extend the task by half a class period.
12. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [The New Reality for Americans](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What are some ways the Great Depression affected daily life for...
 - urban Americans?
 - rural Americans?
 - women?
 - minorities?
 - b. How was charity distributed? What role did government play in charity during the Hoover administration?
13. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: “What were the effects of the Great Depression on the lives of American people?”
14. Say: “While most of us may think of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal when we think of the government’s response to the Great Depression, there was a response prior to that. President Herbert Hoover

¹¹³ Courtesy of the National Council on Economic Education. For more economic and personal finance lesson plans, visit <http://store.ncee.net>

was the president at the start of the Great Depression, and while it is widely acknowledged that his inability to successfully address the economic downturn cost him a second term, there were attempts made by president Hoover to stem the tide of the Great Depression. In this part of the task, we will investigate Hoover’s response to the Great Depression, and answer the question “How did Hoover’s views shape his response to the economic crisis?”

15. Provide students with [President Hoover's Response](#), and instruct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. How would you characterize Hoover’s beliefs on the government’s role in the economy and responsibility to provide aid?
 - b. President Hoover was quoted as saying “a voluntary deed is infinitely more precious to our national ideal and spirit than a thousand-fold poured from the Treasury.” In light of the Great Depression, do you agree or disagree with this statement?
 - c. What was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation? Why do you think Hoover formed it?
 - d. What was the public opinion of Hoover? Do you think it was warranted?
16. After students have finished discussing, project the two images from the [President Hoover's Response](#) article, and lead the class in a brief discussion of Hooverilles. Possible questions include:
 - a. What word or words would you use to describe the scene in these photographs? Explain your word choice.
 - b. Why were people living in houses constructed of used lumber, scrap metal, and even cardboard?
 - c. Why were these communities referred to as Hooverilles?
17. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task: “How did Hoover’s views shape his response to the economic crisis?”
18. Provide students time to prepare for writing the culminating essay for the task. Instruct them to review their [Causes of the Great Depression Graphic Organizer](#), all articles used in the task, as well as knowledge gained from discussions.
19. To culminate the task, direct students to write an essay in response to the task’s compelling question: “Was the Great Depression inevitable?” Provide students with a copy of the [LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#) as needed.
20. Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

Causes of the Great Depression Graphic Organizer

Cause	Definition (and example where applicable)	How did it lead to the Great Depression?
<i>The Great Crash</i>		
Speculation		
Buying on Margin		
The Stock Market Crash of 1929 ("Black Tuesday")		
Bank Failure		

Unequal Distribution of Wealth among Americans		
<i>Environmental Catastrophe Meets Economic Hardship</i>		
Overproduction in the Agricultural Sector		
The Dust Bowl		

Causes of the Great Depression Graphic Organizer (Completed)

Cause	Definition (and example where applicable)	How did it lead to the Great Depression?
<i>The Great Crash</i>		
Speculation	<p>Definition: investors purchase into high risk schemes that they hoped would pay off quickly</p> <p>Example: investing in land development in places like Florida and California that never panned out, and investors were left with the debt they could not pay.</p>	<p>The prosperity of the 1920s led Americans to believe that it was safe to invest in questionable schemes. Banks started to offer easy loans for investment. When the schemes did not pan out, consumers were left with the debt. When speculators bought stock, and stock prices began to fall, many tried to sell quickly which led to the stock market crash.</p>
Buying on Margin	<p>Definition: buying for a small down payment with borrowed money, with the intention of quickly selling at a much higher price before the remaining payment came due</p> <p>Example: buying stocks on margin. If the stock prices rise, stocks could be sold at a profit. But, with so much speculation, stocks fell, and buyers sold at a loss if they were able to sell at all.</p>	<p>Buying on margin can work well when prices continue to rise. When prices, especially stocks, began to fall, buyers could not make remaining payments and went into debt.</p>
The Stock Market Crash of 1929 (“Black Tuesday”)	<p>Definition: The stock market lost a significant amount of its value, dues to speculation and buying on margin, and therefore “crashed”</p>	<p>Stockholders traded over sixteen million shares and lost over \$14 billion in wealth in a single day. As people unloaded their stocks, not minding the loss as they wanted to make at least some money back instead of nothing, banks wanted to protect their own assets so they demanded payment for loans provided to individual investors. Those individuals had wiped out their life savings by selling their stocks, and on top of that had bank loan debt.</p>
Bank Failure	<p>Definition: banks took the money that customers deposited in their accounts, invested it in the stock market, and lost the money when the stock market crashed, unable to pay back their customers.</p>	<p>While only 10 percent of citizens invested in the stock market, 90 percent of banks (where citizens kept their money) invested in the stock market. The Federal Reserve had lowered the amount of cash reserves banks were required to keep on hand, so much of</p>

		the cash deposited in banks were invested in the stock market, and disappeared when the market crashed. After the crash, many banks closed their doors after losing all their assets, leaving their customers penniless. U.S. banks were also strained due to the failure of foreign countries to pay back loans taken out after WWI
Unequal Distribution of Wealth among Americans	Definition: Wealth was not equally distributed amongst Americans, with a small few holding most of the wealth in the country. In the 1920s, 80% of Americans had no savings. One-half to one percent of Americans controlled over a third of the overall wealth.	A strong stock market, and a strong economy, relies on buyers and sellers. With an unequal distribution of wealth, there wasn't enough buyers entering the marketplace. In the stock market, no new buyers meant nowhere for sellers to unload stocks as speculation came to a close.
<i>Environmental Catastrophe Meets Economic Hardship</i>		
Overproduction in the Agricultural Sector	Definition: Responding to the prosperity of farming from the turn of the century through WWI, farmers continued to produce more crops than was needed after the war effort, and used non-renewable farming practices and went into debt to do so.	In order to expand and produce more crops in hopes of taking in a higher profit, farmers mortgaged their farms and borrowed money against future production. They also implemented farming practices that did not take into account the repercussions on the soil, making future crops harder to grow. Commodity prices dropped, and plummeted in 1929 with what going from \$2 to 40 cents a bushel. Farmers were in debt, and could not make the money to pay off their loans.
The Dust Bowl	Definition: a drought throughout the great plains region that began in 1931 and lasted 8 years.	The environmental catastrophe that was the dust bowl exacerbated the already struggling agricultural sector. Huge dust storms caused by the drought rolled through the great plains, covering houses, killing livestock, and withering crops, leaving farmers unable to even feed their families. Many farmers gave up their land and left the great plains in search of opportunities further west.

The Great Crash¹¹⁴

The promise of the Hoover administration was cut short when the stock market lost almost one-half its value in the fall of 1929, plunging many Americans into financial ruin. However, as a singular event, the stock market crash itself did not cause the Great Depression that followed. In fact, only approximately 10 percent of American households held stock investments and speculated in the market; yet nearly a third would lose their lifelong savings and jobs in the ensuing depression. The connection between the crash and the subsequent decade of hardship was complex, involving underlying weaknesses in the economy that many policymakers had long ignored.

What Was the Crash?

To understand the crash, it is useful to address the decade that preceded it. The prosperous 1920s ushered in a feeling of euphoria among middle-class and wealthy Americans, and people began to speculate on wilder investments. The government was a willing partner in this endeavor: The Federal Reserve followed a brief postwar recession in 1920–1921 with a policy of setting interest rates artificially low, as well as easing the reserve requirements on the nation’s largest banks. As a result, the money supply in the U.S. increased by nearly 60 percent, which convinced even more Americans of the safety of investing in questionable schemes. They felt that prosperity was boundless and that extreme risks were likely tickets to wealth. Named for Charles Ponzi, the original “Ponzi schemes” emerged early in the 1920s to encourage novice investors to divert funds to unfounded ventures, which in reality simply used new investors’ funds to pay off older investors as the schemes grew in size. Speculation, where investors purchased into high-risk schemes that they hoped would pay off quickly, became the norm. Several banks, including deposit institutions that originally avoided investment loans, began to offer easy credit, allowing people to invest, even when they lacked the money to do so. An example of this mindset was the Florida land boom of the 1920s: Real estate developers touted Florida as a tropical paradise and investors went all in, buying land they had never seen with money they didn’t have and selling it for even higher prices.

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SELLING OPTIMISM AND RISK

Advertising offers a useful window into the popular perceptions and beliefs of an era. By seeing how businesses were presenting their goods to consumers, it is possible to sense the hopes and aspirations of people at that moment in history. Maybe companies are selling patriotism or pride in technological advances. Maybe they are pushing idealized views of parenthood or safety. In the 1920s, advertisers were selling opportunity and euphoria, further feeding the notions of many Americans that prosperity would never end.

In the decade before the Great Depression, the optimism of the American public was seemingly boundless. Advertisements from that era show large new cars, timesaving labor devices, and, of course, land. This advertisement for California real estate illustrates how realtors in the West, much like the ongoing Florida land boom, used a combination of the hard sell and easy credit (Figure). "Buy now!" the ad shouts. "You are sure to make money on these." In great numbers, people did. With easy access to credit and hard-pushing advertisements like this one, many felt that they could not afford to miss out on such an opportunity. Unfortunately, overspeculation in California and hurricanes along the Gulf Coast and in Florida conspired to burst this land bubble, and would-be millionaires were left with nothing but the ads that once pulled them in.



Figure 2. This real estate advertisement from Los Angeles illustrates the hard-sell techniques and easy credit offered to those who wished to buy in. Unfortunately, the opportunities being promoted with these techniques were of little value, and many lost their investments. (credit: "Army arch"/Flickr)

The Florida land boom went bust in 1925–1926. A combination of negative press about the speculative nature of the boom, IRS investigations into the questionable financial practices of several land brokers, and a railroad embargo that limited the delivery of construction supplies into the region significantly hampered investor interest. The subsequent Great Miami Hurricane of 1926 drove most land developers into outright bankruptcy. However, speculation continued throughout the decade, this time in the stock market. Buyers purchased stock “on margin”—buying for a small down payment with borrowed money, with the intention of quickly selling at a much higher price before the remaining payment came due—which worked well as long as prices continued to rise. Speculators were aided by retail stock brokerage firms, which catered to average investors anxious to play the market but lacking direct ties to investment banking houses or larger brokerage firms. When prices began to fluctuate in the summer of 1929, investors sought excuses to continue their speculation. When fluctuations turned to outright and steady losses, everyone started to sell. As September began to unfold, the Dow Jones Industrial Average peaked at a value of 381 points, or roughly ten times the stock market’s value, at the start of the 1920s.

Several warning signs portended the impending crash but went unheeded by Americans still giddy over the potential fortunes that speculation might promise. A brief downturn in the market on September 18, 1929, raised questions among more-seasoned investment bankers, leading some to predict an end to high stock values, but did little to stem the tide of investment. Even the collapse of the London Stock Exchange on September 20 failed to fully curtail the optimism of American investors. However, when the New York Stock Exchange lost 11 percent of its value on October 24—often referred to as “Black Thursday”—key American investors sat up and took notice. In an effort to forestall a much-feared panic, leading banks, including Chase National, National City, J.P. Morgan, and others, conspired to purchase large amounts of blue chip stocks (including U.S. Steel) in order to keep the prices artificially high. Even that effort failed in the growing wave of stock sales. Nevertheless, Hoover delivered a radio address on Friday in which he assured the American people, “The fundamental business of the country . . . is on a sound and prosperous basis.”

As newspapers across the country began to cover the story in earnest, investors anxiously awaited the start of the following week. When the Dow Jones Industrial Average lost another 13 percent of its value on Monday morning, many knew the end of stock market speculation was near. The evening before the infamous crash was ominous. Jonathan Leonard, a newspaper reporter who regularly covered the stock market beat, wrote of how Wall Street “lit up like a Christmas tree.” Brokers and businessmen who feared the worst the next day crowded into restaurants and speakeasies (a place where alcoholic beverages were illegally sold). After a night of heavy drinking, they retreated to nearby hotels or flop-houses (cheap boarding houses), all of which were overbooked, and awaited sunrise. Children from nearby slums and tenement districts played stickball in the streets of the financial district, using wads of ticker tape for balls. Although they all awoke to newspapers filled with predictions of a financial turnaround, as well as technical reasons why the decline might be short-lived, the crash on Tuesday morning, October 29, caught few by surprise.

No one even heard the opening bell on Wall Street that day, as shouts of “Sell! Sell!” drowned it out. In the first three minutes alone, nearly three million shares of stock, accounting for \$2 million of wealth, changed hands. The volume of Western Union telegrams tripled, and telephone lines could not meet the demand, as investors sought any means available to dump their stock immediately. Rumors spread of investors jumping from their office windows. Fistfights broke out on the trading floor, where one broker fainted from physical exhaustion. Stock trades happened at such a furious pace that runners had nowhere to store the trade slips, and so they resorted to stuffing them into trash cans. Although the stock exchange’s board of governors briefly considered closing the exchange early, they subsequently chose to let the market run its course, lest the American public panic even further at the thought of closure. When the final bell rang, errand boys spent hours sweeping up tons of paper, tickertape, and sales slips. Among the more curious finds in the rubbish were torn suit coats, crumpled eyeglasses, and one broker’s artificial leg. Outside a nearby brokerage house, a policeman allegedly found a discarded birdcage with a live parrot squawking, “More margin! More margin!”

On Black Tuesday, October 29, stock holders traded over sixteen million shares and lost over \$14 billion in wealth in a single day. To put this in context, a trading day of three million shares was considered a busy day on the stock market. People unloaded their stock as quickly as they could, never minding the loss. Banks, facing debt and seeking to protect their own assets, demanded payment for the loans they had provided to individual investors. Those individuals who could not afford to pay found their stocks sold immediately and their life savings wiped out in minutes, yet their debt to the bank still remained ([Figure](#)).



Figure 3. October 29, 1929, or Black Tuesday, witnessed thousands of people racing to Wall Street discount brokerages and markets to sell their stocks. Prices plummeted throughout the day, eventually leading to a complete stock market crash.

The financial outcome of the crash was devastating. Between September 1 and November 30, 1929, the stock market lost over one-half its value, dropping from \$64 billion to approximately \$30 billion. Any effort to stem the tide was, as one historian noted, tantamount to bailing Niagara Falls with a bucket. The crash affected many more than the relatively few Americans who invested in the stock market. While only 10 percent of households had investments, over 90 percent of all banks had invested in the stock market. Many banks failed due to their dwindling cash reserves. This was in part due to the Federal Reserve lowering the limits of cash reserves that banks were traditionally required to hold in their vaults, as well as the fact that many banks invested in the stock market themselves. Eventually, thousands of banks closed their doors after losing all of their assets, leaving their customers penniless. While a few savvy investors got out at the right time and eventually made fortunes buying up discarded stock, those success stories were rare. Housewives who speculated with grocery money, bookkeepers who embezzled company funds hoping to strike it rich and pay the funds back before getting caught, and bankers who used customer deposits to follow speculative trends all lost. While the stock market crash was the trigger, the lack of appropriate economic and banking safeguards, along with a public psyche that pursued wealth and prosperity at all costs, allowed this event to spiral downward into a depression.

Causes of the Crash

The crash of 1929 did not occur in a vacuum, nor did it cause the Great Depression. Rather, it was a tipping point where the underlying weaknesses in the economy, specifically in the nation's banking system, came to the fore. It also represented both the end of an era characterized by blind faith in American exceptionalism and the beginning of one in which citizens began increasingly to question some long-held American values. A number of factors played a role in bringing the stock market to this point and contributed to the downward trend in the market, which continued well into the 1930s. In addition to the Federal Reserve's questionable policies and misguided banking practices, three primary reasons for the collapse of the stock market were international economic woes, poor income distribution, and the psychology of public confidence.

After World War I, both America's allies and the defeated nations of Germany and Austria contended with disastrous economies. The Allies owed large amounts of money to U.S. banks, which had advanced them money during the war effort. Unable to repay these debts, the Allies looked to reparations from Germany and Austria to help. The economies of those countries, however, were struggling badly, and they could not pay their reparations, despite the loans that the U.S. provided to assist with their payments. The U.S. government refused to forgive these loans, and American banks were in the position of extending additional private loans to foreign governments, who used them to repay their debts to the U.S. government, essentially shifting their obligations to private banks. When other countries began to default on this second wave of private bank loans, still more strain was placed on U.S. banks, which soon sought to liquidate these loans at the first sign of a stock market crisis.

Poor income distribution among Americans compounded the problem. A strong stock market relies on today's buyers becoming tomorrow's sellers, and therefore it must always have an influx of new buyers. In the 1920s, this was not the case. Eighty percent of American families had virtually no savings, and only one-half to 1 percent of Americans controlled over a third of the wealth. This scenario meant that there were no new buyers coming into the marketplace, and nowhere for sellers to unload their stock as the speculation came to a close. In addition, the vast majority of Americans with limited savings lost their accounts as local banks closed, and likewise lost their jobs as investment in business and industry came to a screeching halt.

Finally, one of the most important factors in the crash was the contagion effect of panic. For much of the 1920s, the public felt confident that prosperity would continue forever, and therefore, in a self-fulfilling cycle, the market continued to grow. But once the panic began, it spread quickly and with the same cyclical results; people were worried that the market was going down, they sold their stock, and the market continued to drop. This was partly due to Americans' inability to weather market volatility, given the limited cash surpluses they had on hand, as well as their psychological concern that economic recovery might never happen.

Environmental Catastrophe Meets Economic Hardship: The Dust Bowl¹¹⁵

Despite the widely held belief that rural Americans suffered less in the Great Depression due to their ability to at least grow their own food, this was not the case. Farmers, ranchers, and their families suffered more than any group other than African Americans during the Depression.

From the turn of the century through much of World War I, farmers in the Great Plains experienced prosperity due to unusually good growing conditions, high commodity prices, and generous government farming policies that led to a rush for land. As the federal government continued to purchase all excess produce for the war effort, farmers and ranchers fell into several bad practices, including mortgaging their farms and borrowing money against future production in order to expand. However, after the war, prosperity rapidly dwindled, particularly during the recession of 1921. Seeking to recoup their losses through economies of scale in which they would expand their production even further to take full advantage of their available land and machinery, farmers plowed under native grasses to plant acre after acre of wheat, with little regard for the long-term repercussions to the soil. Regardless of these misguided efforts, commodity prices continued to drop, finally plummeting in 1929, when the price of wheat dropped from two dollars to forty cents per bushel.

Exacerbating the problem was a massive drought that began in 1931 and lasted for eight terrible years. Dust storms roiled through the Great Plains, creating huge, choking clouds that piled up in doorways and filtered into homes through closed windows. Even more quickly than it had boomed, the land of agricultural opportunity went bust, due to widespread overproduction and overuse of the land, as well as to the harsh weather conditions that followed, resulting in the creation of the Dust Bowl ([Figure](#)).



Figure 2. The dust storms that blew through the Great Plains were epic in scale. Drifts of dirt piled up against doors and windows. People wore goggles and tied rags over their mouths to keep the dust out. (credit: U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration)

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Livestock died, or had to be sold, as there was no money for feed. Crops intended to feed the family withered and died in the drought. Terrifying dust storms became more and more frequent, as “black blizzards” of dirt blew across the landscape and created a new illness known as “dust pneumonia.” In 1935 alone, over 850 million tons of topsoil blew away. To put this number in perspective, geologists estimate that it takes the earth five hundred years to naturally regenerate one inch of topsoil; yet, just one significant dust storm could destroy a similar amount. In their desperation to get more from the land, farmers had stripped it of the delicate balance that kept it healthy. Unaware of the consequences, they had moved away from such traditional practices as crop rotation and allowing land to regain its strength by permitting it to lie fallow between plantings, working the land to death.

For farmers, the results were catastrophic. Unlike most factory workers in the cities, in most cases, farmers lost their homes when they lost their livelihood. Most farms and ranches were originally mortgaged to small country banks that understood the dynamics of farming, but as these banks failed, they often sold rural mortgages to larger eastern banks that were less concerned with the specifics of farm life. With the effects of the drought and low commodity prices, farmers could not pay their local banks, which in turn lacked funds to pay the large urban banks. Ultimately, the large banks foreclosed on the farms, often swallowing up the small country banks in the process. It is worth noting that of the five thousand banks that closed between 1930 and 1932, over 75 percent were country banks in locations with populations under 2,500. Given this dynamic, it is easy to see why farmers in the Great Plains remained wary of big city bankers.

For farmers who survived the initial crash, the situation worsened, particularly in the Great Plains where years of overproduction and rapidly declining commodity prices took their toll. Prices continued to decline, and as farmers tried to stay afloat, they produced still more crops, which drove prices even lower. Farms failed at an astounding rate, and farmers sold out at rock-bottom prices. One farm in Shelby, Nebraska was mortgaged at \$4,100 and sold for \$49.50. One-fourth of the entire state of Mississippi was auctioned off *in a single day* at a foreclosure auction in April 1932. Not all farmers tried to keep their land. Many, especially those who had arrived only recently, in an attempt to capitalize on the earlier prosperity, simply walked away ([Figure](#)). In hard-hit Oklahoma, thousands of farmers packed up what they could and walked or drove away from the land they thought would be their future. They, along with other displaced farmers from throughout the Great Plains, became known as Okies. Okies were an emblem of the failure of the American breadbasket to deliver on its promise, and their story was made famous in John Steinbeck’s novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*.



Figure 3. As the Dust Bowl continued in the Great Plains, many had to abandon their land and equipment, as captured in this image from 1936, taken in Dallas, South Dakota. (credit: United States Department of Agriculture)

In the Aftermath of the Crash¹¹⁶

After the crash, Hoover announced that the economy was “fundamentally sound.” On the last day of trading in 1929, the New York Stock Exchange held its annual wild and lavish party, complete with confetti, musicians, and illegal alcohol. The U.S. Department of Labor predicted that 1930 would be “a splendid employment year.” These sentiments were not as baseless as it may seem in hindsight. Historically, markets cycled up and down, and periods of growth were often followed by downturns that corrected themselves. But this time, there was no market correction; rather, the abrupt shock of the crash was followed by an even more devastating depression. Investors, along with the general public, withdrew their money from banks by the thousands, fearing the banks would go under. The more people pulled out their money in bank runs, the closer the banks came to insolvency ([Figure](#)).



Figure 4. As the financial markets collapsed, hurting the banks that had gambled with their holdings, people began to fear that the money they had in the bank would be lost. This began bank runs across the country, a period of still more panic, where people pulled their money out of banks to keep it hidden at home.

The contagion effect of the crash grew quickly. With investors losing billions of dollars, they invested very little in new or expanded businesses. At this time, two industries had the greatest impact on the country’s economic future in terms of investment, potential growth, and employment: automotive and construction. After the crash, both were hit hard. In November 1929, fewer cars were built than in any other month since November 1919. Even before the crash, widespread saturation of the market meant that few Americans bought them, leading to a slowdown. Afterward, very few could afford them. By 1933, Stutz, Locomobile, Durant, Franklin, Deussenberg, and Pierce-Arrow automobiles, all luxury models, were largely unavailable; production had ground to a halt. They would not be made again until 1949. In construction, the drop-off was even more dramatic. It would be another thirty years before a new hotel or theater was built in New York City. The Empire State Building itself stood half empty for years after being completed in 1931.

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The damage to major industries led to, and reflected, limited purchasing by both consumers and businesses. Even those Americans who continued to make a modest income during the Great Depression lost the drive for conspicuous consumption that they exhibited in the 1920s. People with less money to buy goods could not help businesses grow; in turn, businesses with no market for their products could not hire workers or purchase raw materials. Employers began to lay off workers. The country's gross national product declined by over 25 percent within a year, and wages and salaries declined by \$4 billion. Unemployment tripled, from 1.5 million at the end of 1929 to 4.5 million by the end of 1930. By mid-1930, the slide into economic chaos had begun but was nowhere near complete.

The New Reality for Americans¹¹⁷

For most Americans, the crash affected daily life in myriad ways. In the immediate aftermath, there was a run on the banks, where citizens took their money out, if they could get it, and hid their savings under mattresses, in bookshelves, or anywhere else they felt was safe. Some went so far as to exchange their dollars for gold and ship it out of the country. A number of banks failed outright, and others, in their attempts to stay solvent, called in loans that people could not afford to repay. Working-class Americans saw their wages drop: Even Henry Ford, the champion of a high minimum wage, began lowering wages by as much as a dollar a day. Southern cotton planters paid workers only twenty cents for every one hundred pounds of cotton picked, meaning that the *strongest* picker might earn sixty cents for a fourteen-hour day of work. Cities struggled to collect property taxes and subsequently laid off teachers and police.

The new hardships that people faced were not always immediately apparent; many communities felt the changes but could not necessarily look out their windows and see anything different. Men who lost their jobs didn't stand on street corners begging; they disappeared. They might be found keeping warm by a trashcan bonfire or picking through garbage at dawn, but mostly, they stayed out of public view. As the effects of the crash continued, however, the results became more evident. Those living in cities grew accustomed to seeing long breadlines of unemployed men waiting for a meal ([Figure](#)). Companies fired workers and tore down employee housing to avoid paying property taxes. The landscape of the country had changed.



Figure 5. As the Great Depression set in, thousands of unemployed men lined up in cities around the country, waiting for a free meal or a hot cup of coffee.

The hardships of the Great Depression threw family life into disarray. Both marriage and birth rates declined in the decade after the crash. The most vulnerable members of society—children, women, minorities, and the working class—

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struggled the most. Parents often sent children out to beg for food at restaurants and stores to save themselves from the disgrace of begging. Many children dropped out of school, and even fewer went to college. Childhood, as it had existed in the prosperous twenties, was over. And yet, for many children living in rural areas where the affluence of the previous decade was not fully developed, the Depression was not viewed as a great challenge. School continued. Play was simple and enjoyed. Families adapted by growing more in gardens, canning, and preserving, wasting little food if any. Home-sewn clothing became the norm as the decade progressed, as did creative methods of shoe repair with cardboard soles. Yet, one always knew of stories of the “other” families who suffered more, including those living in cardboard boxes or caves. By one estimate, as many as 200,000 children moved about the country as vagrants due to familial disintegration.

Women’s lives, too, were profoundly affected. Some wives and mothers sought employment to make ends meet, an undertaking that was often met with strong resistance from husbands and potential employers. Many men derided and criticized women who worked, feeling that jobs should go to unemployed men. Some campaigned to keep companies from hiring married women, and an increasing number of school districts expanded the long-held practice of banning the hiring of married female teachers. Despite the pushback, women entered the workforce in increasing numbers, from ten million at the start of the Depression to nearly thirteen million by the end of the 1930s. This increase took place in spite of the twenty-six states that passed a variety of laws to prohibit the employment of married women. Several women found employment in the emerging pink collar occupations, viewed as traditional women’s work, including jobs as telephone operators, social workers, and secretaries. Others took jobs as maids and housecleaners, working for those fortunate few who had maintained their wealth.

White women’s forays into domestic service came at the expense of minority women, who had even fewer employment options. Unsurprisingly, African American men and women experienced unemployment, and the grinding poverty that followed, at double and triple the rates of their white counterparts. By 1932, unemployment among African Americans reached near 50 percent. In rural areas, where large numbers of African Americans continued to live despite the Great Migration of 1910–1930, depression-era life represented an intensified version of the poverty that they traditionally experienced. Subsistence farming allowed many African Americans who lost either their land or jobs working for white landholders to survive, but their hardships increased. Life for African Americans in urban settings was equally trying, with blacks and working-class whites living in close proximity and competing for scarce jobs and resources.

Life for all rural Americans was difficult. Farmers largely did not experience the widespread prosperity of the 1920s. Although continued advancements in farming techniques and agricultural machinery led to increased agricultural production, decreasing demand (particularly in the previous markets created by World War I) steadily drove down commodity prices. As a result, farmers could barely pay the debt they owed on machinery and land mortgages, and even then could do so only as a result of generous lines of credit from banks. While factory workers may have lost their jobs and savings in the crash, many farmers also lost their homes, due to the thousands of farm foreclosures sought by desperate bankers. Between 1930 and 1935, nearly 750,000 family farms disappeared through foreclosure or bankruptcy. Even for those who managed to keep their farms, there was little market for their crops. Unemployed workers had less money to spend on food, and when they did purchase goods, the market excess had driven prices so low that farmers could barely piece together a living. A now-famous example of the farmer’s plight is that, when the price of coal began to exceed that of corn, farmers would simply burn corn to stay warm in the winter.

As the effects of the Great Depression worsened, wealthier Americans had particular concern for “the deserving poor” — those who had lost all of their money due to no fault of their own. This concept gained greater attention beginning in the Progressive Era of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when early social reformers sought to improve the quality of life for all Americans by addressing the poverty that was becoming more prevalent, particularly in emerging urban areas. By the time of the Great Depression, social reformers and humanitarian agencies had determined that the “deserving poor” belonged to a different category from those who had speculated and lost. However, the sheer volume of Americans who fell into this group meant that charitable assistance could not begin to reach them all. Some fifteen million “deserving poor,” or a full one-third of the labor force, were struggling by 1932. The country had no mechanism or system in place to help so many; however, Hoover remained adamant that such relief should rest in the hands of private agencies, not with the federal government ([Figure](#)).



Figure 6. In the early 1930s, without significant government relief programs, many people in urban centers relied on private agencies for assistance. In New York City, St. Peter’s Mission distributed bread, soup, and canned goods to large numbers of the unemployed and others in need.

Unable to receive aid from the government, Americans thus turned to private charities; churches, synagogues, and other religious organizations; and state aid. But these organizations were not prepared to deal with the scope of the problem. Private aid organizations showed declining assets as well during the Depression, with fewer Americans possessing the ability to donate to such charities. Likewise, state governments were particularly ill-equipped. Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first to institute a Department of Welfare in New York in 1929. City governments had equally little to offer. In New York City in 1932, family allowances were \$2.39 per week, and only one-half of the families who qualified actually received them. In Detroit, allowances fell to fifteen cents a day per person, and eventually ran out completely. In most cases, relief was only in the form of food and fuel; organizations provided nothing in the way of rent, shelter, medical care, clothing, or other necessities. There was no infrastructure to support the elderly, who were the most vulnerable, and this population largely depended on their adult children to support them, adding to families’ burdens ([Figure](#)).



Figure 7. Because there was no infrastructure to support them should they become unemployed or destitute, the elderly were extremely vulnerable during the Great Depression. As the depression continued, the results of this tenuous situation became more evident, as shown in this photo of a vacant storefront in San Francisco, captured by Dorothea Lange in 1935.

During this time, local community groups, such as police and teachers, worked to help the neediest. New York City police, for example, began contributing 1 percent of their salaries to start a food fund that was geared to help those found starving on the streets. In 1932, New York City schoolteachers also joined forces to try to help; they contributed as much as \$250,000 per month from their own salaries to help needy children. Chicago teachers did the same, feeding some eleven thousand students out of their own pockets in 1931, despite the fact that many of them had not been paid a salary in months. These noble efforts, however, failed to fully address the level of desperation that the American public was facing.

President Hoover's Response¹¹⁸

In the immediate aftermath of Black Tuesday, Hoover sought to reassure Americans that all was well. Reading his words after the fact, it is easy to find fault. In 1929 he said, "Any lack of confidence in the economic future or the strength of business in the United States is foolish." In 1930, he stated, "The worst is behind us." In 1931, he pledged federal aid should he ever witness starvation in the country; but as of that date, he had yet to see such need in America, despite the very real evidence that children and the elderly were starving to death. Yet Hoover was neither intentionally blind nor unsympathetic. He simply held fast to a belief system that did not change as the realities of the Great Depression set in. Hoover believed strongly in the ethos of American individualism: that hard work brought its own rewards. His life story testified to that belief. Hoover was born into poverty, made his way through college at Stanford University, and eventually made his fortune as an engineer. This experience, as well as his extensive travels in China and throughout Europe, shaped his fundamental conviction that the very existence of American civilization depended upon the moral fiber of its citizens, as evidenced by their ability to overcome all hardships through individual effort and resolve. The idea of government handouts to Americans was repellant to him. Whereas Europeans might need assistance, such as his hunger relief work in Belgium during and after World War I, he believed the American character to be different. In a 1931 radio address, he said, "The spread of government destroys initiative and thus destroys character."

Likewise, Hoover was not completely unaware of the potential harm that wild stock speculation might create if left unchecked. As secretary of commerce, Hoover often warned President Coolidge of the dangers that such speculation engendered. In the weeks before his inauguration, he offered many interviews to newspapers and magazines, urging Americans to curtail their rampant stock investments, and even encouraged the Federal Reserve to raise the discount rate to make it more costly for local banks to lend money to potential speculators. However, fearful of creating a panic, Hoover never issued a stern warning to discourage Americans from such investments. Neither Hoover, nor any other politician of that day, ever gave serious thought to outright government regulation of the stock market. This was even true in his personal choices, as Hoover often lamented poor stock advice he had once offered to a friend. When the stock nose-dived, Hoover bought the shares from his friend to assuage his guilt, vowing never again to advise anyone on matters of investment.

In keeping with these principles, Hoover's response to the crash focused on two very common American traditions: He asked individuals to tighten their belts and work harder, and he asked the business community to voluntarily help sustain the economy by retaining workers and continuing production. He immediately summoned a conference of leading industrialists to meet in Washington, DC, urging them to maintain their current wages while America rode out this brief economic panic. The crash, he assured business leaders, was not part of a greater downturn; they had nothing to worry about. Similar meetings with utility companies and railroad executives elicited promises for billions of dollars in new construction projects, while labor leaders agreed to withhold demands for wage increases and workers continued to labor. Hoover also persuaded Congress to pass a \$160 million tax cut to bolster American incomes, leading many to conclude that the president was doing all he could to stem the tide of the panic. In April 1930, the *New York Times* editorial board concluded that "No one in his place could have done more."

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However, these modest steps were not enough. By late 1931, when it became clear that the economy would not improve on its own, Hoover recognized the need for some government intervention. He created the President's Emergency Committee for Employment (PECE), later renamed the President's Organization of Unemployment Relief (POUR). In keeping with Hoover's distaste of what he viewed as handouts, this organization did *not* provide direct federal relief to people in need. Instead, it assisted state and private relief agencies, such as the Red Cross, Salvation Army, YMCA, and Community Chest. Hoover also strongly urged people of means to donate funds to help the poor, and he himself gave significant private donations to worthy causes. But these private efforts could not alleviate the widespread effects of poverty.

Congress pushed for a more direct government response to the hardship. In 1930–1931, it attempted to pass a \$60 million bill to provide relief to drought victims by allowing them access to food, fertilizer, and animal feed. Hoover stood fast in his refusal to provide food, resisting any element of direct relief. The final bill of \$47 million provided for everything *except* food but did not come close to adequately addressing the crisis. Again in 1931, Congress proposed the Federal Emergency Relief Bill, which would have provided \$375 million to states to help provide food, clothing, and shelter to the homeless. But Hoover opposed the bill, stating that it ruined the balance of power between states and the federal government, and in February 1932, it was defeated by fourteen votes.

However, the president's adamant opposition to direct-relief federal government programs should not be viewed as one of indifference or uncaring toward the suffering American people. His personal sympathy for those in need was boundless. Hoover was one of only two presidents to reject his salary for the office he held. Throughout the Great Depression, he donated an average of \$25,000 annually to various relief organizations to assist in their efforts. Furthermore, he helped to raise \$500,000 in private funds to support the White House Conference on Child Health and Welfare in 1930. Rather than indifference or heartlessness, Hoover's steadfast adherence to a philosophy of individualism as the path toward long-term American recovery explained many of his policy decisions. "A voluntary deed," he repeatedly commented, "is infinitely more precious to our national ideal and spirit than a thousand-fold poured from the Treasury."

As conditions worsened, however, Hoover eventually relaxed his opposition to federal relief and formed the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) in 1932, in part because it was an election year and Hoover hoped to keep his office. Although not a form of direct relief to the American people in greatest need, the RFC was much larger in scope than any preceding effort, setting aside \$2 billion in taxpayer money to rescue banks, credit unions, and insurance companies. The goal was to boost confidence in the nation's financial institutions by ensuring that they were on solid footing. This model was flawed on a number of levels. First, the program only lent money to banks with sufficient collateral, which meant that most of the aid went to large banks. In fact, of the first \$61 million loaned, \$41 million went to just three banks. Small town and rural banks got almost nothing. Furthermore, at this time, confidence in financial institutions was not the primary concern of most Americans. They needed food and jobs. Many had no money to put into the banks, no matter how confident they were that the banks were safe.

Hoover's other attempt at federal assistance also occurred in 1932, when he endorsed a bill by Senator Robert Wagner of New York. This was the Emergency Relief and Construction Act. This act authorized the RFC to expand beyond loans to financial institutions and allotted \$1.5 billion to states to fund local public works projects. This program failed to deliver the kind of help needed, however, as Hoover severely limited the types of projects it could fund to those that were ultimately self-paying (such as toll bridges and public housing) and those that required skilled workers. While well

intended, these programs maintained the status quo, and there was still no direct federal relief to the individuals who so desperately needed it.

PUBLIC REACTION TO HOOVER

Hoover's steadfast resistance to government aid cost him the reelection and has placed him squarely at the forefront of the most unpopular presidents, according to public opinion, in modern American history. His name became synonymous with the poverty of the era: "Hooverilles" became the common name for homeless shantytowns (Figure) and "Hoover blankets" for the newspapers that the homeless used to keep warm. A "Hoover flag" was a pants pocket—empty of all money—turned inside out. By the 1932 election, hitchhikers held up signs reading: "If you don't give me a ride, I'll vote for Hoover." Americans did not necessarily believe that Hoover caused the Great Depression. Their anger stemmed instead from what appeared to be a willful refusal to help regular citizens with direct aid that might allow them to recover from the crisis.



(a)



(b)

Figure 1. Hoover became one of the least popular presidents in history. "Hooverilles," or shantytowns, were a negative reminder of his role in the nation's financial crisis. This family (a) lived in a "Hooverville" in Elm Grove, Oklahoma. This shanty (b) was one of many making up a "Hooverville" in the Portland, Oregon area. (credit: modification of work by United States Farm Security Administration)

Unit Three Instruction

Topic Three: The New Deal (US.4.5)

Connections to the unit claim: Students explore the how the New Deal programs addressed the economic crisis, and what the results of the New Deal were in order to better understand the legacy of economic recovery on a nation’s identity.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [Is Helping the Poor Worth the Cost?](#)

To explore these key questions:

- How did leaders differ in their approach to the economic crisis?
- How did FDR’s New Deal address the economic crisis?
- What were the results of the New Deal?
- Is helping the poor worth the cost?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students complete [RAFT radio advertisement assignment](#).
- Students write an extended paragraph (half to full page, but not an essay) in which they identify the top 3 New Deal programs that had the greatest impact on the economic recovery, and justify their selections with an explanation.
- Students construct thesis statements that address the claims of supporters and critics of the New Deal.
- Students write an essay answering the compelling question “Is helping the poor worth the cost?” Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

US History Instructional Task: Is Helping the Poor Worth the Cost?

Unit Three: Growth and Decline Between the Wars, Topic Three: The New Deal

Description: After reading and analyzing primary sources, students will argue whether the New Deal’s aim to improve the economy yielded the results necessary to justify its implementation and the expansion of government. Students will then apply the criteria for government involvement to a current economic program and persuade their representative to support or disavow the program.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Materials: [FDR vs. Hoover Role of Government Readings](#); [RAFT radio advertisement assignment](#); [New Deal Program Role Cards](#); New Deal Programs Graphic Organizer ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); [New Deal Source Analysis](#); [Argue with Evidence Worksheet](#); [Social Security Will Be There For You](#); [Letter to Congress Instructions](#)

Instructional Process:

- NOTE:** This task is adapted from the *New Deal Cornerstone* developed for the District of Columbia Public Schools. The task is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](#), which allows for it to be shared and adapted as long as the user agrees to the terms of the license.
- Say: “As we saw in the last task, the public’s opinion of President Hoover’s attempts to address the needs of the people during the Great Depression cost him the election of 1932. Instead, Franklin Delano Roosevelt won the election, mostly on the promise of a New Deal. In this task, we will learn about the New Deal programs and how Roosevelt changed the role of government in people’s lives. We will analyze not only the effectiveness of the New Deal programs, but we will also analyze its program’s unparalleled increase in governmental regulation of the economy, in order to answer the compelling question “is helping the poor worth the cost?”
- Say: “first, let’s investigate the election of 1932, and how each candidate’s plans to address the Great Depression differed.”
- Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “How did leaders differ in their approach to the economic crisis?”
- Divide students into partners using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [FDR vs. Hoover Role of Government Readings](#), and instruct them to read the historical context and the excerpts of each speech independently. After they have finished reading, they can work in pairs to answer the key question for each speech in writing. Once all pairs are finished answering each speech’s question, lead the class in a discussion on the speeches using the following questions:
 - Which candidate do you think had the better solution?
 - Which candidate would an unemployed steel worker, or a struggling farmer support? Why?
 - Which candidate would a wealthy industrialist support? Why?
- After the discussion, instruct students to complete [RAFT radio advertisement assignment](#) demonstrating their understanding of the conditions that existed during the Great Depression and the different approaches of Hoover and Roosevelt to help impoverished citizens. Each student should pick one role (Hoover, Roosevelt, or Average Citizen) to complete a radio ad for, not all three. Collect and grade for content accuracy.

7. Display the [1932 Presidential Election Results \(Map\)](#)¹¹⁹. Instruct students to pair up using an established classroom routine, and do a Think-Pair-Share around the following questions:
 - a. Which candidate won the election?
 - b. What inferences can you make about the results?
 - c. What should the new president do to address the economic crisis?
 - d. Do you think the American people would approve of his plans? Why?
8. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: “How did FDR’s New Deal address the economic crisis?”
9. Say: “we will now engage in an activity to explore the description and outcomes of some of the New Deal programs.”
10. Provide students with the [New Deal Program Role Cards](#). Each student should receive one New Deal Program Description Card (#) and one New Deal Outcome Card (Alphabet), but their outcome card should not be a match for their description card. Provide each student with a blank [New Deal Programs Graphic Organizer](#) as well. For now, tell students to ignore the “Relief, Recovery, Reform” column on their graphic organizer. **NOTE:** this activity is designed for 24 students. If there are more than 24 students in the class, double up on some of the New Deal Program Cards. If there are less than 24 students, the teacher has the choice to eliminate some of the lesser known New Deal Programs from the cards and graphic organizer, OR, have some students own more than one of each program card.
11. Conduct a “speed dating” activity where students match their New Deal Program card to the corresponding Outcome Card. For easiest execution of the activity, set up an outer ring of chairs/desks, and an inner ring. Have half the students sit on the outside and half on the inside. Provide 2-3 minutes for each rotation, and during that time, students should compare their New Deal Program Description and Outcome Cards to determine if they have a match, and jot notes down on their graphic organizer about each program’s description and outcome. If a match is made, students may trade cards to complete the match. By the last rotation, everyone should have a match and a working understanding of each New Deal program.
12. After the speed dating activity, provide students additional time to complete their graphic organizer if needed.
13. Post the following definitions on the board:
 - a. Relief: immediate action taken to halt the economies deterioration
 - b. Recovery: Temporary programs to restart the flow of consumer demand
 - c. Reform: Permanent programs to avoid another depression and insure citizens against economic disasters.
14. Say: “each New Deal program can be classified as a relief, recovery, or reform program. Take a second to determine which classification best describes the program you’ve been assigned.”
15. Label four corners of the room: Relief, Recovery, Reform, and Not Sure. Ask students to stand in the corner that best fits their own program card. Allow the students in each corner to briefly discuss their programs and if they’re in the right place (the “Not Sure” group can discuss their programs to see if any other members in that group know what corner they belong in).
16. If there is anyone left in the Not Sure corner, encourage the whole class to help them identify the correct corner through discussion. Once consensus is reached, direct students to go back to their seats.

¹¹⁹ Provided by Encyclopaedia Britannica, available at: <https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1932>

17. Write the following titles on the board: Bank Stabilization, Economic Stimulus, Welfare, Public Works Projects, Arts and Culture, Farm Assistance, Housing Aid, Labor Reforms. Direct students to take a second to determine which classification best describes the program they've been assigned. Direct students to do a Think-Pair-Share with a student near them, and tell their partner which category their program best fit into and why.
18. To conclude this part of the task, direct students to write an extended paragraph (half to full page, but not an essay) in which they identify the top 3 programs that had the greatest impact on the economic recovery, and justify their selections with an explanation. Encourage students to use their [New Deal Programs Graphic Organizer](#) to support them in writing their extended paragraph. Collect and grade for content accuracy.
19. Post and read aloud the third supporting question for the task: "What were the social, political, and economic effects of the New Deal?"
20. Post the following excerpt from this [Forbes.com](#) article by Jim Powell: *"During the 1930s, the old New Deal cost about \$50 billion in federal expenditures from 1933 to 1940, excluding functions such as the U.S. Post Office and the State Department. Today, the future cost of old New Deal programs still in effect is reckoned at more than \$50 trillion."*
21. Direct students to do a stop and jot answering this question: Do you think the New Deal Programs were/are worth the cost to taxpayers? Why or why not?
22. Divide students into groups of three using an established classroom routine. Provide each student with the [New Deal Source Analysis](#) and instruct students to ignore the last page of the handout for now. Tell groups that each student in the group will be responsible for identifying one of the following for each source.
 - a. Claim/Position (for or against the New Deal)
 - b. Speaker and Occasion
 - c. Purpose
23. As a group, students will identify the textual evidence to support the speaker's claim.
24. Provide students enough time to complete the analysis boxes for each source (20-25 minutes)
25. After all groups have completed the analysis of the sources, check for understanding by using the following "Take A Stand" method:
 - a. For each source, state the following claim: "The New Deal was a Good Deal"
 - If students believe that source agrees with the claim, they should stand up.
 - If students believe that source strongly agrees with the claim, they should stand on their chairs.
 - If students believe that source disagrees with the claim, they should stay seated.
 - If students believe that source strongly disagrees with the claim, they should sit/crouch/kneel on the floor.
 - b. After making the claim for each source, call on a group to explain their response using evidence from the text. If there is disagreement amongst the groups, call on a few groups to share opinions and allow others to respond.
26. Direct students to turn to the last page of their [New Deal Source Analysis](#). Tell students that they will be making two different claims - one that supports the new deal, and one that defends the new deal - using the prompt "did the New Deal solve the Great Depression?" Students may only agree with one position, but the purpose is to see how well they understand both sides of the argument.
27. After students have written both of their claims, direct students to post their papers around the room, and conduct a [gallery walk](#) where students can read their peers claims. While students are reading their peer's

- claims, instruct them to write praise or constructive feedback (students can write directly on the paper, or post-it notes can be used).
28. After the gallery walk, allow students a few minutes to read their peers' feedback, and incorporate it into the claim for the side of the argument they agree with most.
 29. Remind students of the compelling question for the task: "Is helping the poor worth the cost?" Tell students that they will now participate in activities that will prepare them to make a claim supported by an informed opinion in the essay they will write to answer that compelling question.
 30. Provide students with the [Argue with Evidence Worksheet](#), and direct them to complete points and counterpoints for each of the arguments. While students may have already picked a side, they should complete the activity for both viewpoints.
 31. After students have completed the [Argue with Evidence Worksheet](#), label two sides of the room: one side for position #1 (the poor should be helped) and the other for position #2 (the poor should not be helped)
 32. Direct students to stand on the side of the room to indicate which position they will argue in their essay. Once students are on their chosen side, give students 2-3 minutes to try to sway others to join their side.
 33. Instruct students to write an essay answering the compelling question "Is helping the poor worth the cost?" Tell students to cite evidence and discuss at least three reasons that support their claim, and they should also include two opposing points and discuss the weakness of those points. Provide students with a copy of the [LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#) as needed. Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.
 34. Tell students that for the remainder of the task, they will learn about a New Deal program that is still making headlines today - Social Security - and they will write a letter to a legislator voicing support or disavowing Social Security.
 35. Conduct a Think-Pair-Share on the following question: "When you retire, do you think Social Security should replace all of your income?" After pairs share, discuss a few responses with the class.
 36. Divide students into pairs using an established classroom routine. Provide students with the article [Social Security Will Be There For You](#), and direct them to read independently, jotting down any questions they have in the "questions" column. After reading, instruct each pair to go over any questions they each wrote down to determine what else they would like to learn about Social Security. **NOTE:** the teacher may opt to provide time for pairs to conduct more research on Social Security, but it is not required to complete the task. After discussing their own questions, direct each pair to discuss whether or not the U.S. should make changes to Social Security programs.
 37. After small group discussions, lead the class in a brief discussion around the following questions:
 - a. Should millennials support Social Security?
 - b. Do you think changes to Social Security would help or hurt the economy?
 38. Provide students with [Letter to Congress Instructions](#), and direct them to start writing their letter following the instructions and using the template as a guide. Use the [Find My Representative](#) and [Contacting the Senate](#) resources from the U.S. Government for help with names and addresses. Before sending the letters, discuss the importance of students voicing their opinion even if the policy does not get changed.
 39. After letters have been mailed, be sure to allow for follow-up conversation when students receive a response, even if it is to just acknowledge that they received a response.

FDR vs. Hoover Role of Government Readings

Franklin D. Roosevelt: America Needs a New Deal (Excerpts)

"I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people."

Historical Context: In July 1932, with the nation in the depths of the Great Depression, the Democratic Party nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt to run for president. Roosevelt was then governor of New York, where he had presided over the expansion of state government programs to deal with unemployment and other economic problems. In accepting the presidential nomination, Roosevelt broke with tradition by personally addressing the Democratic National Convention. In his speech, excerpted here, Roosevelt describes what he holds as fundamental differences between the nation's two main political parties concerning government to help farmers the unemployed, and others hurt by the Great Depression. It was in this speech that he introduced the term "New Deal" to the American public.

Text	Vocabulary	Question
<p>Our Republican leaders tell us economic laws -- sacred, inviolable, unchangeable -- cause panics which no one could prevent. But while they prate of economic laws, men and women are starving. We must lay hold of the fact that economic laws are not made by nature. They are made by human beings.</p> <p>Yes, when -- not if -- when we get the chance, the Federal Government will assume bold leadership in distress relief. For years Washington has alternated between putting its head in the sand and saying there is no large number of destitute people in our midst who need food and clothing, and then saying the states should take care of them, if there are. Instead of planning two and a half years ago to do what they are now trying to do, they kept putting it off from day to day, week to week, and month to month, until the conscience of America demanded action.</p> <p>I say that while primary responsibility for relief rests with localities now, as ever, yet the Federal Government has always had and still has a continuing responsibility for the broader public welfare. It will soon fulfill that responsibility....</p> <p>Never before in modern history have the essential differences between the two major American parties stood out in such striking contrast as they do today. Republican leaders not only have failed in material things, they have failed in national vision, because in disaster they have held out no hope, they have pointed out no path for the people below to climb back to places of security and of safety in our American life.</p> <p>I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people. Let us all here assembled constitute ourselves prophets of a new order of competence and of courage. This is more than a political campaign; it is a call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win in the crusade to restore America to its own people.</p>	<p><u>Sacred</u> - dedicated to a religious purpose and so deserving veneration</p> <p><u>Inviolable</u> - never to be broken, infringed, or dishonored</p> <p><u>Destitute</u> - without the basic necessities of life</p>	<p>What is FDR's vision of government? What role should the government play in the economy?</p>

RAFT Assignment

Historical Context: The United States presidential election of 1932 took place as the effects of the 1929 Wall Street Crash and the Great Depression were being felt intensely across the country. President Herbert Hoover's popularity was falling as voters felt he was unable to reverse the economic collapse, or deal with prohibition. Franklin D. Roosevelt used what he called Hoover's failure to deal with these problems as a platform for his own election, promising reform in his policy called the New Deal.

Directions: Choose 1 of the following RAFT options below:

A.

Role: Herbert Hoover	Audience: American Voter	Format: Radio Ad	Topic: 1932 Election
<i>Ad Script:</i>			

B.

Role: Franklin Roosevelt	Audience: American Voter	Format: Radio Ad	Topic: 1932 Election
<i>Ad Script:</i>			

C.

Role: Concerned Citizen	Audience: American Voter	Format: Radio Ad	Topic: 1932 Election
<p>Ad Script:</p>			

New Deal Program Role Cards

Program Description	Program Outcomes
<p>1. The Agriculture Adjustment Administration (AAA) of 1933 raised farm prices through subsidies. It paid farmers not to raise certain crops and livestock, hoping that lower production would cause prices to rise. The Supreme Court struck down the tax that funded AAA subsidies to farmers.</p>	<p>Y. In the short run, farmers were paid to destroy crops and livestock, which led to depressing scenes of fields plowed under, corn burned as fuel and piglets slaughtered. Nevertheless, many of the farm products removed from economic circulation were utilized in productive ways. For example: The pork products were distributed to unemployed families...Other food products purchased for surplus removal and distribution in relief channels included butter, cheese, and flour. Even piglets too small to consume were converted into inedible by-products such as grease and fertilizer.</p>
<p>2. Emergency Banking Act On March 6, 1933, FDR shut down all the banks in the nation and forced Congress to pass this act. It gave the government the opportunity to inspect the health of all banks. This re-established citizens' faith in banks. Inspectors found that most banks were healthy, and two-thirds of all banks were allowed to open soon after.</p>	<p>X. Roosevelt declared a national bank holiday on March 5, 1933, shuttering the nation's banks for several days. The Emergency Banking Relief Act was quickly enacted by Congress to allow for the reopening of individual banks "as soon as examiners found them to be financially secure." In a fireside chat on March 12, Roosevelt told Americans, "I can assure you that it is safer to keep your money in a reopened bank than under your mattress.</p>

<p>3. The Resettlement Administration (RA) was created on May 1, 1935. President Roosevelt created the RA to resettle “low-income families from rural and urban areas”. Families were paid to complete projects that addressed “soil erosion, stream pollution, seacoast erosion, reforestation, forestation, and flood control”. The program also provided low-income families with loans “to finance, in whole or in part, the purchase of farm lands and necessary equipment by farmers, farm tenants, croppers or farm laborers.”</p>	<p>W. This program engaged in a variety of activities during its brief two-year existence. One was financial aid, with emergency loans and grants for farm families in dire straits and debt reduction for others. Another group of programs dealt with conservation work: planting trees on 87,000 acres; creating 1,900 miles of firebreaks; improving 261 miles of streams; educating farmers in best practices for land-use; and purchasing 9 million acres of land, “unsuitable for crop cultivation,” for “forestry, grazing, wildlife conservation, and recreation.” A third type of activity was aimed at building physical and social infrastructure in the countryside: over 500 vehicle, horse, and pedestrian bridges; 65 blacksmith shops; 1,800 miles of telephone lines, and enhanced medical and dental services.</p>
<p>4. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) was established by the Glass-Steagall Banking Act of 1933 to insure bank deposits of up to \$5,000.</p>	<p>V. “Since the start no depositor has lost a single cent of insured funds as a result of a bank failure”. Furthermore, yearly bank failures have been kept to a minimum, exceeding 200 only six times since 1934.</p>
<p>5. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) of 1934 worked to improve housing standards and conditions and to insure mortgages.</p>	<p>U. First, it helped stimulate the revival of the construction industry and reemployment of workers in the building trades. As the FHA reported by the end of 1934, “In 60 cities it is reported that as a result of the better-housing programs there are no contractors or building-trades men who are unemployed”. Second, by the end of the 1930s it was noted that “12,000,000 people have been enabled to improve their housing standards and conditions under the FHA program, including [new home purchases and] the modernization and repair provisions of the National Housing Act.” After years of economic depression, more Americans could afford “better planned, better built, and better financed homes than ever before”.</p>

<p>6. The Federal Theatre Project (FTP) of 1935 was a part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and employed 12,700 theatre workers at its peak. The Federal Theatre units presented more than 1,000 performances each month before nearly 1 million people. There were 1,200 plays produced in the four years of the project.</p>	<p>T. Many of its productions were very popular. For example, the play <i>One-Third of a Nation</i> played in New York City “for ten months in 1938 to a total audience of 217,458. Nationally, it played 7,641 times on stages in cities including Detroit, Cincinnati, Portland, Hartford, New Orleans, Seattle, and San Francisco”. With respect to the quality of the productions and performances, Fortune magazine wrote, “From any point of view save that of the old-line box-office critics to whom nothing is theatre unless it has Broadway stars and Broadway varnish, it is a roaring success!”</p>
<p>7. The National Recovery Act (NRA) of 1933 was known as the “Blue Eagle” from its popular symbol. Accompanied by the slogan “We Do Our Part,” the NRA established codes for fair business practices. These codes regulated wages, working conditions, production and prices, and set a minimum wage. The Supreme Court invalidated the NRA in 1935. Some think that it hampered recovery by allowing the formation of cartels, restricting competition and reducing employment.</p>	<p>S. “Effectively fixed prices and wages, established production quotas, and imposed restrictions on entry of other companies into the alliances.”</p>
<p>8. National Youth Administration (NYA) created under the Emergency Relief Act of 1935, provided more than 4.5 million jobs for young people. It gave part-time employment to students, established training programs and provided aid to unemployed youth.</p>	<p>R. Young men and women in engaged in a wide variety of public works and public service projects, such as: cancer research; flood control studies; agricultural experimentation; refurbishing furniture; health care; construction of recreational facilities; automotive repair; building maintenance; landscaping of public grounds; library services; forestry and soil work; and national defense and industry training (e.g., aviation mechanics).</p>

<p>9. The Rural Electrification Administration (REA) of 1935 offered loans to electric companies and farm cooperatives for building power plants and extending power lines.</p>	<p>Q. Despite early obstacles, the program was ultimately highly successful. By 1943, \$466 million had been spent for electric power infrastructure, 380,000 miles of power lines had been installed, and over a million consumers were receiving electricity. The program continued into the postwar era and helped the percentage of electrified farms in the United States rise from 11 percent to almost 97 percent by 1960. The New Deal had helped rural America achieve near-total electrification.</p>
<p>10. The Social Security Act of 1935 established the administration of a national pension fund for the aged and unemployed, as well as public assistance for dependent mothers, children and disabled people. It was financed by a payroll tax based on employer and employee contributions.</p>	<p>P. The program is the most effective poverty mitigation program in the United States. “Prior to [this program], the elderly routinely faced the prospect of poverty upon retirement. For the most part, that fear has now dissipated”.</p>
<p>11. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) was a part of the second phase of the New Deal. From 1935 until 1943, this agency provided work for about 3 million workers at a time. By 1943, it had helped between 8 million and 9 million people. Under the WPA, buildings, roads, airports and schools were constructed. Actors, painters, musicians and writers were employed through the Federal Theatre Project, the Federal Art Project and the Federal Writers Project.</p>	<p>O. “An enumeration of all the projects undertaken and completed by [the program] during its lifetime would include almost every type of work imaginable...from the construction of highways to the extermination of rats; from the building of stadiums to the stuffing of birds; from the improvement of airplane landing fields to the making of Braille books; from the building of over a million of the now famous privies to the playing of the world’s greatest symphonies”</p>
<p>12. The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was a public program funding jobs ranging from ditch digging to highway repairs to teaching. Created in November 1933, it was criticized as “make work” and abandoned in the spring of 1934. It provided a psychological and physical boost to its 4 million workers.</p>	<p>N. “Long after the workers of [program] are dead and gone and these hard times forgotten, their effort will be remembered by permanent useful works in every county of every state. People will ride over bridges they made, travel on their highways, attend schools they built, navigate waterways they improved, do their public business in courthouses and state capitols which workers rescued from disrepair. Constantly expanded and diversified to offer use for the special skills and training of different types of workers, the program finally extended its scope to almost every kind of community activity. We had two hundred thousand projects”.</p>

<p>13. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) of 1933 put 2.5 million men to work in a variety of conservation projects: planting trees to combat soil erosion and maintain national forests; eliminating stream pollution; creating fish, game and bird sanctuaries; and conserving coal, petroleum, shale, gas, sodium and helium deposits. Workers earned only \$1 a day but received free board and job training. From 1934 to 1937, this program funded similar programs for 8,500 women. It taught men and women of America how to live independently, thus increasing self-esteem.</p>	<p>M. “Nationwide, the [program] operated 4,500 camps in national parks and forests, as well as state and community parks, planting three billion trees, protecting 20 million acres from soil erosion, and aiding in the establishment of 800 state parks. The [program] advanced natural resource conservation in this country by decades...”.</p>
<p>14. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 banned child labor, set a minimum wage, and required safe working conditions. It also established a normal work 5 day work week of 40 hours.</p>	<p>L. Between October 24, 1938 and June 30, 1940, the [program headquarters] received 43,715 complaints against businesses for violation of the Act. Nearly three-quarters of these complaints came from employees, and the remainder from unions, trade associations, other businesses, and anonymous individuals. Few cases required litigation or criminal proceedings, and these frequently ended with fines or consent decrees in which the employer agreed to pay back wages and obey the law.</p>
<p>15. The Federal Art Project (FAP) of 1935 was a part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). This cultural program employed 5,300 artists at its height in 1936. Murals, paintings, sculptures and photography were all part of this program.</p>	<p>K. During its entire existence, it supervised the completion of an enormous volume of work, including 2,500 murals, 18,000 sculptures, 22,000 plates for the Index of American Design, and 108,000 easel works (e.g., oil and water color paintings).</p>

<p>16. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) of 1933 put money into state public works programs, which were government-funded projects to build public facilities and create jobs. The FERA supplied money to states with the most “needy and distressed”.</p>	<p>J. One of the major policy initiatives of the New Deal that changed the relationship between the federal government, the states and the American people. No longer would the federal government stand on the sidelines during an economic crisis, leaving matters to state governments. Instead, it took an active role in funding relief for states that needed it the most. Furthermore, “One of its most significant policies was to grant relief without discrimination. Blacks, especially in the South, who had never before gotten anything from government, suddenly found themselves eligible for federal relief...”.</p>
<p>17. The Federal Music Project (FMP) of 1935 was a part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). This cultural program employed about 16,000 musicians at its peak.</p>	<p>I. Projects of this program included: an Index of American Composers; music education, including music at “public schools that did not provide regular music instruction for their pupils”; music copying and music libraries; radio programs; and music laboratories, which “consisted of the performance of a program by one or more contemporary musicians, preferably young musicians in need of a public hearing, who afterward took the platform, explained their musical purposes and views, and replied to questions by the audience”.</p>
<p>18. The Federal Writers Project (FWP) of 1935 was a part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). This cultural program employed about 6,686 writers at its peak in 1936. It produced 3.5 million copies of 800 titles by 1941.</p>	<p>H. Poet and author W.H. Auden, who claimed that the [program] was “one of the noblest and most absurd undertakings ever attempted by a state”. Another was the superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, who wrote: “It gives me much pleasure to sponsor ‘A Guide to the United States Naval Academy.’ This book fills a long felt want in providing the public with authentic information and attractive pictures of the Academy. I feel that its publication at this time is most fortunate”. Many of the writers went on to successful careers.</p>

<p>19. The National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) of July 1935 legalized collective bargaining and closed shops (workplaces open only to union members). Although it was designed to bring about industrial peace, it led to a wave of strikes, many of which were sit-down strikes. These tactics, although not always successful, proved quite powerful. In 1939, the Supreme Court outlawed the sit-down strike as being too potent a weapon and an obstacle to negotiation.</p>	<p>G. President Roosevelt signed the Act on July 5th, 1935, stating: "This Act defines ... the right of self-organization of employees in industry for the purpose of collective bargaining, and provides methods by which the Government can safeguard that legal right...A better relationship between labor and management is the high purpose of this Act...it should serve as an important step toward the achievement of just and peaceful labor relations in industry".</p>
<p>20. The Public Works Administration (PWA) of 1933 launched projects, such as the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River. It was intended both for industrial recovery and unemployment relief. Eventually more than \$4 billion was spent on 34,000 construction projects. One of these projects was San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge.</p>	<p>F. Over its 10-year life, the [program] would radically transform the nation's major infrastructure. By 1939, it had contributed over \$3.8 billion towards the construction of 34,000 projects. Some prominent projects are New York's Triborough Bridge, Grand Coulee Dam, the San Francisco Mint, Reagan National Airport and Key West's Overseas Highway.</p>
<p>21. The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) of 1934 required full disclosure of information on stocks being sold. The SEC regulated the stock market. Congress also gave the Federal Reserve Board the power to regulate the purchase of stock on margin.</p>	<p>E. "... all investors, whether large institutions or private individuals, should have access to certain basic facts about an investment prior to buying it, and so long as they hold it".</p>
<p>22. Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) The Tennessee Valley Authority was created for the economic development of the Tennessee River watershed. Many jobs were created as a result of 20 dams built to control flooding, generate electricity and increase agricultural production.</p>	<p>D. "Across the Southeast, rates fell so sharply that residents and businesses started thinking up new ways to use electricity – a situation that had been unimaginable only a couple of years earlier, when electrical power was viewed as a luxury to be used sparingly....Ownership of electrical appliances tripled overall...By 1935 power rates were 30 percent below the national average across the region...".</p>

<p>23. Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 (CAA) The mission of the CAA was to encourage, develop, and regulate air transportation, for the improvement of mail service, national defense, and foreign and domestic commerce. It had new powers of rate regulation, approving new airline routes, and improving safety.</p>	<p>C. "The scheduled airlines operating within the continental United States during [fiscal year 1940] set the unparalleled record of completing a period of a full year without a single accident resulting in fatal injury to any passenger or crew member".</p>
<p>24. The U.S. Travel Bureau began on February 4, 1937 and was briefly called the "Tourist Bureau". The office was created by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes and placed within the National Park Service. Its purpose was to market the national parks, both to American citizens and foreign tourists.</p>	<p>B. In 1941, reports indicated that Americans were spending more than ever for recreational travel (the \$6 billion they spent in 1940 is about \$100 billion in 2014 dollars). With its tiny annual budget of \$75,000, the Travel Bureau was helping to stimulate the economy on a grand scale.</p>

New Deal Programs Graphic Organizer

Student Name:	Program Name:	Program Description <i>(Birthdate, Beliefs, Purpose)</i>	Program Outcome <i>(Actions, Results)</i>	Relief Recovery Reform
1.	Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA)			
2.	Emergency Banking Act			
3.	Resettlement Administration (RA)			
4.	Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)			
5.	Federal Housing Administration (FHA)			
6.	Federal Theater Project (FTP)			

7.	National Recovery Act (NRA)			
8.	National Youth Administration (NYA)			
9.	Rural Electrification Administration (REA)			
10.	Social Security Act			
11.	Works Progress Administration (WPA)			
12.	Civil Works Administration (CWA)			

Student Name:	Program Name:	Program Description <i>(Birthdate, Beliefs, Purpose)</i>	Program Outcome <i>(Actions, Results)</i>	Relief Recovery Reform
13.	Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)			
14.	Fair Labor Standards Act			
15.	Federal Art Project (FAP)			
16.	Federal Emergency Relief Administration			
17.	Federal Music Project (FMP)			
18.	Federal Writers Project (FWP)			

19.	National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act)			
20.	Public Works Administration (PWA)			
21.	Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)			
22.	Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)			
23.	Civil Aeronautics Act (CCA)			
24.	United States Travel Bureau			

New Deal Programs Graphic Organizer (Completed)

Student Name:	Program Name:	Program Description (<i>Birthdate, Beliefs, Purpose</i>)	Program Outcome (<i>Actions, Results</i>)	Relief Recovery Reform
1.	Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA)	1. The Agriculture Adjustment Administration (AAA) of 1933 raised farm prices through subsidies. It paid farmers not to raise certain crops and livestock, hoping that lower production would cause prices to rise. The Supreme Court struck down the tax that funded AAA subsidies to farmers.	Y. In the short run, farmers were paid to destroy crops and livestock, which led to depressing scenes of fields plowed under, corn burned as fuel and piglets slaughtered. Nevertheless, many of the farm products removed from economic circulation were utilized in productive ways. For example: The pork products were distributed to unemployed families...Other food products purchased for surplus removal and distribution in relief channels included butter, cheese, and flour. Even piglets too small to consume were converted into inedible by-products such as grease and fertilizer.	Recovery
2.	Emergency Banking Act	2. Emergency Banking Act On March 6, 1933, FDR shut down all the banks in the nation and forced Congress to pass this Act. It gave the government the opportunity to inspect the health of all banks. This re-established citizens' faith in banks. Inspectors found that most banks were healthy, and two-thirds of all banks were allowed to open soon after	X. Roosevelt declared a national bank holiday on March 5, 1933, shuttering the nation's banks for several days. The Emergency Banking Relief Act was quickly enacted by Congress to allow for the reopening of individual banks "as soon as examiners found them to be financially secure." In a fireside chat on March 12, Roosevelt told Americans, "I can assure you that it is safer to keep your money in a reopened bank than under your mattress.	Reform

3.	Resettlement Administration (RA)	3. The Resettlement Administration (RA) was created on May 1, 1935. President Roosevelt created the RA to resettle “low-income families from rural and urban areas”; Families were paid to complete projects that addressed “soil erosion, stream pollution, seacoast erosion, reforestation, forestation, and flood control”. The program also provided low-income families with loans “to finance, in whole or in part, the purchase of farm lands and necessary equipment by farmers, farm tenants, croppers or farm laborers.”	W. This program engaged in a variety of activities during its brief two-year existence. One was financial aid, with emergency loans and grants for farm families in dire straits and debt reduction for others. Another group of programs dealt with conservation work: planting trees on 87,000 acres; creating 1,900 miles of firebreaks; improving 261 miles of streams; educating farmers in best practices for land-use; and purchasing 9 million acres of land, “unsuitable for crop cultivation,” for “forestry, grazing, wildlife conservation, and recreation.” A third type of activity was aimed at building physical and social infrastructure in the countryside: over 500 vehicle, horse, and pedestrian bridges; 65 blacksmith shops; 1,800 miles of telephone lines, and enhanced medical and dental services.	Relief
4.	Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)	4. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) was established by the Glass-Steagall Banking Act of 1933 to insure bank deposits of up to \$5,000.	V. “Since the start no depositor has lost a single cent of insured funds as a result of a bank failure”. Furthermore, yearly bank failures have been kept to a minimum, exceeding 200 only six times since 1934.	Reform

5.	Federal Housing Administration (FHA)	5. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) of 1934 worked to improve housing standards and conditions and to insure mortgages.	U. First, it helped stimulate the revival of the construction industry and reemployment of workers in the building trades. As the FHA reported by the end of 1934, "In 60 cities it is reported that as a result of the better-housing programs there are no contractors or building-trades men who are unemployed". Second, by the end of the 1930s it was noted that "12,000,000 people have been enabled to improve their housing standards and conditions under the FHA program, including [new home purchases and] the modernization and repair provisions of the National Housing Act." After years of economic depression, more Americans could afford "better planned, better built, and better financed homes than ever before"	Reform
6.	Federal Theater Project (FTP)	6. The Federal Theatre Project (FTP) of 1935 was a part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and employed 12,700 theatre workers at its peak. The Federal Theatre units presented more than 1,000 performances each month before nearly 1 million people. There were 1,200 plays produced in the four years of the project.	T. Many of its' productions were very popular. For example, the play One-Third of a Nation played in New York City "for ten months in 1938 to a total audience of 217,458. Nationally, it played 7,641 times on stages in cities including Detroit, Cincinnati, Portland, Hartford, New Orleans, Seattle, and San Francisco". With respect to the quality of the productions and performances, Fortune magazine wrote, "From any point of view save that of the old-line box-office critics to whom nothing is theatre unless it has Broadway stars and Broadway varnish, it is a roaring success!"	Relief

7.	National Recovery Act (NRA)	7. The National Recovery Act (NRA) of 1933 was known as the “Blue Eagle” from its popular symbol. Accompanied by the slogan “We Do Our Part,” the NRA established codes for fair business practices. These codes regulated wages, working conditions, production and prices, and set a minimum wage. The Supreme Court invalidated the NRA in 1935. Some think that it hampered recovery by allowing the formation of cartels, restricting competition and reducing employment.	S. “effectively fixed prices and wages, established production quotas, and imposed restrictions on entry of other companies into the alliances.”	Reform
8.	National Youth Administration (NYA)	8. National Youth Administration (NYA) created under the Emergency Relief Act of 1935, provided more than 4.5 million jobs for young people. It gave part-time employment to students, established training programs and provided aid to unemployed youth.	R. Young men and women in engaged in a wide variety of public works and public service projects, such as: Cancer research; flood control studies; agricultural experimentation; refurbishing furniture; health care; construction of recreational facilities; automotive repair; building maintenance; landscaping of public grounds; library services; forestry and soil work; and national defense and industry training (e.g., aviation mechanics).	Relief
9.	Rural Electrification Administration (REA)	9. The Rural Electrification Administration (REA) of 1935 offered loans to electric companies and farm cooperatives for building power plants and extending power lines	Q. Despite early obstacles, the program was ultimately highly successful. By 1943, \$466 million had been spent for electric power infrastructure, 380,000 miles of power lines had been installed, and over a million consumers were receiving electricity. The program continued into the postwar era and helped the percentage of electrified farms in the United States rise from 11 percent to almost 97 percent by 1960. The New Deal had helped	Relief Recovery

			rural America achieve near-total electrification.	
10.	Social Security Act	10. The Social Security Act of 1935 established the administration of a national pension fund for the aged and unemployed, as well as public assistance for dependent mothers, children and disabled people. It was financed by a payroll tax based on employer and employee contributions.	P. The program is the most effective poverty mitigation program in the United States. "Prior to [this program], the elderly routinely faced the prospect of poverty upon retirement. For the most part, that fear has now dissipated".	Reform
11.	Works Progress Administration (WPA)	11. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) was a part of the second phase of the New Deal. From 1935 until 1943, this agency provided work for about 3 million workers at a time. By 1943, it had helped between 8 million and 9 million people. Under the WPA, buildings, roads, airports and schools were constructed. Actors, painters, musicians and writers were employed through the Federal Theatre Project, the Federal Art Project and the Federal Writers Project.	O. "An enumeration of all the projects undertaken and completed by [the program] during its lifetime would include almost every type of work imaginable...from the construction of highways to the extermination of rats; from the building of stadiums to the stuffing of birds; from the improvement of airplane landing fields to the making of Braille books; from the building of over a million of the now famous privies to the playing of the world's greatest symphonies"	Relief Recovery
12.	Civil Works Administration (CWA)	12. The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was a public program funding jobs ranging from ditch digging to highway repairs to teaching. Created in November 1933, it was criticized as "make work" and abandoned in the spring of 1934. It provided a psychological and physical boost to its 4 million workers.	N. "Long after the workers of [program] are dead and gone and these hard times forgotten, their effort will be remembered by permanent useful works in every county of every state. People will ride over bridges they made, travel on their highways, attend schools they built, navigate..."	Relief

13.	Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)	13. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) of 1933 put 2.5 million men to work in a variety of conservation projects: planting trees to combat soil erosion and maintain national forests; eliminating stream pollution; creating fish, game and bird sanctuaries; and conserving coal, petroleum, shale, gas, sodium and helium deposits. Workers earned only \$1 a day but received free board and job training. From 1934 to 1937, this program funded similar programs for 8,500 women. It taught men and women of America how to live independently, thus increasing self-esteem.	M. "Nationwide, the [program] operated 4,500 camps in national parks and forests, as well as state and community parks, planting three billion trees, protecting 20 million acres from soil erosion, and aiding in the establishment of 800 state parks. The [program] advanced natural resource conservation in this country by decades..."	Relief
14.	Fair Labor Standards Act	14. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 banned child labor, set a minimum wage, and required safe working conditions. It also established a normal work 5 day work week of 40 hours.	L. Between October 24, 1938 and June 30, 1940, the [program headquarters] received 43,715 complaints against businesses for violation of the Act. Nearly three-quarters of these complaints came from employees, and the remainder from unions, trade associations, other businesses, and anonymous individuals. Few cases required litigation or criminal proceedings, and these frequently ended with fines or consent decrees in which the employer agreed to pay back wages and obey the law.	Reform
15.	Federal Art Project (FAP)	15. The Federal Art Project (FAP) of 1935 was a part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). This cultural program employed 5,300 artists at its height in 1936. Murals, paintings, sculptures and photography were all part of this program.	K. During its entire existence, it supervised the completion of an enormous volume of work, including 2,500 murals, 18,000 sculptures, 22,000 plates for the Index of American Design, and 108,000 easel works (e.g., oil and water color paintings).	Relief

16.	Federal Emergency Relief Administration	16. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) of 1933 put money into state public works programs, which were government-funded projects to build public facilities and create jobs. The FERA supplied money to states with the most “needy and distressed”.	J. One of the major policy initiatives of the New Deal that changed the relationship between the federal government, the states and the American people. No longer would the federal government stand on the sidelines during an economic crisis, leaving matters to state governments. Instead, it took an active role in funding relief for states that needed it the most.	Recovery
17.	Federal Music Project (FMP)	17. The Federal Music Project (FMP) of 1935 was a part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). This cultural program employed about 16,000 musicians at its peak.	I. Projects of this program included: an Index of American Composers; music education, including music at “public schools that did not provide regular music instruction for their pupils”; music copying and music libraries; radio programs; and music laboratories, which “consisted of the performance of a program by one or more contemporary musicians, preferably young musicians in need of a public hearing, who afterward took the platform, explained their musical purposes and views, and replied to questions by the audience”.	Relief

18.	Federal Writers Project (FWP)	18. The Federal Writers Project (FWP) of 1935 was a part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). This cultural program employed about 6,686 writers at its peak in 1936. It produced 3.5 million copies of 800 titles by 1941.	H. Poet and author W.H. Auden, who claimed that the [program] was “one of the noblest and most absurd undertakings ever attempted by a state”. Another was the superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, who wrote: “It gives me much pleasure to sponsor ‘A Guide to the United States Naval Academy.’ This book fills a long felt want in providing the public with authentic information and attractive pictures of the Academy. I feel that its publication at this time is most fortunate”. Many of the writers went on to successful careers.	Relief
19.	National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act)	19. The National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) of July 1935 legalized collective bargaining and closed shops (workplaces open only to union members). Although it was designed to bring about industrial peace, it led to a wave of strikes, many of which were sit-down strikes. These tactics, although not always successful, proved quite powerful. In 1939, the Supreme Court outlawed the sit-down strike as being too potent a weapon and an obstacle to negotiation.	G. President Roosevelt signed the Act on July 5th, 1935, stating: “This Act defines ... the right of self-organization of employees in industry for the purpose of collective bargaining, and provides methods by which the Government can safeguard that legal right...A better relationship between labor and management is the high purpose of this Act...it should serve as an important step toward the achievement of just and peaceful labor relations in industry.”	Reform

20.	Public Works Administration (PWA)	20. The Public Works Administration (PWA) of 1933 launched projects, such as the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River. It was intended both for industrial recovery and unemployment relief. Eventually more than \$4 billion was spent on 34,000 construction projects. One of these projects was San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge.	F. Over its 10-year life, the [program] would radically transform the nation's major infrastructure. By 1939, it had contributed over \$3.8 billion towards the construction of 34,000 projects. Some prominent projects are New York's Triborough Bridge, Grand Coulee Dam, the San Francisco Mint, Reagan National Airport and Key West's Overseas Highway.	Recovery Relief
21.	Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)	21. The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) of 1934 required full disclosure of information on stocks being sold. The SEC regulated the stock market. Congress also gave the Federal Reserve Board the power to regulate the purchase of stock on margin.	E. "... all investors, whether large institutions or private individuals, should have access to certain basic facts about an investment prior to buying it, and so long as they hold it"	Reform
22.	Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)	22. Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) The Tennessee Valley Authority was created for the economic development of the Tennessee River watershed. Many jobs were created as a result of 20 dams built to control flooding, generate electricity and increase agricultural production.	D. "Across the Southeast, rates fell so sharply that residents and businesses started thinking up new ways to use electricity – a situation that had been unimaginable only a couple of years earlier, when electrical power was viewed as a luxury to be used sparingly....Ownership of electrical appliances tripled overall...By 1935 power rates were 30 percent below the national average across the region..."	Relief Recovery
23.	Civil Aeronautics Act (CAA)	23. Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 (CAA) The mission of the CAA was to encourage, develop, and regulate air transportation, for the improvement of mail service, national defense, and foreign and domestic commerce. It had new powers of rate regulation, approving new airline routes, and improving safety.	C. "The scheduled airlines operating within the continental United States during [fiscal year 1940] set the unparalleled record of completing a period of a full year without a single accident resulting in fatal injury to any passenger or crew member."	Recovery Reform

24.	United States Travel Bureau	24. The U.S. Travel Bureau began on February 4, 1937 and was briefly called the “Tourist Bureau”. The office was created by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes and placed within the National Park Service. Its purpose was to market the national parks, both to American citizens and foreign tourists.	B. In 1941, reports indicated that Americans were spending more than ever for recreational travel (the \$6 billion they spent in 1940 is about \$100 billion in 2014 dollars). With its tiny annual budget of \$75,000, the Travel Bureau was helping to stimulate the economy on a grand scale.	Recovery
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New Deal Source Analysis

1. F.D.R.'s Fireside Chat on Reorganization of the Judiciary, March 9, 1937, National Archives

The Court, in addition to the proper use of its judicial functions, has improperly set itself up as a third house of the Congress - a super-legislature, as one of the justices has called it - reading into the Constitution words and implications which are not there, and which were never intended to be there. We have, therefore, reached the point as a nation where we must take action to save the Constitution from the Court and the Court from itself....

What is my proposal? It is simply this: whenever a Judge or Justice of any Federal Court has reached the age of seventy and does not avail himself of the opportunity to retire on a pension, a new member shall be appointed by the President then in office, with the approval, as required by the Constitution, of the Senate of the United States. That plan has two chief purposes. By bringing into the judicial system a steady and continuing stream of new and younger blood, I hope, first, to make the administration of all Federal justice speedier and, therefore, less costly; secondly, to bring to the decision of social and economic problems younger men who have had personal experience and contact with modern facts and circumstances under which average men have to live and work....

Those opposing this plan have sought to arouse prejudice and fear by crying that I am seeking to "pack" the Supreme Court and that a baneful precedent will be established. Is it a dangerous precedent for the Congress to change the number of justices? The Congress has always had, and will have, that power...."

*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

2. Source: Letter sent by newspaper publisher, Frank Gannett to the Office of the Solicitor in the Justice Department, National Archives

“President Roosevelt has cleverly camouflaged a most amazing and startling proposal for packing the Supreme Court. It is true that the lower courts are slow and overburdened. We probably do need more judges to expedite litigation, but this condition should not be used as a subtle excuse for changing the complexion and undermining the independence of our highest court. Increasing the number of judges from nine to fifteen would not make this high tribunal act any more promptly than it does now, but it would give the President control of the Judiciary Department.....Provision has been made for amending the Constitution. If it is necessary to change the Constitution, it should be done in the regular way. This proposal should give every American grave concern for it is a step towards absolutism and complete dictatorial power.”

*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

3. Source: Washington Star, June 2, 1935



*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

4. Source: Letter to Senator Robert Wagner, March 7, 1934

It seems very apparent to me that the Administration is accelerating towards socialism and communism. Everyone is sympathetic to the cause of creating more jobs and better wages for labor; but, a program continually promoting labor troubles, higher wages, shorter hours, and less profits for business, would seem to me to be leading us fast to a condition where the Government must more and more expand its relief activities, and will lead in the end to disaster to all classes.

*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

5. Source: NBC Radio broadcast, John L. Lewis, Dec. 13 1936

It is the refusal of employers to grant such reasonable conditions and to deal with their employees through collective bargaining that leads to widespread labor unrest. The strikes which have broken out...especially in the automobile industry, are due to such "employee trouble."
 Huge corporations, such as the United States Steel and General Motors...have no right to transgress the law which gives to the workers the right of self-organization and collective bargaining.

*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

6. Source: "The Roosevelt Record" editorial in The Crisis, Nov. 1940

To declare that the Roosevelt administration has tried to include the Negro in nearly every phase of its program for the people of the nation is not to ignore the instances where government policies have harmed the race...at Boulder Dam, for example, the administration continued the shameful policy begun by Hoover of forbidding Negroes to live in Boulder City, the government-built town. And in its own pet project, the TVA, the administration forbade Negroes to live in Norris, another government-built town at Norris Dam.

The most important contribution of the Roosevelt administration to the age-old color line problem in America has been its doctrine that Negroes are a part of the country and must be considered in any program for the country as a whole. The inevitable discriminations notwithstanding, this though has been driven home in thousands of communities by a thousand specific acts. For the first time in their lives, government has taken on meaning and substance for the Negro masses.

*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

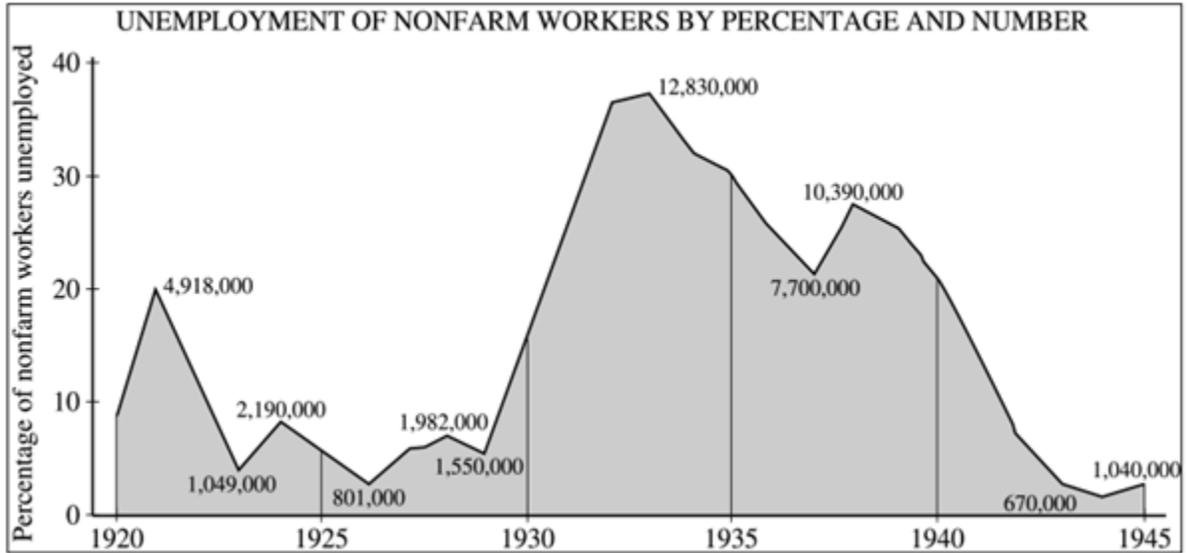
7. Huey Long, “Share the Wealth” Radio Address, April 1935

Now in the third year of his administration, we find more of our people unemployed than at any other time. We find our houses empty and our people hungry, many of them half-clothed and many of them not clothed at all.

Mr. Hopkins announced twenty-two millions on the dole, a new high-water mark in that particular sum, a few weeks ago. We find not only the people going further into debt, but that the United States is going further into debt. The states are going further into debt, and the cities and towns are even going into bankruptcy. The condition has become deplorable. Instead of his promises, the only remedy that Mr. Roosevelt has prescribed is to borrow more money if he can and to go further into debt. The last move was to borrow \$5 billion more on which we must pay interest for the balance of our lifetimes, and probably during the lifetime of our children. And with it all, there stalks a slimy specter of want, hunger, destitution, and pestilence, all because of the fact that in the land of too much and of too much to wear, our president has failed in his promise to have these necessities of life distributed into the hands of the people who have need of them.

*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

8. Source: Bureau of Labor and Statistics



*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

9. Helen Farmer, “The Great Depression”, National Youth Administration Worker

“I lugged...drafts and reams of paper home, night after night...Sometimes I typed all night...This was a good program. It got necessary work done. It gave teenagers a chance to work for pay...It gave my mother relief from my necessary demands for money.”

*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

10. Source: Federal Bank of St. Louis, 1955

Year	Unemployment Rate	Real GDP (in billions of dollars)	Federal Spending (in millions of dollars)
1929	3.2%	\$951.7	\$3,127
1930	8.9%	\$862.1	\$3,320
1931	16.3%	\$788.8	\$3,577
1932	24.1%	\$682.9	\$4,659
1933	25.2%	\$668.6	\$4,598
1934	22.0%	\$719.8	\$6,541
1935	20.3%	\$778.2	\$6,412
1936	17.0%	\$888.2	\$8,228
1937	14.3%	\$932.5	\$7,580
1938	19.1%	\$890.8	\$6,840

Source - The Great Depression - Fed Bank St.Louis

*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

11. Robert Miller’s account of his experiences enrolled in the CCC, 1937

These things I have mentioned are benefits derived by every young man who has been a member of the Civilian Conservation Corps. But my personal achievement is the one glorious gift I have received from my association with the young men of the CCC.

I enrolled as a boy, unsteady, groping, unsure. I wanted something, but could not describe it or discover a means for attaining it. Then I discovered what it was I was seeking – it was the right to call myself a man. My life at camp has given me that right, and I shall be ever grateful to President Roosevelt and the CCC. Now that I am a man, with my feet firmly planted on the steps of life, I feel sure of a reasonable amount of success.

If, in my humble way I have made you realize what the CCC has done for me, I am very happy. I do not claim any honor for the change that occurred in me, it just had to be. I’m only deeply thankful that I had the chance to get acquainted with the real me.

*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

12. Clayton R. Stoddard, Letter to President Roosevelt, 1935

While more of my people are working than a year ago, the low wages and the rise in the prices of the necessities of life bring about a condition where those who work are little better off than those on relief. To date, this problem seems to be increasing in seriousness. When so many people would like to eat better food and wear better clothes, it seems to us that there is something dramatically wrong with a plan of procedure which limits production to raise prices. The problem of distribution and the excessive rise in prices from producer to consumer must be solved some day.

*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

13. Robert Taft, Republican Senator from Ohio, Radio Broadcast, March 1939

We find an overwhelmingly difficult problem before us. After six years of the New Deal rule, after every kind of experiment, and the addition of twenty billion dollars to the national debt, the fundamental problems are still unsolved. More than ten million people are unemployed in the United States today, about three million of them receiving a bare subsistence from WPA. Twenty million people are looking to the government for food. Millions more are receiving inadequate wages, and fall in that underprivileged class for whom New Dealers have shed tears in every speech, and to whom they have repeatedly promised prosperity and security. And yet there are more people underprivileged today, more people who have barely enough to live on, than there have been at any time except at the very bottom of the depression...

*Position/Claim	Speaker	Purpose
Occasion	Textual Evidence to Support Claim:	

***The New Deal Debate: Did the New Deal “Solve” the Great Depression?**

Position #1: Defend the New Deal

The New Deal helped to solve the economic hardships that Americans experienced during the Great Depression, alleviating much of the economic stress that people faced in their daily lives and allowing the country to recover and get back to work. The New Deal prevented the economic and political collapse of the United States and created agencies to help prevent future depressions.

Position #2: Oppose the New Deal

The New Deal did not help to solve the economic hardships that Americans experienced during the Great Depression. The New Deal was a socialistic program that has overly expanded the role of the federal government. Too much power has been shifted to Washington, and too much money spent on its programs at a time that we should be reserving resources.

Position 1 Thesis:

Position 2 Thesis:

Argue with Evidence Worksheet

Prompt: Should the poor be helped? Argue whether or not the federal government has the responsibility to establish social and economic programs to improve the quality of life for its citizens who need help.

Argument 1: Helping the poor is worth the cost.

The federal should support the people who need help. It is the government’s duty to provide assistance to the underprivileged and those with fewer resources. It is the federal government’s responsibility to establish social and economic programs to improve the quality of life for its citizens. Government involvement in caring for the needy should be expected. The US government was created “for the people, by the people,” and its leaders are supposed to reflect the “will of the people.” FDR knew this and when elected to office in 1932, amidst the worst economic crisis American had seen, he promised he would be active in battling the Depression head on and aggressively. It was clear that “laissez faire” government wasn’t meeting people’s need and that relief was necessary. There have been countless examples in history, when the President has had to expand his powers to protect the people- mostly in war. For FDR, the Depression was its own kind of war and he was justified in changing the role and direction of government in order to win.

Write down five best points from Argument 1 above:

1)
2)
3)
4)
5)

Write down one counterpoint, using textual evidence from the New Deal Source Analysis Sheet, for each point made above:

C1) Yes, but

C2) Yes, but

C3) Yes, but

C4) Yes, but

C5) Yes, but

Argument 2: Helping the poor is not worth the cost.

The federal should not support the people who need help. America is the land of opportunity, and individuals should “work hard” to improve the economic situation for their family. It is not the federal government’s responsibility to establish social and economic programs to improve the quality of life for its citizens. Government involvement in caring for the needy should be not expected. Our government was intentionally created with specific “checks and balances,” to limit the power of each branch and to keep any one man or one group from gaining dictatorial power. The executive branch under FDR, flew in the face of this balance, and clearly meant to enlarge the power of the Presidency. The government during the New Deal, randomly spent money, created programs and made decisions with limited or no input from the Congress or the Supreme Court. Today people complain that government has become “too big” and too involved in our lives. We need only to look at the New Deal as the beginning of this process of enlarging the bureaucracy and giving the executive too much power.

Write down five best points from Argument 2 above:

1)

2)

3)

4)

5)

Write down one counterpoint, using textual evidence from the New Deal Source Analysis Sheet, for each point above:

C1) Yes, but

C2) Yes, but

C3) Yes, but

C4) Yes, but

C5) Yes, but

Social Security Will Be There For You¹²⁰

However, expect to receive only 75 percent of what retirees get now.

Ben Steverman

June 22, 2016

Vocabulary:

Rorschach Test

Millennials: Born 1977-1984 to 1995.

News Article	Questions
<p>Social Security is like a Rorschach Test. Some look into the federal retirement program’s future and see nothing but doom and gloom: It is bankrupt, economically untenable, and fiscally unsustainable. Others see a solid institution—the strongest cords of America's safety net—that just needs a few tweaks, maybe even an expansion.</p> <p>The Social Security Administration on Wednesday released its annual trustees’ report, giving us a look at its finances. The trustees, including Treasury Secretary Jacob Lew, estimate that the Social Security trust fund will run out of money in 2034. But don’t expect this to settle any debates.</p> <p>Your perspective on Social Security may depend on how far you are from retirement. While older Americans can’t imagine a world without Social Security, most millennials have become fatalistic about it—they assume the benefit will disappear before they reach retirement (if they are ever able to retire). Only 6 percent of them expect current benefits to be there when they hit 67 years old—the full benefit age for those born in 1960 or later—and 51 percent expect the program to go entirely extinct, according to a 2014 Pew Research Center survey.</p> <p>Experts disagree about almost everything on Social Security. They largely concur that, in this case, millennials are dead wrong. Under the current estimate, 2034 is the year when Social Security can no longer pay full benefits (unless the government steps in and does something about it). But the program should still be able to pay three-quarters of benefits at that time and for decades afterward, backed by a steady stream of payroll taxes from future generations.</p>	

¹²⁰ Article by Bloomberg News, June 22, 2016. The original work is at <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-06-22/social-security-will-be-there-for-you-millennials>.

Future administrations could move to repeal the 81-year-old Social Security Act and spend that money on something else. But that will probably continue to amount to political suicide down the line.

Among the elderly, 53 percent of married couples get more than half their income from the program. For the unmarried elderly, it's even more critical: Some 74 percent get more than half their income, and 47 percent get more than 90 percent of their income from the program.

Any move to scale back the program (let alone eliminate it) would come as Americans become increasingly dependent on it to survive. The disappearance of defined-benefit pensions and the inadequacy and unreliability of 401(k) accounts, mean that more retirees, not fewer, are likely to need Social Security in the coming years.

Finally, cutting benefits is wildly unpopular, even among millennials who never expect to get them. Two-thirds of all Americans, and 61 percent of millennials, favored either keeping benefits the same or expanding them, according to the Pew survey. Since then, U.S. presidential candidate Bernie Sanders changed the paradigm by running a millennial-fueled campaign promising to expand Social Security by boosting monthly checks an average of \$65. The Vermont senator's rival for the Democratic nomination, Hillary Clinton, proposes a more modest expansion, while Republican Donald Trump says he wants to leave Social Security untouched.

That doesn't mean the debate is settled, by any means. The topic can spark warfare among retirement experts. Look, for example, at the open disagreement among the authors of last year's surprise bestseller, *Get What's Yours: The Secrets to Maxing Out Your Social Security*.

Laurence Kotlikoff, a Boston University professor and economist, wrote in the latest edition of the book: "Radical change in our Social Security system is inevitable for the simple reason that the system is broke—indeed, in worse fiscal shape than Detroit's pensions when that city declared bankruptcy.

But in the same chapter, co-author Paul Solman dismissed those concerns, accusing Kotlikoff of "irresponsible hyperbole, animus and undue pessimism." Social Security is not any more unsustainable than all the other things that the deficit-plagued federal government does. "Why single out Social Security?" Solman wrote, suggesting several

minor benefit cuts or tax increases that could ensure that Social Security's trust fund lasts longer.

Solman and Kotlikoff's differences are partly theoretical. Kotlikoff insists on calculating Social Security's true cost over an "infinite" time frame, which he says is the only way to see how the program shifts the burden on future generations. Solman says it's ridiculous to predict so far out in the future, when so much could change in the economy, the labor market, and government finances.

One thing they agree on, however. Addressing young people, Solman wrote: "You will get yours—or at the very least, you'll get most of it."

Letter to Congress Instructions

To Your Senator: The Honorable (full name) (Room #) (Name) Senate Office Building United States Senate Washington, DC 20510	To Your Representative: The Honorable (full name) (Room #) (Name) House Office Building United States House of Representatives Washington, DC 20515
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Always

1. Be courteous and respectful without "gushing."
2. Clearly and simply state the purpose of your letter.
3. Say who you are. Anonymous letters go nowhere. Even in email, include your correct name, address, phone number and email address. If you don't include at least your name and address, you will not get a response.
4. State any professional credentials or personal experience you may have, especially those pertaining to the subject of your letter.
5. Keep your letter short -- one page is best.
6. Use specific examples or evidence to support your position.
7. State what it is you want done or recommend a course of action.
8. Thank the member for taking the time to read your letter.

Never

1. Use vulgarity, profanity, or threats. The first two are just plain rude and the third one can get you a visit from the Secret Service. Simply stated, don't let your passion get in the way of making your point.
2. Fail to include your name and address, even in email letters.
3. Demand a response.

Step 1: Plan the body of your letter to Congress:

1. Who are you writing to? (Look up either a Senator or Representative):
2. What is the subject of your letter?
3. What is your point of view on the subject?
4. List 3 supporting arguments for your point of view:
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.

Step 2: Write your letter!

Your letter should be about one page in length and include your 3 arguments supporting your point of view.

The Honorable (full name)

(Room #) (Name) Senate Office Building

United States Senate

Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable (full name)

(Room #) (Name) House Office Building

United States House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

Dear Senator/Representative xxx,

<State who you are and why you are writing, followed by your three supporting arguments>

Thank you for your time in reviewing my concern, and I look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

Full Name

Address

Phone Number (optional)

Email (optional)

Unit Three Assessment

Description: Students participate in a [Socratic Seminar](#) around the unit claim question: “What is the legacy of war and recovery on a nation’s identity?”

Suggested Timeline: 2 class periods

Student Directions: Participate in a [Socratic Seminar](#) in response to the question: What is the legacy of war and recovery on a nation’s identity? Use evidenced gathered from the unit and your knowledge of U.S. History to develop and support your answer. Take into consideration the following topics:

- Post-war politics and the subsequent return to normalcy
- The changing culture and prosperity in the roaring 20s.
- The causes and impacts of the Great Depression
- The New Deal recovery efforts.

Resources:

- [Conversation Stems](#)
- [Socratic seminar one-pager](#)
- [discussion tracker](#)

Teacher Notes: In completing this task, students meet the expectations for social studies GLEs US.4.1-5, and US.1.1-1.5. They also meet the expectations for [ELA/Literacy Standards](#): RH.11-12.1, RH.11-12.2, RH.11-12.3, RH.11-12.9, RH.11-12.10, SL.11-12.1a-e, SL.11-12.2, SL.11-12.4, SL.11-12.6.

Learn more about how to conduct a Socratic seminar by accessing the [Socratic seminar one-pager](#).

Possible guiding questions during the seminar:

1. How did the desire to return to normalcy reflect the nation’s post-war identity?
2. What caused the economic prosperity of the 20s, how did that impact the nation’s identity?
3. How did the changing culture of the 20s, including new tech innovations, social roles, and nativism/racism, impact the nation’s identity?
4. How did the Great Depression impact the psychology of Americans, and thus the nation’s identity?
5. What does the wide approval of FDR’s New Deal policies say about the nation’s changing identity?

Use a [discussion tracker](#) to keep track of students’ contributions to the conversation and use this information to assign a grade to students.

Unit Four Overview

Description: Students explore U.S. involvement in WWII, and how the outcomes of WWII propelled the U.S. into a leading world power. Students will use the example of America and WWII to address the role of war in nation building.

Suggested Timeline: 4 weeks

U.S. History Content	U.S. History Claims
World War II	What is the role of war in nation building?

Topics (GLEs):

1. [The Crisis in Europe and American Entry](#) (US.4.6)
2. [The U.S. During the War](#) (US.4.7-8)
3. [Victory and The New World Order](#) (US.4.9-10)

Unit Assessment: Students write an essay addressing the unit claim question: “What is the role of war in nation building?”

Unit Four Instruction

Topic One: The Crisis in Europe and American Entry (US.4.6)

Connections to the unit claim: Students learn about the factors that influenced the start of WWII, and explore primary and secondary sources to investigate the reasons for U.S. entry into the war. Students analyze key speeches made by FDR to determine how support for U.S. entry into the war - and an abandonment of isolationism- was built. Students will use this knowledge to make a claim on the unit question regarding how U.S. involvement in WWII enhanced its nation building efforts.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [U.S. Involvement in WWII](#)

To explore these key questions:

- How did FDR’s “Quarantine Speech” reflect the U.S. policy of isolationism after WWI?
- How did U.S. response to Japan’s actions change over time?
- How did Japan perceive the actions of the United States?
- How did FDR change his words to encourage public support for U.S. involvement in WWII?
- Was U.S. involvement in WWII inevitable?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students write a paragraph summarizing FDR’s Quarantine Speech, and how the speech supports a policy of isolationism in the face of war. Use the [Student Look-Fors](#) to support grading.
- Students complete a [WWII Timeline](#), documenting key turning points leading towards U.S. entry into the war.
- Students write a paragraph answering the third supporting question for the task: “How did Japan perceive the actions of the United States?” Use the [Student Look-Fors](#) to support grading.
- Students write a paragraph answering the fourth supporting question for the task: “How did FDR use his words to encourage public support for U.S. involvement in WWII?” Use the [Student Look-Fors](#) to support with grading.
- Students write an essay that analyzes whether or not U.S. involvement in WWII was inevitable. Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay.

US History Instructional Task: U.S. Involvement in WWII

Unit Four: World War II, Topic One: The Crisis in Europe and American Entry

Description: Students investigate the causes for WWII and the reasons for U.S. entry by participating in a simulation, creating timelines of key events, analyzing secondary sources, and analyzing primary sources in the forms of speeches and maps.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Materials: [How Would You Vote?](#); [Beginning of World War II](#); [WWII Allied and Axis Powers Map](#); [FDR's "Quarantine Speech."](#); [America on the Sidelines: The United States and World Affairs, 1931-1941](#); WWII Timeline ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); [Decision Following the Imperial Conference of September 6, 1941 \(Tentative Translation\)](#); [Pearl Harbor](#); ["A Date Which Will Live in Infamy" \(typed draft with hand-written edits\)](#); ["A Date Which Will Live in Infamy" \(Audio\)](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Post and read aloud the unit claim for the fourth unit: "What is the role of war in nation building?"
2. Direct students to do a thirty second Think-Pair-Share on what "nation building" means. After the Think-Pair-Share, as a few students to share out what they think nation building means, allowing students to respond to each other's thoughts.
3. Read the [first two paragraphs](#) of this definition of "nation building." Then lead a brief class discussion around the U.S. and nation building using the following questions:
 - a. Does nation building only occur during the inception of a nation?
 - b. What are some periods of nation building in U.S. history?
4. Say: "As we learned in the previous unit, the United States experienced the most dire economic downturn in its history, deeply impacting the nation's identity of prosperity built through the industrial age, and bringing into question again the role of government in the lives of the people. In this unit, we will explore U.S. involvement in WWII, and how the outcome of the war impacted U.S. nation building. Throughout this unit, you will learn how war influences nation building through the lense of the second world war, and at the end of the unit you will write an essay answering the unit claim question using the knowledge you gain about WWII and the U.S. through each unit topic."
5. Present students with the question for this instructional task: "Was U.S. Involvement in WWII Inevitable?" Have students work with a partner to paraphrase the question into their own words.
6. Conduct a discussion about what it means for something to be inevitable.
 - a. What does inevitable mean?
 - b. What makes something inevitable?
7. Say: "In order to answer this compelling question, we need to first understand what events led to the start of WWII. As we learned in the second unit, the origins of WWII are connected to WWI. Let's briefly review how the end of WWI impacted the beginning of WWII."
8. Lead the class in a brief discussion around the endings of WWI using the following questions:
 - a. What was stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles, and who was assigned guilt?
 - b. We know that one of the causes of WWI was Imperialism. What was stated about acquiring territories in the Treaty of Versailles?

- c. What were European economies like after WWI? What did reparations do to the German economy?
 - d. **NOTE:** it is very important for students to understand how much reparations crippled the German economy after WWI, and how much resentment the average German citizen felt towards the Treaty of Versailles in order for them to access the 1932 German election simulation in the next part of the task.
9. Conduct steps 3-8 of the [How Would You Vote?](#) lesson from the Museum of History and Holocaust Education at Kennesaw State University. **NOTE:** The point of this simulation is for students to understand the factors that enabled Hitler’s rise to power. In order for students to get the most from this simulation, it is important that students do not know the party affiliation of platforms A, B, and C until the end of the simulation. After the simulation, lead the class in a brief discussion on the factors that enabled Hitler’s rise to power, using the following questions:
- a. Why was the Nazi party appealing to the average German voter?
 - b. What insight does this simulation give us into the reasons why people in economic crisis vote the way they do?
10. Show the eight minute video, [Beginning of World War II](#)¹²¹ by Khan Academy to help students build context around the events that led to the start of the second world war. After watching the video, divide the class into small groups using an established classroom routine, and direct students to discuss the following questions in their small groups:
- a. What events led to the start of WWII in both Europe and Asia?
 - b. What were the aims of the Japanese empire in the 1930s?
 - c. Why do you think European countries didn’t react immediately to Germany’s illegal acquisition of territories (Austria, The Sudetenland, etc.)?
11. Project the [WWII Allied and Axis Powers Map](#)¹²². Discuss with students who the Allied and Axis powers were. Scroll over the map to reveal colored dots. Hover over the yellow dots to reveal national leaders with a picture and brief bio. Discuss who the leaders of each major allied (Britain, U.S., Russia, France) country and Axis (Germany, Italy, Japan) country were.
12. Say: “Now that we have a better understanding of the events that led to WWII, the countries that participated and the alliances that were held, let’s investigate the events that led to U.S. involvement.”
13. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “How did FDR’s “Quarantine Speech” reflect the U.S. Policy of isolationism after WWI?”
14. Before presenting students with the text, define quarantine as “forcing someone or something into isolation for a period of time to limit or prevent the spread of infection.” Then explain to students they will be reading Franklin D. Roosevelt’s “Quarantine Speech” delivered October 5, 1937. Ask students to do a quick write drawing on their prior knowledge about US foreign policy: What might Roosevelt suggest be quarantined? Why? After allowing time for students to write, allow a few students to share their answers with the whole group to ensure that the class has a working understanding of the concept before introducing the speech.
15. Have students read through the excerpt from [FDR’s “Quarantine Speech.”](#) As they read, have students make note of any references or word choices that support the concept of quarantine.

¹²¹ This video is produced by Khan Academy and licensed under [Creative Commons 3.0](#). It is available at:

<https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-7/apush-us-wwii/v/beginning-of-world-war-ii>

¹²² Interactive map created by ThingLink, and available at <https://www.thinglink.com/scene/852623457895055360>

16. Conduct a class discussion in which students consider the impact of this speech. Possible guiding questions include:
- What feelings do the words you noted in the speech evoke?
 - Other than the words related to the idea of quarantine, what other “loaded words” do you notice in the speech?
 - How does FDR use those feelings to support his policy of isolationism?
 - Why did so many people take an isolationist stance after WWI?
17. Direct students to summarize the excerpt of the speech in their own words, focusing on the key points. Have students include in their summary how this speech supports a policy of isolationism in the face of war. Collect and grade for content accuracy. Use the [Student Look-Fors](#) to assess students’ understanding.
18. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: “How did U.S. response to Japan’s actions change over time?”
19. Provide students with access to the interactive [America on the Sidelines: The United States and World Affairs, 1931-1941](#)¹²³. **NOTE:** while this section of the task will work best if students can access this interactive timeline either individually or in small groups, if technology is not available, it is possible to replicate the following activity whole group with the interactive projected from a teacher’s computer.
20. Direct students to click “Enter Asia” under the Heading “Select Your Campaign.” Allow students the opportunity to interact with the timeline by clicking on the various dates. For each month and year selected, have students click “Select a Course of Action.” Students can then click on the different response options to learn about how the U.S. responded to each situation. As they explore, students can also click on the book icon that says “Click to read a contemporary document” to read source documents from the time period that may support their understanding of each event.
21. Have students record their findings about U.S. responses using the [WWII Timeline](#) as they explore the site, making sure to document key turning points on their timeline. Collect and grade for content accuracy. Use the [completed timeline](#) as a guide for grading.
22. Post and read aloud the third supporting question for the task: “How did Japan perceive the actions of the United States?”
23. Have students revisit their annotated timeline from the previous formative assessment task. Divide students into pairs using an established class routine, and direct pairs to briefly discuss the actions of both Japan and the United States as noted in their timelines.
24. Have students read the [Decision Following the Imperial Conference of September 6, 1941 \(Tentative Translation\)](#) to gain insight into Japan’s reaction to the actions taken by the United States.
25. Conduct a class discussion in which students consider the impact of this speech. Possible guiding questions include:
- What patterns did you see in U.S. responses?
 - Why do you think those patterns emerged? What events were occurring around the world that stimulated escalation in both the actions of Japanese and the responses by the U.S.?
 - How did the different alliances impact the actions of each country?

¹²³ Made by Teaching American History, and available at: <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/static/neh/interactives/neutrality/>
Return to [U.S. History: How to Navigate This Document](#)

26. Instruct students to write a paragraph answering the third supporting question for the task: “How did Japan perceive the actions of the United States?” Collect and grade for content accuracy. Use the [Student Look-Fors](#) to support grading.
27. Post and read aloud the fourth supporting question for the task: “How did FDR use his words to encourage public support for U.S. involvement in WWII?”
28. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. To build background knowledge on the attack on Pearl Harbor before analyzing FDR’s “Infamy” speech, provide students with [Pearl Harbor](#)¹²⁴ and instruct them to read independently. After students have finished reading, direct them to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What motives did Japan have in attacking the US naval base at Pearl Harbor?
 - b. What was the American response to the Japanese attack?
 - c. Do you think the United States would have entered World War II if the Japanese had not bombed Pearl Harbor? Why or why not?
29. Divide students into pairs using an established classroom routine. Explain to students that they will be analyzing FDR’s speech following the attack on Pearl Harbor in order to understand how FDR carefully chose his words to encourage public support for U.S. involvement in the war. Provide each pair with ["A Date Which Will Live in Infamy" \(typed draft with hand-written edits\)](#) and instruct them to follow along while they listen to ["A Date Which Will Live in Infamy" \(Audio\)](#). Have students make any notes about additional words of importance that FDR adds upon delivery. After listening to the speech, have pairs compare the intricacies of the word choices between the original, edits, and the additional decision made upon delivery, and discuss any word choice decisions they feel are strategic throughout the speech. For example:
 - a. Original: “bombing in Hawaii and the Philippines”
 - b. FDR’s edits: “bombing in Oahu”
 - c. FDR’s delivery: “bombing on the American island of Oahu”
 - d. Reasoning: people might not care as much if the Philippines were bombed, but when FDR specifies that it was an American island that was bombed, people might be more supportive of declaring war.
30. After allowing pairs awhile to analyze the speech for strategic word choices (either original or edited in), ask a few pairs to share out some of the words or phrases they found strategic in building support for U.S. entry into the war. The teacher may find it helpful to use the following prompting questions during discussion:
 - a. Who is the audience and what is the purpose of this speech?
 - b. What feeling are evoked as a result of using xxx word or phrase?
 - c. How does he use language to achieve his purpose?
 - d. How effective were FDR’s word choices?
31. After discussing and sharing out, have each create a Venn diagram in which they compare the language in [FDR’s “Quarantine Speech”](#) studied earlier in the task, with the Infamy speech.
32. Conduct a class discussion in which students discuss how the two speeches were similar and how they differed. Possible guiding questions include:
 - a. How are the ideas behind the Infamy speech different than the Quarantine speech?
 - b. What has happened in between those speeches to result in those changes?

¹²⁴This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-7/apush-us-wwii/a/pearl-harbor>

33. Instruct students to write a paragraph answering the fourth supporting question for the task: “How did FDR use his words to encourage public support for U.S. involvement in WWII?” Grade for content accuracy. Use the [Student Look-Fors](#) to support with grading.
34. To culminate the task, instruct students to use the task sources and their knowledge of U.S. history to write an essay that analyzes whether or not U.S. involvement in WWII was inevitable. Provide students with a copy of the [LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#) as needed. Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written. Use the [Student Look-Fors](#) to support in customizing the Content portion of the rubric.

Franklin D. Roosevelt’s “Quarantine Speech”

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading.

When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

It is my determination to pursue a policy of peace. It is my determination to adopt every practicable measure to avoid involvement in war. It ought to be inconceivable that in this modern era, and in the face of experience, any nation could be so foolish and ruthless as to run the risk of plunging the whole world into war by invading and violating, in contravention of solemn treaties, the territory of other nations that have done them no real harm and are too weak to protect themselves adequately. Yet the peace of the world and the welfare and security of every nation, including our own, is today being threatened by that very thing.

No nation which refuses to exercise forbearance and to respect the freedom and rights of others can long remain strong and retain the confidence and respect of other nations. No nation ever loses its dignity or its good standing by conciliating its differences, and by exercising great patience with, and consideration for, the rights of other nations. War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement, but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down.

If civilization is to survive the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored. Trust between nations must be revived. Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a course. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace.

This text is in the public domain.

Student Look-Fors: Was U.S. involvement in WWII inevitable?

First Supporting Question Student Look-Fors:

1. Students should be able to rewrite the question in a way that makes clear they understand the meaning of inevitable.
2. Students should summarize the key points of FDR's speech, noting connections between the definition of quarantine and the concept FDR wants to express about US involvement or lack of involvement in foreign affairs.
3. Students should note words like epidemic, disease, spread, and contagion in their summary, as these are all words related to the idea of quarantine.
4. Students should also recognize the negative connotations of the words they noted. They should recognize feelings such as fear and unease being evoked by loaded words such as foolish, ruthless, violating, weak, threatened, and engulf.

****Use the [completed WWII timeline](#) to support grading for the second supporting question****

Third Supporting Question Student Look-Fors:

1. Students identify the concerns of the Japanese as they read Featured Source C based on what they have learned about the sanctions enacted by the U.S. (i.e., declaring embargoes, demanding indemnities, freezing assets, etc.)
 - a. Japan is concerned about self-preservation and self-defense.
 - b. Japan doesn't think negotiations will work and will prepare for war as necessary.
2. Students describe in their discussion the escalation of U.S. responses from isolationism to declaring war.
3. Students also bring in information from outside the sources to support their understanding of the escalating tensions between the U.S. and Japan.
 - a. Japanese alliance with Germany and Italy
 - b. Hitler's invasion of Poland, Denmark, Norway, Low Countries, France, Yugoslavia, Greece, and USSR
 - c. Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia and Greece
 - d. Start of the "blitz"

Fourth Supporting Question Student Look-Fors:

1. Students identify several examples in which changes were made to the language to make the speech more convincing.
2. Students identify the shift in U.S. foreign policy from isolationism after WWI to our involvement in WWII as reflected in FDR's two speeches.
3. Students recognize that both speeches were an attempt to encourage public support for FDR's policies and that FDR's strategic choices in words play an important role in that effort.
4. Students indicate a clear understanding that the events at Pearl Harbor were a direct catalyst for U.S. involvement in WWII.

Culminating Question Student Look-Fors:

1. Scoring Notes:
 - a. Student responses should reflect an understanding that U.S. foreign policy shifted from that of isolationism after WWI to direct involvement in WWI as a result of a series of events over the course of several years.
 - b. The student takes a clear position in response to the prompt and develops a solid claim.
 - c. The student supports claims using information gained from sources.
2. A strong response:
 - a. References documents appropriately
 - i. FDR's support of the U.S. policy of isolationism
 - ii. Escalation of U.S. responses to Japanese actions
 - iii. Japanese perspective of U.S. imposed sanctions
 - iv. FDR's insight into the events at Pearl Harbor
 - b. Applies the provided evidence as well as additional information about U.S. foreign relations leading up to WWII.
 - i. Students may discuss background information on the alliances
 1. Axis Powers (Germany, Italy, Japan, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria)
 2. Allied Powers (U.S., Britain, France, USSR, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Greece, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia)
 3. US-USSR join forces against the Nazis
 4. China's Communist and Nationalist – united front against Japan
 - ii. Students may discuss the rise of powerful dictators who began trying to conquer and control other areas
 1. Fascist dictatorship takes control of Italy
 2. Nazi dictatorship takes control of Germany
 3. Military dictatorship takes control of Japan

WWII Timeline

July 1937

December 1937

May 1938

October 1938

September 1940

July 1941

September 1941

November 1941

December 1941

WWII Timeline (Completed)



Decision Following the Imperial Conference of September 6, 1941 (Tentative Translation)

Transcript (Page 1)

Lines of Action in the Execution of Japan's National Policy. Decision following the Imperial Conference of September 6, 1941.

In view of the critical situation at present especially the hostile attitude assumed by America, Britain, and the Netherlands, the situation of the Soviet Union, and the resiliency of Japanese national power. The measures vis-à-vis the Southern regions mentioned in the "Lines of Action of Japan's National Policy to be Pursued According to the Changing Situation" will be carried out as set forth hereunder:

1. In order to insure self-preservation and self-defense, Japan under the resolve to risk a war with America (Britain and the Netherlands) will go forward with war preparations, which are to be completed sometime toward the latter part of October.
2. Parallely with the fore-going measure, Japan will strive to establish fully her claims by diplomatic means vis-à-vis American and Britain. In the negotiations with America (Britain) the minimum Japanese requirements which must be fulfilled, and the limits of the concession Japan can agree to make will be as set forth in the Appendix.

Transcript (Page 2)

3. In case there is no prospect by the early part of October of pushing through Japanese claims by diplomatic means as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Japan will forthwith decide upon war against America (Britain and the Netherlands). As regards the measures relating to matters other than the Southern region, they will be carried forward according to the national policy as has already been decided upon. Special efforts will be exerted to prevent American and the Soviet Union forming a united front against Japan.

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"A Date Which Will Live in Infamy"

DRAFT No. 1
 December 7, 1941.

PROPOSED MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

Yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date which will live in ~~infamy~~ ^{infamy} the United States of America was ~~suddenly~~ ^{suddenly} and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan, ~~with out warning~~.

The United States was at the moment at peace with that nation and was ~~conducting~~ ^{still in} conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in ~~the Hawaiian Islands~~ ^{Oahu} the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a ~~former~~ ^{recent American} message, ~~in which~~ ^{While} ~~it stated~~ ^{stated} that diplomatic negotiations must be considered at an end, ~~but~~ ^{it} contained no threat ~~and~~ ^{on} ~~no~~ ^{war or} hint of ~~an~~ ^{an} armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance ~~between~~ ^{of} Hawaii, from Japan makes it obvious that the ~~attack~~ ^{even} ~~was~~ ^{deliberately} planned many days ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

at the solicitation of Japan
to maintain the status quo

DRAFT NO. 1

-2-

The attack ~~on the island of Oahu~~ ^{the Hawaiian Islands} yesterday on ~~the island of Oahu~~ has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ~~ships~~ ships have been torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

~~A~~ ^Q Last night Japanese forces attacked ~~the Philippines~~ ^{Guam}. Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending ^{to the Philippines} throughout the Pacific area.

The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications ~~of these attacks~~ ^{to the} ~~of these attacks~~ ^{very} on the safety of our nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy I have ~~directed~~ directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Long will we remember the character of the onslaught against us.

A No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people will in their righteous might win through to absolute victory.

DRAFT NO. 1

-3-

I speak the will of the Congress and of the people ~~of this~~
~~country~~ when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to
the uttermost but will see to it that this form of treachery shall
never endanger us again. ^P Hostilities exist. There is no mincing
the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in
grave danger.

I, therefore, ask that the Congress declare that since the
unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December
seventh, a state of war ^{has} ^{ex}ist^d between the United States and the
Japanese Empire.

~~Our people in
full confidence in our might~~

Unit Four Instruction

Topic Two: The U.S. During the War (US.4.7-8)

Connections to the unit claim: Students examine the homefront during WWII, including the role of minority groups and efforts made by government to finance, and build support for the war. Students will use this knowledge to determine how efforts on the homefront support nation building during times of war.

Suggested Timeline: 5 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [The Homefront](#)

To explore these key questions:

- How successful were government efforts to build support for WWII?
- How did WWII change the status of women and minorities in America?
- Why were Japanese Americans interned during WWII?
- How did the U.S. government use propaganda during WWII?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: “How did WWII change the status of women and minorities in America?”
- Students complete a graphic organizer, analyzing primary documents to determine the reasoning for Japanese internment during WWII, and then write an extended paragraph answering the second compelling question for the task: “Why were Japanese Americans interned during WWII?”
- Students provide written responses to guiding questions used to analyze WWII propaganda posters.
- Students participate in a discussion around the compelling question, “How successful were government efforts to build support for WWII?” Student participation assessed with a [discussion tracker](#).

US History Instructional Task: The Homefront

Unit Four: World War II, Topic Two: The U.S. During the War

Description: Students explore government efforts to build support for WWII on the home front, including the use of propaganda, the role of women and minorities in the war effort, and Japanese internment.

Suggested Timeline: 5 class periods

Materials: [Mobilizing a Nation](#); [African Americans and Double V](#); [American Women and World War II](#); [Japanese Internment](#); [World War II: Posters and Propaganda](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “The U.S. is once again engaged in another world war. In this task, we will investigate the American homefront during WWII. Earlier in this course we investigated the homefront during WWI - what efforts on the homefront were promoted to support the WWI war effort?”
2. Lead students in a brief discussion about how the U.S. government directed public support for the war effort in WWI, recalling what students learned in the [WW1 and America](#) task from unit 2. Students should recall how the government used legislation to build support for the war effort through fuel and food rationing, as well as military enlistment, and students should recall that propaganda posters were used to build support for war efforts (victory gardens, liberty bonds, etc.) but that it was also used to build national unity against a common enemy. The teacher may need to ask leading questions to support students in recalling this information.
3. Ask: “Do you think the efforts on the homefront implemented during WWII will be the same or different as those used in WWI? Why?” Allow students to briefly discuss, encouraging them to respond to each other’s ideas.
4. Say: “We will find similarities and differences as we explore changes on the homefront during WWII. We will use the question “How successful were government efforts to build support for WWII?” to guide our inquiry.”
5. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “How did WWII change the status of women and minorities in America?”
6. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Mobilizing a Nation](#) and [African Americans and Double V](#), and instruct them to read independently. After reading, direct them to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. How did wartime production in American factories relate to the end of the Great Depression?
 - b. Who were the Tuskegee Airmen? How did they change the role of African-Americans in the military?
 - c. Who were the code talkers, and what impact did they have on the war?
 - d. What social gains were made by African Americans during WWII?
 - e. Did wartime efforts change the social status of African Americans? How?
7. Provide students with [American Women and World War II](#)¹²⁵ and instruct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups?
 - a. What effect did WWII have on women’s work?

¹²⁵ This work by Khan Academy is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution/Non-Commercial/Share-Alike](#) license, and is available at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-7/apush-us-wwii/a/american-women-and-world-war-ii>
Return to [U.S. History: How to Navigate This Document](#)

- b. Do you think Rosie the Riveter is a symbol of women’s strength? Or was she a symbol that women had to retain beauty standards during the war?
 - c. How did white women and minority women experience WWII differently?
 - d. Did wartime efforts change the social status of women? How?
8. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: “How did WWII change the status of women and minorities in America?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
9. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: “Why were Japanese Americans interned during WWII?”
10. Conduct steps 1-8 from the lesson [Japanese Internment](#)¹²⁶ by the Stanford History Education Group.
11. Collect the graphic organizer students complete during the [Japanese Internment](#) lesson, and grade their “Final Hypothesis: Why were Japanese Americans interned during World War II?” section of the graphic organizer for content accuracy.
12. Post and read aloud the third supporting question for the task: “How did the U.S. government use propaganda during WWII?”
13. Conduct lessons 1-3 from the [World War II: Posters and Propaganda](#)¹²⁷ teaching resource by Tim Bailey for Gilder Lehrman with the following adjustments:
 - a. Lesson 1: students should read the essay and be aware of what the Office of War Information was, and what the six themes of propaganda were. They do not need to complete the graphic organizer summarizing the essay, and instead could discuss the questions posed in the graphic organizer. Completing lesson 1 as written could extend this task past the recommended 5 days of instruction.
 - b. Lessons 2 and 3: It is recommended for teachers to combine these lessons by selecting a total of ten propaganda posters between the two collections of posters provided in the lessons 2 and 3.
 - c. Lesson 3: students do not need to complete the essay portion of Lesson 3.
14. Collect the worksheets students complete analyzing each poster, and grade for content accuracy.
15. To culminate the task, facilitate a whole class discussion around the compelling question for the task, “How successful were government efforts to build support for WWII?” Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) and assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#). Suggested supporting questions are as follows:
 - a. How did the government encourage women and minorities to join the war effort? Was it successful?
 - b. How did the government build support for methods to finance the war? Were they successful?
 - c. How did the government build support for Japanese internment? Was it successful?
 - d. How did the government use propaganda? How successful was it?

¹²⁶ Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page.

¹²⁷ Access to lessons and resources on Gilder Lehrman requires a free [Affiliate School account](#).

Mobilizing a Nation¹²⁸

Although the United States had sought to avoid armed conflict, the country was not entirely unprepared for war. Production of armaments had increased since 1939, when, as a result of Congress's authorization of the Cash and Carry policy, contracts for weapons had begun to trickle into American factories. War production increased further following the passage of Lend Lease in 1941. However, when the United States entered the war, the majority of American factories were still engaged in civilian production, and many doubted that American businesses would be sufficiently motivated to convert their factories to wartime production.

Just a few years earlier, Roosevelt had been frustrated and impatient with business leaders when they failed to fully support the New Deal, but enlisting industrialists in the nation's crusade was necessary if the United States was to produce enough armaments to win the war. To encourage cooperation, the government agreed to assume all costs of development and production, and also guarantee a profit on the sale of what was produced. This arrangement resulted in 233 to 350 percent increases in profits over what the same businesses had been able to achieve from 1937 to 1940. In terms of dollars earned, corporate profits rose from \$6.4 billion in 1940 to nearly \$11 billion in 1944. As the country switched to wartime production, the top one hundred U.S. corporations received approximately 70 percent of government contracts; big businesses prospered.

In addition to gearing up industry to fight the war, the country also needed to build an army. A peacetime draft, the first in American history, had been established in September 1940, but the initial draftees were to serve for only one year, a length of time that was later extended. Furthermore, Congress had specified that no more than 900,000 men could receive military training at any one time. By December 1941, the United States had only one division completely ready to be deployed. Military planners estimated that it might take nine million men to secure victory. A massive draft program was required to expand the nation's military forces. Over the course of the war, approximately fifty million men registered for the draft; ten million were subsequently inducted into the service.

Approximately 2.5 million African Americans registered for the draft, and 1 million of them subsequently served. Initially, African American soldiers, who served in segregated units, had been used as support troops and not been sent into combat. By the end of the war, however, manpower needs resulted in African American recruits serving in the infantry and flying planes. The Tuskegee Institute in Alabama had instituted a civilian pilot training program for aspiring African American pilots. When the war began, the Department of War absorbed the program and adapted it to train combat pilots. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt demonstrated both her commitment to African Americans and the war effort by visiting Tuskegee in 1941, shortly after the unit had been organized. To encourage the military to give the airmen a chance to serve in actual combat, she insisted on taking a ride in a plane flown by an African American pilot to demonstrate the Tuskegee Airmen's skill ([Figure](#)). When the Tuskegee Airmen did get their opportunity to serve in combat, they did so with distinction.

¹²⁸This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](#). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:EC5a9hlu@4/The-Home-Front>.



Figure 1. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt insisted on flying with an African American pilot to help fight racism in the military. The First Lady was famous for her support of civil rights.

In addition, forty-four thousand Native Americans served in all theaters of the war. In some of the Pacific campaigns, Native Americans made distinct and unique contributions to Allied victories. Navajo marines served in communications units, exchanging information over radios using codes based on their native language, which the Japanese were unable to comprehend or to crack. They became known as code talkers and participated in the battles of Guadalcanal, Iwo Jima, Peleliu, and Tarawa. A smaller number of Comanche code talkers performed a similar function in the European theater. While millions of Americans heeded the rallying cry for patriotism and service, there were those who, for various reasons, did not accept the call. Before the war began, American Peace Mobilization had campaigned against American involvement in the European conflict as had the noninterventionist America First organization. Both groups ended their opposition, however, at the time of the German invasion of the Soviet Union and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, respectively. Nevertheless, during the war, some seventy-two thousand men registered as conscientious objectors (COs), and fifty-two thousand were granted that status. Of that fifty-two thousand, some accepted noncombat roles in the military, whereas others accepted unpaid work in civilian work camps. Many belonged to pacifist religious sects such as the Quakers or Mennonites. They were willing to serve their country, but they refused to kill. COs suffered public condemnation for disloyalty, and family members often turned against them. Strangers assaulted them. A portion of the town of Plymouth, NH, was destroyed by fire because the residents did not want to call upon the services of the COs trained as firemen at a nearby camp. Only a very small number of men evaded the draft completely.

Most Americans, however, were willing to serve, and they required a competent officer corps. The very same day that Germany invaded Poland in 1939, President Roosevelt promoted George C. Marshall, a veteran of World War I and an expert at training officers, from a one-star general to a four-star general, and gave him the responsibility of serving as Army Chief of Staff. The desire to create a command staff that could win the army's confidence no doubt contributed to the rather meteoric rise of Dwight D. Eisenhower. During World War I, Eisenhower had been assigned to organize America's new tank corps, and, although he never saw combat during the war, he demonstrated excellent organizational skills. When the United States entered World War II, Eisenhower was appointed commander of the General European Theater of Operations in June 1942.

African Americans and Double V¹²⁹

The African American community had, at the outset of the war, forged some promising relationships with the Roosevelt administration through civil rights activist Mary McLeod Bethune and Roosevelt’s “Black Cabinet” of African American advisors. Through the intervention of Eleanor Roosevelt, Bethune was appointed to the advisory council set up by the War Department Women’s Interest Section. In this position, Bethune was able to organize the first officer candidate school for women and enable African American women to become officers in the Women’s Auxiliary Corps.

As the U.S. economy revived as a result of government defense contracts, African Americans wanted to ensure that their service to the country earned them better opportunities and more equal treatment. Accordingly, in 1942, after African American labor leader A. Philip Randolph pressured Roosevelt with a threatened “March on Washington,” the president created, by Executive Order 8802, the Fair Employment Practices Committee. The purpose of this committee was to see that there was no discrimination in the defense industries. While they were effective in forcing defense contractors, such as the DuPont Corporation, to hire African Americans, they were not able to force corporations to place African Americans in well-paid positions. For example, at DuPont’s plutonium production plant in Hanford, Washington, African Americans were hired as low-paid construction workers but not as laboratory technicians.

During the war, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), founded by James Farmer in 1942, used peaceful civil disobedience in the form of sit-ins to desegregate certain public spaces in Washington, DC, and elsewhere, as its contribution to the war effort. Members of CORE sought support for their movement by stating that one of their goals was to deprive the enemy of the ability to generate anti-American propaganda by accusing the United States of racism. After all, they argued, if the United States were going to denounce Germany and Japan for abusing human rights, the country should itself be as exemplary as possible. Indeed, CORE’s actions were in keeping with the goals of the Double V campaign that was begun in 1942 by the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the largest African American newspaper at the time (Figure). The campaign called upon African Americans to accomplish the two “Vs”: victory over America’s foreign enemies and victory over racism in the United States.



Figure 6. During World War II, African Americans volunteered for government work just as white Americans did. These Washington, DC, residents have become civil defense workers as part of the Double V campaign that called for victory at home and abroad.

¹²⁹This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:EC5a9hlu@4/The-Home-Front>.

Despite the willingness of African Americans to fight for the United States, racial tensions often erupted in violence, as the geographic relocation necessitated by the war brought African Americans into closer contact with whites. There were race riots in Detroit, Harlem, and Beaumont, Texas, in which white residents responded with sometimes deadly violence to their new black coworkers or neighbors. There were also racial incidents at or near several military bases in the South. Incidents of African American soldiers being harassed or assaulted occurred at Fort Benning, Georgia; Fort Jackson, South Carolina; Alexandria, Louisiana; Fayetteville, Arkansas; and Tampa, Florida. African American leaders such as James Farmer and Walter White, the executive secretary of the NAACP since 1931, were asked by General Eisenhower to investigate complaints of the mistreatment of African American servicemen while on active duty. They prepared a fourteen-point memorandum on how to improve conditions for African Americans in the service, sowing some of the seeds of the postwar civil rights movement during the war years.

Unit Four Instruction

Topic Three: Victory and the New World Order (US.4.9-10)

Connections to the unit claim: Students explore the events of WWII, and the U.S. role in the Allies' victory. Students will also explore how the outcomes of WWII planted the seeds for a new conflict - the Cold War. Students will use what they learn about how the U.S. became a leading world power due to involvement in WWII to make a claim on the role of war in nation building.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [The Events and Outcomes of WWII](#)

To explore these key questions:

- How did U.S. involvement in WWII change America's role in world affairs?
- How did the Allies manage to turn the tide against the Germans in Europe?
- How did the Allies manage to turn the tide against the Japanese in the Pacific?
- How should we remember the dropping of the atomic bomb?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: "How did the Allies manage to turn the tide against the Germans in Europe?"
- Students write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task, "How did the Allies manage to turn the tide against the Japanese in the Pacific?"
- Students write a paragraph answering the third supporting question for the task, "How should we remember the dropping of the atomic bomb?"
- Students participate in a class discussion on the compelling question for the task - "How did U.S. involvement in WWII change America's role in world affairs" Student participation can be assessed with a [discussion tracker](#).

US History Instructional Task: The Events and Outcomes of WWII

Unit Four: World War II, Topic Three: Victory and the New World Order

Description: Students explore the turning points, and influential political and military leaders that led to victory in the European and Pacific theaters of WWII. Students will also investigate the peace accords following the end of WWII, and how decisions made by key political leaders influenced the start of the next global conflict - the Cold War.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Materials: [The War in Europe Timeline](#); [The Axis Powers in Europe](#); [Wartime Diplomacy](#); [War in the Snow](#); [D-Day Invasion](#); [The Fall of the Third Reich](#); [1945 - End of World War II](#); [Confronting the Holocaust](#); [Extent of Japanese Occupation Map](#); [The Pacific Strategy 1941-1944](#); [Death at Japan's Doorstep](#); [The Pacific Campaign](#); [The Manhattan Project and the Atomic Bomb](#); [Atomic Bomb](#); [The United Nations](#); [The Potsdam Conference, 1945](#); [Map of Europe After WWII](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: "In this task, we will explore the turning points of WWII and key political and military leaders that led to victory for the Allies, and how victory changed the U.S. role in the world. Before we start our exploration, let's review what we've already learned about WWII."
2. Lead a quick discussion with students reviewing information learned in the [U.S. Involvement in WWII task](#). Possible questions include:
 - a. What events led to the start of WWII in Europe? In the Pacific?
 - b. What countries are in the Allied Powers? Who are the leaders of those countries?
 - c. What countries are in the Axis Powers? Who are the leaders of those countries?
 - d. What prompted U.S. involvement in WWII?
3. Say: "In this task, we will look at the European theater of the war first, then the Pacific theater, then we will look at how the agreements between world powers at the end of the war impacted the balance of power in the world. We will use the question "How did U.S. involvement in WWII change America's role in world affairs?" to guide our inquiry. First, let's look at the turning points and the key political and military leaders that led to victory in the European theater."
4. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: "How did the Allies manage to turn the tide against the Germans in Europe?"
5. Provide students with access to [The War in Europe Timeline](#)¹³⁰ from The National World War II Museum. Instruct students to read over the timeline, and track events on the timeline while viewing the four minute film [The Axis Powers in Europe](#)¹³¹. After watching the video, lead the class in a brief discussion about WWII through August 1942, the height of the German Empire. Possible questions include:
 - a. Where has the German Empire expanded to by late summer 1942?

¹³⁰ Access to lessons and resources on The National World War II Museum's Classroom Resources page requires a free [Educator Account](#)

¹³¹ Access to lessons and resources on The National World War II Museum's Classroom Resources page requires a free [Educator Account](#)

- b. Who is fighting Germany on the Western Front? on the Eastern Front?
 - c. How are things looking for the Allies?
6. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Wartime Diplomacy](#) and instruct them to read independently. **NOTE:** before reading, define the Atlantic Charter as a policy statement issued in 1941 by the Allies which defined their goals for a postwar world. It was drafted by the leaders of the United States and the United Kingdom, even though the U.S. had not yet entered the war. After reading direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Who are the Big Three, and why are they allied together?
 - b. What were the United States' interests in waging war in Europe, when it was Japan who perpetrated a direct attack?
 - c. What demand did the Soviet Union make of Britain and the United States? Why?
 - d. What did Roosevelt mean to achieve with his demand for Germany and Japan's unconditional surrender?
7. Say: "Let's investigate how the tide was turned on the Eastern Front of the European theater"
8. Provide students with [War in the Snow](#) by Richard J. Evans, and instruct students to read independently. When finished reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What allowed Stalin to move large quantities of men and equipment to the Western Soviet Union to counter the German advance?
 - b. Why was it important for the Germans to take the grain fields of the Ukraine and the oilfields of the Caucasus?
 - c. How were the Soviets able to defeat the Germans at Stalingrad?
 - d. Why was Stalingrad a turning point of the war on the Eastern Front?
9. Say: "Now that we know about the turning of the tide on the Eastern Front, let's investigate how the tide was turned on the Western Front."
10. Instruct students to pull out their [The War in Europe Timeline](#) again, and refer to it while watching the ten minute video [D-Day Invasion](#)¹³² from The National World War II Museum. After watching the video, lead students in a brief discussion about the ramifications of D-Day. Possible questions include:
 - a. Why was it important for the Allies to breach Hitler's Atlantic Wall?
 - b. Why was D-Day a turning point for the war on the Western Front?
11. Project [The Fall of the Third Reich](#) map, and lead a brief discussion with students on the efforts of the Allies to regain territory and weaken the German Empire.
12. Play the video [1945 - End of World War II](#)¹³³ from the beginning through minute 3:05. After viewing, lead students in a brief discussion of the events that led to the end of WWII in Europe. Possible questions include:
 - a. Why do you think the Allies continued to firebomb German cities like Dresden and Hamburg?
 - b. What happened when the Allies occupied Berlin?
13. Say: "The fall of the Third Reich, and the end of World War II in Europe also meant the liberation of the concentration camps."

¹³² Access to lessons and resources on The National World War II Museum's Classroom Resources page requires a free [Educator Account](#)

¹³³ This work by Khan Academy is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution/Non-Commercial/Share-Alike](#) license, and is available at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-7/apush-us-wwii/v/1945-end-of-world-war-ii>

14. Provide students with [Confronting the Holocaust](#) and direct them to read individually. After reading, lead a brief whole class discussion on the liberation of concentration camps. Possible questions include:
 - a. What was the purpose of the concentration/extermination camps?
 - b. According to Felix Sparks’s remarks on the liberation of Dachau, what was it like for U.S. soldiers to liberate the Nazi concentration camps?
15. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task: “How did the Allies manage to turn the tide against the Germans in Europe?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
16. Say: “We will now turn our attention away from the European theater, and start to explore key events in the Pacific theater.”
17. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task, “How did the Allies manage to turn the tide against the Japanese in the Pacific?”
18. Project the [Extent of Japanese Occupation Map](#)¹³⁴ and tell students this is what the Japanese empire in the Pacific looked like at its height in June of 1942.
19. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with access to [The Pacific Strategy 1941-1944](#)¹³⁵ and instruct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Why was the Battle of Midway a turning point in the Pacific theater?
 - b. What is island hopping, and why did the U.S. implement that strategy?
 - c. In addition to Island hopping, what was another key feature of the Allies’ Pacific strategy?
20. Project the [Death at Japan's Doorstep](#)¹³⁶ and tell students this is what the Japanese empire in the Pacific looked like after three years of the American offensive in the Pacific. Make sure to point out Iwo Jima and Okinawa.
21. Provide students with [The Pacific Campaign](#) and instruct students to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. How was anti-Japanese propaganda different than anti-German propaganda?
 - b. Why was capturing the island of Iwo Jima so important to the American offensive?
 - c. What was the significance of the battle of Okinawa?
22. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task, “How did the Allies manage to turn the tide against the Japanese in the Pacific?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
23. Say: “When American forces took Okinawa, they brought the Pacific theater onto Japanese soil, signaling an impending end for Hirohito and the Japanese empire. However, it was unlikely Japan would surrender quickly, seeing as the Japanese military had used suicidal offensives before, such as kamikaze attacks. The U.S. was faced with a difficult decision.”
24. Post and read aloud the third supporting question for the task, “How should we remember the dropping of the atomic bomb?”

¹³⁴ Access to lessons and resources on The National World War II Museum’s Classroom Resources page requires a free [Educator Account](#)

¹³⁵ Access to lessons and resources on The National World War II Museum’s Classroom Resources page requires a free [Educator Account](#)

¹³⁶ Access to lessons and resources on The National World War II Museum’s Classroom Resources page requires a free [Educator Account](#)

25. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with access to [The Manhattan Project and the Atomic Bomb](#)¹³⁷ and instruct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
- Why did the U.S. initiate the Manhattan Project?
 - Why did President Truman authorize the use of atomic bombs on Japan?
 - Was the decision to drop the bombs on civilians morally justifiable?
26. Conduct steps 2-6 of the [Atomic Bomb](#) lesson from the Stanford History Education Group with the following adjustments:
- The teacher may choose to cut out the image selection part of steps 5 and 6, and instead just have groups of 4 share their perspectives, in order to save time.
27. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the third supporting question for the task, “How should we remember the dropping of the atomic bomb?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
28. Say: “Similar to the end of WWI, the peace agreements at the end of WWII set up the next conflict to come. We will now explore what agreements took place between the allied powers at the end of WWII, and how those agreements may have contributed to a new conflict.”
29. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with access to [The United Nations](#)¹³⁸ and instruct them to read *all sections EXCEPT for the last two (The UN in the Cold War and The evolution of the UN)* independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
- Why was the United Nations founded? What are its goals?
 - What does U.S. Involvement and the location of the UN headquarters tell us about the U.S. role in world affairs?
30. Say: “The peace conference that preceded WWII was called the Potsdam Conference, held in Potsdam, Germany. It was a continuation of the Yalta conference, and the main focus was postwar reconstruction of the European Continent. There were tensions at the conference due to disagreements on German reparations, as well as growing distrust among previous allies - the Soviets and the Americans - due to differing political ideologies. The Soviets were communist, and the Americans democratic. ”
31. Provide students with access to [The Potsdam Conference, 1945](#)¹³⁹ and instruct them to read independently. After reading direct them to answer the following questions in small groups:
- What was the agreement that was reached regarding the status of Germany?
 - Why did Stalin favor heavy German reparations? Why did Truman oppose them?
 - What was controversial about the revision of the German-Soviet-Polish borders?
32. Project the [Map of Europe After WWII](#). While viewing with students, point out the division of Germany into Soviet controlled and Western controlled territories. Tell students that Britain, France, and the U.S. eventually ceded their zones of occupation back to the German government, while the Soviets maintained control of East

¹³⁷This work by Khan Academy is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution/Non-Commercial/Share-Alike](#) license, and is available at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-7/apush-us-wwii/a/the-manhattan-project-and-the-atomic-bomb>

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¹³⁹ Made available by the Office of the Historian from the U.S. Department of State, and can be found at <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/potsdam-conf>

Germany. Tell students that the black bolded line symbolically separates Eastern Europe from Western Europe. After viewing the map, ask students the following question, “what can the division of Germany tell us about rising tensions with the Soviets post WWII?”

33. Allow students time to prepare for a class debate on the compelling question, “How did U.S. involvement in WWII change America’s role in world affairs?” by reviewing texts, maps, and timelines used during the task.
34. Conclude the task with a class discussion on the compelling question for the task - “How did U.S. involvement in WWII change America’s role in world affairs” Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) and assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#).

Wartime Diplomacy¹⁴⁰

Franklin Roosevelt entered World War II with an eye toward a new postwar world, one where the United States would succeed Britain as the leader of Western capitalist democracies, replacing the old British imperial system with one based on free trade and decolonization. The goals of the Atlantic Charter had explicitly included self-determination, self-government, and free trade. In 1941, although Roosevelt had yet to meet Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, he had confidence that he could forge a positive relationship with him, a confidence that Churchill believed was born of naiveté. These allied leaders, known as the Big Three, thrown together by the necessity to defeat common enemies, took steps towards working in concert despite their differences.

Through a series of wartime conferences, Roosevelt and the other global leaders sought to come up with a strategy to both defeat the Germans and bolster relationships among allies. In January 1943, at Casablanca, Morocco, Churchill convinced Roosevelt to delay an invasion of France in favor of an invasion of Sicily ([Figure](#)). It was also at this conference that Roosevelt enunciated the doctrine of “unconditional surrender.” Roosevelt agreed to demand an unconditional surrender from Germany and Japan to assure the Soviet Union that the United States would not negotiate a separate peace and prepare the former belligerents for a thorough and permanent transformation after the war. Roosevelt thought that announcing this as a specific war aim would discourage any nation or leader from seeking any negotiated armistice that would hinder efforts to reform and transform the defeated nations. Stalin, who was not at the conference, affirmed the concept of unconditional surrender when asked to do so. However, he was dismayed over the delay in establishing a “second front” along which the Americans and British would directly engage German forces in western Europe. A western front, brought about through an invasion across the English Channel, which Stalin had been demanding since 1941, offered the best means of drawing Germany away from the east. At a meeting in Tehran, Iran, also in November 1943, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin met to finalize plans for a cross-channel invasion.



Figure 1. Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt met together multiple times during the war. One such conference was located in Casablanca, Morocco, in January 1943.

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War in the Snow¹⁴¹

Already in December 1941, Japan's entry into the war, and its consequent preoccupation with campaigns in the Pacific, allowed Stalin to move large quantities of men and equipment to the west, where they brought the German advance to a halt before Moscow. Unprepared for a winter war, poorly clad, and exhausted from months of rapid advance and bitter fighting, the German forces had to abandon the idea of taking the Russian capital. A whole string of generals succumbed to heart attacks or nervous exhaustion, and were replaced; Hitler himself took over as commander-in-chief of the army.

Hitler had already weakened the thrust towards Moscow by diverting forces to take the grainfields of the Ukraine and push on to the Crimea. For much of 1942, this tactic seemed to be succeeding. German forces took the Crimea and advanced towards the oilfields of the Caucasus. Here again, acquiring new supplies of fuel to replenish Germany's dwindling stocks was the imperative. But Soviet generals had begun to learn how to co-ordinate tanks, infantry and air power and to avoid encirclement by tactical withdrawals. German losses mounted. The German forces were already dangerously short of reserves and supplies when they reached the city of Stalingrad on the river Volga, in August 1942.

Three months later, they had still not taken the city. Stalingrad became the object of a titanic struggle between the Germans and the Soviets, less because of its strategic importance than because of its name. When the Germans moved their best troops into the city, leaving the rear to be guarded by weaker Romanian and Italian forces, the Soviet generals saw their chance, broke through the rearguard and surrounded the besieging forces. Short of fuel and ammunition, the Germans under General Paulus were unable to break out. As one airfield after another was captured by the Red Army, supplies ran out and the German troops began to starve to death. On 31 January 1943, refusing the invitation to commit suicide that came with Hitler's gift of a field marshal's baton, Paulus surrendered. Some 235,000 German and allied troops were captured; more than 200,000 had been killed. It was the turning point of the war.

¹⁴¹ This task is adapted from the [Why Was the US on the Winning Side of World War II?](#) task developed for the New York State Social Studies Resource Toolkit. The task is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](#), which allows for it to be shared and adapted as long as the user agrees to the terms of the license.

Confronting the Holocaust¹⁴²

The Holocaust, Hitler's plan to kill the Jews of Europe, had begun as early as 1933, with the construction of Dachau, the first of more than forty thousand camps for incarcerating Jews, submitting them to forced labor, or exterminating them. Eventually, six extermination camps were established between 1941 and 1945 in Polish territory. Jewish men, women, and children from throughout Europe were transported to these camps in Germany and other areas under Nazi control. Although the majority of the people in the camps were Jews, the Nazis sent Roma (gypsies), gays and lesbians, Jehovah's Witnesses, and political opponents to the camps as well. Some prisoners were put to work at hard labor; many of them subsequently died of disease or starvation. Most of those sent to the extermination camps were killed upon arrival with poisoned gas. Ultimately, some eleven million people died in the camps. As Soviet troops began to advance from the east and U.S. forces from the west, camp guards attempted to hide the evidence of their crimes by destroying records and camp buildings, and marching surviving prisoners away from the sites.

FELIX L. SPARKS ON THE LIBERATION OF DACHAU

The horrors of the concentration camps remained with the soldiers who liberated them long after the war had ended. Below is an excerpt of the recollection of one soldier.

"Our first experience with the camp came as a traumatic shock. The first evidence of the horrors to come was a string of forty railway cars on a railway spur leading into the camp. Each car was filled with emaciated human corpses, both men and women. A hasty search by the stunned infantry soldiers revealed no signs of life among the hundreds of still bodies, over two thousand in all."

It was in this atmosphere of human depravity, degradation and death that the soldiers of my battalion then entered the camp itself. Almost all of the SS command guarding the camp had fled before our arrival, leaving behind about two hundred lower ranking members of the command. There was some sporadic firing of weapons. As we approached the confinement area, the scene numbed my senses. Dante's *Inferno* seemed pale compared to the real hell of Dachau. A row of small cement structures near the prison entrance contained a coal-fired crematorium, a gas chamber, and rooms piled high with naked and emaciated corpses. As I turned to look over the prison yard with un-believing eyes, I saw a large number of dead inmates lying where they had fallen in the last few hours or days before our arrival. Since all of the bodies were in various stages of decomposition, the stench of death was overpowering. The men of the 45th Infantry Division were hardened combat veterans. We had been in combat almost two years at that point. While we were accustomed to death, we were not able to comprehend the type of death that we encountered at Dachau.

—Felix L. Sparks, remarks at the U.S. Holocaust Museum, May 8, 1995

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The Pacific Campaign¹⁴³

During the 1930s, Americans had caught glimpses of Japanese armies in action and grew increasingly sympathetic towards war-torn China. Stories of Japanese atrocities bordering on genocide and the shock of the attack on Pearl Harbor intensified racial animosity toward the Japanese. Wartime propaganda portrayed Japanese soldiers as uncivilized and barbaric, sometimes even inhuman, unlike America's German foes. Admiral William Halsey spoke for many Americans when he urged them to "Kill Japs! Kill Japs! Kill more Japs!" Stories of the dispiriting defeats at Bataan and the Japanese capture of the Philippines at Corregidor in 1942 revealed the Japanese cruelty and mistreatment of Americans. The "Bataan Death March," during which as many as 650 American and 10,000 Filipino prisoners of war died, intensified anti-Japanese feelings. Kamikaze attacks that took place towards the end of the war were regarded as proof of the irrationality of Japanese martial values and mindless loyalty to Emperor Hirohito.

Despite the Allies' Europe First strategy, American forces took the resources that they could assemble and swung into action as quickly as they could to blunt the Japanese advance. Infuriated by stories of defeat at the hands of the allegedly racially inferior Japanese, many high-ranking American military leaders demanded that greater attention be paid to the Pacific campaign. Rather than simply wait for the invasion of France to begin, naval and army officers such as General Douglas MacArthur argued that American resources should be deployed in the Pacific to reclaim territory seized by Japan.

In the Pacific, MacArthur and the Allied forces pursued an island hopping strategy that bypassed certain island strongholds held by the Japanese that were of little or no strategic value. By seizing locations from which Japanese communications and transportation routes could be disrupted or destroyed, the Allies advanced towards Japan without engaging the thousands of Japanese stationed on garrisoned islands. The goal was to advance American air strength close enough to Japan proper to achieve air superiority over the home islands; the nation could then be bombed into submission or at least weakened in preparation for an amphibious assault. By February 1945, American forces had reached the island of Iwo Jima ([Figure](#)). Iwo Jima was originally meant to serve as a forward air base for fighter planes, providing cover for long-distance bombing raids on Japan. Two months later, an even larger engagement, the hardest fought and bloodiest battle of the Pacific theater, took place as American forces invaded Okinawa. The battle raged from April 1945 well into July 1945; the island was finally secured at the cost of seventeen thousand American soldiers killed and thirty-six thousand wounded. Japanese forces lost over 100,000 troops. Perhaps as many as 150,000 civilians perished as well.

¹⁴³ This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:YcJrwaHa@4/The-Pacific-Theater-and-the-At.>



Figure 2. American forces come ashore on Iwo Jima. Their vehicles had difficulty moving on the beach's volcanic sands. Troops endured shelling by Japanese troops on Mount Suribachi, the mountain in the background.

Unit Four Assessment

Description: Students write an essay addressing the unit claim question: “What is the role of war in nation building?”

Suggested Timeline: 1 class period

Student Directions: Based on the sources in this unit and your knowledge of U.S. History, evaluate how World War II aided in American nation building, and becoming a leading world power. Consider the following as you construct your argument:

- The causes for WWII and the reasons for U.S. entry into the war
- WWII’s societal impacts on women and minorities
- U.S. role in turning point battles in both the European and Pacific theaters
- How key U.S. political and military figures impacted the outcome of the war

Resources:

[LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#)

Teacher Notes: In completing this task, students meet the expectations for social studies GLEs US.4.6-10, and US.1.1, US.1.3-5. They also meet the expectations for [ELA/Literacy Standards](#): RH.11-12.1, RH.11-12.2, RH.11-12.3, RH.11-12.9, RH.11-12.10, WHST.11-12.1a-e, WHS.T11-12.4, WHST.11-12.5, WHST.11-12.9, WHST.11-12.10.

Use the [LEAP Assessment Social Studies extended response rubric](#) to grade this assessment. Note: Customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

Unit Five Overview

Description: Students learn about the onset of the Cold War, the foreign policies held by each Cold War presidential administration, and how those foreign policies impacted American identity at home, such as the Civil Rights Movement, counterculture, and various other social movements. Students will also learn how various events through the 50s, 60s, and 70s defined the nation. Students will use this knowledge to make a claim about how a nation is defined by its foreign policy.

Suggested Timeline: 8 weeks

U.S. History Content	U.S. History Claims
The Cold War and the Modern Era	Is a nation defined by its foreign policy?

Topics (GLEs):

1. [The Cold War at Home and Abroad](#) (US.4.10, US.5.1-2, US.6.3)
2. [Conflict and Social Movements](#) (US.5.2-4, US.6.2, US.6.4-5)
3. [The End of the Cold War](#) (US.5.5)

Unit Assessment: Students participate in a [Socratic Seminar](#) around the unit claim question: “Is a nation defined by its foreign policy?”

Unit Five Instruction

Topic One: The Cold War at Home and Abroad (US.4.10, US.5.1-2, US.6.3)

Connections to the unit claim: Students will learn about the origins of the Cold War, the foreign policy stances taken by the U.S. at the onset, and the ways in which those policy decisions played out at home and abroad. Students will use what they learn about U.S. foreign policy and its implications during the Cold War to make a claim about whether or not a nation is defined by the foreign policy stances it takes.

Suggested Timeline: 15 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [Origins of the Cold War](#)
- [The Cold War at Home and Abroad](#)

To explore these key questions:

- Who is responsible for the Cold War?
- How did the ideologies of the US and USSR differ?
- How do differing ideologies exacerbate existing tensions between the two Superpowers?
- What were the goals of U.S. foreign policy at the beginning of the Cold War?
- How did the arms race and the space race exacerbate existing tensions between the two Superpowers?
- Was containment an effective policy to thwart communist expansion?
- How was the second Red Scare similar or different to the first Red Scare?
- Why did the U.S. fight the Korean War?
- How did foreign policy under Eisenhower and Kennedy attempt to contain the spread of communism?
- Should President Kennedy have risked nuclear war to remove missiles from Cuba?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task, “How do differing ideologies exacerbate existing tensions between the two Superpowers?”
- Students “tweet out” a response, using 140 characters or less, to the third supporting question for the task: “What were the goals of U.S. foreign policy at the beginning of the Cold War?”
- Students write a paragraph answering the fourth supporting question for the task “how did the arms race and the space race exacerbate existing tensions between the two Superpowers?”
- Students write an essay answering the compelling question “Who is responsible for the Cold War?” Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay.
- Students write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task, “How was the second Red Scare similar or different to the first Red Scare?”
- Students write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task, “Why did the U.S. fight the Korean War?”
- Students write a paragraph answering the third supporting question for the task, “how did foreign policy under Eisenhower and Kennedy attempt to contain the spread of communism?”

- Students write responses to guiding questions on primary sources from the Cuban Missile Crisis negotiations
- Students participate in a whole class discussion around the compelling question for the task, “was containment an effective policy to thwart communist expansion?” Assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#).

US History Instructional Task: The Origins of the Cold War

Unit Five: The Cold War and the Modern Era, Topic One: The Cold War at Home and Abroad

Description: Students explore the origins of the Cold War by analyzing actions that exacerbated tensions between the U.S. and USSR, and investigating the goals of foreign policy during the start of the Cold War.

Suggested Timeline: 8 class periods

Materials: [The Butter Battle - Dr. Seuss](#); [Butter Battle Book Questions](#); [Differences between Capitalism and Communism](#); [Capitalism and Communism Sorting Activity](#); [Maps of European Borders and Political Control](#); [Churchill's Sinews of Peace Textual Analysis](#); [Joseph Stalin's Reply to the "Iron Curtain" Speech](#); [Containment Abroad](#); [Primary Sources: Foreign Policy Gallery Walk](#); [Gallery Walk Graphic Organizer](#); [Duck and Cover](#); [Nuclear Arms Race: Overview](#); [The Arms Race Jigsaw Readings](#); [The Arms Race Jigsaw Graphic Organizer](#); [Space Race Timeline](#)

Instructional Process:

1. **NOTE:** This task is adapted from the *Cold War Cornerstone* developed for the District of Columbia Public Schools. The task is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](#), which allows for it to be shared and adapted as long as the user agrees to the terms of the license.
2. Post and read aloud the Unit Claim question: "Is a nation defined by its foreign policy?"
3. Lead students in a brief discussion about how American foreign policy has changed in the first half of the 20th century. Students should note the imperialist foreign policy of Theodore Roosevelt at the turn of the century, interventionist foreign policy during WWI, following a return to isolationism between the wars, and the move away from isolationism during WWII and the rise of the U.S. as a world leader during and right after WWII. The teacher should ask leading questions if students struggle to recall the key points of U.S. foreign policy in the first half of the 20th century.
4. Say: "In this Unit, we will investigate the state of geopolitical tension that followed WWII, and dominated U.S. foreign policy in the second half of the 20th century - the Cold War. In this first task, we will explore the origins of the Cold War as a war of differing ideologies. We will use the compelling question "Who is responsible for the Cold War?"
5. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: "How did the ideologies of the US and USSR differ?" **NOTE:** it may need to be clarified for students that the USSR, or Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, included Russia as well as 14 other soviet socialist republics and was presided over by Joseph Stalin.
6. Ask: "What do you think of when you think of Dr. Seuss?" and take a few quick responses.
7. Say: "while most of us think of him as an author and illustrator of children's books, he also had a political side, which included creating political cartoons during WWII that denounced racism, isolationism, and other issues of the day. Many of his books also had underlying meaning that related to the biggest political challenges of the day. To open our inquiry into the ideologies of the US and the USSR, we will watch a cartoon enactment of one of Dr. Seuss's books with underlying meaning."
8. Show students [The Butter Battle - Dr. Seuss](#) from minutes 1:00-10:50. While students watch, direct them to write responses to the [Butter Battle Book Questions](#). After viewing, guide a brief discussion around the ideological conflict in the Butter Battle, and how students see that relating to what they already know about the Cold War.

9. Instruct students to read [Differences between Capitalism and Communism](#). Instruct students to **annotate** the text as they read by underlining the traits of each ideology, and starring any beliefs of that ideology. After reading, direct students to write a one sentence summary of each ideology that includes major traits and beliefs.
10. Divide students into pairs, using an established classroom routine. Give each pair a few minutes to share their sentences with each other, give each other feedback, and decide on one partnership definition by either selecting one of their sentences or combining them to create a more complete definition as a partnership.
11. Using the cut-out strips from the [Capitalism and Communism Sorting Activity](#), direct students to sort the strips with their partners based on their partnership definition of capitalism and communism onto the T-Chart.
12. After partners have finished sorting, lead the class in a brief discussion on the first supporting question for the task, “how did the ideologies of the U.S. and USSR differ?” Ask a few students to share out which ideology resonates with them most and why.
13. Ask students, “Think back to what we learned about the Potsdam conference at the end of WWII - how would you characterize the relationship between the former allies in the U.S. and the USSR? What was the source of any tension?” Students should recall that relations between the U.S. and USSR became increasingly tense towards the end of the war due disagreements on reparations (the USSR wanted to assign heavy reparations to Germany, the rest of the allies did not), and tensions over the U.S. dropping the atomic bomb on Japan, and the USSR expanding their borders in Eastern Europe. Ask leading questions if students are not able to recall these facts from the previous unit.
14. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task, “How do differing ideologies exacerbate existing tensions between the two Superpowers?”
15. Write the word *exacerbate* on the board and read or project the following definitions:¹⁴⁴
 - a. to increase the severity, bitterness, or violence; aggravate
 - b. to embitter the feelings of a person; irritate or exasperate
16. Ask students: “What do these definitions have in common?”
17. Take notes for the class or annotate the definitions as students share their answers.
18. Direct students to explain the meaning of *exacerbate* in their own words to a partner.
19. Divide students into groups of 2-3 using an established classroom routine. Provide each group with [Maps of European Borders and Political Control](#), and direct students to put the maps in chronological order. **NOTE:** *each group needs only one set of maps, and the maps can be collected after the activity and reused across class periods to save on copies.* Once students have ordered their maps, direct them to discuss the following questions in their groups:
 - a. What action is being shown on these maps? **NOTE:** *in response to this question, it is critical that students see the expanding USSR as expanding communism as well. If students are not including this fact in their discussions, make sure to direct them to this idea.*
 - b. If you were the United States or Great Britain, how would you feel about the actions shown on these maps? Explain.
 - c. Do you think the changing borders and political control in Europe cause the Cold War? Why or why not?
20. After students discuss in small groups, lead the class in a brief discussion about how changing borders and political control in Europe exacerbated existing powers between the Superpowers.

¹⁴⁴ From <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/exacerbated>

21. Say: “We will now look at two examples of how world leaders on both sides of the Cold War addressed the tension and differing ideologies. First we will read a speech by Winston Churchill, who, you’ll remember, led Britain during WWII. When he gave this speech, he was no longer the British Prime Minister, but still a recognized name by Americans, and influential due to his leadership during WWII as an allied power.”
22. Divide students into partners using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Churchill’s Sinews of Peace Textual Analysis](#) and direct them to read the speech independently. Instruct students to work with their partner to answer the written response questions. After partners have finished reading and responding, lead the class in a brief discussion on Churchill’s speech, using the following questions:
- What is the Iron Curtain? How and where does it form?
 - According to Churchill, how does the Cold War begin?
 - According to Churchill, what is the best plan for “fighting” the Cold War?
 - According to Churchill, why is communism a threat?
 - If you were Stalin, or a Soviet, how would you feel about the U.S. and Britain?
23. Say: “We will now read Stalin’s reply to Churchill. How do you think Stalin’s perspective will differ from Churchill’s?” Allow a few students to respond.
24. Provide students with [Joseph Stalin’s Reply to the “Iron Curtain” Speech](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, lead the class in a brief discussion on Stalin’s speech, using the following questions:
- By comparing Hitler and Churchill, is Stalin exacerbating the Cold War? How or how not?
 - How does Stalin refute Churchill’s theory that communism is growing due to the “proselytizing” Soviets?
 - Who does Stalin blame for the start of the Cold War?
 - How do each of these texts help us answer our compelling question - “who is responsible for the Cold War?”
25. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task, “How do differing ideologies exacerbate existing tensions between the two Superpowers?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
26. Post and read aloud the third supporting question for the task “What were the goals of U.S. foreign policy at the beginning of the Cold War?”
27. Say: “We have learned that post WWII, the U.S. has taken on the role of a world superpower, and that U.S. foreign policy is shifting further away from isolationism, starting before WWII. In this part of the task, we will explore the ideas that influenced foreign policy in the cold war.”
28. Provide students with [Containment Abroad](#), and direct them to read independently. After reading, lead the class in a discussion on the foreign policy strategies discussed in the article using the following questions:
- What is ‘Containment’? Why did the U.S. adopt this policy?
 - What is the domino theory? how does it relate to the idea of containment?
 - Why would the U.S. want to financially support Greece during this time period?
 - What is the Truman Doctrine, and what is its goals?
 - What is the Marshall plan, and what is its goals?
 - What was the Berlin blockade, and what did Stalin hope to gain from it?
 - What is NATO?
29. Divide students into nine groups (one for each source) using an established classroom routine. Students will participate in a [gallery walk](#) reading the following primary sources outlining U.S. and USSR foreign policy at the start of the Cold War: [Primary Sources: Foreign Policy Gallery Walk](#). After reading the source, direct each group

- to complete the [Gallery Walk Graphic Organizer](#) for each source (the group can nominate a “recorder” to fill out the graphic organizer).
30. After students complete the gallery walk, lead the class in a brief discussion about Cold War foreign policy using the following questions
 - a. Do the actions of containment prove that the U.S. or the USSR is more responsible for the start of the Cold War?
 - b. Which source was the most convincing evidence of who was to blame for the start of the Cold War? Why?
 31. Students will “tweet out” a response, using 140 characters or less, to the third supporting question for the task: “What were the goals of U.S. foreign policy at the beginning of the Cold War?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
 32. Play the first three minutes of the civil defense film [Duck and Cover](#). After viewing, ask students “why do you think this video was made?” and instruct students to do a quick Think-Pair-Share to answer the question.
 33. Say: “during the Cold War, there was a paranoia in the U.S. about being attacked by the USSR with a nuclear weapon, since both sides were quickly amassing armaments, similar to what we saw in the Butter Battle clip at the beginning of the task.”
 34. Post and read aloud the fourth supporting question for the task, “How did the arms race and the space race exacerbate existing tensions between the two Superpowers?”
 35. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Nuclear Arms Race: Overview](#) and instruct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in their small groups:
 - a. What is the arms race?
 - b. How did the arms race begin?
 - c. What kind of weapons were developed in the nuclear arms race?
 - d. According to this source, how was the Arms Race used to fight the Cold War?
 36. Engage students in a [jigsaw](#) using [The Arms Race Jigsaw Readings](#). Direct students to record responses for each excerpt using [The Arms Race Jigsaw Graphic Organizer](#). Students should meet in assigned groups to review their jigsaw sections. One person for each section should be in each group, creating groups of four. Students will take no more than two minutes to teach their group members about their section of the reading. After the jigsaw, lead the class in a brief discussion on the arms race using the following questions:
 - a. What effects did the arms race have on American culture and society?
 - b. How did the arms race help “fight” the Cold War?
 - c. Which Superpower achieved more milestones during the arms race? How do you know?
 - d. How did the arms race exacerbate tensions between the U.S. and USSR?
 37. Provide students with the [Space Race Timeline](#) and direct each group to read through the events, annotating whether each event should be considered a “win” for the U.S. or the USSR. After groups have read and annotated, lead the class in a discussion on the space race, using the following questions:
 - a. What is the space race?
 - b. How did the space race begin?
 - c. How might the space race have exacerbated tensions between the Superpowers?

38. Students will write a paragraph answering the fourth supporting question for the task “how did the arms race and the space race exacerbate existing tensions between the two Superpowers?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
39. To culminate the task, students will write an essay answering the compelling question “Who is responsible for the Cold War?” Provide students with a copy of the [LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#) as needed. Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

Butter Battle Book Questions

1. What is the difference between the Yooks and the Zooks?
2. In what ways are the Yooks and the Zooks impacted by these differences?
3. Did the Yooks or the Zooks start the competition for the best weapons?
4. What is the root of the conflict between the Yooks and the Zooks?
5. Have you ever experienced a conflict like this? Share an example.
6. Are the Yooks and the Zooks at war? Why or why not?
7. What do you think will happen next?

Differences between Capitalism and Communism

Adapted from "Comparing Economic Systems" (<http://www.ushistory.org/gov/13b.asp>)

Step 1: Read the excerpts below which summarize the ideals of communism and capitalism. As you read, underline for traits of each ideology. Star any *beliefs* of that ideology. Hint: Think about traits as the concrete characteristics of that ideology in government, and *beliefs* as statements of opinions of people who subscribe to each ideology (for example, a trait might be that listening to music is illegal, whereas a belief might be that music leads to inappropriate behavior in teenagers).

Capitalism

Capitalism is based on private ownership of the means of production and on individual economic freedom. Most of the means of production, such as factories and businesses, are owned by private individuals and not by the government. Private owners make decisions about what and when to produce and how much products should cost.

The basic rule of capitalism is that people should compete freely without interference from government or any other outside force. Capitalism assumes that the most deserving person will usually win. In theory, prices will be kept as low as possible because consumers will seek the best product for the least amount of money. In a capitalist system prices are determined by how many products there are and how many people want them. When supplies increase, prices tend to drop. If prices drop, demand usually increases until supplies run out. Then prices will rise once more, but only as long as demand is high. These laws of supply and demand work in a cycle to control prices and keep them from getting too high or too low.

Communism

Karl Marx, the 19th century father of communism, was outraged by the growing gap between rich and poor. He saw capitalism as an outmoded economic system that exploited workers, which would eventually rise against the rich because the poor were so unfairly treated. Marx thought that the economic system of communism would replace capitalism. Communism is based on principles meant to correct the problems caused by capitalism.

The most important principle of communism is that no private ownership of property should be allowed. Marx believed that private ownership encouraged greed and motivated people to knock out the competition, no matter what the consequences. Property should be shared, and the people should ultimately control the economy. The government should exercise the control in the name of the people, at least in the transition between capitalism and communism. The goals are to eliminate the gap between the rich and poor and bring about economic equality.

Step 2: Create a sentence that summarizes the ideologies of communism and capitalism (one for each).

Capitalism:

Communism:

Capitalism and Communism

Directions: Using the slips of paper provided in your packet, sort the traits and beliefs of capitalist and communist governments into the appropriate category. Then, write each trait/belief in the appropriate spot on the T-Charts below.

CAPITALISM

COMMUNISM

Beliefs of Capitalists:

Beliefs of Communists:

Capitalism and Communism Sorting Activity Strips

System of government is democratic

Property is privately owned

Driven by free enterprise (free market economy & private businesses)

Wealth distributed unevenly: class distribution (upper, middle, lower class)

Education and health care provided by private companies

Freedom of the press

Focus is on the individual and his/her own progress in life

System of government is totalitarian

Property is owned by the state

No free enterprise is allowed – state controlled economy

Wealth distributed equally

Education and health care provided by the state

Press controlled and owned by the state

Classless society: all members of society are considered to be equal

Focus is on the progress of the community as a whole

People need freedom

When people compete against one another, they achieve greater things

Some people have more than others because they make better use of their abilities

Governments should not interfere with the rights of individuals to make their own living

The government should interfere in the economy as little as possible

People need one another

When people work together as equals, they achieve greater things

No-one should have more than anyone else - everybody's needs are equally important

Governments should make sure that everyone's needs are being met

Maps of European Borders and Political Control

March 1943



June 1944



July 1945



February 1947



Map Key

POLITICAL CONTROL COLOR GUIDE

As used in the Historical Atlas of Europe (10 February 1947). May differ for other dates and regions.

 France	 Soviet Union	 Great Britain
 Italy	 Turkey	 Spain
 Allies, International, United Nations	 Netherlands	 Sweden
 United States	 Democratic Army Of Greece	 Iran
 Norway	 Denmark	 Portugal
 Belgium	 Egypt	 No Central Control

Churchill's Sinews of Peace Textual Analysis

Vocabulary	Text:	Questions
<p>Proselytizing: to convert or attempt to convert someone from one religion, belief, or opinion to another.</p> <p>Fritter: waste little by little</p> <p>Reproaches: express disapproval</p> <p>Rebuffs: reject in a sudden manner</p>	<p>A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies. The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. For with this primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. As you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done, but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the aftertime. It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall rule and guide the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war. We must, and I believe we shall, prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain -- and I doubt not here also -- toward the peoples of all the Russias* and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.</p> <p>*Answer Questions 1 & 2</p>	<p>1. In the first line, what does Churchill mean by "a shadow"? What is he referring to?</p> <p>2. Which line best exemplifies the fact that Churchill is purposefully announcing the start of the Cold War in this speech?</p> <p><i>*At this time, Russia is composed of several provinces that were home to ethnically Russian people, i.e., "Belarussia," which we now know as Belarus.</i></p>
	<p>From Stettin [Poland] in the Baltic to Trieste [Croatia] in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw [Poland], Berlin, Prague [Czechoslovakia], Vienna [Austria], Budapest [Hungary], Belgrade [Serbia], Bucharest [Romania] and Sofia [Bulgaria]; all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens [Greece]</p>	<p>3. What is the "iron curtain" (paraphrase)? What is going on in Europe, according to Churchill?</p>

<p>Pre-eminence: superiority or the act of surpassing all others</p> <p>Quasi: prefix meaning partly or almost</p>	<p>alone, with its immortal glories, is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. ...The Communist parties, which were very small in all these eastern states of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy. Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-Communist party in their zone of occupied Germany by showing special favors to groups of Left-Wing German leaders. At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British armies withdrew westward, in accordance with an earlier agreement...to allow the Russians to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the western democracies had conquered. If now the Soviet government tries, by separate action, to build up a pro-Communist Germany in their areas this will cause new serious difficulties in the British and American zones, and will give the defeated Germans the power of putting themselves up to auction between the Soviets and western democracies. Whatever conclusion may be drawn from these facts – and facts they are – this is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.</p> <p>*Answer Questions 3 & 4</p>	<p>4. According to Churchill, what are the negative effects of Soviet control?</p>
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<p>Indefinite: without limit</p> <p>Appeasement: the act of satisfying someone's demands to ease tensions</p>	<p>...It is because I am sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so. I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the <u>indefinite</u> expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries. Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become. From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness.</p> <p>*Answer Question 5</p>	<p>5. Churchill states, "I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines." What does he mean by this?</p>
<p>Quivering: tremble or shake</p> <p>Precarious: uncertain, likely to fall or collapse</p>	<p>For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength....We must not let [world war] happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organization and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealth be added to that of the United States, with all that such cooperation implies in the air, on the sea, all over the globe, and in science and in industry, and in moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary there will be an overwhelming assurance of security.</p> <p>*Answer Question 6</p>	<p>6. What is Churchill implying about the Cold War when he says "trial of strength"?</p>

Summary Questions

7. According to Churchill, why does the Cold War begin? Use text to support your answer (i.e., create a quote sandwich!).

8. According to Churchill, what is the best plan for “fighting” the Cold War? Use **text** to support your answer, **and provide specific details**.

9. How and where does the “iron curtain” form?

10. According to Churchill, why is communism a threat? Use **text** to support your answer.

11. How did World War II contribute to the formation of the Iron Curtain? (*Hint: Think about the power structures before 1939 and after 1945. What has changed?*)

12. **Reflection:** How would you react to this speech if you were an American listening to Churchill in Fulton in 1946? What would you be thinking or feeling (about America, about the Soviets, about the world)? What would your reaction be? Explain your reasoning.

13. **Inference:** If you were Stalin (or a Soviet) during this time, how would you feel about the US & Britain? Explain your reasoning.

Joseph Stalin's Reply to the "Iron Curtain" Speech

From "Stalin's Reply to Churchill," March 14, 1946 (interview with Pravda), *The New York Times*, p. 4.

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1946stalin.html>

<p>Firebrand: someone who is extremely passionate about something</p>	<p>... In substance, Mr. Churchill now stands in the position of a firebrand of war. And Mr. Churchill is not alone here. He has friends not only in England but also in the United States of America.</p> <p>In this respect, one is reminded remarkably of Hitler and his friends. Hitler began to set war loose by announcing his racial theory, declaring that only people speaking the German language represent a fully valuable nation. Mr. Churchill begins to set war loose, also by a racial theory, maintaining that only nations speaking the English language are fully valuable nations, called upon to decide the destinies of the entire world.</p> <p>The German racial theory brought Hitler and his friends to the conclusion that the Germans, as the only fully valuable nation, must rule over other nations. The English racial theory brings Mr. Churchill and his friends to the conclusion that nations speaking the English language, being the only fully valuable nations, should rule over the remaining nations of the world....</p>
<p>Irrevocably: unable to be taken back or repaired</p> <p>Oblivion: the state of being forgotten</p>	<p>As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union has irrevocably lost in battles with the Germans, and also during the German occupation and through the expulsion of Soviet citizens to German slave labor camps, about 7,000,000 people. In other words, the Soviet Union has lost in men several times more than Britain and the United States together.</p> <p>It may be that some quarters are trying to push into oblivion these sacrifices of the Soviet people which insured the liberation of Europe from the Hitlerite yoke.</p>
<p>Aspirations: goals, ambitions</p>	<p>But the Soviet Union cannot forget them. One can ask therefore, what can be surprising in the fact that the Soviet Union, in a desire to ensure its security for the future, tries to achieve that these countries should have governments whose relations to the Soviet Union are loyal? How can one, without having lost one's reason, qualify these peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union as "expansionist tendencies" of our Government?.</p> <p>..</p> <p>Mr. Churchill wanders around the truth when he speaks of the growth of the influence of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe.... The growth of the influence of communism cannot be considered accidental. It is a normal function.</p>

Lordly: arrogant or overbearing

The influence of the Communists grew because during the hard years of the mastery of fascism in Europe, Communists showed themselves to be reliable, daring and self-sacrificing fighters against fascist regimes for the liberty of peoples.

Mr. Churchill sometimes recalls in his speeches the common people from small houses, patting them on the shoulder in a **lordly** manner and pretending to be their friend. But these people are not so simpleminded as it might appear at first sight. Common people, too, have their opinions and their own politics. And they know how to stand up for themselves.

Containment Abroad¹⁴⁵

In February 1946, George Kennan, a State Department official stationed at the U.S. embassy in Moscow, sent an eight-thousand-word message to Washington, DC. In what became known as the “Long Telegram,” Kennan maintained that Soviet leaders believed that the only way to protect the Soviet Union was to destroy “rival” nations and their influence over weaker nations. According to Kennan, the Soviet Union was not so much a revolutionary regime as a totalitarian bureaucracy that was unable to accept the prospect of a peaceful coexistence of the United States and itself. He advised that the best way to thwart Soviet plans for the world was to contain Soviet influence—primarily through economic policy—to those places where it already existed and prevent its political expansion into new areas. This strategy, which came to be known as the policy of containment, formed the basis for U.S. foreign policy and military decision making for more than thirty years.

As Communist governments came to power elsewhere in the world, American policymakers extended their strategy of containment to what became known as the domino theory under the Eisenhower administration: Neighbors to Communist nations, so was the assumption, were likely to succumb to the same allegedly dangerous and infectious ideology. Like dominos toppling one another, entire regions would eventually be controlled by the Soviets. The demand for anti-Communist containment appeared as early as March 1946 in a speech by Winston Churchill, in which he referred to an Iron Curtain that divided Europe into the “free” West and the Communist East controlled by the Soviet Union.

The commitment to containing Soviet expansion made necessary the ability to mount a strong military offense and defense. In pursuit of this goal, the U.S. military was reorganized under the National Security Act of 1947. This act streamlined the government in matters of security by creating the National Security Council and establishing the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to conduct surveillance and espionage in foreign nations. It also created the Department of the Air Force, which was combined with the Departments of the Army and Navy in 1949 to form one Department of Defense.

The Truman Doctrine

In Europe, the end of World War II witnessed the rise of a number of internal struggles for control of countries that had been occupied by Nazi Germany. Great Britain occupied Greece as the Nazi regime there collapsed. The British aided the authoritarian government of Greece in its battles against Greek Communists. In March 1947, Great Britain announced that it could no longer afford the cost of supporting government military activities and withdrew from participation in the Greek civil war. Stepping into this power vacuum, the United States announced the Truman Doctrine, which offered support to Greece and Turkey in the form of financial assistance, weaponry, and troops to help train their militaries and bolster their governments against Communism. Eventually, the program was expanded to include any state trying to withstand a Communist takeover. The Truman Doctrine thus became a hallmark of U.S. Cold War policy.

¹⁴⁵ This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:UTh67V_v@4/The-Cold-War.

The Marshall Plan

By 1946, the American economy was growing significantly. At the same time, the economic situation in Europe was disastrous. The war had turned much of Western Europe into a battlefield, and the rebuilding of factories, public transportation systems, and power stations progressed exceedingly slowly. Starvation loomed as a real possibility for many. As a result of these conditions, Communism was making significant inroads in both Italy and France. These concerns led Truman, along with Secretary of State George C. Marshall, to propose to Congress the European Recovery Program, popularly known as the Marshall Plan. Between its implantation in April 1948 and its termination in 1951, this program gave \$13 billion in economic aid to European nations.

Truman's motivation was economic and political, as well as humanitarian. The plan stipulated that the European nations had to work together in order to receive aid, thus enforcing unity through enticement, while seeking to undercut the political popularity of French and Italian Communists and dissuading moderates from forming coalition governments with them. Likewise, much of the money had to be spent on American goods, boosting the postwar economy of the United States as well as the American cultural presence in Europe. Stalin regarded the program as a form of bribery. The Soviet Union refused to accept aid from the Marshall Plan, even though it could have done so, and forbade the Communist states of Eastern Europe to accept U.S. funds as well. Those states that did accept aid began to experience an economic recovery.

Showdown in Europe

The lack of consensus with the Soviets on the future of Germany led the United States, Great Britain, and France to support joining their respective occupation zones into a single, independent state. In December 1946, they took steps to do so, but the Soviet Union did not wish the western zones of the country to unify under a democratic, pro-capitalist government. The Soviet Union also feared the possibility of a unified West Berlin, located entirely within the Soviet sector. Three days after the western allies authorized the introduction of a new currency in Western Germany—the Deutsche Mark—Stalin ordered all land and water routes to the western zones of the city Berlin to be cut off in June 1948. Hoping to starve the western parts of the city into submission, the Berlin blockade was also a test of the emerging U.S. policy of containment.

Unwilling to abandon Berlin, the United States, Great Britain, and France began to deliver all needed supplies to West Berlin by air. In April 1949, the three countries joined Canada and eight Western European nations to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), an alliance pledging its members to mutual defense in the event of attack. On May 12, 1949, a year and approximately two million tons of supplies later, the Soviets admitted defeat and ended the blockade of Berlin. On May 23, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), consisting of the unified western zones and commonly referred to as West Germany, was formed. The Soviets responded by creating the German Democratic Republic, or East Germany, in October 1949.

Primary Sources: Foreign Policy Gallery Walk

Document A – “Telegram from Nikolai Novikov, Soviet Ambassador to the US, to the Soviet Leadership,” September 27, 1946

Leadership Citation: “Telegram from Nikolai Novikov, Soviet Ambassador to the US, to the Soviet Leadership,” September 27, 1946, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, AVP SSSR, f. 06. op. 8, p. 45, p. 759, published in *Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn'* #11, 1990, pp. 148-154, translated for CWIHP by Gary Goldberg.

<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110808>

...US foreign policy has been characterized in the postwar period by a desire for world domination*. This is the real meaning of repeated statements by President Truman and other representatives of American ruling circles that the US has a right to world leadership. All the forces of American diplomacy, the Army, Navy, and Air Force, industry, and science have been placed at the service of this policy. With this objective in mind broad plans for expansion have been developed, to be realized both diplomatically and through the creation of a system of naval and air bases far from the US, an arms race, and the creation of newer and newer weapons.

...US foreign policy is being pursued right now in a situation quite different from that which existed in the prewar period. This situation does not completely match the expectations of those reactionary circles who hoped during the Second World War that they would be able to remain apart from the main battles in Europe and Asia for a long time. Their expectation was that the United States of America, if it was not able to completely avoid participation in the war, would enter it only at the last moment when it might be able to influence its outcome without great effort, completely securing its own interests. It was intended thereby that the main rivals of the US would be crushed in this war or weakened to a great degree and that due to this circumstance the US would be the most powerful factor in deciding the main issues of the postwar world. These expectations also were based on the assumption quite widespread in the US during the first period of the war that the Soviet Union, which had been attacked by German fascism in June 1941, would be weakened as a result of the war or even completely destroyed. Reality has not borne out all the expectations of the American imperialists.

Document B - George Kennan's 'Long Telegram', March 22, 1946

Citation: "George Kennan's 'Long Telegram'," March 22, 1946, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, National Archives and Records Administration, Department of State Records (Record Group 59), Central Decimal File, 1945-1949, 861.00/2-2246; reprinted in US Department of State, ed., Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, Volume VI, Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1969), 696-709.

<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116178>

(a) USSR still lives in antagonistic "capitalist encirclement" with which in the long run there can be no permanent peaceful coexistence. As stated by Stalin in 1927 to a delegation of American workers:

"In course of further development of international revolution there will emerge two centers of world significance: a socialist center, drawing to itself the countries which tend toward socialism, and a capitalist center, drawing to itself the countries that incline toward capitalism. Battle between these two centers for command of world economy will decide fate of capitalism and of communism in entire world."

...(c) Internal conflicts of capitalism inevitably generate wars. Wars thus generated may be of two kinds: intra-capitalist wars between two capitalist states, and wars of intervention against socialist world. Smart capitalists, vainly seeking escape from inner conflicts of capitalism, incline toward latter.

(d) Intervention against USSR, while it would be disastrous to those who undertook it, would cause renewed delay in progress of Soviet socialism and must therefore be forestalled at all costs.

(e) Conflicts between capitalist states, though likewise fraught with danger for USSR, nevertheless hold out great possibilities for advancement of socialist cause, particularly if USSR remains militarily powerful, ideologically monolithic and faithful to its present brilliant leadership.

...[The Soviet believes that] everything must be done to advance relative strength of USSR as factor in international society. Conversely, no opportunity must be missed to reduce strength and influence, collectively as well as individually, of capitalist powers.

Document C – Stalin’s Election Speech, February 9, 1946

J. STALIN SPEECH DELIVERED BY J. V. STALIN AT A MEETING OF VOTERS OF THE STALIN ELECTORAL DISTRICT, MOSCOW February 9, 1946. From the Pamphlet Collection, J. Stalin, Speeches Delivered at Meetings of Voters of the Stalin Electoral District, Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Pp. 19-44.

<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116179>

...The [Second World] war was not only a curse. It was also a great school which examined and tested all the forces of the people. ...It is different now, when the war is over, when the war itself has verified the work of our organizations and leaders and has summed it up...

Our victory signifies, first of all, that our Soviet social system was victorious, that the Soviet social system successfully passed the test of fire in the war and proved that it is fully viable. As we know, the foreign press on more than one occasion asserted that the Soviet social system was a "dangerous experiment" that was doomed to failure...Now we can say that the war has refuted all these assertions of the foreign press and has proved them to have been groundless. The war proved that the Soviet social system is a genuinely people's system, which grew up from the ranks of the people and enjoys their powerful support; that the Soviet social system is fully viable and stable form of organization of society. More than that. The issue now is not whether the Soviet social system is viable or not, because after the object lessons of the war, no skeptic now dares to express doubt concerning the viability of the Soviet social system. Now the issue is that the Soviet social system has proved to be more viable and stable than the non-Soviet social system, that the Soviet social system is a better form of organization of society than any non-Soviet social system.

...The war proved that the Soviet multinational state system successfully passed the test, grew stronger than ever during the war, and turned out to be quite a viable state system. ...The issue now is no longer the viability of the Soviet state system, because there can be no doubt about its viability. Now the issue is that the Soviet state system has proved to be a model multinational state, that the Soviet state system is a system of state organization in which the national problem and the problem, of the collaboration of nations have found a better solution than in any other multinational state.

Document D – Warsaw Pact Treaty, May 14, 1955

“Warsaw Pact Treaty,” May 14, 1955, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, American Foreign Policy, 1950-1955: Basic Documents Vol 1, Department of State Publication 6446, General Foreign Policy Series 117 (Washington, DC : Government Printing Office, 19).

<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/123891>

Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic, May 14, 1955
The Contracting Parties...envisage the formation of a new military alignment in the shape of "Western European Union," with the participation of a remilitarized Western Germany and the integration of the latter in the North-Atlantic bloc (NATO), which increased the danger of another war and constitutes a threat to the national security of the peaceable states; being persuaded that in these circumstances the peaceable European states must take the necessary measures to safeguard their security and in the interests of preserving peace in Europe...have decided to conclude the present Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance and have for that purpose appointed as their plenipotentiaries: who, having presented their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

...Article 4 In the event of armed attack in Europe on one or more of the Parties to the Treaty by any state or group of states, each of the Parties to the Treaty, in the exercise of its right to individual or collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations Organization, shall immediately, either individually or in agreement with other Parties to the Treaty, come to the assistance of the state or states attacked with all such means as it deems necessary, including armed force. The Parties to the Treaty shall immediately consult concerning the necessary measures to be taken by them jointly in order to restore and maintain international peace and security. Measures taken on the basis of this Article shall be reported to the Security Council in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations Organization. These measures shall be discontinued immediately the Security Council adopts the necessary measures to restore and maintain international peace and security.

Document E - Truman's Address to Congress: Recommendation for assistance to Greece and Turkey by the President of the United States, Harry Truman

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the Government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries....Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate. There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

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

...To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes.

This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

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

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Document F - Speech on the Truman Doctrine, Henry A. Wallace, March 27, 1947

March 12, 1947, marked a turning point in American history. It is not a Greek crisis that we face, it is an American crisis. It is a crisis in the American spirit... Only the American people fully aroused and promptly acting can prevent disaster. President Truman, in the name of democracy and humanitarianism, proposed a military lend-lease program. He proposed a loan of \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey as a down payment on an unlimited expenditure aimed at opposing Communist expansion. He proposed, in effect, that America police Russia's every border. There is no regime too reactionary for us provided it stands in Russia's expansionist path. There is no country too remote to serve as the scene of a contest which may widen until it becomes a world war.

Russia may be poor and unprepared for war, but she knows very well how to reply to Truman's declaration of economic and financial pressure. All over the world Russia and her ally, poverty, will increase the pressure against us. Who among us is ready to predict that in this struggle American dollars will outlast the grievances that lead to communism? I certainly don't want to see communism spread. I predict that Truman's policy will spread communism in Europe and Asia. You can't fight something with nothing. When Truman offers unconditional aid to King George of Greece, he is acting as the best salesman communism ever had. In proposing this reckless adventure, Truman is betraying the great tradition of America and the leadership of the great American who preceded him...

Document G - Secretary of State Marshall's speech to Congress explaining his plan for European recovery, June 5, 1947

<http://marshallfoundation.org/marshall/the-marshall-plan/marshall-plan-speech/>

I need not tell you gentlemen that the world situation is very serious. That must be apparent to all intelligent people. I think one difficulty is that the problem is one of such enormous complexity that the very mass of facts presented to the public by press and radio make it exceedingly difficult for the man in the street to reach a clear appraisal of the situation....

In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines and railroads was correctly estimated, but it has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy...The rehabilitation of the economic structure of Europe quite evidently will require a much longer time and greater effort than had been foreseen.

The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help, or face economic, social and political deterioration of a very grave character.

...Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piece-meal basis as various crises develop...Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation, I am sure, on the part of the United States Government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States.

...An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is an understanding on the part of the people of America of the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied. Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibility which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome.

Document H - Vursell Speech to Congress on the Marshall Plan

Rep. Charles W. Vursell (R-IL)

December 04, 1947

...[T]hose who favor the Marshall plan will tell you that we must rebuild western Europe to stop communism. We all want to retard (slow) or stop communism if we can, but we must be honest with ourselves and honest with the American people we represent. We cannot stop communism taking western Europe unless we have the power to stop Russia and her armies. We held a serious conference with a group of high-ranking military men while in Europe whose duty it is to know what Russia can and may do. We asked the question as follows: "Suppose, under the Marshall plan or some other plan, we spend from \$10,000,000,000 to \$20,000,000,000 rebuilding western Europe and get those countries going in good shape in 4 or 5 years, is there anything then to stop Russia from moving in and taking a much richer prize after we have spent our money to build it up?" The answer was "No" I do not believe any top military man in the Nation will make the statement that we can land and maintain in western Europe sufficient military forces to prevent Russia, if she so desires, from taking over western Europe. Germany will have no army. Italy, France, Belgium and Holland will have no military strength capable of putting up any serious resistance if Russia should make such a move. You just as well quit trying to deceive the American people by telling them you can stop communism if you put over the Marshall plan...

...Now, if you want to exert the strongest influence possible by the United States to retard, or stop the encroachment of communism on western Europe, take some of these \$20,000,000,000 that you would waste in the Marshall plan, and spend them here at home in building the strongest air force with the greatest striking power of any air force in the world. Give more attention to cooperation in hemispheric defense with South America, strengthen our military departments where necessary to enable us in any emergency to strike promptly with power and effect. Mr. Stalin and his warlords, if they knew we were making such moves, would probably hesitate to move further into western Europe for fear they might precipitate a war with a powerful Nation that is prepared.

Document I - Excerpt from the North Atlantic Treaty, which was signed by the United States, Canada, and ten nations of Western Europe in 1948.

The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or in North America shall be considered as an attack against them all. They agree that if such an armed attack occurs, each of them will assist the party or parties so attacked. Each will immediately take whatever action it considers necessary to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. It will, if necessary, use armed force.



NATO Member States: Canada, United States, Iceland, Great Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, The Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, West Germany, Italy, Greece, Turkey

Gallery Walk Graphic Organizer

Source (Title): _____ Author (Speaker): _____
Author's Perspective: US USSR

SUMMARIZE the main idea of this text. What is this source about? What action has taken place?

This document proves that the _____ is responsible for the start of the Cold War.

US USSR



Cite a quote that the US/USSR is to blame:



Explain why this quote ultimately proves who is to blame for the Cold War. NOTE: Analysis does not mean restate the quote in your own words. PROVE why the US/USSR is to blame.

Nuclear Arms Race: Overview

Kuran, Peter. "The Cold War." Atom Central. Visual Concept Entertainment, n.d. Web. 25 July 2016.

The seeds of hostility between the United States and the USSR began near the end of World War I. The Bolsheviks (later Communists) overthrew the existing Russian government. In December 1922 began the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) under Communist control. The United States refused to recognize the Soviet state until 1933. The profound ideological differences between the USSR and the United States were problematic and made worse by Joseph Stalin, who ruled the USSR from 1929 to 1953 as a ruthless dictator.

In July 16, 1945, the creation of the first atomic bomb came to fruition in the United States and was tested at Alamogordo, New Mexico at a site called "Trinity". The atomic bomb had two objectives: a quick end of World War II and possession by the US (and not USSR), would allow control of foreign policy.

In 1947 president Harry S. Truman authorized U.S. aid (The Truman Doctrine) to anti-Communist forces in Greece and Turkey. The policy was expanded to justify support for any nation that the U.S. government considered to be threatened by Soviet expansionism. This policy, known as the containment doctrine, was aimed at holding back and restricting the spread of Communism worldwide.

Containment quickly became the official U.S. policy towards the USSR. In the meantime, the Russians obtained top secret blue prints of the original Trinity design.

On August 29th, 1949, the Soviet Union detonated its first atomic bomb, at the Semipalatinsk Test Site in Kazakhstan. This event ends America's monopoly of atomic weaponry and launches the Cold War. In the 1950's, The Arms Race became the focus of the Cold War. America tested the first Hydrogen (or thermo-nuclear) bomb in 1952, beating the Russians in the creation of the "Super Bomb".

The political climate of the Cold war became more defined in January, 1954, when U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles announced the policy that came to be known as "massive retaliation" -- any major Soviet attack would be met with a massive nuclear response. As a result to the challenge of "massive retaliation" came the most significant by-product of the Cold War, the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM).

The ICBM's were supported with the thermo-nuclear bomb (with a much greater destructive power than the original atomic bomb), inertial guidance systems (defines the difference between weight, the influence of gravity and the impact of inertia), and powerful booster engines for multistage rockets. As a result, ballistic missiles became sufficiently accurate and powerful to destroy targets 8000 km (5000 mi) away. For more than thirty years, the ICBM has been the symbol of the United States' strategic nuclear arsenal.

In October 1961, The Soviet Union detonates a nuclear device, estimated at 58 megatons, the equivalent of more than 50 million tons of TNT, or more than all the explosives used during World War II. It is the largest nuclear weapon the world had ever seen at that time. The Tsar Bomba (King of the Bombs) is detonated after US and USSR agree to limit nuclear testing. It is the largest nuclear device ever exploded. Having no strategic military value, Tsar is viewed as an act of intimidation by the Soviets.

The Arms Race Jigsaw Readings

Kutz, Kimberly N. "Atomic Fears and the Arms Race." *Khan Academy*. Khan Academy, 2016. Web. 25 July 2016.

Excerpt #1: The Doomsday Clock and the H-bomb

Shortly after the US dropped the atomic bomb on Japan, the scientists who had developed the bomb formed the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, an organization dedicated to alerting the world to the dangers of nuclear weaponry. Early contributors included J. Robert Oppenheimer, the director of the Manhattan Project, and Albert Einstein, who dedicated the final years of his life to promoting nuclear disarmament. In 1947, they printed their first magazine, placing on its cover what would become an iconic symbol of the nuclear age: the **Doomsday Clock**. The clock purported to show how close humanity was to nuclear annihilation, or "midnight." When the clock first appeared, the scientists predicted that humankind was mere seven minutes to midnight.

But by 1953, the scientists had revised their estimate to just *two* minutes to midnight. Their reason for this panicked prognosis was the United States' decision to develop and test a hydrogen bomb, or **H-bomb**, a nuclear weapon one thousand times more powerful than the atomic bomb that had leveled Hiroshima at the end of World War II. Although scientists and some government officials argued against it, US officials ultimately reasoned that it would be imprudent for them *not* to develop any weapon that the Soviet Union might possess. The development of the H-bomb committed the US to an arms race with the USSR. Despite the specter of nuclear holocaust, both the United States and the Soviet Union vied to build ever more powerful nuclear weapons.

Excerpt #2: NSC-68

The development of the H-bomb was just part of the US project to increase its military might in this period. In 1950, the newly-created National Security Council issued a report on the current state of world affairs and the steps the United States should take to confront the perceived crisis. Their report, "United States Objectives and Programs for National Security," or **NSC-68**, cast the tension between the US and USSR as an apocalyptic battle between good and evil. "The issues that face us are momentous, involving the fulfillment or destruction not only of this Republic but of civilization itself," the report began. It went on to assert that the ultimate goal of the Soviet Union was "the complete subversion or forcible destruction of the machinery of government and structure of society in the countries of the non-Soviet world and their replacement by an apparatus and structure subservient to and controlled from the Kremlin."

The report concluded by recommending that United States vastly increase its investment in national security, quadrupling its annual defense spending to \$50 billion per year. Although at first this proposal seemed both expensive and impractical, the US entry into the Korean War just two months later put NSC-68's plans in motion.³³

NSC-68 became the cornerstone of US national security policy during the Cold War, but it was a flawed document in many ways. For one thing, it assumed two "worst-case" scenarios: that the Soviet Union had both the capacity and the desire to take over the world — neither of which was necessarily true.

Excerpt #3: Atomic fears

With both the US and USSR stockpiling nuclear weapons, American society and culture in the 1950s was pervaded by fears of nuclear warfare. Schools began issuing dog tags to students so that their families could identify their bodies in the event of an attack. The US government provided instructions for building and equipping bomb shelters in basements or backyards, and some cities constructed municipal shelters. Nuclear bomb drills became a routine part of disaster preparedness.

The civil defense film *Duck and Cover*, first screened in 1952, sought to help schoolchildren protect themselves from injury during a nuclear attack by instructing them to find shelter and cover themselves to prevent burns. Though "ducking and covering" hardly would have helped to prevent serious injury in a real atomic bombing, these rehearsals for disaster at least gave American citizens an illusion of control in the face of atomic warfare.

Excerpt #4: Massive retaliation

One problem with the enormous military buildup prescribed by NSC-68 was its expense. Although the economic prosperity of the 1950s seemed as if it would never end, President Eisenhower hoped to cut government spending. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles proposed a new plan for getting maximum defense capabilities at an affordable cost: **massive retaliation**. Instead of focusing on conventional military forces, the US would rely on its enormous stockpile of nuclear weapons to deter its foes from aggression, on the principle that attacking the United States would result in "mutually-assured destruction."

Unfortunately, massive retaliation was a sledgehammer, not a scalpel. Because it dealt in worst-case scenarios, it presented no intermediate measures between all-out nuclear warfare and no response whatsoever. For example, when an uprising against Soviet control broke out in Hungary in 1956, the United States feared to support it for fear of antagonizing the Soviet Union and triggering a nuclear war.

Moreover, to Eisenhower's chagrin, developing and maintaining the technology required to implement massive retaliation was in fact extremely expensive. In his farewell address, Eisenhower warned of the dangers posed by the growing influence of the "military-industrial complex," but was unable to slow the arms race.

The Arms Race Jigsaw Graphic Organizer

Excerpt #1: _____	Summary (in 10 words or less):	How does this excerpt help you determine who is to blame for the Cold War?
	According to this excerpt, what were the effects (think: cultural, political, economic) of the Arms Race?	What information is missing from this source?
Excerpt #2: _____	Summary (in 10 words or less):	How does this excerpt help you determine who is to blame for the Cold War?
	According to this excerpt, what were the effects (think: cultural, political, economic) of the Arms Race?	What information is missing from this source?

<p>Excerpt #3:</p> <hr/>	<p>Summary (in 10 words or less):</p>	<p>How does this excerpt help you determine who is to blame for the Cold War?</p>
	<p>According to this excerpt, what were the effects (think: cultural, political, economic) of the Arms Race?</p>	<p>What information is missing from this source?</p>
<p>Excerpt #4:</p> <hr/>	<p>Summary (in 10 words or less):</p>	<p>How does this excerpt help you determine who is to blame for the Cold War?</p>
	<p>According to this excerpt, what were the effects (think: cultural, political, economic) of the Arms Race?</p>	<p>What information is missing from this source?</p>

Space Race Timeline

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/moon/timeline/timeline2.html>

Directions: As you read the timeline of events below, annotate whether the events are considered a “win” for the US or the USSR. **Note:** Not every event on the timeline below represents a “win” – some events are simply meant to contribute to your understanding of both sides of the story. Read carefully!

1957

October 4: The Soviet Union launches Sputnik 1 into earth orbit. The first man-made satellite passes overhead, making one revolution every 90 minutes.

November 3: Sputnik 2 carries Laika, a female dog, into space. Although the satellite will remain in orbit for 162 days, scientists plan to put Laika to sleep after a week because there is no way to return her to Earth safely. Later reports indicate that Laika died soon after liftoff, from stress and high temperatures inside the capsule.

The American press nicknames the second Soviet satellite "Muttnik" because of its biological payload.

1958

January 31: Explorer 1, the first American satellite, enters orbit around Earth.

1959

January: Luna 1 launches from the Soviet Union towards the moon but misses its target. Soviet lunar probes had been launched in 1958 but not announced to the public or acknowledged. This set a pattern for the Soviet space program: missions were not announced until they could be hailed as successes.

May 28: NASA launches two monkeys from Cape Canaveral and successfully recovers them in the Atlantic Ocean.

September: The Soviets' Luna 2 successfully crash-lands on the moon, becoming the first man-made object to reach another planetary body.

October: Luna 3 flies around the moon, taking the first photographs of the far side of the moon. Two more Soviet launches the following year will not achieve proper flight paths. Information about them will be suppressed.

1961

Jan 31: Ham, a chimpanzee, survives a sub-orbital flight on an American mission, Mercury 2.

The American press pokes fun at American astronauts for doing a job that could be accomplished by a monkey.

April 12: Vostok 1 carries Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin into orbit; he is the first human in space. The Soviets refer to Gagarin as a "cosmonaut."

May 5: Alan Shepard commands Freedom 7 on the first Mercury mission, becoming the first American in space.

May 25: President John F. Kennedy, in his first State of the Union address, accelerates the space program and sets as a goal a moon landing within the decade.

1962

February 20: John Glenn orbits the Earth three times, becoming the first American in orbit. Hailed as a hero, he will later leave the space program to enter politics.

1963

June 6: A Russian, Valentina Tereshkova, becomes the first woman in space. The American program, which has drawn astronauts from active duty military pilots, employs no female astronauts.

1964

October 12: V. M. Komarov, K. P. Feoktistov and B. B. Yegorov all fly on the Soviet Voskhod 1, the first mission to send multiple men into space.

1965

March 18: Voskhod 2 [a Soviet craft] carries Pavel Belyayev and Alexei Leonov into orbit. Leonov leaves the spacecraft on the first "spacewalk."

June 3-7: On Gemini 4, a particularly strong astronaut, Edward White II, exits his vehicle and performs the first American space walk. The ease with which he maneuvers will not be easily replicated by subsequent astronauts who attempt to perform mechanical tasks on space walks.

December 4-18: American astronauts Frank Borman and Jim Lovell fly Gemini 7 for fourteen days, setting an endurance record that will remain unbroken until 1970.

December 15-16: Wally Schirra and Thomas Stafford fly Gemini 6 within a few feet of Borman and Lovell in Gemini 7, for the first true rendezvous (meet up) in space.

1966

March 16: Americans Neil Armstrong and David Scott couple Gemini 8 to an unmanned Agena vehicle, docking two spacecraft together for the first time. Shortly after this feat, Gemini 8 experiences a stuck thruster, causing the craft to tumble wildly, and the rest of the mission is aborted.

March 31: Luna 10 launches from the Soviet Union. The unmanned probe will achieve lunar orbit -- the first object to do so -- and send information about the moon back to earth.

1967

April 23: [Russian] Vladimir Komarov commands Soyuz 1. On its descent, the parachute becomes tangled and Soyuz 1 slams into the ground at high speed, killing Komarov. It is the first death to occur during a space flight.

1968

December 21-27: Apollo 8 completes the first manned orbit of the moon. Frank Borman commands the mission, Jim Lovell acts as navigator and William Anders is photographer and geological observer.

1969

July 20: Americans Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin become the first men to walk on the moon. They then rendezvous with Michael Collins in the command module for the return to Earth.

1972

April 16-27: Apollo 16 lands on the moon and travels almost 17 miles with the lunar rover.

1975

July 15-24: The last Apollo mission carries Donald K. "Deke" Slayton into space with Tom Stafford and Vance Brand. In orbit, they dock with a Soviet Soyuz spacecraft. The mission proves the compatibility of the two space programs and paves the way for future collaborations and rescue missions.

US History Instructional Task: The Cold War at Home and Abroad

Unit Five: The Cold War and the Modern Era, Topic One: The Cold War at Home and Abroad

Description: Students investigate policies of containment at home and abroad during the Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy administrations, and analyze their effectiveness on Cold War events.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Materials: [Containment at Home](#); [Red Dot activity](#); [Anti-Communism in the 1950s](#); ["Fire"](#); ["It's okay - We're hunting Communists."](#); ["Nothing exceeds like excess"](#); [The Korean War](#); [Korean War](#); [The Eisenhower Era](#); [The Cold War Continues](#); [John F. Kennedy as President](#); [Kennedy the Cold Warrior](#); [Kennedy and Cuba](#); [Cuban Missile Crisis](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: "In the previous task, we explored the origins of the Cold War, and started to learn about U.S. foreign policy related to the Cold War. In this task, we are going to see how these policies played out by exploring some early cold war events - both at home and abroad. We will use the question "was containment an effective policy to thwart communist expansion?" to guide our inquiry."
2. Lead students in a brief discussion on the first Red Scare, which was covered in the Unit 3 task [American Politics in the 1920s](#). Students should recall that the first Red Scare came during a time of anti-immigrant sentiment that swept the U.S. post WWI, and was a reaction to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and the fear that communist infiltrators would overthrow the U.S. government as part of an international revolution. Americans that were thought to be radical in some way, or to harbor communist sentiments, became the targets of the Palmer raids, and were arrested, detained, or deported. Possible questions to ask to support student recollection:
 - a. What prompted the first Red Scare?
 - b. What were the Palmer raids and what caused them?
3. Say: "The U.S. experienced a second Red Scare in the 1950s towards the beginning of the Cold War. In this part of the task, we will investigate what caused this Red Scare, and what its impacts were on American society."
4. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: "How was the second Red Scare similar or different to the first Red Scare?"
5. Provide students with [Containment at Home](#) and instruct them to read independently. After reading, conduct a class discussion on the fears of communism at home using the following questions:
 - a. According to the author, what are the two events that shook America's confidence in the ability to contain communism?
 - b. How did the end of the Chinese civil war impact American confidence in containing the spread of communism?
 - c. Who is Joseph McCarthy, and what was his strategy in "rooting out" communists in the U.S.?
 - d. What is the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)?
 - e. How would you explain the paranoia that existed around finding and exposing communists in the U.S.?

6. Conduct the [Red Dot activity](#)¹⁴⁶ to simulate the paranoia that existed during the Red Scare. After the activity, tell the class that the purpose of the activity was to allow students to experience the anti-communist hysteria and suspicion during the Red Scare of the 1950s. Lead the class in a brief discussion to debrief the experience using the following questions:
 - a. If you were a dot, what were you?
 - b. How did “guilt by association” work in this activity?
 - c. How do you think this hysteria might affect society, or the national identity?
7. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Anti-Communism in the 1950s](#)¹⁴⁷ and instruct them to read individually. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What was the role of the media (movies, television, etc.) in the rise and fall of the Red Scare?
 - b. What is McCarthyism? Can you think of any example of present day McCarthyism?
 - c. Do you think American policies (HUAC, blacklisting, McCarthy’s senate hearings) were effective in containing communism at home?
8. After small group discussions on [Anti-Communism in the 1950s](#), bring the class together and briefly discuss the question, “did the threat of Soviet espionage justify the reaction from HUAC and McCarthy?”
9. Say: “While there were Americans, like McCarthy, who wanted to root out communists at any cost, there were also Americans who were critical of anti-communist hysteria because they saw it as a threat to our civil rights. A popular political cartoonist at the time named Herbert Block, better known as Herblock, was one of these people. We are going to analyze some of his cartoons to explore the critique of American anti-communism.”
10. Divide students into groups of six. Provide each pair in the group one of Herblock’s cartoons - ["Fire"](#), ["It's okay - We're hunting Communists."](#), and ["Nothing exceeds like excess"](#). Instruct each group to analyze the meaning of their assigned cartoon using the [Analyze a Cartoon](#) worksheet from the National Archives. After they have analyzed their cartoon, allow each pair a few minutes to present their cartoon to the rest of their small group.
11. Instruct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task, “How was the second Red Scare similar or different to the first Red Scare?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
12. Say: “As American policy to contain communism at home was being tested, the U.S. was focused on trying to contain communism abroad.”
13. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: “Why did the U.S. fight the Korean War?”
14. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [The Korean War](#)¹⁴⁸ and instruct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Why did the U.S. decide to fight in Korea? Think about U.S. foreign policy goals at the time.
 - b. Was the U.S. wise to fight in Korea? If Truman hadn’t contained communism in Korea, what might the consequences have been?
 - c. Do you think the U.S.-led forces ought to have crossed into North Korea?

¹⁴⁶ Taken from the Red Scare lesson created by Parkway School District in Chesterfield, Missouri. The “Red Dot” activity can be found on pages 2-5. Whole lesson available at: http://www.pkwy.k12.mo.us/homepage/atrost/File/Red_Scare_Dot_Activity.pdf

¹⁴⁷This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-1950s-america/a/anticommunism-in-the-1950s>

¹⁴⁸This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-1950s-america/a/the-korean-war>

- d. Who “won” the Korean War?
15. Conduct steps 4-6 of the [Korean War](#) lesson from Stanford History Education Group¹⁴⁹
 16. Direct the class to write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task, “Why did the U.S. fight the Korean War?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
 17. Say: “While Truman was the president when the U.S. entered into the Cold War, he decided not to run for another term. Dwight D. Eisenhower, a World War II general, became president next, and after him, John F. Kennedy. For the rest of this task, we will explore U.S. domestic and foreign policy, and its impact on Cold War events, during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations.”
 18. Post and read aloud the third supporting question for the task: “how did foreign policy under Eisenhower and Kennedy attempt to contain the spread of communism?”
 19. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [The Eisenhower Era](#)¹⁵⁰, and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What accounted for the incredible rise in the nation’s wealth during the 1950s?
 - b. How would you characterize President Eisenhower’s foreign policy? How was it different than Truman’s?
 - c. What is the “New Look” strategy? How could it lead to societal fears of nuclear war?
 - d. What is brinkmanship? How could it lead to societal fears of nuclear war?
 20. Provide students with [The Cold War Continues](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What is the Suez Canal crisis, and how did it lead to the Eisenhower Doctrine?
 - b. What is the Eisenhower Doctrine?
 - c. What were some of the challenges to America’s international containment policy in the 50s? How did the U.S. respond?
 - d. What is the “open skies” policy, why did the U.S. advocate for it, and what ultimately happened to it?
 - e. Why was the CIA created?
 - f. Why was NASA created?
 21. After small group discussion, lead the whole class in a discussion on question c, What were some of the challenges to America’s international containment policy in the 50s? How did the U.S. respond? Pay special attention to how the U.S. was viewed in Latin America, and what happened in Cuba.
 22. Say: “President Eisenhower served for two terms, and was followed in the presidency by John F. Kennedy - a Democrat from Massachusetts who was the youngest man elected to the presidency.”
 23. Provide students with [John F. Kennedy as President](#)¹⁵¹ and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Why did Kennedy win the 1960 election?
 - b. What were Kennedy’s greatest accomplishments? What were his most significant shortcomings?
 - c. Which do you think was more successful: Kennedy’s foreign policy, or his domestic policies?

¹⁴⁹Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page

¹⁵⁰ This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-1950s-america/a/the-eisenhower-era>

¹⁵¹ This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-1960s-america/a/john-f-kennedy-as-president>

24. Provide students with [Kennedy the Cold Warrior](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
- Explain the following Kennedy administration foreign policies: Alliance for Progress, flexible response, the Peace Corps, and counterinsurgency
 - How did each of the above foreign policies relate to containing communism?
 - How were Kennedy’s policies different and similar to Eisenhower’s policies?
25. Direct the class to write a paragraph answering the third supporting question for the task, “how did foreign policy under Eisenhower and Kennedy attempt to contain the spread of communism?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
26. Say: “The biggest cold war events during the Kennedy administration was the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis.”
27. Post and read aloud the fourth supporting question for the task, “Should President Kennedy have risked nuclear war to remove missiles from Cuba?”
28. Provide students with [Kennedy and Cuba](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
- Why was the U.S. interested in removing the leader of Cuba, Fidel Castro, from power?
 - Why did the Bay of Pigs invasion fail?
 - Why would Soviet missiles in Cuba be a huge threat to America?
 - How did the Cuban Missile Crisis end up making the world safer in the end?
 - What is the Limited Test Ban Treaty?
29. Say: “We are now going to look at some of those “delicate negotiations” that happened between the U.S. and the Soviets in avoiding nuclear war.”
30. Conduct steps 3 and 4 of the [Cuban Missile Crisis](#) lesson from Stanford History Education Group.¹⁵²
31. To culminate the task, facilitate a whole class discussion around the compelling question for the task, “was containment an effective policy to thwart communist expansion?” Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) and assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#). Suggested supporting questions are as follows:
- How did the idea of containment impact anti-communist hysteria at home?
 - What did containment look like under the Truman administration? Was it effective? Why or why not?
 - What did containment look like under the Eisenhower administration? Was it effective? Why or why not?
 - What did containment look like under the Kennedy administration? Was it effective? Why or why not?

¹⁵²Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page.

Containment at Home¹⁵³

In 1949, two incidents severely disrupted American confidence in the ability of the United States to contain the spread of Communism and limit Soviet power in the world. First, on August 29, 1949, the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb—no longer did the United States have a monopoly on nuclear power. A few months later, on October 1, 1949, Chinese Communist Party leader Mao Zedong announced the triumph of the Chinese Communists over their Nationalist foes in a civil war that had been raging since 1927. The Nationalist forces, under their leader Chiang Kai-shek, departed for Taiwan in December 1949.

Immediately, there were suspicions that spies had passed bomb-making secrets to the Soviets and that Communist sympathizers in the U.S. State Department had hidden information that might have enabled the United States to ward off the Communist victory in China. Indeed, in February 1950, Wisconsin senator Joseph McCarthy, a Republican, charged in a speech that the State Department was filled with Communists. Also in 1950, the imprisonment in Great Britain of Klaus Fuchs, a German-born physicist who had worked on the Manhattan Project and was then convicted of passing nuclear secrets to the Soviets, increased American fears. Information given by Fuchs to the British implicated a number of American citizens as well. The most infamous trial of suspected American spies was that of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed in June 1953 despite a lack of evidence against them. Several decades later, evidence was found that Julius, but not Ethel, had in fact given information to the Soviet Union.

Fears that Communists within the United States were jeopardizing the country's security had existed even before the victory of Mao Zedong and the arrest and conviction of the atomic spies. Roosevelt's New Deal and Truman's Fair Deal were often criticized as "socialist," which many mistakenly associated with Communism, and Democrats were often branded Communists by Republicans. In response, on March 21, 1947, Truman signed Executive Order 9835, which provided the Federal Bureau of Investigation with broad powers to investigate federal employees and identify potential security risks. State and municipal governments instituted their own loyalty boards to find and dismiss potentially disloyal workers.

In addition to loyalty review boards, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), established in 1938 to investigate suspected Nazi sympathizers, after World War II also sought to root out suspected Communists in business, academia, and the media. HUAC was particularly interested in Hollywood because it feared that Communist sympathizers might use motion pictures as pro-Soviet propaganda. Witnesses were subpoenaed and required to testify before the committee; refusal could result in imprisonment. Those who invoked Fifth Amendment protections, or were otherwise suspected of Communist sympathies, often lost their jobs or found themselves on a blacklist, which prevented them from securing employment. Notable artists who were blacklisted in the 1940s and 1950s include composer Leonard Bernstein, novelist Dashiell Hammett, playwright and screenwriter Lillian Hellman, actor and singer Paul Robeson, and musician Artie Shaw.

¹⁵³This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:UTh67V_v@4/The-Cold-War.

"Fire"¹⁵⁴

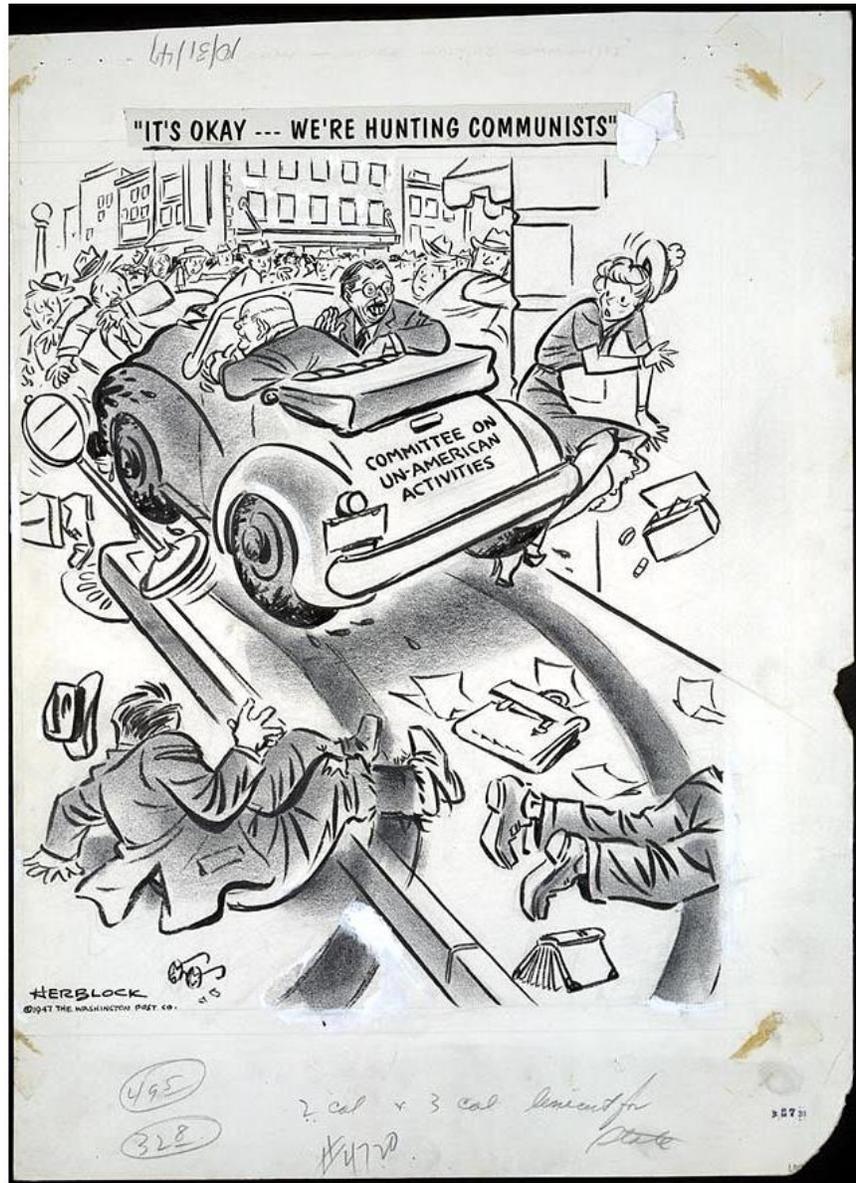


"Fire!" June 17, 1949. Reproduction from original drawing. Published in the *Washington Post* (25)

<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/herblock/images/hblock2.jpg>

¹⁵⁴ This source is part of an exhibit created by Herblock's History - Political Cartoon from the Crash to the Millennium and the Library of Congress. It can be found at <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/herblocks-history/fire.html>.
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"It's okay - We're hunting Communist."¹⁵⁵



"It's okay - We're hunting Communists." October 31, 1947. Ink, graphite, and opaque white over graphite underdrawing on layered paper. Published in the *Washington Post* (18) LC-USZ62-127327



¹⁵⁵ This source is part of an exhibit created by Herblock's History - Political Cartoon from the Crash to the Millennium and the Library of Congress. It can be found at <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/herblocks-history/fire.html>.
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“Nothing exceeds like excess”¹⁵⁶



¹⁵⁶ This source is part of an exhibit created by Herblock's History - Political Cartoon from the Crash to the Millennium and the Library of Congress. It can be found at <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/herblocks-history/fire.html>.

The Cold War Continues¹⁵⁷



Cartoons of the unflappable Bert the Turtle warned American children everywhere during the Cold War to “duck and cover” in the event of a nuclear blast. Although these proved useless, schools vigorously pursued “duck and cover” drills in which children clambered beneath their desks.

The end of the Korean War in 1953 by no means brought an end to global hostilities. As the British and French Empires slowly yielded to independence movements, a new Third World emerged. This became the major battleground of the Cold War as the United States and the Soviet Union struggled to bring new nations into their respective orbits. Across the Third World, the two superpowers squared off through proxy armies.

The United States's recognition of Israel in 1948 created a strong new ally, but created many enemies. Arab nations, enraged by American support for the new Jewish state, found supportive ears in the Soviet Union.

When Egyptian President **GAMAL ABDEL NASSER** sought to strengthen ties with the Soviet bloc, the United States withdrew its pledge to help Nasser construct the all-important **ASWAN DAM**. Nasser responded by nationalizing the **SUEZ CANAL**, an action that compelled British, French,

and Israeli armies to invade Egypt.

The Eisenhower Doctrine

The Western alliance was threatened as President Dwight Eisenhower called upon Britain and France to show restraint. With Soviet influence growing in the oil-rich region, Ike issued the Eisenhower Doctrine, which pledged American support to any governments fighting communist insurgencies in the Middle East. Making good on that promise, he sent over 5,000 marines to **LEBANON** to forestall an anti-Western takeover.

Asia provided more challenges for American containment policy. China was flexing its muscles on **TAIWAN** by threatening the takeover of the Taiwanese islands of **QUEMOY AND MATSU**. United States Secretary of State **JOHN FOSTER DULLES** chose to follow a strategy of brinkmanship. He told China that any aggressive actions toward the islands would be met by force from the United States.

In a grown-up version of the children's game of chicken, Dulles hoped to avoid war by threatening war. The Chinese shelled the islands to save face, but no takeover occurred.



Egyptian president Gamal Abder Nasser's 1956 nationalization of the Suez Canal, crippled the ability of Great Britain and France to trade internationally. As a result, the two countries allied with Israel to attack Egypt.

¹⁵⁷ This work by The Independence Hall Association is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](http://www.ushistory.org/us/53e.asp). The original work is available at <http://www.ushistory.org/us/53e.asp>.

To the south, communist revolutionary Ho Chi Minh successfully defeated the French colonial army to create the new nation of Vietnam. American commitment to the containment of communism led to a protracted involvement that would become the Vietnam War.

The CIA

In the aftermath of World War II, the United States created a new weapon to assist in fighting the Cold War: the **CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY**. In addition to gathering information on Soviet plans and maneuvers, the CIA also involved itself in covert operations designed to prevent communist dictators from rising to power.

The first such instance occurred in Iran, when Iranian Prime Minister **MOHAMMED MOSSADEGH** nationalized **BRITISH PETROLEUM**. Fearing Soviet influence in the powerful oil nation, the CIA recruited a phony mob to drive off Mossadegh and return the American-backed **SHAH MOHAMMAD REZA PAHLAVI** to power.

When **JACOBO ARBENZ** came to power in Guatemala, he promised to relieve the nation's impoverished farmers by seizing land held by the American-owned **UNITED FRUIT COMPANY** and redistributing it to the peasants. With the support of American air power, a CIA-backed band of mercenaries overthrew Arbenz and established a military dictatorship.

Throughout Latin America, the United States was seen as a brutal defender of thuggish autocrats at the expense of popularly elected leaders. Fidel Castro capitalized on this sentiment by overthrowing U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista from power in Cuba in January 1959.



Beginning on July 4, 1956, U-2 spy planes infiltrated Soviet airspace to take photos and determine the number of bomber planes possessed by the USSR. The secret flights lasted until 1960, when a U-2 plane was shot down.

Policy of Mass Retaliation

Relations remained icy between the United States and the Soviet Union. Relying on the knowledge that the United States had a much larger nuclear arsenal than the Soviet Union, Eisenhower and Dulles announced a policy of massive retaliation. Any attack by the Soviets on the United States or its allies would be met with nuclear force.

The Soviet crackdown on the **HUNGARIAN UPRISING OF 1956** further strained relations. In an effort to reduce tensions, Eisenhower offered an **"OPEN SKIES" PROPOSAL** to Soviet leader **NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV**. Planes from each nation would be permitted to fly over the other to inspect nuclear sites. But Khrushchev declined the offer. A summit



The CIA was formed after World War II to monitor the potential threat of communist countries.

conference between Eisenhower and Khrushchev was canceled in 1960 when the Soviets shot down an American **U-2 SPY PLANE** piloted by **GARY POWERS**.

Despite the passing of Joseph Stalin, Americans continued to view the Soviet Union as the Great Red Menace.

When the USSR put **SPUTNIK** into orbit in 1957, panic struck the American heartland. Thousands rushed to Sears and Roebuck to purchase bomb shelter kits, and Congress responded by creating the **NATIONAL AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION** and by appropriating funds for science education.



This stamp commemorates Laika, the dog that was sent into space on the second Soviet satellite, Sputnik II, in November 1957. The launch of the first Sputnik earlier that year triggered a massive American effort to catch up to Soviet space technology, culminating in the 1969 with the U.S. mission to the Moon.



The mushroom cloud above was photographed in a 1956 nuclear test known as Operation Plumbbob. The possibility of nuclear war loomed over terrified Americans in the 1950s.

Not even outer space was safe from Cold War confrontation.

Kennedy the Cold Warrior¹⁵⁸

Kennedy focused most of his energies on foreign policy, an arena in which he had been interested since his college years and in which, like all presidents, he was less constrained by the dictates of Congress. Kennedy, who had promised in his inaugural address to protect the interests of the “free world,” engaged in Cold War politics on a variety of fronts. For example, in response to the lead that the Soviets had taken in the space race when Yuri Gagarin became the first human to successfully orbit the earth, Kennedy urged Congress to not only put a man into space ([Figure](#)) but also land an American on the moon, a goal finally accomplished in 1969. This investment advanced a variety of military technologies, especially the nation’s long-range missile capability, resulting in numerous profitable spin-offs for the aviation and communication industries. It also funded a growing middle class of government workers, engineers, and defense contractors in states ranging from California to Texas to Florida—a region that would come to be known as the Sun Belt—becoming a symbol of American technological superiority. At the same time, however, the use of massive federal resources for space technologies did not change the economic outlook for low-income communities and underprivileged regions.



Figure 3. On May 5, 1961, Alan Shepard became the first American to travel into space, as millions across the country watched the television coverage of his Apollo 11 mission, including Vice President Johnson, President Kennedy, and Jacqueline Kennedy in the White House. (credit: National Archives and Records Administration)

To counter Soviet influence in the developing world, Kennedy supported a variety of measures. One of these was the Alliance for Progress, which collaborated with the governments of Latin American countries to promote economic growth and social stability in nations whose populations might find themselves drawn to communism. Kennedy also established the Agency for International Development to oversee the distribution of foreign aid, and he founded the Peace Corps, which recruited idealistic young people to undertake humanitarian projects in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. He hoped that by augmenting the food supply and improving healthcare and education, the U.S. government

¹⁵⁸ This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:XA5jUFel@5/The-Kennedy-Promise>.

could encourage developing nations to align themselves with the United States and reject Soviet or Chinese overtures. The first group of Peace Corps volunteers departed for the four corners of the globe in 1961, serving as an instrument of “soft power” in the Cold War.

Kennedy’s various aid projects, like the Peace Corps, fit closely with his administration’s flexible response, which Robert McNamara advocated as a better alternative to the all-or-nothing defensive strategy of mutually assured destruction favored during Eisenhower’s presidency. The plan was to develop different strategies, tactics, and even military capabilities to respond more appropriately to small or medium-sized insurgencies, and political or diplomatic crises. One component of flexible response was the Green Berets, a U.S. Army Special Forces unit trained in counterinsurgency—the military suppression of rebel and nationalist groups in foreign nations. Much of the Kennedy administration’s new approach to defense, however, remained focused on the ability and willingness of the United States to wage both conventional and nuclear warfare, and Kennedy continued to call for increases in the American nuclear arsenal.

Kennedy and Cuba¹⁵⁹

Kennedy's multifaceted approach to national defense is exemplified by his careful handling of the Communist government of Fidel Castro in Cuba. In January 1959, following the overthrow of the corrupt and dictatorial regime of Fulgencio Batista, Castro assumed leadership of the new Cuban government. The progressive reforms he began indicated that he favored Communism, and his pro-Soviet foreign policy frightened the Eisenhower administration, which asked the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to find a way to remove him from power. Rather than have the U.S. military invade the small island nation, less than one hundred miles from Florida, and risk the world's criticism, the CIA instead trained a small force of Cuban exiles for the job. After landing at the Bay of Pigs on the Cuban coast, these insurgents, the CIA believed, would inspire their countrymen to rise up and topple Castro's regime. The United States also promised air support for the invasion.

Kennedy agreed to support the previous administration's plans, and on April 17, 1961, approximately fourteen hundred Cuban exiles stormed ashore at the designated spot. However, Kennedy feared domestic criticism and worried about Soviet retaliation elsewhere in the world, such as Berlin. He cancelled the anticipated air support, which enabled the Cuban army to easily defeat the insurgents. The hoped-for uprising of the Cuban people also failed to occur. The surviving members of the exile army were taken into custody.

The Bay of Pigs invasion was a major foreign policy disaster for President Kennedy. The event highlighted how difficult it would be for the United States to act against the Castro administration. The following year, the Soviet Union sent troops and technicians to Cuba to strengthen its new ally against further U.S. military plots. Then, on October 14, U.S. spy planes took aerial photographs that confirmed the presence of long-range ballistic missile sites in Cuba. The United States was now within easy reach of Soviet nuclear warheads ([Figure](#)).



(a)



(b)

Figure 4. This low-level U.S. Navy photograph of San Cristobal, Cuba, clearly shows one of the sites built to launch intermediate-range missiles at the United States (a). As the date indicates, it was taken on the last day of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Following the crisis, Kennedy met with the reconnaissance pilots who flew the Cuban missions (b). credit a: modification of work by National Archives and Records Administration; credit b: modification of work by Central Intelligence Agency)

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On October 22, Kennedy demanded that Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev remove the missiles. He also ordered a naval quarantine placed around Cuba to prevent Soviet ships from approaching. Despite his use of the word “quarantine” instead of “blockade,” for a blockade was considered an act of war, a potential war with the Soviet Union was nevertheless on the president’s mind. As U.S. ships headed for Cuba, the army was told to prepare for war, and Kennedy appeared on national television to declare his intention to defend the Western Hemisphere from Soviet aggression.

The world held its breath awaiting the Soviet reply. Realizing how serious the United States was, Khrushchev sought a peaceful solution to the crisis, overruling those in his government who urged a harder stance. Behind the scenes, Robert Kennedy and Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin worked toward a compromise that would allow both superpowers to back down without either side’s seeming intimidated by the other. On October 26, Khrushchev agreed to remove the Russian missiles in exchange for Kennedy’s promise not to invade Cuba. On October 27, Kennedy’s agreement was made public, and the crisis ended. Not made public, but nevertheless part of the agreement, was Kennedy’s promise to remove U.S. warheads from Turkey, as close to Soviet targets as the Cuban missiles had been to American ones.

The showdown between the United States and the Soviet Union over Cuba’s missiles had put the world on the brink of a nuclear war. Both sides already had long-range bombers with nuclear weapons airborne or ready for launch, and were only hours away from the first strike. In the long run, this nearly catastrophic example of nuclear brinksmanship ended up making the world safer. A telephone “hot line” was installed, linking Washington and Moscow to avert future crises, and in 1963, Kennedy and Khrushchev signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty, prohibiting tests of nuclear weapons in Earth’s atmosphere.

Unit Five Instruction

Topic Two: Conflict and Social Movements (US.5.2-4, US.6.4-5)

Connections to the unit claim: Students explore the various events of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s that defined the American identity. Events include the Vietnam War, the Civil Rights Movement, and various other government social programs, social movements, and landmark Supreme Court cases. Students will use what they learn to make a claim on how the policy of a nation impacts its identity.

Suggested Timeline: 18 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [The Vietnam War](#)
- [The Civil Rights Movement](#)
- [The Great Society and Other Social Movements](#)
- **NOTE:** since the tasks in this unit overlap in time, it will be helpful for students to create and keep a timeline of key events throughout each task to make connections between events more visible. The timelines can be created on paper or digitally (e.g., [Timeline](#) from ReadWriteThink, [Timeline](#) from knight lab at Northwestern University, [timeglider](#), [Sutori](#), or [myHistro](#)).

To explore these key questions:

- Did the Vietnam War bring a domestic revolution to the U.S.?
- Was the U.S. planning to go to war with Vietnam before the Gulf of Tonkin incident?
- Can domestic protest affect the outcome of war?
- Should Nixon have resigned?
- Was the Civil Rights Movement a success?
- Do all citizens have democratic privileges?
- How did the efforts to achieve civil rights for all evolve over time?
- What were the main goals of civil rights leaders and what tactics were used to affect change?
- Were the motives employed by civil rights leaders effective in achieving their goals?
- Do the ideas of the 1960s still have relevance today?
- Did the Great Society programs fulfil their promise?
- What is the legacy of the social movements from the 1960s on the American identity?
- Did the Warren and Burger courts expand or undermine the concept of civil liberties?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students create a timeline of key events from Topic 2.
- Students write two paragraphs - the first answering the first supporting question for the task, “Was the U.S. planning to go to war in Vietnam before the Gulf of Tonkin incident?” and the second answering the question, “what factors influenced public opinion of the Vietnam War, and how?”
- Students complete a graphic organizer analyzing speeches on Anti-Vietnam War sentiment from Martin Luther King, Jr. and John Kerry.

- Students write a paragraph answering the question: “Can domestic protest affect the outcome of war?”
- Students write a paragraph answering the question: “Should Nixon have resigned?”
- Students participate in a class discussion on the compelling question “Did the Vietnam War bring a domestic revolution to the U.S.?” Student participation assessed with a [discussion tracker](#).
- Students write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task, “Do all citizens have democratic privileges?” Assess using the [Student Look-Fors](#).
- Students write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task: “How did the efforts to achieve civil rights for all evolve over time?” Assess using the [Student Look-Fors](#).
- Students research significant events of the Civil Rights Movement and complete a [Civil Rights Research Graphic Organizer](#).
- Students participate in a [philosophical chairs](#) debate on the question for inquiry, “was the Civil Rights Movement a success?” Assess using the [Student Look-Fors](#) and [discussion tracker](#).
- Students write an argumentative essay answering the compelling question for the task, “was the Civil Rights Movement a success?” Grade the essay using the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) and the [Student Look-Fors](#).
- Students write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task, “Did the Great Society programs fulfill their promise?”
- Students complete a [pinwheel discussion chart](#), and participate in a pinwheel discussion on 1960s social movements.
- Students write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task: “What is the legacy of social movements from the 1960s on the American identity?”
- Students complete a [Landmark Supreme Court Cases Graphic Organizer](#).
- Students participate in a discussion on the third supporting question for the task, “Did the Warren and Burger courts expand or undermine the concept of civil liberties?” Discussion contributions can be taken for a grade using the [Discussion Tracker](#).
- Students write an extended paragraph (half to full page, but not a complete essay) on the compelling question for the task: “do the ideas of the 1960s still have relevance today?”

US History Instructional Task: The Vietnam War

Unit Five: The Cold War, Topic Two: Conflict and Social Movements

Description: Students investigate the causes and outcomes of the Vietnam War, how social movements and protests influenced the outcome of the war, and how war and scandal changed the public’s perception of government.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Materials: [The Vietnam War](#); [Vietnam War](#); [Gulf of Tonkin Resolution](#); [Interactive Timeline of the Vietnam War](#); [The Tet Offensive](#); [My Lai](#); [Lyndon Johnson's Living Room War](#); [The "New Nixon"](#); [Democrats in Disarray](#); [Opposition to the Vietnam War in the United States](#); [Battles at Home](#); [Tinker vs. Des Moines](#); [Hippies and the Counterculture](#); [The Legend of Woodstock 1969](#); [Anti-Vietnam War Movement](#); [Pulling Out of the Quagmire](#); [Richard Nixon as President](#); [Watergate](#); [United States vs. Nixon](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “The decade of the 1960s in America was a time of great upheaval and change. In the second topic of this unit, we will be covering the foreign and domestic events that most shaped that American identity through the 1960s in three separate tasks that overlap in time.” Introduce the idea of a timeline to students and provide them with a resource to create one on paper or digitally (e.g., [Timeline](#) from ReadWriteThink, [Timeline](#) from knight lab at Northwestern University, [timeglider](#), [Sutori](#), or [myHistro](#)).
2. Say: “In this first task, we will explore the biggest Cold War event of the 1960s, and investigate how the U.S. attempted to thwart the spread of communism during this decade.”
3. Lead students in a brainstorm of actions the U.S. has taken when faced with the spread of communism. Students examples could include: going to war (Korean War), blacklisting suspected communists at home (the Red Scare), increasing armaments (nuclear arms race), brinkmanship (Suez crisis, Cuban Missile crisis), and counterinsurgency (supporting coups in Asia and Central America).
4. Say: “The threat of communism spreading presented itself again, this time in Southeast Asia. In this task, we will explore the Vietnam War and the reaction on the homefront. We will use the question “did the Vietnam War bring a domestic revolution to the U.S.?” to guide our inquiry.”
5. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “Was the U.S. planning to go to war in Vietnam before the Gulf of Tonkin incident?”
6. Review the policies of containment and the domino theory from the [Origins of the Cold War](#) task in topic 1 of this unit.
7. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [The Vietnam War](#)¹⁶⁰ and direct them to read the section titled “origins of the war in Vietnam.” After students have finished reading, direct them to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Who is Ho Chi Minh?
 - b. Explain the division of Vietnam into north and south regions, the ideologies of each region, and which world powers supported each region.

¹⁶⁰This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-1960s-america/a/the-vietnam-war>

- c. What is the National Liberation Front/Vietcong? What did they want?
 - d. What are the U.S. interests in Vietnam? What actions did the Kennedy administration take to protect those interests?
8. After small group discussions, quickly discuss as a class how U.S. interests in Vietnam relate to containment and the domino theory.
 9. Say: "As we read about earlier in the previous task, Kennedy was assassinated on November 22nd, 1963 while campaigning for re-election in Dallas, Texas. His vice president, Lyndon Baines Johnson, or LBJ, assumed the role as president to finish out Kennedy's term, and was elected as president in the 1964 election. While U.S. involvement in Vietnam started during the Kennedy administration, the bulk of the war will take place with Johnson as president, with the war ending under President Nixon."
 10. Say: "We will now explore the event that brought the United States into the war - The Gulf of Tonkin incident."
 11. Show the video [Vietnam War](#)¹⁶¹ from minutes 7:45-10:15. After viewing, lead the class in a brief discussion on what led to the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Possible questions include:
 - a. What was the official story of what happened in the Gulf of Tonkin?
 - b. Why does the video narrator call it a "shady incident?"
 12. Conduct steps 2 and 3 from the [Gulf of Tonkin Resolution](#)¹⁶² lesson from Stanford History Education Group.
 13. Say: "At first, most of the American public supported the president's actions in Vietnam. Support began to fade as more and more troops were deployed, and losses mounted."
 14. Project the [Interactive Timeline of the Vietnam War](#)¹⁶³ by the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund. Start at the 1965 event of Marines arriving in Da Nang, and scroll through - reading captions and exploring the additional sources only if time allows- until the 1969 event of the My Lai massacre. Focus more heavily on the Tet Offensive and the My Lai massacre, telling students that those two events had big impacts on American's perceptions of the Vietnam War.
 15. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with the articles [The Tet Offensive](#) and [My Lai](#), and direct students to read both articles individually. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What was the Tet Offensive?
 - b. Why did the Tet offensive result in a lowered public opinion of the Vietnam War, even though it could be considered a military victory for the U.S.?
 - c. What happened at My Lai? How do you think it altered the overall war in Vietnam?
 16. Say: "Vietnam was the first American war to be covered on television, meaning that American families were able to see images of war covered on the evening news. Because of this, Vietnam became known as the living room war."
 17. Provide students with [Lyndon Johnson's Living Room War](#)¹⁶⁴ by Chester Pach for the New York Times. After reading, lead students in a brief discussion on the living room war using the following questions:

¹⁶¹ This video is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-1960s-america/v/vietnam-war>

¹⁶² Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on "Download Lesson Plan" under the image at the top of the page.

¹⁶³ Interactive timeline made available by the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, and available at: <http://www.vvmf.org/timeline>

¹⁶⁴ Published on May 30, 2017 by Chester Pach for the Vietnam '67 collection for the New York Times. Available: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/30/opinion/lyndon-johnson-vietnam-war.html>

- a. How did LBJ react to media coverage of the war?
 - b. Do you think media coverage heavily impacted public opinion of the war? Why or why not?
18. Direct students to write two paragraphs - the first answering the first supporting question for the task, "Was the U.S. planning to go to war in Vietnam before the Gulf of Tonkin incident?" and the second answering the question, "what factors influenced public opinion of the Vietnam War, and how?" Collect and grade for content accuracy.
19. Allow students time to update their timeline with important events covered thus far (Gulf of Tonkin, Kennedy assassination, years of LBJ administration, Tet offensive, My Lai massacre).
20. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: "Can domestic protest affect the outcome of war?"
21. Say: "Not only was there limited public support for the Vietnam war in the later part of the 1960s, there were active protest movements against the war as well. Amidst the unpopular war, protests, and the civil rights movement which we will learn more about in the next task, came the 1968 presidential election."
22. Divide students into small groups using an established class routine. Provide students with [The "New Nixon"](#) and [Democrats in Disarray](#) and direct them to read independently. **NOTE:** remind students that this was not Nixon's first time running for president - he lost to Kennedy in the 1960 election. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
- a. Outline Nixon's strategy to win the presidency in 1968.
 - b. Who were the "silent majority?"
 - c. Why did LBJ decide not to run in 1968?
 - d. Explain the "fracturing" of the democratic party
 - e. What happened at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago?
 - f. Why do you think Nixon won the presidential election of 1968?
23. Say: "Large scale protest didn't end after the 1968 convention, and many of them were led by college students."
24. Show students the 5 minute video [Opposition to the Vietnam War in the United States](#)¹⁶⁵ by Iowa Public Television. After viewing, ask students to describe the types of protests that they saw, and what they think were the aims of the protesters.
25. Provide students with [Battles at Home](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
- a. What is "Vietnamization?"
 - b. Why did Nixon authorize the bombing and invasion of Cambodia, and what was the public reaction to it?
 - c. What happened at Kent State and Jackson State universities?
 - d. What are the aims of the protesters, and do you think protesting can be an effective method to bring about change?
26. Say: "a landmark Supreme Court ruling arose out of anti-Vietnam war protests, and the decision impacts your lives today." Read aloud this [first paragraph](#) to define "landmark case" for students. Lead students in a brief discussion of landmark cases they may remember learning about in previous social studies/history courses (Plessy v. Ferguson for example)

¹⁶⁵Published on October 21, 2015, created by Iowa Public Television, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vVNUIOUIMeo>

27. Provide students with [Tinker vs. Des Moines](#)¹⁶⁶ and direct them to read about the case independently (**NOTE:** since this is a very short passage, the teacher can also read aloud to the class to save time). After students have finished reading, lead the class in a brief discussion of Tinker vs Des Moines using the following questions:
- Why did Mary Beth Tinker bring suit to her school district?
 - What was the court's ruling?
 - How does this nearly 50-year-old court case impact your lives today?
28. Say: "Anti-war protests were also swept up in another social movement of the time - the counterculture."
29. Provide students with [Hippies and the Counterculture](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, show students the video [The Legend of Woodstock 1969](#)¹⁶⁷ from minutes 2:00-3:30 to show them what Woodstock and the counterculture looked like.
- What was the counterculture, and why might it have been appealing to some?
 - How was the counterculture connected to Vietnam War protests?
 - What social trends did Woodstock reflect? How might it have influenced American culture and society?
30. Conduct steps 1-4 of the [Anti-Vietnam War Movement](#)¹⁶⁸ lesson from Stanford History Education Group.
31. Say: "We will now explore how the Vietnam War ended."
32. Provide students with [Pulling Out of the Quagmire](#) and direct them to read individually. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
- What were the Pentagon Papers, and what was the public's reaction to their release?
 - What role do you think protests played in Nixon's decision to seek a peace agreement with the North Vietnamese?
 - What happened to South Vietnam after U.S. withdrawal? What implications does this have on the domino theory?
 - What does the author mean by "The war had caused another, more intangible casualty: the loss of consensus, confidence, and a sense of moral high ground in the American political culture" as stated in the last paragraph?
 - How did the Vietnam War change people's perceptions of government?
33. After small group discussions, lead the whole class in a brief discussion on questions d and e from the small group discussion.
34. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task, "Can domestic protest affect the outcome of war?"
35. Allow students time to update their timeline with important events covered thus far (1968 Democratic Nat'l convention and election, Kent State protest, Jackson State protest, Woodstock, Peace Accords ending the Vietnam War).
36. Say: "With the Vietnam war over, Nixon's public approval rose. However, he would encounter much more difficulty later in his presidency."
37. Post and read aloud the third supporting question for the task: "Should Nixon have resigned?"

¹⁶⁶Produced by the American Civil Liberties Union, and available at <https://www.aclu.org/other/tinker-v-des-moines-landmark-supreme-court-ruling-behalf-student-expression>

¹⁶⁷Video published on December 14,2011 and available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wyx053CNMag>

¹⁶⁸ Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on "Download Lesson Plan" under the image at the top of the page

38. Say: “While Nixon is remembered most for his political scandal and subsequent resignation, his chief victories as president were in the areas of foreign policy.”
39. Divide students into small groups using an established class routine. Provide students with [Richard Nixon as President](#)¹⁶⁹ and direct them to read independently. **NOTE:** the teacher can instruct students to skip over the “Nixon and Vietnam” section of the text, as that information has been read previously in this task. After students have finished reading, direct them to discuss the following in small groups:
- What was Nixon’s key foreign policy victory in China? Why Cold War ramifications did this have?
 - What policy did Nixon agree to with the Soviets? How is this different than the Soviet policies of the presidents who came before him (Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson)?
 - What happens to the economy when Nixon takes the dollar off the gold standard? How do you think William Jennings Bryan would feel about this? Hint: think back to free silver and bimetallism in Unit 1.
40. After small group discussions, lead the whole class in a brief discussion on question b from the small group discussion.
41. Provide students with [Watergate](#)¹⁷⁰ and direct students to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
- Who were the “plumbers?” What was “CREEP?”
 - Explain the Watergate scandal.
 - Do you think Nixon needed to engage in “dirty tricks” to win the 1972 election? If he wouldn’t have, how might his second term have ended?
 - Who was “Deep Throat,” and what role did the media play in the Watergate scandal?
 - What ultimately made Nixon resign?
 - Do you think Nixon’s impeachment and resignation was a sign that the American system of government was broken, or was it a sign that checks and balances were working?
42. After small group discussions, lead the whole class in a brief discussion on question f from the small group discussion. Then, ask “how did Nixon and the Watergate scandal change American’s perceptions of government?”
43. Say: “The Watergate scandal gave us another landmark supreme court case - United States vs. Nixon”
44. Read aloud the facts of the case, question, and conclusion from [United States vs. Nixon](#)¹⁷¹ Lead students in a brief discussion of the case using the following questions:
- Why did Nixon refuse to hand over the tapes?
 - What was the court’s ruling?
 - What do you think is the legacy of this case? Do you think it has impacted the actions of future presidents?
45. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the third supporting question for the task, “should Nixon have resigned?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.

¹⁶⁹This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-the-1970s/a/richard-nixon-as-president>

¹⁷⁰This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-the-1970s/a/watergate>

¹⁷¹“United States v. Nixon.” *Oyez*, 14 Nov. 2017, www.oyez.org/cases/1973/73-1766.

46. Allow students time to update their timeline with important events covered thus far (Nixon visits China, Nixon visits the USSR, Watergate, Nixon resigns).
47. To culminate the task, facilitate a whole class discussion around the compelling question for the task, “Did the Vietnam War bring a domestic revolution to the U.S.?” Encourage students to use the [conversation stems](#) and assess student participation with a [discussion tracker](#). Suggested supporting questions are as follows:
- a. Why did the U.S. enter into war with Vietnam? Are those reasons in line with reasons America fought in previous wars?
 - b. What was the average American perception of the war?
 - c. What actions did Americans take to protest the war?
 - d. How did protests impact the outcome of the war?
 - e. How did the legacy of Vietnam impact Nixon post war?
 - f. How did Vietnam and the Nixon administration change public perception of government?

The Tet Offensive¹⁷²

During the **BUDDHIST** holiday of **TET**, over 80,000 Vietcong troops emerged from their tunnels and attacked nearly every major metropolitan center in South Vietnam. Surprise strikes were made at the American base at **DANANG**, and even the seemingly impenetrable American embassy in **SAIGON** was attacked.

During the weeks that followed, the South Vietnamese army and U.S. ground forces recaptured all of the lost territory, inflicting twice as many casualties on the Vietcong as suffered by the Americans.

The showdown was a military victory for the United States, but American morale suffered an insurmountable blow.

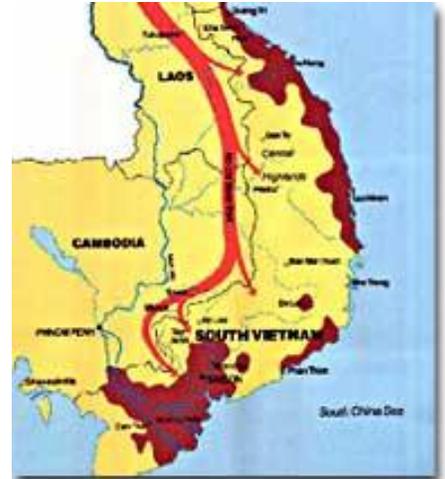
Doves Outnumber Hawks

When Operation Rolling Thunder began in 1965, only 15 percent of the American public opposed the war effort in Vietnam. As late as January 1968, only a few weeks before Tet, only 28 percent of the American public labeled themselves "doves." But by April 1968, six weeks after the **TET OFFENSIVE**, "**DOVES**" outnumbered "**HAWKS**" 42 to 41 percent.

Only 28% of the American people were satisfied with President Johnson's handling of the war. The Tet Offensive convinced many Americans that government statements about the war being nearly over were false. After three years of intense bombing, billions of dollars and 500,000 troops, the VC proved themselves capable of attacking anywhere they chose. The message was simple: this war was *not* almost over. The end was nowhere in sight.

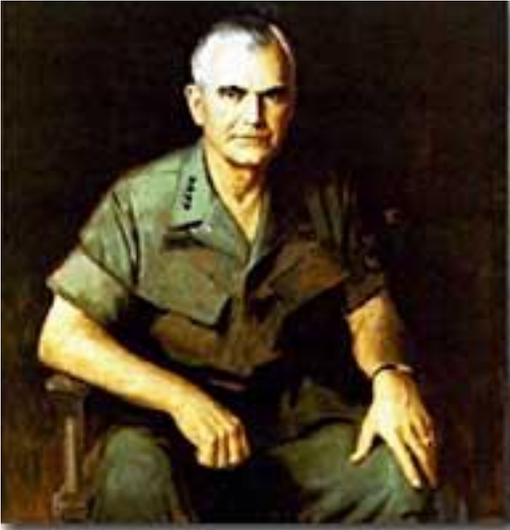
Sagging U.S. Troop Morale

Declining public support brought declining troop morale. Many soldiers questioned the wisdom of American involvement. Soldiers indulged in alcohol, marijuana, and even heroin to escape their daily horrors. Incidents of "**FRAGGING**," or the murder of officers by their own troops increased in the years that followed Tet. Soldiers who completed their yearlong tour of duty often found hostile receptions upon returning to the states.



The fighting that made up the Tet Offensive lasted for several days in some South Vietnamese cities. This map shows the route taken by North Vietnamese troops.

¹⁷² This work by The Independence Hall Association is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <http://www.ushistory.org/us/55c.asp>.



Following the Tet Offensive, General William Westmoreland called for an additional 200,000 troops to help break the resolve of the Vietcong. But President Lyndon B. Johnson's rejection of the proposal showed that America's commitment to the war in Vietnam was waning.

After Tet, General Westmoreland requested an additional 200,000 troops to put added pressure on the Vietcong. His request was denied. President Johnson knew that activating that many reserves, bringing the total American commitment to nearly three quarters of a million soldiers was not politically tenable.

The North Vietnamese sensed the crumbling of American resolve. They knew that the longer the war raged, the more antiwar sentiment in America would grow. They gambled that the American people would demand troop withdrawals before the military met its objectives.

For the next five years they pretended to negotiate with United States, making proposals they knew would be rejected. With each passing day, the number of "hawks" in America decreased. Only a small percentage of Americans objected to the war on moral grounds, but a growing majority saw the war as an effort whose price of victory was way too high.

My Lai¹⁷³

On March 16, 1968, men from the U.S. Army's Twenty-Third Infantry Division committed one of the most notorious atrocities of the war. About one hundred soldiers commanded by Captain Ernest Medina were sent to destroy the village of My Lai, which was suspected of hiding Viet Cong fighters. Although there was later disagreement regarding the captain's exact words, the platoon leaders believed the order to destroy the enemy included killing women and children. Having suffered twenty-eight casualties in the past three months, the men of Charlie Company were under severe stress and extremely apprehensive as they approached the village. Two platoons entered it, shooting randomly. A group of seventy to eighty unarmed people, including children and infants, were forced into an irrigation ditch by members of the First Platoon under the command of Lt. William L. Calley, Jr. Despite their proclamations of innocence, the villagers were shot (Figure). Houses were set on fire, and as the inhabitants tried to flee, they were killed with rifles, machine guns, and grenades. The U.S. troops were never fired upon, and one soldier later testified that he did not see any man who looked like a Viet Cong fighter.

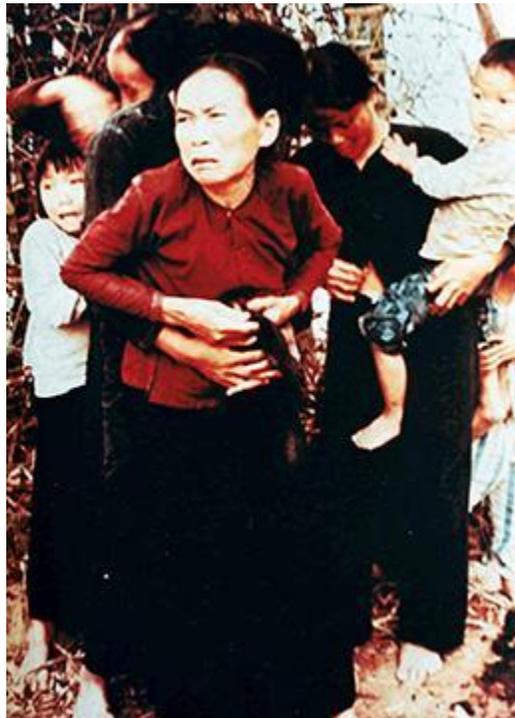


Figure 2. Vietnamese civilians in My Lai await their fate. They were shot a few minutes after this 1968 photograph was taken.

The precise number of civilians killed that day is unclear: The numbers range from 347 to 504. None were armed. Although not all the soldiers in My Lai took part in the killings, no one attempted to stop the massacre before the arrival by helicopter of Warrant Officer Hugh Thompson, who, along with his crew, attempted to evacuate women and children. Upon returning to his base, Thompson immediately reported the events taking place at My Lai. Shortly thereafter, Medina ordered Charlie Company to cease fire. Although Thompson's crewmembers confirmed his account,

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none of the men from Charlie Company gave a report, and a cover-up began almost immediately. The army first claimed that 150 people, the majority of them Viet Cong, had been killed during a firefight with Charlie Company.

Hearing details from friends in Charlie Company, a helicopter gunner by the name of Ron Ridenhour began to conduct his own investigation and, in April 1969, wrote to thirty members of Congress, demanding an investigation. By September 1969, the army charged Lt. Calley with premeditated murder. Many Americans were horrified at the graphic footage of the massacre; the incident confirmed their belief that the war was unjust and not being fought on behalf of the Vietnamese people. However, nearly half of the respondents to a Minnesota poll did not believe that the incident at My Lai had actually happened. U.S. soldiers could not possibly do such horrible things, they felt; they were certain that American goals in Vietnam were honorable and speculated that the antiwar movement had concocted the story to generate sympathy for the enemy.

Calley was found guilty in March 1971, and sentenced to life in prison. Nationwide, hundreds of thousands of Americans joined a “Free Calley” campaign. Two days later, President Nixon released him from custody and placed him under house arrest at Fort Benning, Georgia. In August of that same year, Calley’s sentence was reduced to twenty years, and in September 1974, he was paroled. The only soldier convicted in the massacre, he spent a total of three-and-a-half years under house arrest for his crimes.

The New Nixon¹⁷⁴

The Republicans held their 1968 national convention from August 5–8 in Miami, Florida. Richard Nixon quickly emerged as the frontrunner for the nomination, ahead of Nelson Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan. This success was not accidental: From 1962, when he lost his bid for the governorship of California, to 1968, Nixon had been collecting political credits by branding himself as a candidate who could appeal to mainstream voters and by tirelessly working for other Republican candidates. In 1964, for example, he vigorously supported Barry Goldwater’s presidential bid and thus built good relationships with the new conservative movement in the Republican Party.

Although Goldwater lost the 1964 election, his vigorous rejection of New Deal state and social legislation, along with his support of states’ rights, proved popular in the Deep South, which had resisted federal efforts at racial integration. Taking a lesson from Goldwater’s experience, Nixon also employed a southern strategy in 1968. Denouncing segregation and the denial of the vote to African Americans, he nevertheless maintained that southern states be allowed to pursue racial equality at their own pace and criticized forced integration. Nixon thus garnered the support of South Carolina’s senior senator and avid segregationist Strom Thurmond, which helped him win the Republican nomination on the first ballot.

Nixon also courted northern, blue-collar workers, whom he later called the silent majority, to acknowledge their belief that their voices were seldom heard. These voters feared the social changes taking place in the country: Antiwar protests challenged their own sense of patriotism and civic duty, whereas the recreational use of new drugs threatened their cherished principles of self-discipline, and urban riots invoked the specter of a racial reckoning. Government action on behalf of the marginalized raised the question of whether its traditional constituency—the white middle class—would lose its privileged place in American politics. Some felt left behind as the government turned to the problems of African Americans. Nixon’s promises of stability and his emphasis on law and order appealed to them. He portrayed himself as a fervent patriot who would take a strong stand against racial unrest and antiwar protests. Nixon harshly critiqued Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society, and he promised a secret plan to end the war in Vietnam honorably and bring home the troops. He also promised to reform the Supreme Court, which he contended had gone too far in “coddling criminals.” Under Chief Justice Earl Warren, the court had used the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to grant those accused under state law the ability to defend themselves and secure protections against unlawful search and seizure, cruel and unusual punishment, and self-incrimination.

Nixon had found the political capital that would ensure his victory in the suburbs, which produced more votes than either urban or rural areas. He championed “middle America,” which was fed up with social convulsions, and called upon the country to come together. His running mate, Spiro T. Agnew, a former governor of Maryland, blasted the Democratic ticket as fiscally irresponsible and “soft on communism.” Nixon and Agnew’s message thus appealed to northern middle-class and blue-collar whites as well as southern whites who had fled to the suburbs in the wake of the Supreme Court’s pro-integration decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* ([Figure](#)).

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(a)



(b)

Figure 1. On the 1968 campaign trail, Richard Nixon flashes his famous “V for Victory” gesture (a). Nixon’s strategy was to appeal to working- and middle-class suburbanites. This image of him in the White House bowling alley seems calculated to appeal to his core constituency (b).

Democrats in Disarray¹⁷⁵

By contrast, in early 1968, the political constituency that Lyndon Johnson had cobbled together to win the presidency in 1964 seemed to be falling apart. When Eugene McCarthy, the Democratic senator from Minnesota, announced that he would challenge Johnson in the primaries in an explicitly antiwar campaign, Johnson was overwhelmingly favored by Democratic voters. But then the Tet Offensive in Vietnam exploded on American television screens on January 31, playing out on the nightly news for weeks. On February 27, Walter Cronkite, a highly respected television journalist, offered his opinion that the war in Vietnam was unwinnable. When the votes were counted in New Hampshire on March 12, McCarthy had won twenty of the state's twenty-four delegates.

McCarthy's popularity encouraged Robert (Bobby) Kennedy to also enter the race. Realizing that his war policies could unleash a divisive fight within his own party for the nomination, Johnson announced his withdrawal on March 31, fracturing the Democratic Party. One faction consisted of the traditional party leaders who appealed to unionized, blue-collar constituents and white ethnics (Americans with recent European immigrant backgrounds). This group fell in behind Johnson's vice president, Hubert H. Humphrey, who took up the mainstream party's torch almost immediately after Johnson's announcement. The second group consisted of idealistic young activists who had slogged through the snows of New Hampshire to give McCarthy a boost and saw themselves as the future of the Democratic Party. The third group, composed of Catholics, African Americans and other minorities, and some of the young, antiwar element,

galvanized around Robert Kennedy ([Figure](#)). Finally, there were the southern Democrats, the Dixiecrats, who opposed the advances made by the civil rights movement. Some found themselves attracted to the Republican candidate Richard Nixon. Many others, however, supported the third-party candidacy of segregationist George C. Wallace, the former governor of Alabama. Wallace won close to ten million votes, which was 13.5 percent of all votes cast. He was particularly popular in the South, where he carried five states and received forty-six Electoral College votes.



Figure 2. In his brother's (John F. Kennedy's) administration, Robert (Bobby) Kennedy had served as attorney general and had spoken out about racial equality.

Kennedy and McCarthy fiercely contested the remaining primaries of the 1968 season. There were only fifteen at that time. McCarthy beat Kennedy handily in Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. Kennedy took Indiana and Nebraska before losing Oregon to McCarthy. Kennedy's only hope was that a strong enough showing in the California primary on June 4 might swing uncommitted delegates his way. He did manage to beat McCarthy, winning 46 percent of the vote to McCarthy's 42 percent, but it was a fruitless victory. As he attempted to exit the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles after his victory speech, Kennedy was shot; he died twenty-six hours later. His killer, Sirhan B. Sirhan, a Jordanian immigrant, had allegedly targeted him for advocating military support for Israel in its conflict with neighboring Arab states.

Going into the nominating convention in Chicago in 1968, Humphrey, who promised to pursue the "Politics of Joy," seemed clearly in command of the regular party apparatus.

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But the national debates over civil rights, student protests, and the Vietnam War had made 1968 a particularly anguished year, and many people felt anything but joyful. Some party factions hoped to make their voices heard; others wished to disrupt the convention altogether. Among them were antiwar protestors, hippies, and Yippies—members of the leftist, anarchistic Youth International Party organized by Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman—who called for the establishment of a new nation consisting of cooperative institutions to replace those currently in existence. To demonstrate their contempt for “the establishment” and the proceedings inside the hall, the Yippies nominated a pig named Pigasus for president.

A chaotic scene developed inside the convention hall and outside at Grant Park, where the protesters camped. Chicago’s mayor, Richard J. Daley, was anxious to demonstrate that he could maintain law and order, especially because several days of destructive rioting had followed the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr. earlier that year. He thus let loose a force of twelve thousand police officers, six thousand members of the Illinois National Guard, and six thousand U.S. Army soldiers. Television cameras caught what later became known as a “police riot”: Armed officers made their way into crowds of law-abiding protesters, clubbing anyone they encountered and setting off tear gas canisters. The protesters fought back. Inside the convention hall, a Democratic senator from Connecticut called for adjournment, whereas other delegates insisted on proceeding. Ironically, Hubert Humphrey received the nomination and gave an acceptance speech in which he spoke in support of “law and order.” When the convention ended, Rubin, Hoffman, and five other protesters (called the “Chicago Seven”) were placed on trial for inciting a riot ([Figure](#)).



(a)



(b)

Figure 3. Despite facing charges following events at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Abbie Hoffman continued to protest the war on campuses across the country, as here (a) at the University of Oklahoma. Jerry Rubin (b) visited the campus of the University of Buffalo in March 1970, just one month after his conviction in the Chicago Seven trial. (credit a: modification of work by Richard O. Barry)

Battles at Home¹⁷⁶

As the conflict wore on and reports of brutalities increased, the antiwar movement grew in strength. To take the political pressure off himself and his administration, and find a way to exit Vietnam “with honor,” Nixon began the process of Vietnamization, turning more responsibility for the war over to South Vietnamese forces by training them and providing American weaponry, while withdrawing U.S. troops from the field. At the same time, however, Nixon authorized the bombing of neighboring Cambodia, which had declared its neutrality, in an effort to destroy North Vietnamese and Viet Cong bases within that country and cut off supply routes between North and South Vietnam. The bombing was kept secret from both Congress and the American public. In April 1970, Nixon decided to follow up with an invasion of Cambodia.

The invasion could not be kept secret, and when Nixon announced it on television on April 30, 1970, protests sprang up across the country. The most tragic and politically damaging occurred on May 1, 1970, at Kent State University in Ohio. Violence erupted in the town of Kent after an initial student demonstration on campus, and the next day, the mayor asked Ohio’s governor to send in the National Guard. Troops were sent to the university’s campus, where students had set fire to the ROTC building and were fighting off firemen and policemen trying to extinguish it. The National Guard used teargas to break up the demonstration, and several students were arrested ([Figure](#)).



Figure 3. On April 30, 1970, Richard Nixon announces plans for the Cambodia Campaign (a), provoking protests on college campuses across the country. Within days, the governor of Ohio had called in the National Guard in response to student demonstrations at Kent State University. Bill Whitbeck, who was a student majoring in photo illustration at Kent State University in May 1970, captured this image (b) on campus on May 3, one day before the shootings that would result in four student deaths. (credit b: modification of work by Bill Whitbeck)

Tensions came to a head on May 4. Although campus officials had called off a planned demonstration, some fifteen hundred to two thousand students assembled, throwing rocks at a security officer who ordered them to leave. Seventy-seven members of the National Guard, with bayonets attached to their rifles, approached the students. After forcing most of them to retreat, the troops seemed to depart. Then, for reasons that are still unknown, they halted and turned; many began to fire at the students. Nine students were wounded; four were killed. Two of the dead had simply been

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crossing campus on their way to class. Peace was finally restored when a faculty member pleaded with the remaining students to leave.

News of the Kent State shootings shocked students around the country. Millions refused to attend class, as strikes were held at hundreds of colleges and high schools across the United States. On May 8, an antiwar protest took place in New York City, and the next day, 100,000 protesters assembled in Washington, DC. Not everyone sympathized with the slain students, however. Nixon had earlier referred to student demonstrators as “bums,” and construction workers attacked the New York City protesters. A Gallup poll revealed that most Americans blamed the students for the tragic events at Kent State.

On May 15, a similar tragedy took place at Jackson State College, an African American college in Jackson, Mississippi. Once again, students gathered on campus to protest the invasion of Cambodia, setting fires and throwing rocks. The police arrived to disperse the protesters, who had gathered outside a women’s dormitory. Shortly after midnight, the police opened fire with shotguns. The dormitory windows shattered, showering people with broken glass. Twelve were wounded, and two young men, one a student at the college and the other a local high school student, were killed.

Hippies and the Counterculture¹⁷⁷

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, many young people came to embrace a new wave of cultural dissent. The counterculture offered an alternative to the bland homogeneity of American middle-class life, patriarchal family structures, self-discipline, unquestioning patriotism, and the acquisition of property. In fact, there were many alternative cultures.

“Hippies” rejected the conventions of traditional society. Men sported beards and grew their hair long; both men and women wore clothing from non-Western cultures, defied their parents, rejected social etiquettes and manners, and turned to music as an expression of their sense of self. Casual sex between unmarried men and women was acceptable. Drug use, especially of marijuana and psychedelic drugs like LSD and peyote, was common. Most hippies were also deeply attracted to the ideas of peace and freedom. They protested the war in Vietnam and preached a doctrine of personal freedom to be and act as one wished.

Some hippies dropped out of mainstream society altogether and expressed their disillusionment with the cultural and spiritual limitations of American freedom. They joined communes, usually in rural areas, to share a desire to live closer to nature, respect for the earth, a dislike of modern life, and a disdain for wealth and material goods. Many communes grew their own organic food. Others abolished the concept of private property, and all members shared willingly with one another. Some sought to abolish traditional ideas regarding love and marriage, and free love was practiced openly. One of the most famous communes was The Farm, established in Tennessee in 1971. Residents adopted a blend of Christian and Asian beliefs. They shared housing, owned no private property except tools and clothing, advocated nonviolence, and tried to live as one with nature, becoming vegetarians and avoiding the use of animal products. They smoked marijuana in an effort to reach a higher state of consciousness and to achieve a feeling of oneness and harmony.

Music, especially rock and folk music, occupied an important place in the counterculture. Concerts provided the opportunity to form seemingly impromptu communities to celebrate youth, rebellion, and individuality. In mid-August 1969, nearly 400,000 people attended a music festival in rural Bethel, New York, many for free ([Figure](#)). They jammed roads throughout the state, and thousands had to be turned around and sent home. Thirty-two acts performed for a crowd that partook freely of marijuana, LSD, and alcohol during the rainy three-day event that became known as Woodstock (after the nearby town) and became the cultural touchstone of a generation. No other event better symbolized the cultural independence and freedom of Americans coming of age in the 1960s.

¹⁷⁷ This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](#). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:1M86e-iu@3/Identity-Politics-in-a-Fraktur>.



Figure 2. The crowd at Woodstock greatly exceeded the fifty thousand expected. Mark Goff covered Woodstock as a young freelance reporter for *Kaleidoscope*, a Milwaukee-based alternative newspaper, and captured this image of Swami Satchidananda, who declared music “the celestial sound that controls the whole universe” at the opening ceremony.

Pulling Out of the Quagmire¹⁷⁸

Ongoing protests, campus violence, and the expansion of the war into Cambodia deeply disillusioned Americans about their role in Vietnam. Understanding the nation's mood, Nixon dropped his opposition to a repeal of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution of 1964. In January 1971, he signed Congress's revocation of the notorious blanket military authorization. Gallup polls taken in May of that year revealed that only 28 percent of the respondents supported the war; many felt it was not only a mistake but also immoral.

Just as influential as antiwar protests and campus violence in turning people against the war was the publication of documents the media dubbed the Pentagon Papers in June 1971. These were excerpts from a study prepared during the Johnson administration that revealed the true nature of the conflict in Vietnam. The public learned for the first time that the United States had been planning to oust Ngo Dinh Diem from the South Vietnamese government, that Johnson meant to expand the U.S. role in Vietnam and bomb North Vietnam even as he stated publicly that he had no intentions of doing so, and that his administration had sought to deliberately provoke North Vietnamese attacks in order to justify escalating American involvement. Copies of the study had been given to the *New York Times* and other newspapers by Daniel Ellsberg, one of the military analysts who had contributed to it. To avoid setting a precedent by allowing the press to publish confidential documents, Nixon's attorney general, John Mitchell, sought an injunction against the *New York Times* to prevent its publication of future articles based on the Pentagon Papers. The newspaper appealed. On June 30, 1971, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the government could not prevent the publication of the articles.

Realizing that he must end the war but reluctant to make it look as though the United States was admitting its failure to subdue a small Asian nation, Nixon began maneuvering to secure favorable peace terms from the North Vietnamese. Thanks to his diplomatic efforts in China and the Soviet Union, those two nations cautioned North Vietnam to use restraint. The loss of strong support by their patrons, together with intensive bombing of Hanoi and the mining of crucial North Vietnamese harbors by U.S. forces, made the North Vietnamese more willing to negotiate.

Nixon's actions had also won him popular support at home. By the 1972 election, voters again favored his Vietnam policy by a ratio of two to one. On January 27, 1973, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger signed an accord with Le Duc Tho, the chief negotiator for the North Vietnamese, ending American participation in the war. The United States was given sixty days to withdraw its troops, and North Vietnam was allowed to keep its forces in places it currently occupied. This meant that over 100,000 northern soldiers would remain in the South—ideally situated to continue the war with South Vietnam. The United States left behind a small number of military advisors as well as equipment, and Congress continued to approve funds for South Vietnam, but considerably less than in earlier years. So the war continued, but it was clear the South could not hope to defeat the North.

As the end was nearing, the United States conducted several operations to evacuate children from the South. On the morning of April 29, 1975, as North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces moved through the outskirts of Saigon, orders were given to evacuate Americans and South Vietnamese who had supported the United States. Unable to use the

¹⁷⁸ This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:hCHxAzmg@3/Vietnam-The-Downward-Spiral>.

airport, helicopters ferried Americans and Vietnamese refugees who had fled to the American embassy to ships off the coast. North Vietnamese forces entered Saigon the next day, and the South surrendered.

The war had cost the lives of more than 1.5 million Vietnamese combatants and civilians, as well as over 58,000 U.S. troops. But the war had caused another, more intangible casualty: the loss of consensus, confidence, and a sense of moral high ground in the American political culture.

US History Instructional Task: The Civil Rights Movement

Unit Five: The Cold War and the Modern Era, Topic Two: Conflict and Social Movements

Description: Students investigate the goals and outcomes of the Civil Rights Movement in order to determine if it could be considered successful or not. Students will explore key events and people from the movement, and conduct independent research to support their claim on the compelling question.

Suggested Timeline: 6 class periods

Materials: [Was the Civil Rights Movement a success?](#); [Introduction to the Civil Rights Movement](#); [JFK's Report to the American People on Civil Rights, 11 June 1963](#); [Student Look-Fors](#); [Civil Rights Timeline](#); [Khan Academy's AP US History Guide: The Civil Rights Movement](#); [National Civil Rights Museum Educator Resources](#); [The National Archives: Civil Rights](#); [Library of Congress: Civil Rights History Collection](#); Civil Rights Research Graphic Organizer ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); [Debate Prep Evidence Chart](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: "The late 1950s and 1960s saw another important social movement in addition to the ones we've explored so far. In addition to the Cold War fears of the arms race, the Red Scare, the Cuban Missile crisis, Kennedy's assassination, and the start of the Vietnam war, the decade of the 60s also saw the Civil Rights Movement."
2. Lead students in a discussion reviewing what they have learned in this course so far regarding efforts to improve the quality of life for African Americans. Students should discuss Jim Crow laws in the South, the Great Migration and resulting inequality in the North, reformers during the Progressive Movement such as Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey and the Return to Africa movement.
3. Say: "Based on what we have learned, we can conclude that the movement for African Americans' civil rights didn't appear out of nowhere. Before we engage in an inquiry into the Civil Rights, let's build some background knowledge on the topic."
4. Divide students into small groups using an established class routine. Provide students with [Introduction to the Civil Rights Movement](#)¹⁷⁹ and direct them to read independently. **NOTE:** Direct students to reference the timelines they started in [The Vietnam War](#) task while they read this article in order to provide context for what else is happening in America during key Civil Rights events. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Why did the Civil Rights Movement of the 20th century emerge?
 - b. What were the different strategies and approaches used during the Civil Rights Movement?
 - c. What are some examples of each strategy?
 - d. Describe the reaction of white supremacists in the South to Civil Rights, including "massive resistance."
5. After the small group discussions, lead students in a whole class discussion on the Civil Rights Movement, using the following questions:
 - a. A landmark Supreme Court case was pivotal in the Civil Rights Movement - Brown v. Board of Education.
 - i. Why did Brown bring suit to the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas?

¹⁷⁹This article is made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-civil-rights-movement/a/introduction-to-the-civil-rights-movement>

- ii. What was the court's ruling?
 - iii. How does this court case impact your lives today?
- b. Which of the strategies employed by civil rights activists do you think was most effective.
6. Say: "In the last section of the article we just read, the author discusses the legacy of the Civil Rights Movement, including successes and unfinished business. As we continue to explore the Civil Rights Movement through this task we will address this issue, and use the question "Was the Civil Rights Movement a success?" to guide our inquiry.
7. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: "Do all citizens have democratic privileges?"
8. Provide students with a transcript of [JFK's Report to the American People on Civil Rights, 11 June 1963](#)¹⁸⁰. **NOTE:** students can read the transcript, or watch the video of JFK delivering the speech while following along with the transcript. Direct students to [annotate](#) the speech, marking or highlighting the reasons Kennedy provides to support his concerns regarding the state of civil rights in the United States.
9. Direct students to briefly discuss Kennedy's concerns regarding the state of civil rights in the U.S. in their small groups.
10. After small groups have finished discussing, conduct a class discussion in which groups discuss the key points of Kennedy's speech. Possible guiding questions include:
 - a. To whom is Kennedy speaking?
 - b. What is meant by this quote: "the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened"?
 - c. What democratic privileges are denied to some citizens?
 - d. How does Kennedy say that change should be brought about (or what strategies does he feel are least likely to be successful)?
11. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task, "Do all citizens have democratic privileges?" Collect and grade for content accuracy, using the [Student Look-Fors](#) as a guide.
12. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: "How did the efforts to achieve civil rights for all evolve over time?"
13. Say: "We are now going to investigate key events of the Civil Rights movement using an interactive timeline. As you are exploring the timeline, consider these questions:"
14. Post and read aloud the following framing questions:
 - a. What were some of the different methods/approaches used to elicit change?
 - b. How did methods/approaches change over time?
 - c. Were some methodologies more associated with specific civil rights leaders?
15. Say: "After we are done exploring the timeline, we are going to discuss these questions, and share our thoughts on the most significant events in the Civil Rights Movement, so as you explore, think through what events you consider most significant and why."
16. Provide students with the [Civil Rights Timeline](#)¹⁸¹ and allow them time to explore, using the navigation bar at the top to jump to a year, and the vertical scroll on the left to see key events from each year. Students should read the captions, and watch video clips and view images when available. **NOTE:** The students can explore the

¹⁸⁰Video and Transcript from the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, available at https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/LH8F_0Mzv0e6Ro1yEm74Ng.aspx

¹⁸¹Created by the National Visionary Leadership Project, and available at <http://www.visionaryproject.org/timeline/>

timeline individually if technology allows, or in small groups. This may also be done whole group with the timeline projected and the teacher leading students through the timeline, however it is preferred if students can explore at their own pace if possible.

17. **NOTE:** The [Civil Rights Timeline](#) is a free resource. Another timeline, the [National Geographic Civil Rights Timeline](#), is available with a National Geographic subscription. Either timeline will work for the activity, but the National Geographic version contains more text and more primary sources, and is preferable if a subscription is available.
18. After students have explored the timeline, direct students to write a summary of the three events they consider most significant to the Civil Rights Movement as a way to help them prepare for the class discussion.
19. Allow students time to update their personal timelines started in the previous task with important events covered thus far (students should put the events they consider most significant in the movement, as well as landmark cases and legal victories such as Brown v. Board of Education, the Voting Rights Act, The Civil Rights Act, etc.).
20. Conduct a whole class discussion in which students explore the various leaders and methodologies of the Civil Rights Movement. Use the framing questions for discussion:
 - a. What were some of the different methods/approaches used to elicit change?
 - b. How did methods/approaches change over time?
 - c. Were some methodologies more associated with specific civil rights leaders?
21. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task: “How did the efforts to achieve civil rights for all evolve over time?” Collect and grade for content accuracy, using the [Student Look-Fors](#) as a guide.
22. Have students select some of the civil rights leaders and/or events from the timeline to use as starting points for their research in the next formative performance task.
23. Say: “We are now going to further research the events we think are most significant to the Civil Rights Movement. We will use what we learn to answer our question for inquiry in a debate.”
24. As a class, discuss approaches to research including developing research questions and locating credible sources.
25. Have students conduct research to answer the question: What were the main goals of civil rights leaders and what tactics were used to affect change? Possible research questions include:
 - a. What were the major goals of the Civil Rights Movement and what motives were utilized to attempt to reach those goals?
 - b. Which of the goals of the Civil Rights Movements were accomplished, what methodology was employed to accomplish it, and why was the methodology successful?
 - c. Which goals were either unfulfilled or still in the process and why are they still unfulfilled?
26. Students may use the [Civil Rights Timeline](#) as well as other reputable sources. Some suggested sources are as follows:
 - a. [Khan Academy's AP US History Guide: The Civil Rights Movement](#)¹⁸²
 - b. [National Civil Rights Museum Educator Resources](#)¹⁸³

¹⁸²All articles made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8>

¹⁸³Resources made available by the National Civil Rights Museum, a Smithsonian affiliate and available at <https://www.civilrightsmuseum.org/educators>

- c. [The National Archives: Civil Rights](#)¹⁸⁴
 - d. [Library of Congress: Civil Rights History Collection](#)¹⁸⁵
27. As students explore various sources, ask them to record their findings in the [Civil Rights Research Graphic Organizer](#). Have students turn in their completed graphic organizers to check their understanding. If there are gaps in understanding or misconceptions identified, provide direct instruction to address those before moving students onto the next part of the task.
 28. After students have completed their research and submitted their graphic organizers, lead students in a [philosophical chairs](#) debate on the question for inquiry, “was the Civil Rights Movement a success?”
 29. Have students form two groups (one group answers “yes” and one group answers “no”) in response to the following question: “Was the Civil Rights Movement a success?”
 30. Ask each group to work together (defining individual roles as necessary) to form a written opening argument which incorporates their claim, reasons, and evidence. They should also be prepared to address the strengths and limitations of both their claim and any counterclaims with the goal of convincing as many classmates as possible to join their side.
 31. Remind students to use sources from their research to provide evidence to support their claim.
 32. Ask students to complete the [Debate Prep Evidence Chart](#) to prepare for the debate.
 33. During the debate, instruct students to line up in two lines facing each other, each line representing a different side of the debate.
 34. Direct students to present their opening arguments, pose questions that probe reasoning and evidence provided, and clarify, verify, or challenge others’ alternate or opposing claims and conclusions.
 35. As students evaluate the claims, reasoning, and evidence of the “other side,” encourage them to acknowledge new ideas and strong evidence by the “other side” and modify their own views. To represent their change in views, direct students to “switch sides” by physically moving to the other line.
 36. Use the [Student Look-Fors](#) and a [discussion tracker](#) to assess student debate performance.
 37. After the debate, have students write a summary of each side of the debate, the claims, reasons, and evidence provided. Collect and grade for content accuracy.
 38. To culminate the task, have students write an argumentative essay answering the compelling question for the task, “was the Civil Rights Movement a success?” Direct students to use evidence from the sources they explored throughout the task. Provide students with a copy of the [LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#) as needed. Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written. Use the [Student Look-Fors](#) to inform content section of rubric.

¹⁸⁴ The National Archives and Records Administration. <https://www.archives.gov/research/civil-rights>

¹⁸⁵ Library of Congress collection, Civil Rights History Project, available at <https://www.loc.gov/collections/civil-rights-history-project/about-this-collection/>

Student Look-Fors: Was the Civil Rights Movement a Success?

First Supporting Question Student Look-Fors:

1. Students should address the key points of JFK's speech and how those points relate to democratic privileges for all. Points may include but are not limited to the following:
 - a. Rights/privileges being denied
 - i. Education
 - ii. Access to services (restaurants, hotels, etc.)
 - iii. Suffrage/voting
 - iv. Equality in job opportunities/wages
 - b. JFK discouraged the use of police force, increased protest/demonstration, and violence and promoted the use of legislation.

Second Supporting Question Student Look-Fors:

1. Students' paragraphs should note key information about the events selected from the timeline.
2. Students should recognize that the Civil Rights Movement was made up of a series of separate but related events in different parts of the country over a period of time. Their paragraphs should outline the specific events they selected including information about the leader, when and where it occurred, etc.
3. Students should recognize that different leaders took different approaches—some civil disobedience, others violence.

Debate Student Look-Fors:

1. Student responses should reflect an understanding of the tactics employed by civil rights leaders to impact change and move towards their goals.
2. The student takes a clear position in response to the prompt and develops a solid claim.
3. The student supports claims using information gained from sources.

Culminating Essay Student Look-Fors:

1. An exemplar response may include but is not limited to:
 - a. Student responses should reflect an understanding of the tactics employed by civil rights leaders to impact change and move towards their goals.
 - b. The student takes a clear position in response to the prompt and develops a solid claim.
 - c. The student supports claims using information gained from their research as well as the task sources.
2. A strong response:
 - a. References documents appropriately.
 - i. Kennedy's plea to Americans to come together to provide basic democratic privileges to all citizens
 - ii. Major events in the Civil Rights Movement
 - b. Applies the provided evidence and provides additional information outside of the provided sources.
 - i. background information on the Civil Rights Movement
 - ii. various leaders and their approaches to impacting change during the Civil Rights Movement

Civil Rights Research Graphic Organizer

Goal	Method(s) Used	Achieved, Not Achieved, or Debatable	Rationale	Texts/Resources Used

Civil Rights Research Graphic Organizer (Completed)

Goal	Method(s) Used	Achieved, Not Achieved, or Debatable	Rationale	Texts/Resources Used
Goal 1: desegregation of public facilities	Legislation	Achieved	Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed separate facilities	Civil Rights Act of 1964 , National Archives
Goal 2: voting rights	Legislation	Debatable	Achieved: Voting Rights Act Not Achieved: Current controversies (i.e. voter ID laws, racial gerrymandering, etc.)	Voting Rights Act , ourdocuments.gov

Debate Prep Evidence Chart

Claim:		
Text Title	Evidence (quotation or paraphrase)	How does this evidence Support or oppose your claim?

US History Instructional Task: The Great Society and Other Social Movements

Unit Five: The Cold War and the Modern Era, Topic Two: Conflict and Social Movements

Description: Students explore additional social movements, government programs, and landmark Supreme Court cases that impacted the Social and Political life of Americans during the era of the Cold War.

Suggested Timeline: 5 class periods

Materials: [The Great Society](#); [The End of the Great Society](#); Pinwheel discussion chart ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); [American Indian Protest](#); [Second-Wave Feminism](#); [Environmental Reform](#); [Cesar Chavez](#); [Earl Warren](#); [History of the Burger Court](#); Landmark Supreme Court Cases Graphic Organizer ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); [Engel v. Vitale](#); [Gideon v. Wainwright](#); [Escobedo v. Illinois](#); [New York Times Company v. Sullivan](#); [Reynolds v. Sims](#); [Griswold v. Connecticut](#); [Miranda v. Arizona](#); [Roe v. Wade](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “As we have seen in the first two tasks of this topic, the decade of the 1960s (and a few years before and a few years after) were a wild time of progress and upheaval in America. In addition to counterculture, Vietnam War protests, and the Civil Rights Movements, there were other events and social movements that left their mark on the American identity. We will explore those events and movements in this task, and use the compelling question “do the ideas of the 1960s still have relevance today?” to guide our inquiry.”
2. Direct students to reference their individual timelines (started in [The Vietnam War](#) task and continued in [The Civil Rights Movement](#) task) throughout this task in order to provide context for what else is happening in America during the key events they are going to learn about.
3. Lead students in a discussion reviewing what they know about Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ). Students should remember that he was JFK’s vice president, and became president after Kennedy was assassinated, he pushed for and signed important civil rights laws into existence, he was president during the bulk of the Vietnam war, and due to the war’s failures and low public opinion, LBJ decided not to run for reelection in 1968.
4. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “Did the Great Society programs fulfill their promise?”
5. Divide students into small groups using an established class routine. Provide students with [The Great Society](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What was the overall goal of Johnson’s vision of a “Great Society?”
 - b. What are some examples of Great Society reforms?
6. Conduct steps 1, 3, 5, and 6 of [The Great Society](#)¹⁸⁶ lesson from Stanford History Education Group with the following adjustments:
 - a. Step 1: students can briefly discuss the proposed questions instead of writing them in their journal as suggested, if the teacher prefers to save time.

¹⁸⁶Free registration on the site is required to access the full lesson plan. Access the full lesson plan by clicking on “Download Lesson Plan” under the image at the top of the page

7. Provide students with [The End of the Great Society](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, lead students in a brief whole class discussion on the result of Great Society programs. Possible questions include:
 - a. How did the Vietnam War impact Great Society programs?
 - b. What were some examples of success of Great Society programs?
 - c. What are some examples of critiques and failures of Great Society programs?
8. Allow students time to update their personal timelines started in previous tasks with important events covered thus far (key Great Society programs).
9. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task, “Did the Great Society programs fulfill their promise?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
10. Say: “We have already learned about some major social movements in the 60s - counterculture, the Civil Rights Movement, and Anti-Vietnam War protests. We will now learn about other social movements from this time period, and how each social movement in the 60s had competing and complementary interests.”
11. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: “What is the legacy of social movements from the 1960s on the American identity?”
12. Tell students that they will learn about these social movements through a pinwheel activity, where each student is assigned a social movement to become an expert on, and will then teach other classmates about that movement through a pinwheel discussion.
13. Divide the class into four groups and provide each group with a [pinwheel discussion chart](#) and one of the following documents:
 - a. [American Indian Protest](#)
 - b. [Second-Wave Feminism](#)¹⁸⁷
 - c. [Environmental Reform](#)
 - d. [Cesar Chavez](#)¹⁸⁸
14. Direct students to read their text as a group, noting key dates and people involved in their social movement, the goals and methods used to reach those goals, and the legacy of the movement.
15. After reading, direct students to complete the appropriate row on the [pinwheel discussion chart](#).
16. Arrange the room for the pinwheel discussion by creating an inner and outer circle. Students participating in the first round of discussion sit in the inner circle with their group members in the outer circle behind them ready to rotate into the discussion. Choose a student from each group to take part in the first discussion round and instruct them to move to the center. At a certain point, instruct students to pinwheel out of the discussion to be replaced by another member of their group. Two options would be to pinwheel when each participant contributes something of merit and in character a certain number of times or you can call for the switch and all groups would pinwheel at the same time.
17. Open each round of the pinwheel discussion with a question to the group, reminding them to answer using evidence from the social movement they studied. Possible questions:
 - a. What were the aims of your social movement?
 - b. How does your social movement relate to other movements of the day (Anti-Vietnam protests, counterculture, civil rights, etc.)?

¹⁸⁷ article made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-1960s-america/a/second-wave-feminism>

¹⁸⁸ Article created by History.com and available at <http://www.history.com/topics/cesar-chavez>

- c. What methods were employed by activists in your movement in order to reach the movement goals?
 - d. What was the legacy of your movement?
18. Conclude the discussion by asking students how social movements impacted the American identity.
 19. Allow students time to update their personal timelines started in previous tasks with important events covered thus far (key dates from social movements studied. **NOTE:** students do not have to include every key date from every movement, they can choose a few to include in their timeline.).
 20. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task: “What is the legacy of social movements from the 1960s on the American identity?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
 21. Say: “As we have seen previously, decisions made in landmark Supreme Court cases can have big impacts on Americans’ lives.”
 22. Briefly review with students what a landmark Supreme Court decision is, and some they have already learned about (Brown v. Board of Education, Tinker v. Des Moines)
 23. Say: “In this part of the task, we are going to explore two eras of the Supreme Court - the Warren Court and the Burger Court - and learn about some of the landmark decisions made under each Chief Justice and the impacts those decisions had on social and political institutions in American life. Before we do so, let’s define some important legal terminology.”
 24. Post and read aloud the following terms and definitions:
 - a. *Civil Liberties*: the freedom of a citizen to exercise customary rights without unwarranted or arbitrary interference by the government, such as the rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights (freedom of speech, assembly, etc.)¹⁸⁹
 - b. *Jurisprudence*: a body or a system of laws based on decisions of courts.¹⁹⁰
 25. Ask students, “how are these two terms related?” Make the connection for students, if they are struggling to make it themselves, that courts make decisions about whether or not civil liberties are being infringed upon in certain cases, and those decisions set the course for the American system of laws, or jurisprudence. Sometimes courts are more liberal in their rulings (expanding the way in which we view civil liberties) or more conservative (taking a more traditional approach to civil liberties as written in the constitution).
 26. Post and read aloud the third supporting question for the task: “Did the Warren and Burger courts expand or undermine the concept of civil liberties?”
 27. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Earl Warren](#)¹⁹¹ and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What were the dates of the Warren Court?
 - b. Was the Warren Court seen as a mostly liberal or mostly conservative court?
 - c. What types of rights were stressed in the Warren Court? (Hint: look at paragraph 8)
 - d. Do you think the rulings under the Warren Court expanded or undermined civil liberties?
 28. Briefly lead students in a whole class discussion on question d from the small group discussions.

¹⁸⁹<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/civil-liberties>

¹⁹⁰<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/jurisprudence?s=t>

¹⁹¹ Article created by History.com, and available at <http://www.history.com/topics/earl-warren>

29. Provide students with [History of the Burger Court](#)¹⁹² and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
- What were the dates of the Burger Court?
 - Was the Burger Court seen as a mostly liberal or mostly conservative court?
 - What does the author mean by describing the Burger Court as a “counter-revolution that wasn’t?”
30. Briefly lead students in a whole class discussion on question c from the small group discussions.
31. Tell students that they will be participating in a [jigsaw](#) on landmark Supreme Court cases from the Warren and Burger Courts. Divide students into groups of four. Each student should pick two Supreme Court cases from below to become an “expert” on, and complete the [Landmark Supreme Court Cases Graphic Organizer](#) with information from those cases. Provide students with the following Supreme Court case summaries:
- [Engel v. Vitale](#)
 - [Gideon v. Wainwright](#)
 - [Escobedo v. Illinois](#)
 - [New York Times Company v. Sullivan](#)
 - [Reynolds v. Sims](#)
 - [Griswold v. Connecticut](#)
 - [Miranda v. Arizona](#)
 - [Roe v. Wade](#)¹⁹³
32. Allow each expert to summarize their cases for their small group, using the questions on the [Landmark Supreme Court Cases Graphic Organizer](#) to guide their presentations (other group members can fill out the graphic organizer as presentations occur). Expert presentations in small groups should take 15-20 minutes total.
33. Briefly lead students in a discussion on the third supporting question for the task, “Did the Warren and Burger courts expand or undermine the concept of civil liberties?” Discussion contributions can be taken for a grade using the [Discussion Tracker](#).
34. Allow students time to update their personal timelines started in previous tasks with important events covered thus far (dates of the Warren and Burger Courts, dates of key landmark Supreme Court cases).
35. Conclude the task by directing students to write an extended paragraph (half to full page, but not a complete essay) on the compelling question for the task: “do the ideas of the 1960s still have relevance today?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.

¹⁹² Article created by The Supreme Court Opinion Writing Database, available at <http://supremecourttopinions.wustl.edu/?rt=index/history>

¹⁹³ All Supreme Court case summaries from www.oyez.org

The Great Society¹⁹⁴

In May 1964, in a speech at the University of Michigan, Lyndon Johnson described in detail his vision of the Great Society he planned to create (Figure). When the Eighty-Ninth Congress convened the following January, he and his supporters began their effort to turn the promise into reality. By combatting racial discrimination and attempting to eliminate poverty, the reforms of the Johnson administration changed the nation.



(a)



(b)

Figure 1. In a speech at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor on May 22, 1964 (a), President Johnson announced some of his goals for the Great Society. These included rebuilding cities, preserving the natural environment, and improving education. Johnson signed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in his hometown of Johnson City, Texas, alongside his childhood schoolteacher, Kate Deadrich Loney (b). (credit a: modification of work by Cecil Stoughton)

One of the chief pieces of legislation that Congress passed in 1965 was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Figure). Johnson, a former teacher, realized that a lack of education was the primary cause of poverty and other social problems. Educational reform was thus an important pillar of the society he hoped to build. This act provided increased federal funding to both elementary and secondary schools, allocating more than \$1 billion for the purchase of books and library materials, and the creation of educational programs for disadvantaged children. The Higher Education Act, signed into law the same year, provided scholarships and low-interest loans for the poor, increased federal funding for colleges and universities, and created a corps of teachers to serve schools in impoverished areas.

Education was not the only area toward which Johnson directed his attention. Consumer protection laws were also passed that improved the safety of meat and poultry, placed warning labels on cigarette packages, required “truth in lending” by creditors, and set safety standards for motor vehicles. Funds were provided to improve public transportation and to fund high-speed mass transit. To protect the environment, the Johnson administration created laws protecting air and water quality, regulating the disposal of solid waste, preserving wilderness areas, and protecting endangered species. All of these laws fit within Johnson’s plan to make the United States a better place to live. Perhaps influenced by

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Kennedy's commitment to the arts, Johnson also signed legislation creating the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, which provided funding for artists and scholars. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 authorized the creation of the private, not-for-profit Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which helped launch the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and National Public Radio (NPR) in 1970.

In 1965, the Johnson administration also encouraged Congress to pass the Immigration and Nationality Act, which essentially overturned legislation from the 1920s that had favored immigrants from western and northern Europe over those from eastern and southern Europe. The law lifted severe restrictions on immigration from Asia and gave preference to immigrants with family ties in the United States and immigrants with desirable skills. Although the measure seemed less significant than many of the other legislative victories of the Johnson administration at the time, it opened the door for a new era in immigration and made possible the formation of Asian and Latin American immigrant communities in the following decades.

While these laws touched on important aspects of the Great Society, the centerpiece of Johnson's plan was the eradication of poverty in the United States. The war on poverty, as he termed it, was fought on many fronts. The 1965 Housing and Urban Development Act offered grants to improve city housing and subsidized rents for the poor. The Model Cities program likewise provided money for urban development projects and the building of public housing.

The Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964 established and funded a variety of programs to assist the poor in finding jobs. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), first administered by President Kennedy's brother-in-law Sargent Shriver, coordinated programs such as the Jobs Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which provided job training programs and work experience for the disadvantaged. Volunteers in Service to America recruited people to offer educational programs and other community services in poor areas, just as the Peace Corps did abroad. The Community Action Program, also under the OEO, funded local Community Action Agencies, organizations created and managed by residents of disadvantaged communities to improve their own lives and those of their neighbors. The Head Start program, intended to prepare low-income children for elementary school, was also under the OEO until it was transferred to Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1969.

The EOA fought rural poverty by providing low-interest loans to those wishing to improve their farms or start businesses ([Figure](#)). EOA funds were also used to provide housing and education for migrant farm workers. Other legislation created jobs in Appalachia, one of the poorest regions in the United States, and brought programs to Indian reservations. One of EOA's successes was the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation that, while respecting Navajo traditions and culture, also trained people for careers and jobs outside the reservation.



Figure 2. President Johnson visits a poor family in Appalachia in 1964. Government initiatives designed to combat poverty helped rural communities like this one by providing low-interest loans and housing. (credit: Cecil Stoughton)

The Johnson administration, realizing the nation's elderly were among its poorest and most disadvantaged citizens, passed the Social Security Act of 1965. The most profound change made by this act was the creation of Medicare, a program to pay the medical expenses of those over sixty-five. Although opposed by the American Medical Association, which feared the creation of a national healthcare system, the new program was supported by most citizens because it would benefit all social classes, not just the poor. The act and subsequent amendments to it also provided coverage for self-employed people in certain occupations and expanded the number of disabled who qualified for benefits. The following year, the Medicaid program allotted federal funds to pay for medical care for the poor.

The End of the Great Society¹⁹⁵

Perhaps the greatest casualty of the nation's war in Vietnam was the Great Society. As the war escalated, the money spent to fund it also increased, leaving less to pay for the many social programs Johnson had created to lift Americans out of poverty. Johnson knew he could not achieve his Great Society while spending money to wage the war. He was unwilling to withdraw from Vietnam, however, for fear that the world would perceive this action as evidence of American failure and doubt the ability of the United States to carry out its responsibilities as a superpower.

Vietnam doomed the Great Society in other ways as well. Dreams of racial harmony suffered, as many African Americans, angered by the failure of Johnson's programs to alleviate severe poverty in the inner cities, rioted in frustration. Their anger was heightened by the fact that a disproportionate number of African Americans were fighting and dying in Vietnam. Nearly two-thirds of eligible African Americans were drafted, whereas draft deferments for college, exemptions for skilled workers in the military industrial complex, and officer training programs allowed white middle-class youth to either avoid the draft or volunteer for a military branch of their choice. As a result, less than one-third of white men were drafted.

Although the Great Society failed to eliminate suffering or increase civil rights to the extent that Johnson wished, it made a significant difference in people's lives. By the end of Johnson's administration, the percentage of people living below the poverty line had been cut nearly in half. While more people of color than whites continued to live in poverty, the percentage of poor African Americans had decreased dramatically. The creation of Medicare and Medicaid as well as the expansion of Social Security benefits and welfare payments improved the lives of many, while increased federal funding for education enabled more people to attend college than ever before. Conservative critics argued that, by expanding the responsibilities of the federal government to care for the poor, Johnson had hurt both taxpayers and the poor themselves. Aid to the poor, many maintained, would not only fail to solve the problem of poverty but would also encourage people to become dependent on government "handouts" and lose their desire and ability to care for themselves—an argument that many found intuitively compelling but which lacked conclusive evidence. These same critics also accused Johnson of saddling the United States with a large debt as a result of the deficit spending (funded by borrowing) in which he had engaged.

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American Indian Protest¹⁹⁶

As the young, primarily white men and women who became hippies strove to create new identities for themselves, they borrowed liberally from other cultures, including that of Native Americans. At the same time, many Indians were themselves seeking to maintain their culture or retrieve elements that had been lost. In 1968, a group of Indian activists, including Dennis Banks, George Mitchell, and Clyde Bellecourt, convened a gathering of two hundred people in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and formed the American Indian Movement (AIM) (Figure). The organizers were urban dwellers frustrated by decades of poverty and discrimination. In 1970, the average life expectancy of Indians was forty-six years compared to the national average of sixty-nine. The suicide rate was twice that of the general population, and the infant mortality rate was the highest in the country. Half of all Indians lived on reservations, where unemployment reached 50 percent. Among those in cities, 20 percent lived below the poverty line.

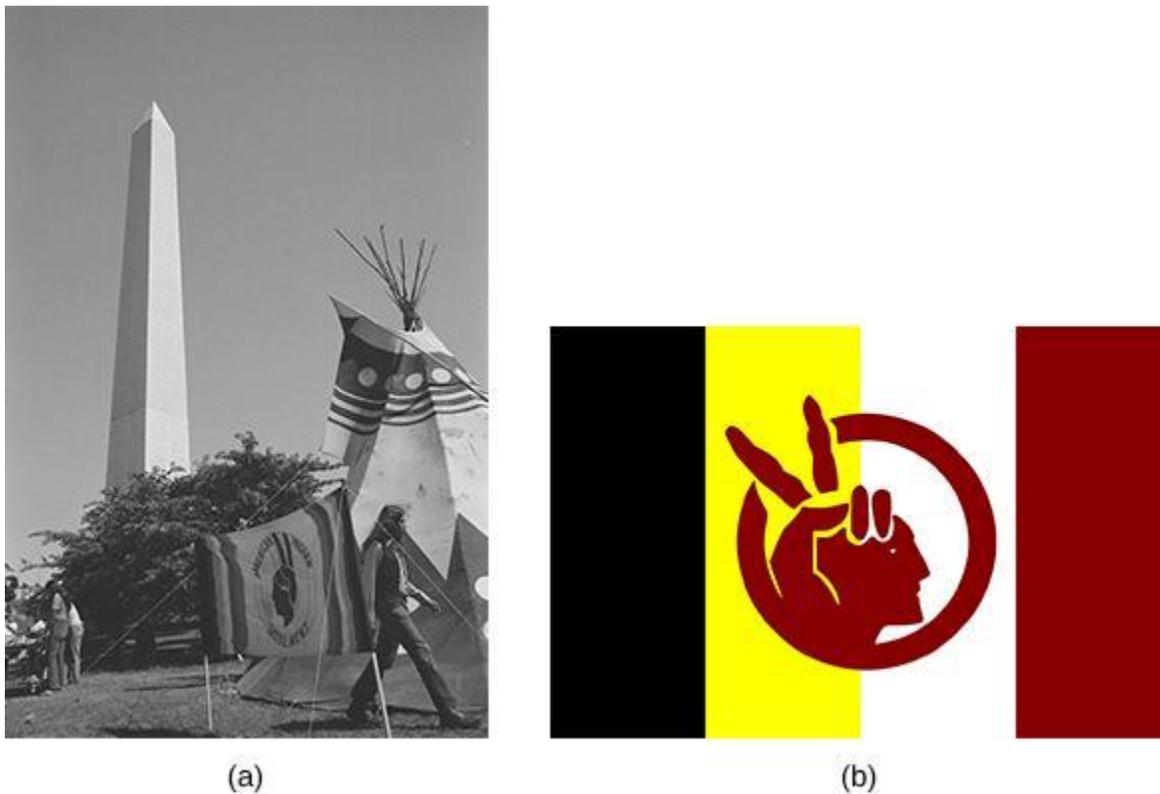


Figure 3. This teepee was erected on the National Mall near the Washington Monument as part of an AIM demonstration (a). Note that the AIM flag (b) combines an Indian silhouette with the peace sign, the ubiquitous symbol of the 1960s and '70s.

On November 20, 1969, a small group of Indian activists landed on Alcatraz Island (the former site of a notorious federal prison) in San Francisco Bay. They announced plans to build an American Indian cultural center, including a history museum, an ecology center, and a spiritual sanctuary. People on the mainland provided supplies by boat, and celebrities visited Alcatraz to publicize the cause. More people joined the occupiers until, at one point, they numbered about four hundred. From the beginning, the federal government negotiated with them to persuade them to leave. They were

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reluctant to accede, but over time, the occupiers began to drift away of their own accord. Government forces removed the final holdouts on June 11, 1971, nineteen months after the occupation began.

The next major demonstration came in 1972 when AIM members and others marched on Washington, DC—a journey they called the “Trail of Broken Treaties”—and occupied the offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The group presented a list of demands, which included improved housing, education, and economic opportunities in Indian communities; the drafting of new treaties; the return of Indian lands; and protections for native religions and culture.

The most dramatic event staged by AIM was the occupation of the Indian community of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in February 1973. Wounded Knee, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, had historical significance: It was the site of an 1890 massacre of members of the Lakota tribe by the U.S. Army. AIM went to the reservation following the failure of a group of Oglala to impeach the tribal president Dick Wilson, whom they accused of corruption and the use of strong-arm tactics to silence critics. AIM used the occasion to criticize the U.S. government for failing to live up to its treaties with native peoples.

The federal government surrounded the area with U.S. marshals, FBI agents, and other law enforcement forces. A siege ensued that lasted seventy-one days, with frequent gunfire from both sides, wounding a U.S. marshal as well as an FBI agent, and killing two Indians. The government did very little to meet the protesters’ demands. Two AIM leaders, Dennis Banks and Russell Means, were arrested, but charges were later dismissed. The Nixon administration had already halted the federal policy of termination and restored millions of acres to tribes. Increased funding for Indian education, healthcare, legal services, housing, and economic development followed, along with the hiring of more Indian employees in the BIA.

Environmental Reform¹⁹⁷

It was time to save the earth.

A century of full-fledged industrialism in America had taken its toll on the environment. Concerned citizens began to appeal in earnest to protect more of the nation's wilderness areas. Emissions into the atmosphere were creating smoggy haze rings above many metropolitan centers. Trash was piling up. Many Americans felt free to deposit waste from their increasingly disposable society along the sides of the roads. In the climate of social activism, the 1960s also became a decade of earth action.

RACHEL CARSON sent a wake-up call to America with her 1962 book *SILENT SPRING*. Carson wrote of the horrors of DDT, a popular pesticide used on many American farms. DDT wrought havoc on the nation's bird population. The pesticide, when ingested by birds, proved poisonous. Carson then witnessed a spring where birds did not return to farms.



The early 1970s saw a series of public service announcements designed to increase public awareness of environmental issues. One of the most memorable images from the campaign featured Iron Eyes Cody shedding a profound tear in response to widespread pollution.



Hoping to inspire the younger generation to take better care of the environment, the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Forest Service created "Woodsy Owl" in 1970. Woodsy's original request of "Give a Hoot, Don't Pollute" has been updated to "Lend a Hand - Care for the Land!"

The book created a firestorm of concern for the environment. Many students involved in the peace and civil rights movements also embraced the call for environmental awareness. President Johnson responded with the WILDERNESS PROTECTION ACT, the WATER QUALITY ACT, and the AIR QUALITY ACT. An activist organization named GREENPEACE formed in 1969.

Inspired by SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON and created by students, the nation celebrated its first EARTH DAY on April 22, 1970. President Nixon, despite his overall lack of sympathy for the earth movement, could not resist supporting popular environmentalist measures.

In 1970, he signed legislation creating the ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY, a federal watchdog dedicated to proper care of the planet. He also stiffened standards for emissions and waste with the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts. The Endangered Species Act also provided much needed protection to wildlife on the brink of annihilation.

For years, the environmentalists had two major factions. Conservationists such as THEODORE ROOSEVELT believed that the nation's natural heritage could be maintained through wise, efficient use of resources.

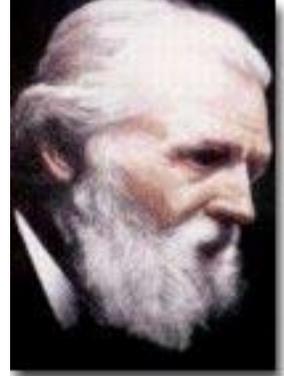
¹⁹⁷This work by The Independence Hall Association is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <http://www.ushistory.org/us/57e.asp>.

Preservationists such as JOHN MUIR and the SIERRA CLUB celebrated the majesty of the landscape and preferred protection of wilderness areas. The 1960s ushered in the ecologists, who studied the relationships between living organisms and their environments. Pollution was destroying this delicate balance, and the result could be health problems, extinction of species, or even planetary destruction.

Young Americans learned ecology in elementary school as a nationwide awareness campaign attempted to raise consciousness. WOODSY THE OWL advised youngsters to "never be a dirty bird." Thousands felt their heartstrings tugged as they viewed television advertisements depicting mountains of trash culminating with a pensive Native American shedding a single, mournful tear.

The 1970s brought growing concerns with the NUCLEAR POWER INDUSTRY. Fission plants produced hazardous by-products that were difficult to dispose of safely. An accident at a nuclear power plant at THREE MILE ISLAND near Harrisburg nearly released a lethal bubble of radioactive gas into the atmosphere in 1979. Pressure groups mounted protests against nuclear testing by the United States. President Carter announced a bold initiative to develop renewable sources of energy.

Although many environmentalists were disappointed that all goals were not reached, substantive changes did improve the quality of American air and water, and the nation had its eyes open to the need to preserve the planet.



As a founder of the Sierra Club in 1892, John Muir served as an inspiration to environmental reformers of the 1960s.

Pinwheel Discussion Chart

Social Movement	Key People and Dates	Goals of the Movement and Methods implemented	Legacy of the Movement
American Indian Movement			
Environmental Movement			

Cesar Chavez and farm workers' rights			
Women's Liberation/Sec ond-Wave Feminism			

Pinwheel Discussion Chart (Completed)

Social Movement	Key People and Dates	Goals of the Movement and Methods implemented	Legacy of the Movement
American Indian Movement	1968 - American Indian Movement (AIM) created by 1969- Alcatraz occupation 1972 – “Trail of Broken Treaties” march on Washington 1973 – Occupation of Wounded Knee and subsequent siege.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Maintain Indian culture or retrieve elements that had been lost -Improve the lives of Indians through better housing, education, and economic opportunities in Indian communities; the drafting of new treaties; the return of Indian lands; and protections for native religions and culture. -Bring awareness to treaties broken by the U.S. Government, and demand the treaties be upheld. -Methods used were mostly non-violent, however the siege at Wounded Knee saw gunfire from both sides with casualties. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Some demands were met after the siege at Wounded Knee ended such as millions of acres of land returned to tribes, increased funding for education, healthcare, legal services, housing, and economic development, but overall the government did little to meet the demands of AIM. Indians still protest for equality and press the government to uphold treaties to this day – the Standing Rock protests against the Dakota Access Pipeline is an example.
Environmental Movement	1962-Rachel Carson’s book outlining the dangers of DDT is published 1969- Greenpeace forms 1970-Earth Day first celebrated 1970 - Environmental protection agency created	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Protect the environment - for people, animals, and the beauty of the earth - from pollution and trash. -Environmental Conservationists believed the earth could be protected through wise and efficient use of resources -Environmental preservationists believed wilderness should be protected from human abuse. -Environmentalists used methods such as education (PR campaigns discouraging littering, cartoons for kids teaching them about the environment) and pursuing legal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> While not all goals were met, air and water quality were improved through legislative acts limiting pollution, and awareness of environmental issues were raised. Environmentalism continues to be a national focus today, specifically climate change, and the debate on what actions should be taken to address it.

		protects for the environment (Wilderness protection act, Clean water act, Clean Air act)	
Cesar Chavez and farm workers' rights	<p>1962 - Cesar Chavez forms the National Farm Workers Association (later became the United Farm Workers)</p> <p>1965 - Grape pickers strike</p> <p>1966-march on Sacramento brought national awareness to the grape strike and the consumer boycott of product.</p> <p>1968- Chavez went on hunger strike to protest violence against migrants</p> <p>1970- came to agreement with farm owners around pay and working conditions</p>	<p>-to improve pay and working conditions for migrant farm workers in the American agricultural industry: eradicating wretched living conditions, corrupt labor contractors, meager wages for backbreaking work, and bitter racism</p> <p>-methods used included boycotts, marches, and hunger strikes</p>	<p>Chavez and the United Farm Workers were able to gain raises and improve working conditions for farm workers in California, Texas, Arizona, and Florida</p> <p>Workers' rights campaigns still exist today, specifically around protecting farm workers from exposure to pesticides used during crop dusting and the like.</p>
Women's Liberation/Second-Wave Feminism	<p>-1960: Birth control pill approved by the FDA</p> <p>-1963: Betty Friedan publishes <i>The Feminine Mystique</i></p> <p>-1964: Civil Rights Act passed, which protected women from workplace discrimination</p> <p>-1966: National Organization for Women (NOW) forms</p> <p>-1972: Equal Rights Act passed, but failed to receive 38 state ratifications to become an amendment to the constitution.</p>	<p>-to make possible women's participation in all aspects of American life, and to gain for them all the rights enjoyed by men.</p> <p>-more individualism beyond women's typical roles of housewife</p> <p>-the methods used by most women's rights activists were political and attempted to get legislation passed</p> <p>-radical feminists participated in more aggressive forms of protests, such as the Ms. America Pageant protest.</p>	<p>Through legislation, women gained workplace protections making discrimination based on sex illegal.</p> <p>Women's equality movements exist today, such as the protests on social media against workplace sexual harassment.</p>

Landmark Supreme Court Cases Graphic Organizer

Landmark Case	Year and Presiding Court	Facts of the Case	Question	Ruling	Impacts on Social and Political Institutions
<i>Engel v. Vitale</i>					
<i>Gideon v. Wainwright</i>					
<i>Escobedo v. Illinois</i>					
<i>New York Times Co. v. Sullivan</i>					

<i>Reynolds v. Sims</i>					
<i>Griswold v. Connecticut</i>					
<i>Miranda v. Arizona</i>					

<i>Roe v. Wade</i>					

Landmark Supreme Court Cases Graphic Organizer (Completed)

Landmark Case	Year and Presiding Court	Facts of the Case	Question	Ruling	Impacts on Social and Political Institutions
<i>Engel v. Vitale</i>	1962, Warren court	New York state authorized a daily voluntary, nondenominational prayer in public schools, and Engel challenged this, stating that it violated his freedom of religion.	Does the reading of a nondenominational prayer at the start of the school day violate the "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment?	Yes - by providing the prayer, New York officially approved religion, violating the 1st Amendment's freedom of religion clause.	This is still a controversial ruling, as many Americans are in favor of prayer in schools and other social settings.
<i>Gideon v. Wainwright</i>	1963, Warren Court	Gideon was charged with a felony and requested a lawyer, but was denied one since he was not being charged with a capital crime. He represented himself and was convicted and sentenced to five years in prison. He appealed based on his right to an attorney being denied.	Does the Sixth Amendment's right to counsel in criminal cases extend to felony defendants in state courts?	Yes - the court held that the framers of the constitution placed a high value on the right of the accused to have the means to put up a proper defense, and the state and federal courts must respect that right.	The right to an attorney for a criminal suspect, even if they can't afford one, created a Public Defender's office in many large cities. Many Public Defenders have too many cases and have come under criticism.
<i>Escobedo v. Illinois</i>	1964, Warren Court	Danny Escobedo was arrested and taken to a police station for questioning. Over several hours, the police refused his repeated requests to see his lawyer.	Was Escobedo denied the right to counsel as guaranteed by the 6th Amendment?	Yes - those accused have an absolute right to remain silent during interrogations, and demand a lawyer be present during them as well.	The right to remain silent has been depicted in many films and TV shows in popular culture, making the right almost known universally.

		Escobedo's lawyer sought unsuccessfully to consult with his client. Escobedo subsequently confessed to murder.			
<i>New York Times Co. v. Sullivan</i>	1964, Warren Court	The New York Times claimed in a full page ad that the rest of MLK Jr. was an attempt to destroy his campaign of integration and black voting rights. Sullivan, the Montgomery City Commissioner, claimed that this ad defamed him and sued the paper for libel.	Did Alabama's libel law, unconstitutionally infringe on the First Amendment's freedom of speech and freedom of press protections?	Yes - the 1st Amendment protects the publication of all statements, even false ones, about the conduct of public officials except when states are made with "actual malice."	The press has been heavily criticized for its political stances, especially in recent times.
<i>Reynolds v. Sims</i>	1964 Warren Court	Voters in Alabama challenged the appointment of the state legislature based on population variances, charging that some residents were under represented in the state legislature.	Did Alabama's appointment scheme violate the 14th Amendment's Equal Protection clause by mandating at least one representative per county and creating as many senatorial districts as there were senators, regardless of population variances?	Yes- both houses of bicameral state legislatures had to be apportioned on a population basis. States are required to "honest and good faith" efforts to construct districts as nearly of equal population as possible.	creating districts (on the state and federal level) has been hotly contested, as the idea of "gerrymandering" or creating districts in a way that benefits one political party over another, has been a way for political parties to wield power.

<p><i>Griswold v. Connecticut</i></p>	<p>1965, Warren Court</p>	<p>Griswold worked for Planned Parenthood, and gave medical advice to a married couple regarding birth control. Griswold was convicted under a Connecticut law which criminalized counseling women about contraception use.</p>	<p>Does the Constitution protect the right of marital privacy against state restriction on a couple's ability to be counseled in the use of contraceptives?</p>	<p>Yes - although the constitution does not explicitly state American's have the right to privacy, it was interpreted that in combining the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and 9th Amendments, a new constitutional right to privacy is granted.</p>	<p>The establishment of the "right to privacy" has been cited in various cases, including <i>Roe v. Wade</i>.</p>
<p><i>Miranda v. Arizona</i></p>	<p>1966, Warren Court</p>	<p>Ernesto Miranda was arrested and questioned without an attorney present, and provided a written confession. His confession was questioned as admissible in court since the police did not advise Miranda of his right to an attorney</p>	<p>Do the 5th Amendment's protection against self-incrimination extend to the police interrogation of a suspect?</p>	<p>yes - the 5th Amendment's protection against self-incrimination is available in all settings, therefore prosecution may not use statements arising from an interrogation unless certain procedural safeguards were in place.</p>	<p>The ruling changed how police operated moving forward, ensuring that every time an arrest happens, a suspect's "Miranda rights" must be communicated.</p>
<p><i>Roe v. Wade</i></p>	<p>1973, Burger Court</p>	<p>Roe, a Texas resident, sought to terminate her pregnancy by abortion, but Texas law prohibited abortion except to save a pregnant woman's life.</p>	<p>Does the Constitution embrace a woman's right to terminate her pregnancy by abortion?</p>	<p>Yes- the court held that a woman's right to abortion fell within the right to privacy (recognized in <i>Griswold v. Connecticut</i>) protected by the 14th amendment</p>	<p>46 state laws were affected by the court's ruling. The right to abortion is hotly contested to this day, with many states passing more restrictive laws on abortion.</p>

				(a woman has total autonomy during the first trimester, and the 2nd and 3rd trimester decisions are decided by different levels of state interest)	Abortion is seen as a socially and politically divisive issue.
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Unit Five Instruction

Topic Three: The End of the Cold War 1977-1991 (US.5.5)

Connections to the unit claim: Students will learn about foreign policy during the Carter administration, and the policies that brought about the end of the Cold War during the Reagan administration. Students will analyze how each world leader - Reagan for America and Gorbachev for the USSR - impacted the end of the Cold War. Students will use the information learned in this task to make a claim on how foreign policy defines a nation.

Suggested Timeline: 6 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [World Leaders and the End of the Cold War](#)

To explore these key questions:

- How did world leaders impact the end of the Cold War?
- Did the foreign policies of the Carter and Reagan administrations strengthen or weaken the United States?
- How did the U.S. identify and plan to address Soviet threats during the Reagan administration?
- What made the INF Treaty different from previous treaties?
- What did Reagan consider to be his lasting impact on U.S.-Soviet relations?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task “Did the foreign policies of the Carter and Reagan administrations strengthen or weaken the United States?”
- Students complete an [Implementation of U.S. Policy](#) graphic organizer analyzing a released document outlining U.S. strategy for USSR relations.
- Students complete a [GIST writing](#) on the INF Treaty.
- Students complete a [SOAPStone graphic organizer](#) on Reagan’s Farewell Address to the Nation.
- How was the Reagan administration viewed by a former Soviet leader?
- Students participate in a discussion about the personalities of Gorbachev and Reagan, and how they impacted the end of the Cold War. Use a [discussion tracker](#) to assess student performance.
- Students write an essay as a summative performance task on the prompt: “Using the sources and your knowledge of U.S. history, write an essay that explains the extent to which the Reagan administration and the Gorbachev administration influenced how and when the Cold War ended and the resulting impact on the United States and the Soviet Union.” Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) and the [Student Look-Fors](#) to grade the essay.

US History Instructional Task: World Leaders and the End of the Cold War

Unit Five: The Cold War, Topic Three: The End of the Cold War

Description: Students learn about the Carter and Reagan administration’s foreign policies, and the events that led to the end of the Cold War. Students analyze primary documents to determine how world leaders, specifically Reagan and Gorbachev, impacted the end of the Cold War.

Suggested Timeline: 6 class periods

Materials: [How did World Leaders Impact the End of the Cold War?](#)¹⁹⁸; [Stagflation and the Oil Crisis](#); [The Presidency of Jimmy Carter](#); [Ronald Reagan: Foreign Policy](#); [The Iran-Contra Affair](#); [U.S. Relations with the USSR](#); Implementation of U.S. Policy graphic organizer ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); [INF Treaty](#); [Remarks on Signing the INF Treaty](#); [Student Look-Fors](#); [Reagan's Farewell Address to the Nation, January 11th, 1989](#); SOAPStone Graphic Organizer ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); ["A President Who Listened"](#); [Map of Europe during and after the Cold War](#); [The End of the Cold War](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “In this task, we will investigate the end of the Cold War, and how the world leaders during the downfall of the USSR - Presidents Reagan and Bush in American, and Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin in the USSR - and their policies contributed to its end. We will use the compelling question “how did world leaders impact the end of the Cold War?” to guide our inquiry.”
2. Lead students in a review of previous Cold War policies held by each administration, by asking students to briefly describe the policies of Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. Students should reference the policies of the Truman doctrine, the Marshall plan, containment, the domino theory, policies of nuclear armament and the “new look”, the Eisenhower doctrine, the space race, brinkmanship, and detente.
3. Say: “Let’s explore the foreign policy of the leaders during the last years of the Cold War.”
4. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “Did the foreign policies of the Carter and Reagan administrations strengthen or weaken the United States?”
5. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Stagflation and the Oil Crisis](#)¹⁹⁹ and [The Presidency of Jimmy Carter](#)²⁰⁰, and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What is “stagflation?”
 - b. What caused the economic problems of the 1970s? Were they avoidable?
 - c. What caused the oil embargo of 1973?
 - d. What caused the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty to break down?
 - e. What caused the Iran Hostage Crisis?
 - f. How would you characterize Carter’s foreign policy? Was it effective?

¹⁹⁸ This task is based on the LDOE created task available at <http://www.louisianabelieves.com/docs/default-source/academic-curriculum/task---social-studies---us-history---cold-war-pdf.pdf?sfvrsn=2>

¹⁹⁹ Article made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-the-1970s/a/stagflation-and-the-oil-crisis>

²⁰⁰ Article made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-8/apush-the-1970s/a/the-presidency-of-jimmy-carter>

- g. How did the Cold War contribute to tensions in the Middle East under Carter’s administration?
6. After discussions, lead the class in a brief discussion around question f from small group discussions. Students should come to the understanding that even though Carter attempted to reduce armaments with the USSR, attempts failed and he favored a foreign policy based on moral humanitarianism rather than hardline containment (the USSR invaded Afghanistan and the U.S. response was to boycott the Olympics). Ask students, “Did the foreign policy of the Carter administration strengthen or weaken the U.S.?”
7. Provide students with [Ronald Reagan: Foreign Policy](#)²⁰¹ and [The Iran-Contra Affair](#)²⁰². Direct students to read independently, and then discuss the following questions in small groups:
- Describe Reagan’s foreign policy towards the USSR?
 - What was “star wars?”
 - Why did the Reagan administration fund anti-communist “freedom fighters” in Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, and elsewhere? Do you think this action made America safer? Why or why not?
 - Describe Mikhail Gorbachev’s policies of glasnost and perestroika.
 - How central to bringing down the Berlin Wall (and signaling the beginning of the end for the Cold War) was Reagan’s foreign policy?
 - Describe the growing threat of terrorism in the Middle East during the Reagan administration.
 - What was the Iran-Contra affair?
8. After discussions, lead the class in a brief discussion around question e from small group discussions. Ask students, “Did the foreign policy of the Reagan administration strengthen or weaken the U.S.?”
9. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task “Did the foreign policies of the Carter and Reagan administrations strengthen or weaken the United States?”
10. Say: “we will now explore further the end of the Cold War, and the impact world leaders had on its ending.”
11. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: “How did the U.S. identify and plan to address Soviet threats during the Reagan administration?”
12. Tell students that they are about to read a released classified document. Explain to students that during the Cold War, this document was top secret, but has been released to the public in the aftermath of the Cold War.
13. Provide students with [U.S. Relations with the USSR](#)²⁰³. Have students work in small groups to read the document to gain background knowledge on the concerns regarding the USSR and how U.S. strategy will address them.
14. As they are reading, instruct students to mark or highlight key words and ideas in the text on U.S. concerns about the Soviet Union and strategy.
15. Have students complete the [Implementation of U.S. Policy](#) graphic organizer on the next page to summarize the big ideas surrounding each topic from their reading.
- Have students read the introductory statement on page 1. As they read, ask students to identify the three elements of U.S. policy and complete column 1 of the graphic organizer.
 - Direct students to read the remainder of page 1. As they read, ask students to identify the three tasks that explain what the elements of U.S. policy mean and complete column 2.

²⁰¹ Article made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-9/apush-1980s-america/a/ronald-reagan-as-president-part-2-foreign-policy>

²⁰² Article made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-9/apush-1980s-america/a/iran-contra>

²⁰³ Released document provided by the Regan Library Archives, and available at <https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/reference/Scanned%20NSDDs/NSDD75.pdf>

- c. Have students read the following pages to identify methods the U.S. will employ to accomplish their tasks and record that information in column 3.
 - Pages 2-3: Military Strategy, Economic Policy, and Political Action
 - Pages 5-8: Bilateral Relationships and Priorities in the U.S. Approach
 - d. Once students have completed their chart, have them rank the elements of U.S. policy in order of most important to least important and make notes as to why they have made their rankings. These notes will be used to support group discussion.
16. Have students work as a group to come to a consensus about which element of the strategy is most important and the most effective way to address it.
 17. Conduct a class discussion in which groups discuss the importance of the various elements of U.S. policy and how to address the concerns related to the USSR. Possible guiding questions include:
 - a. Which element of the U.S. policy should be the president’s first priority?
 - b. What makes that element the most important?
 - c. Of the actions in the policy, which do you think would be most effective and why?
 18. Collect students’ [Implementation of U.S. Policy](#) graphic organizer and grade for content accuracy.
 19. Post and read aloud the third supporting question for the task: “What made the INF Treaty different from previous treaties?”
 20. Provide students with [INF Treaty](#)²⁰⁴ and direct them to read the excerpts (only read the introduction and Articles I & X from the Treaty Text section). As they read, students should mark or highlight key words and ideas as to the purpose of the treaty. Students should complete a [GIST writing](#) after their reading that summarizes the purpose of the treaty.
 21. Divide students into small groups using an established class routine. Provide students with [Remarks on Signing the INF Treaty](#)²⁰⁵ and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Why is it significant that both of these leaders are signing the document?
 - b. In what ways does each leader try to connect to the other leader and his people?
 - c. What role does humor play in these remarks?
 22. Have students review their GIST summary of the INF Treaty and their responses to the questions from the small group discussion in preparation of their participation in a whole-class discussion.
 23. Lead a discussion with the class about the treaty and the leaders’ remarks. Possible guiding questions include:
 - a. Why was this treaty different from previous treaties?
 - b. Why would each side have been willing to eliminate their storage of weapons?
 - c. What element(s) of the U.S. strategy outlined in formative assessment task one would this treaty address?
 - d. How does this treaty help to address U.S. concerns about the Soviet Union?
 24. Grade student participation in the class discussion using a [discussion tracker](#), and the [Student Look-Fors](#) for supporting question three.

²⁰⁴ Treaty provided by the U.S. State Department, and available at <https://www.state.gov/t/avc/trty/102360.htm#text>

²⁰⁵ Transcript provided by the Reagan Library Archives, and available at <https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1987/120887c.htm>

25. Post and read aloud the fourth supporting question for the task, “What did Reagan consider to be his lasting impact on U.S.-Soviet relations?”
26. Provide students with [Reagan's Farewell Address to the Nation, January 11th, 1989](#)²⁰⁶, and direct them to read paragraphs 13-25 only. Provide students with the [SOAPStone graphic organizer](#), and direct them to identify each aspect and record their information while they read.
27. After students read and complete their [SOAPStone graphic organizer](#), direct them to review their notes and the text in small groups, to fully complete their analysis.
28. Conduct a whole class discussion in which students discuss the core message of Reagan’s address. Possible guiding questions include:
 - a. Who is the audience for this address?
 - b. According to Reagan, what progress was made in terms of U.S.-Soviet relations?
 - c. What cautions does Reagan give moving forward?
 - d. What does the address reveal about Reagan’s personality?
 - e. What do you think Reagan considers to be his lasting impact on U.S.-Soviet relations?
29. Use a [discussion tracker](#) and the [Student Look-Fors](#) to grade discussion participation.
30. Post and read aloud the fifth supporting question for the task, “How was the Reagan administration viewed by a former Soviet leader?”
31. Provide students with ["A President Who Listened"](#)²⁰⁷ by Mikhail Gorbachev, and direct them to read independently. Direct students to make note of any words or phrases that provide insight into aspects of Reagan’s personality as they read.
32. After reading, conduct a whole class discussion with students to discuss Gorbachev’s descriptions of Reagan’s personality. Possible guiding questions include:
 - a. What words does Gorbachev use to describe Reagan?
 - b. According to Gorbachev, how did Reagan’s personality impact U.S.-Soviet relations?
 - c. What can we learn about Gorbachev from his opinion piece?
 - d. How do you think the relationship between Reagan and Gorbachev impacted the end of the Cold War?
33. Use a [discussion tracker](#) and the [Student Look-Fors](#) to grade discussion participation.
34. Display the [Map of Europe during and after the Cold War](#)²⁰⁸, first viewing the 1949-1989 map, and then viewing the 1991 map, to show students the decrease in Russian influenced territory after the fall of the Soviet Union. Tell students they will now read about how Soviet Bloc countries gained their independence in the fall of the USSR and the end of the Cold War.
35. Divide students into small groups using an established class routine. Provide students with [The End of the Cold War](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss how the Cold War ended using the following questions:
 - a. How did “the unraveling of the Soviet Bloc,” or Soviet countries electing non-communist leaders and attempting to liberate themselves from the USSR, impact the end of the Cold War?

²⁰⁶ Ronald Reagan: "Farewell Address to the Nation," January 11, 1989. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29650>.

²⁰⁷ Opinion piece written by Mikhail Gorbachev for the New York Times on June 7, 2004. Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/06/07/opinion/a-president-who-listened.html>

²⁰⁸ Graphic detail provided by The Economist on March 20th, 2014. Available at <https://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2014/03/daily-chart-15>

- b. Why do you think Gorbachev did not invade Poland when they elected a non-communist leader?
 - c. How did the policies of “Glasnost” and “Perestroika” contribute to the end of the Cold War?
 - d. How did Gorbachev contribute to the end of the Cold War? Do you think the Cold War would have ended if Gorbachev was not the leader of the USSR?
 - e. Did anyone win the Cold War?
36. After discussions, lead the class in a brief discussion around question e from small group discussions. Ask students, “How did Gorbachev and Reagan impact the end of the Cold War?”
37. Students will write an essay as a summative performance task. Provide the following prompt for students: “Using the sources and your knowledge of U.S. history, write an essay that explains the extent to which the Reagan administration and the Gorbachev administration influenced how and when the Cold War ended and the resulting impact on the United States and the Soviet Union.” Provide students with the [LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#). Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written. Use the [Student Look-Fors](#) to support in customizing the Content portion of the rubric.

Implementation of U.S. Policy

Elements of U.S. Policy	U.S. Policy Tasks	Methods for Accomplishing Tasks

Implementation of U.S. Policy (Completed)

Elements of U.S. Policy	U.S. Policy Tasks	Methods for Accomplishing Tasks
Compete in international arena	We don't want the USSR to feel superior to the U.S. in any area (Space Race, arms buildup, etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modernize our military (regular and nuclear) – requires an increase in defense spending • Deter Soviet attacks by ensuring that when they look at options, it always seems like we're ahead • Protect technology and military information so Soviets can't learn from it • Prevent or limit partnerships that would allow Soviet power to spread to other countries (hinder growth of Soviet empire)
Pressure USSR to change political and economic systems from within	We support our contacts already in the USSR to make changes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restrict financial relationships with western countries - not supporting the Soviet economy • Promote Western ideas of individual freedoms • Expose double standards of the USSR (ethnic minorities, chemical weapons, etc.) • Limit Soviet propaganda effort
Negotiate with USSR to protect and enhance U.S. interests	We will only negotiate/compromise with the USSR if it benefits us.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Permit trade that helps both sides but isn't strategic (grain) • Enter into arms control negotiations when they serve our security objectives • Insist that USSR address all of our concerns if they want us to negotiate • Direct negotiations between Reagan and Soviet leadership should be the focus

Student Look-Fors: How did world leaders impact the end of the Cold War?

Supporting Question 2 Student Look-Fors:

****Use the completed [Implementation of U.S. Policy](#) graphic organizer as a grading guide***

Supporting Question 3 Student Look-Fors:

1. Students' summaries should note that this treaty calls for the elimination of nuclear weapon stockpiles on the side of each nation.
2. Students should recognize that:
 - a. the remarks are set up like a dialogue in which both leaders participate
 - b. each leader makes an effort to relate to the leader and people of the other country via language, stories, quotes, etc.
 - c. humor is used to keep the situation light and friendly
3. Students should recognize that this treaty requires an actual reduction of arms (not just an effort to control moving forward but an actual elimination of current stockpiles). Students should also demonstrate an understanding that each side was willing to cut back on their weapons because both acknowledged that nuclear war would be detrimental to both of their countries as well as the world as a whole.
4. Students should recognize that this treaty applies to two of the strategy elements outlined in [U.S. Relations with the USSR](#): "contain and overtime reverse Soviet expansionism...particularly in the overall military balance" and "negotiations to attempt to reach agreements which protect and enhance U.S. interests."

Supporting Question 4 Student Look-Fors:

1. Students' responses should indicate a clear understanding of the address.
 - a. Students should note that this address, although intended for the American people, would also be seen by the world as a whole (Soviet leadership would also hear his cautions).
 - b. Students should also discuss gains made in arms reduction and peace negotiations with the Soviet Union.
 - c. Students should recognize that, although Reagan felt US-Soviet relations were on the right track, he also recognized the potential for that to change at any time and the need for Americans to remain vigilant in case that were to happen.
 - d. Students should recognize elements of Reagan's personality that come through in his speech (i.e. communicator, humble, thoughtful, etc.)

Summative Performance Task Student Look-Fors:

1. Scoring Notes
 - a. An exemplar response may include but is not limited to:
 - i. Taking a clear position/claim which demonstrates an understanding that both Reagan's personality and policies of the Reagan administration had significant impacts in the reduction of arms and in establishing ongoing negotiations between the U.S. and USSR.
2. A strong response:
 - a. References documents appropriately.
 - i. U.S. policy strategy regarding US/USSR relations
 - ii. Reduction of nuclear arms as a result of the treaty

- iii. Perspectives of each leader in why this treaty differed from earlier treaties
- iv. President Reagan’s views on lasting impacts of his presidency
- v. Gorbachev’s views on Reagan’s personality and its impact on their interactions
- b. Applies the provided evidence as well as additional information about the Cold War.
 - i. Students may discuss background information on the spread of communism.
 - ii. Students may address various aspects of US/USSR relations.
 - iii. Students may reference previous attempts at arms control.

SOAPSTone Graphic Organizer

As you read, look for these details...		How do you know? Cite specific evidence from the text.
S	Who is the Speaker ?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What can you tell or what do you know about the speaker that helps you understand the point of view expressed?
O	What is the Occasion ?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the time and place of the text? What caused this text to be written? Identify the context of the text.
A	Who is the Audience ?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To whom is this text addressed? Does the speaker specify an audience? What does the author assume about the intended audience?
P	What is the Purpose ?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What did the author want the audience to think or do as a result of reading this text? Why did the author write it? What is the message? How does the speaker convey this message?
S	What is the Subject ?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What topic, content, and ideas are included in the text? How does the author present the subject? Does he introduce it immediately or do you, the reader, have to make an inference?
T O N E	What is the Tone ?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the author's attitude about the subject? Is the author emotional? Objective? Angry? How would you read the passage aloud if you were the author? What details "tell" the author's feelings about the topic? What words, phrases, imagery, examples, etc. reveal the tone?

SOAPStone Graphic Organizer (Completed)

As you read, look for these details...		How do you know? Cite specific evidence from the text.
S	Who is the Speaker ? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What can you tell or what do you know about the speaker that helps you understand the point of view expressed? 	President Ronald Reagan
O	What is the Occasion ? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the time and place of the text? What caused this text to be written? Identify the context of the text. 	Farewell Address as Reagan's term was ending
A	Who is the Audience ? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To whom is this text addressed? Does the speaker specify an audience? What does the author assume about the intended audience? 	Reagan is speaking to the American people, but as a televised speech, it would be potentially viewed by people around the world.
P	What is the Purpose ? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What did the author want the audience to think or do as a result of reading this text? Why did the author write it? What is the message? How does the speaker convey this message? 	The purpose was to highlight some of the victories of Reagan's administration (i.e. arms reduction, ongoing negotiations with the Soviet Union, etc.). He also cautioned that, although a mutually beneficial relationship had been established with the Soviet Union, the U.S. should continue to be vigilant to protect their interests.
S	What is the Subject ? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What topic, content, and ideas are included in the text? How does the author present the subject? Does he introduce it immediately or do you, the reader, have to make an inference? 	The address is highlighting the events of the Reagan administration. He is straight-forward in his telling of the events, and he describes his greatest accomplishment.
T O N E	What is the Tone ? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the author's attitude about the subject? Is the author emotional? Objective? Angry? How would you read the passage aloud if you were the author? What details "tell" the author's feelings about the topic? What words, phrases, imagery, examples, etc. reveal the tone? 	At the beginning of the excerpt, the speaker has a victorious tone. He is talking about the accomplishments of his presidency. As he goes on, the tone shifts to more of a cautionary tone as he tells people that, despite the successful negotiations with the USSR, people should continue to be vigilant and know that things could always change.

The End of the Cold War²⁰⁹

The fall of the Berlin Wall. The shredding of the Iron Curtain. The end of the Cold War.

When Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the reins of power in the Soviet Union in 1985, no one predicted the revolution he would bring. A dedicated reformer, Gorbachev introduced the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* to the USSR.

GLASNOST, or openness, meant a greater willingness on the part of Soviet officials to allow western ideas and goods into the USSR.

PERESTROIKA was an initiative that allowed limited market incentives to Soviet citizens.

Gorbachev hoped these changes would be enough to spark the sluggish Soviet economy. Freedom, however, is addictive.

The unraveling of the SOVIET BLOC began in Poland in June 1989. Despite previous Soviet military interventions in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland itself, Polish voters elected a noncommunist opposition government to their legislature. The world watched with anxious eyes, expecting Soviet tanks to roll into Poland preventing the new government from taking power.



Here, crews of German troops tear down the Berlin Wall. While many had taken axes and picks to the Wall upon the collapse of Communism in Germany in 1989, the official destruction of the Berlin Wall did not begin until June, 1990.

Demands for freedom soon spread to the Soviet Union. The BALTIC STATES of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declared independence. Talks of similar sentiments were heard in UKRAINE, the CAUCASUS, and the CENTRAL ASIAN states. Here Gorbachev wished to draw the line. Self-determination for Eastern Europe was one thing, but he intended to maintain the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union. In 1991, he proposed a Union Treaty, giving greater autonomy to the Soviet republics, while keeping them under central control.



The map charts the change from the single communist nation of the USSR into the confederation of smaller independent nations once dominated by Russia.

Gorbachev, however, refused to act.

Like dominoes, Eastern European communist dictatorships fell one by one. By the fall of 1989, East and West Germans were tearing down the BERLIN WALL with pickaxes. Communist regimes were ousted in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. On Christmas Day, the brutal Romanian dictator NICOLAE CEAUSESCU and his wife were summarily executed on live television. Yugoslavia threw off the yoke of communism only to dissolve quickly into a violent civil war.

²⁰⁹This work by The Independence Hall Association is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <http://www.ushistory.org/us/59e.asp>.

That summer, a coup by conservative hardliners took place. Gorbachev was placed under house arrest. Meanwhile, BORIS YELTSIN, the leader of the RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC, demanded the arrest of the hardliners. The army and the public sided with Yeltsin, and the coup failed. Though Gorbachev was freed, he was left with little legitimacy.

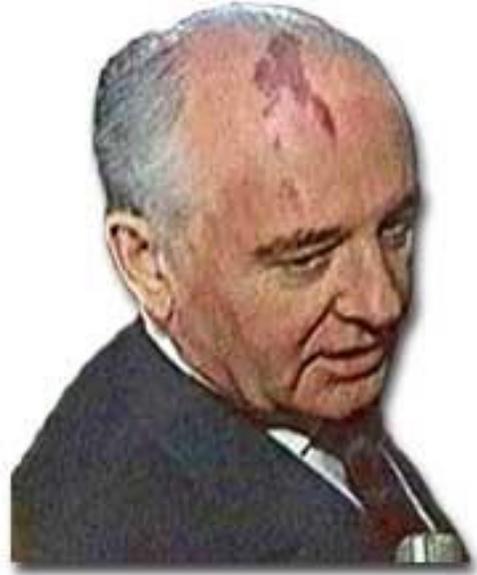
Nationalist leaders like Yeltsin were far more popular than he could hope to become. In December 1991, Ukraine, BYELORUSSIA, and RUSSIA itself declared independence and the Soviet Union was dissolved. Gorbachev was a president without a country.

Americans were pleasantly shocked, but shocked nonetheless at the turn of events in the Soviet bloc. No serious discourse on any diplomatic levels in the USSR addressed the likelihood of a Soviet collapse. Republicans were quick to claim credit for winning the Cold War. They believed the military spending policies of the Reagan-Bush years forced the Soviets to the brink of economic collapse. Democrats argued that containment of communism was a bipartisan policy for 45 years begun by the Democrat Harry Truman.

Others pointed out that no one really *won* the Cold War. The United States spent trillions of dollars arming themselves for a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union that fortunately never came. Regardless, thousands of American lives were lost waging proxy wars in Korea and Vietnam.

Most Americans found it difficult to get used to the idea of no Cold War. Since 1945, Americans were born into a Cold War culture that featured McCarthyist witchhunts, backyard bomb shelters, a space race, a missile crisis, détente, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the Star Wars defense proposal. Now the enemy was beaten, but the world remained unsafe. In many ways, facing one superpower was simpler than challenging dozens of rogue states and renegade groups sponsoring global terrorism.

Americans hoped against hope that the new world order of the 1990s would be marked with the security and prosperity to which they had become accustomed.



When Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power of the Soviet Union in 1985, he instituted the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in hopes of sparking a sluggish economy. What resulted from this taste of freedom was the revolution that ended the Cold War.

Unit Five Assessment

Description: Students participate in a [Socratic Seminar](#) around the unit claim question: “Is a nation defined by its foreign policy?”

Suggested Timeline: 1 class period

Student Directions: Participate in a [Socratic Seminar](#) in response to the question: Is a nation defined by its foreign policy? Use evidenced gathered from the unit and your knowledge of U.S. History to develop and support your answer. Take into consideration the following topics:

- Policies at the onset of the Cold War: Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, the Arm’s Race, and brinkmanship
- Policies of containment and the domino theory, and Cold War Proxy Wars (Korea and Vietnam)
- Social movements during the time of the Cold War: Civil Rights Movement, counterculture, Anti-Vietnam protests, and various other social movements
- Detente and the arms treaties
- Reagan, Gorbachev, and the end of the Cold War.

Resources:

- [Conversation Stems](#)
- [Socratic seminar one-pager](#)
- [discussion tracker](#)

Teacher Notes: In completing this task, students meet the expectations for social studies GLEs US.4.10, US.5.1-5, US.6.2-5, and US.1.1-3. They also meet the expectations for [ELA/Literacy Standards](#): RH.11-12.1, RH.11-12.2, RH.11-12.3, RH.11-12.9, RH.11-12.10, SL.11-12.1a-e, SL.11-12.2, SL.11-12.4, SL.11-12.6.

Possible guiding questions during the seminar:

1. How did the foreign policy post WWII, such as the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, define America as a major world power?
2. How did Cold War fears (nuclear strikes, etc.) define the nation?
3. How did the policies of containment and brinkmanship define America?
4. How did proxy wars (Korea and Vietnam) define America?
5. How did the foreign policy that led to the Vietnam War impact American lives at home?
6. How did world leaders and their foreign policies lead to the end of the Cold War?
7. What did the end of the Cold War mean for the American identity?

Use a [discussion tracker](#) to keep track of students’ contributions to the conversation and use this information to assign a grade to students.

Unit Six Overview

Description: Students explore the presidential administrations and their policies in the post-Cold War era, along with key events of U.S.-Middle East relations and their impacts on the U.S. economy and national security. Students also trace the roots of foreign and domestic terrorism, and how life in America has changed under the threat of terrorism. Students will use this information to make a claim on whether or not it's our domestic policy or the fear of terrorism that defines us more as Americans.

Suggested Timeline: 4 weeks

U.S. History Content	U.S. History Claims
Entering a New Era	What defines us as a modern nation: domestic policy or the threat of terror?

Topics (GLEs):

1. [Crisis and Conflicts: U.S.-Middle East Relations](#) (US.6.3-4, US.6.6)
2. [Presidential Administrations in the New Era](#) (US.6.1-2, US.6.4-5)

Unit Assessment: Students write an essay addressing the unit claim question: “What defines us as a modern nation: domestic policy or the threat of terror?”

Unit Six Instruction

Topic One: Crisis and Conflict: U.S.-Middle East Relations (US.6.3-4, US.6.6)

Connections to the unit claim: Students will explore the roots of terrorism in the post-Cold War world. They will explore the relationship between the U.S. and the Middle East, and the events that inform those relationships. They will investigate the causes of terrorism, or anti-Western extremist beliefs. Students will take what they learn in this topic, and compare it to what they learn about domestic policies in the next topic, and make a claim on whether terrorism or domestic policies are greater influences on the American identity in the modern era.

Suggested Timeline: 6 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [The Middle East, America, and Terror](#)

To explore these key questions:

- Are peace and stability in the Middle East vital to the U.S. economy and national security?
- Should the U.S. have fought a war against Iraq to liberate Kuwait?
- Where do anti-Western extremist ideologies originate from? From whom?
- What are the political purposes of domestic terrorist attacks?
- Should the U.S. have gone to war with Iraq in 2003?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students will complete the [U.S.-Middle East Relationships Graphic Organizer](#), outlining important events and their impacts on the U.S. economy and national security.
- Students write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task, “Should the U.S. have fought a war against Iraq to liberate Kuwait?”
- Students write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task, “Where do anti-Western extremist ideologies originate from? From whom?”
- Students write an essay answering the compelling question for the task, “Are peace and stability in the Middle East vital to the U.S. economy and national security?” Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment, and use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

US History Instructional Task: The Middle East, America, and Terror

Unit Six: Entering a New Era, Topic One: Crisis and Conflicts: U.S. - Middle East Relations

Description: Students investigate the events that form relationships between the U.S. and countries in the Middle East, as well as American foreign policy in the Middle East. Students will also explore the rise of terrorism, both foreign and domestic, and the reasons for anti-Western extremist beliefs.

Suggested Timeline: 7 class periods

Materials: U.S.-Middle East Relationships Graphic Organizer ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); [The Gulf War](#); [Political Map of the Middle East](#); [Interview with Tariq Aziz, Foreign Minister of Iraq](#); [Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf](#); [The Evolution of Islamic Terrorism, an overview](#); [9/11](#); [Osama bin Laden and 9/11](#); [Domestic Terrorism](#); [Going to War in Afghanistan and Iraq](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Post and read aloud the Unit 6 Claim question: “What defines us as a modern nation: domestic policy or the threat of terror?”
2. Say: “In our last unit in this course, we will explore and evaluate American foreign and domestic policy during the post-Cold War presidencies of George H.W. Bush, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama, and the events that influenced those policies. We will also explore the roots of U.S. involvement in the region of the Middle East, and how America’s foreign policy in the Middle East has changed over time. We will investigate the advent of terrorism - both foreign and domestic - and explore how the onset of terrorism in the lives of Americans has impacted the nation’s identity. We will use what we learn throughout this unit to make a claim on whether or not our domestic policies or living under the threat of terror define us more as a nation. First, we will start with an investigation on U.S. foreign relations in the Middle East and the rise of terrorism. Before we do that, let’s review what we already know about the relationship between the U.S. and the Middle East.”
3. Lead students in a review of Middle Eastern events previously learned about in this course by asking students to think back to previously taught units and name instances where the U.S. has been involved with Middle Eastern countries due to a conflict, or diplomatic efforts. Students should come up with the Suez crisis during the Eisenhower administration ([The Cold War Continues](#)), the oil embargo and the ensuing oil crisis/gas spikes during the Nixon administration ([Stagflation and the Oil Crisis](#)), The Camp David Accords between Israel and Egypt and the Iran Hostage Crisis during the Carter administration ([The Presidency of Jimmy Carter](#)), and the Iran-Contra affair during the Reagan administration ([The Iran-Contra Affair](#)). If students are struggling to recall any of the events, direct them to re-read previously read texts before discussing (in parenthesis).
4. Ask: “Considering the events we just brainstormed, are U.S. interests in the Middle East related more towards economics, national security, or promoting world peace and democracy?” Students should be able to state that the Suez Crisis and the Oil Crisis were actions taken, or the result of actions taken, to benefit U.S. economic interests, negotiations during the Iran hostage crisis were to promote national security, and the Camp David Accords and Iran-Contra affair were to promote world peace/democracy (however valid arguments can be made that both of those events were to promote U.S. economic interests and national security as well).
5. Say: “As we have seen thus far in our study of U.S. history, America’s interactions with the Middle East can be complicated, but can also be boiled down to promoting U.S. economic interests, national security, and promoting

world peace and democracy. In this task, we will further investigate interactions between the U.S. and Middle Eastern countries, including the advent of terrorism, and we will use the compelling question “Are peace and stability in the Middle East vital to the U.S. economy and national security?” to guide our inquiry.”

6. Throughout this task, students will complete the [U.S.-Middle East Relationships Graphic Organizer](#), and use their completed version to help them write their essay at the end of the task. Introduce the graphic organizer to students, and allow them time to complete the rows for the Suez Crisis, Oil Crisis, Iran Hostage Crisis, Camp David Accords, and the Iran-Contra affair.
7. After students have completed those sections of the graphic organizer, post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “Should the U.S. have fought a war against Iraq to liberate Kuwait?”
8. Say: “As the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union was becoming less of a threat, the Middle East became a source of increasing concern for the U.S. George H.W. Bush, Reagan’s vice president who also followed Reagan in the presidency, faced the first post-Cold War crisis in the Middle East - the Gulf War.”
9. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [The Gulf War](#)²¹⁰ and direct them to read independently. Provide students with the [Political Map of the Middle East](#)²¹¹ to reference while reading, as well as throughout the rest of the unit. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What were the reasons for Iraq to invade Kuwait?
 - b. Why would the U.S. support Iraq (by providing weapons) in its war against Iran?
 - c. What were the reasons for the U.S. to oppose the Iraqi takeover of Kuwait?
 - d. Explain the strategy behind the two phases of the Gulf War.
 - e. How did the Gulf War end? Why do you think the Iraqis set fire to hundreds of Kuwaiti oil wells?
 - f. Why do you think the UN coalition, or U.S. forces, didn’t try to remove Saddam Hussein from power after the end of the Gulf War? Do you think this was the right call?
10. After small group discussions, lead a class discussion around question f from the small group discussion.
11. Say: “We will now read excerpts from an interview conducted years after the Gulf War with Tariq Aziz, Iraq’s foreign minister during the Gulf War, and a speech by President George H.W. Bush announcing the attack on Iraq to the American public. Hearing both Aziz’s and Bush’s thoughts on the Gulf War will help us make an informed opinion and claim on our first supporting question in this task.”
12. Provide students access to [Interview with Tariq Aziz, Foreign Minister of Iraq](#)²¹², and direct them to read questions 1-14, 17, 20-21, 25, 31, 42-44, 47, 55, 57-60. **NOTE:** the questions in the transcript are not numbered, students or teacher will need to count. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions:
 - a. According to Aziz, why did Iraq invade Kuwait?
 - b. How does Aziz characterize President George H.W. Bush?
 - c. Why does Aziz think that the U.S. waged war against Iraq in the Gulf War?
 - d. What does Aziz’s account tell us about the perception of the U.S. in the Middle East? About the Arab perception of America’s support of Israel?

²¹⁰Article made available by Khan Academy, and can be found at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-us-history/period-9/apush-1990s-america/a/the-gulf-war>

²¹¹Created by Scholastic and available at http://teacher.scholastic.com/scholasticnews/magazines/assets/sn_ts_020211_map.html

²¹²Interview conducted as part of PBS Frontline’s series on the Gulf War. Provided by WGBH’s educational foundation, and available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/oral/aziz/1.html>

13. Provide students with access to [Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf](#)²¹³, and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following in small groups:
 - a. What reasons does President Bush give for the U.S. going to war against Saddam Hussein in Iraq and Kuwait?
 - b. How does Bush characterize Saddam Hussein?
 - c. Why does Bush believe Iraq invaded Kuwait? How is this similar and different to the reasons Aziz gave for Iraq's invasion of Kuwait?
14. After students have finished small group discussions, lead the class in a discussion comparing and contrasting Aziz's and Bush's accounts of the Gulf War. Possible questions include:
 - a. Do Aziz and Bush agree on the reasons the U.S. decided to fight the Gulf War? If not, how are they different?
 - b. Based on what you've learned so far, do you think the U.S. should have fought a war against Iraq to liberate Kuwait? How did the accounts of Bush and Aziz influence your opinion? What more would you like to know?
15. Allow students time to complete their [U.S.-Middle East Relationships Graphic Organizer](#) for the Gulf War.
16. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the first supporting question for the task, "Should the U.S. have fought a war against Iraq to liberate Kuwait?" Collect and grade for content accuracy.
17. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task, "Where do anti-Western extremist ideologies originate from? From whom?"
18. Say: "The Gulf War signaled that foreign policy in the United States was becoming more and more focused on the politics of the Middle East. In this part of the task, we will explore events related to U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East between and Gulf War and the 9/11 terrorist attacks. We will also investigate the rise of terrorism, and the reasons for anti-Western extremist ideologies. Before we start our exploration, it's important that we define the term terrorism."
19. Write the word *terrorism* on the board and read or project the following definition²¹⁴:
 - a. the use of violence and threats to intimidate or coerce, especially for political purposes.
20. Read aloud the [definition of terrorism](#) from the CIA.
21. Ask students: "What do these definitions have in common?"
22. Take notes for the class or annotate the definitions as students share their answers.
23. Direct students to explain the meaning of *terrorism* in their own words orally or in writing.
24. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students access to [The Evolution of Islamic Terrorism, an overview](#)²¹⁵ by John Moore, and direct students to only read the 1991-2001 section, and the Al-Qaeda definition. **NOTE:** before reading the article excerpts, read this [definition of the Taliban](#)²¹⁶ for students. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. How did the end of the Cold War influence the rise of terrorism?
 - b. Explain the relationship between the countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and terrorism.

²¹³George Bush: "Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf," January 16, 1991. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=19222>.

²¹⁴<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/terrorism?s=t>

²¹⁵Article written by John Moore and provided by PBS Frontline's series, Target America. Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/target/etc/modern.html>

²¹⁶<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/taliban>

- c. What is Al-Qaeda?
 - d. What is the relationship between the Taliban and Al-Qaeda?
 - e. How does instability in Afghanistan impact the U.S. national security?
25. After small group discussions, lead the class in a brief discussion around questions b and e from the small group discussions.
26. Say: “we will now explore events related to U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, using a timeline.”
27. Provide students with access to [Middle East Timeline of Events Related to U.S. Foreign Policy](#)²¹⁷, in either the interactive or text format (whatever the available technology supports). **NOTE:** while this section of the task will work best if students can access this timeline either individually or in small groups, if technology is not available, it is possible to replicate the following activity whole group with the interactive projected from a teacher’s computer.
28. Direct students to focus on events between August 1990 and September 2001. Allow students the opportunity to interact with the timeline by clicking through dates, reading additional articles related to events by using the “related links” button.
29. After students have explored the timeline, lead them in a class discussion around key events in the Middle East from the Gulf War through 9/11. Possible questions include:
- a. What international terrorist attacks were perpetrated against America during this time period? By whom?
 - b. How does the U.S. use military force in the Middle East during this time period?
 - c. How does the U.S. use trade sanctions in the Middle East during this time period?
 - d. How does the U.S. interact with Israel and Palestine during this time period?
30. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [9/11](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
- a. Who perpetrated the attacks on America on 9/11?
 - b. Explain the Bush Doctrine. How is this different than previous American foreign policy in the Middle East?
31. Conduct lessons 1-5 of [Osama bin Laden and 9/11](#)²¹⁸ by Toby Smith for the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, with the following modifications:
- a. Lessons 1-4 focus on reading and summarizing Osama bin Laden’s declaration of Jihad, and provide heavy teacher support. It is recommended that these lessons are condensed into one class period or less.
 - b. After students have finished reading and summarizing, it is recommended that the teacher lead the class in discussion on the ideas represented in Bin Laden’s declaration. Possible questions include:
 - i. Where do Osama Bin Laden’s anti-Western extremist ideologies originate from?
 - ii. Why did Bin Laden and his extremist al-Qaeda network dislike the U.S.?
 - iii. What reasons did Bin Laden give for carrying out terrorist activities against the U.S.?
 - iv. What were the underlying causes, according to Bin Laden’s “Declaration of Jihad against Americans,” for the terrorist attacks of 9/11?
 - c. In lesson 5, the summative assessment is optional, as students will complete a formative assessment (written paragraph on the 2nd supporting question for the task).

²¹⁷ Timeline provided by the PBS Global Connections: The Middle East series, and available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/globalconnections/mideast/timeline/text/quspolicy.html>

²¹⁸ Access to lessons and resources on Gilder Lehrman requires a free [Affiliate School account](#).

32. Say: “While international terrorism, specifically Islamic terrorism, dominated U.S. foreign policy, the time period after the Cold War also saw a rise in domestic terrorism.”
33. Provide students with [Domestic Terrorism](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following in small groups:
 - a. What were the political purposes of Timothy McVeigh’s terrorist attack?
 - b. How is Timothy McVeigh similar and different to Osama Bin Laden?
34. Direct students to write a paragraph answering the second supporting question for the task, “Where do anti-Western extremist ideologies originate from? From whom?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.
35. Allow students time to complete their [U.S.-Middle East Relationships Graphic Organizer](#) for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, and the 2001 9/11 attacks.
36. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Going to War in Afghanistan and Iraq](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following in small groups:
 - a. What reasoning was given for going to war in Afghanistan?
 - b. What reasoning was given for going to war in Iraq?
 - c. Do you think the 2003 War in Iraq (Operation Iraqi Freedom) was connected to the 1990 war with Iraq, the Gulf War? Why or why not?
 - d. Should the U.S. have gone to war with Iraq in 2003?
37. After small group discussions, lead a brief class discussion on question d from the small group discussions.
38. Allow students time to complete their [U.S.-Middle East Relationships Graphic Organizer](#) for the 2001 war in Afghanistan and the 2003 war in Iraq.
39. To conclude the task, direct students to write an essay answering the compelling question for the task, “Are peace and stability in the Middle East vital to the U.S. economy and national security?” Provide students with the [LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#). Use the [Social Studies Extended Response Rubric](#) to grade the essay. Note: customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

U.S. - Middle East Relationships Graphic Organizer

Event	Explanation of Event	Impact on U.S. economy	Impact on National Security
The Suez Canal Crisis (1956)			
The Oil Crisis (1973)			
Camp David Accords			
Iran Hostage Crisis (1979)			

Iran-Contra Affair (1986)			
The Gulf War (August 1990-February 1991)			
World Trade Center Bombing (1993)			
September 11th Attacks (2001)			

War in Afghanistan (2001)			
Operation Iraqi Freedom (2003)			

U.S. - Middle East Relationships Graphic Organizer (Completed)

Event	Explanation of Event	Impact on U.S. economy	Impact on National Security
The Suez Canal Crisis (1956)	When Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser sought to strengthen ties with the Soviets, the U.S. withdrew its pledge to help Nasser build the Aswan Dam. In retaliation, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, threatening oil transportation to Western nations.	The canal afforded Western countries access to Middle Eastern oil. With access to the canal threatened, Western countries access to oil is also threatened.	As a result of the Suez Crisis, President Eisenhower issued the Eisenhower doctrine which pledged American support to any governments fighting communist insurgencies in the Middle East.
The Oil Crisis (1973)	After President Nixon took the dollar off the gold standard, oil-rich nations in the Middle East were angry with the U.S. for devaluing the dollar (which was the currency used to purchase oil). In revenge, OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries), led by Saudi Arabia, announced an oil shipping embargo against the U.S. and other Israeli allies.	The price of oil shot up 387%, mile long lines formed at gas stations. Even after the embargo ended, prices for oil remained 33% higher than before.	With the U.S. consuming one third of the world's oil, Americans quickly discovered how dependent they were on affordable oil and gas.
Camp David Accords	President Carter brought Israel's Menachem Begin and Egypt's Anwar Sadat together at the presidential retreat in Maryland (Camp David) to negotiate accords which stipulated that Egypt would recognize the state of Israel in exchange for regaining control of the Sinai peninsula.	While the Camp David Accords may have had fringe effects on U.S. economic interests, the real impact of the accords were on creating more stability in the region.	Egypt recognizing Israel as a state created more stability in the region, and therefore less violence between Israel and Egypt. As a president deeply committed to human rights around the world, this was Carter's aim.
Iran Hostage Crisis (1979)	Iran experienced a revolution in 1979, where followers of Ayatollah	While the Shah was a dictator, he was friendly to Western interests.	While 14 hostages were released within a few months, 52 were kept over

	<p>Khomeini (a religious leader) overthrew the Shah of Iran, who was a Western friendly dictator installed with the help of the CIA in 1953. During the revolution, Iranian militants seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, taking 66 Americans hostage.</p>	<p>Ayatollah Khomeini and his followers would not protect U.S. interests in the same way, creating more tension between U.S. and Iran.</p>	<p>a year, with 8 American soldiers killed in a failed rescue attempt. Citizens taken as hostages created hostilities between the two nations, impacting national security.</p>
<p>Iran-Contra Affair (1986)</p>	<p>The Iran-Contra Affair involved a weapons-for-hostages exchange in which U.S. officials sold antitank missiles to Iran in exchange for Iran influencing Lebanon to free American hostages. The money gained from missile sales was then used to fund military support for the contras, an anti-communist insurgency fighting against a communist government in Nicaragua.</p>	<p>The largest impact of the Iran-Contra affair was on Americans' perceptions and mistrust of government, since Congress had placed an embargo on the sale of weapons to Iran and the deals were done in secret. Since the money gained from weapon sales was funneled to an anti-communist group, the economic benefit of the Iran-Contra affair would be in pursuing a Western friendly government in Nicaragua that would protect any U.S. interests there.</p>	<p>Since there were tensions between Iran and the U.S. after the Shah was overthrown in the Iranian Revolution, the argument can be made that selling Weapons to Iran could hurt U.S. national security, unless Iran was using those weapons to fight a common enemy. The U.S. could have seen arming the Contras as protecting national security by attempting to contain the spread of communism in Central America.</p>
<p>The Gulf War (August 1990-February 1991)</p>	<p>In August of 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait in a bid to gain more control over the lucrative oil supply of the Middle East. The U.S. declared war against Iraq and removed them from Kuwait in February of 1991.</p>	<p>If Iraq gained control of the Kuwait and Saudi Arabia oil (as the U.S. feared), he would have control over 20% of the world's oil and become the dominant oil power which would threaten U.S. interests in oil access and its economy</p>	<p>While the main reason for the Gulf War revolved around creating a balance of power in the middle east and not allowing Saddam Hussein to exert too much control over the oil reserves, and to protect human rights in Kuwait from Iraqi aggression, the threat of a powerful Iraqi nation with weapons of mass destruction could also threaten U.S. national security</p>

<p>World Trade Center Bombing (1993)</p>	<p>A bomb in a van parked in the underground garage of the World Trade Center in New York detonates killing six people. The attack is carried out by terrorists allegedly backed by Osama Bin Laden.</p>	<p>The 1993 WTC attack does not have an impact on the U.S. economy, but is perpetrated to retaliate on the U.S. for economic involvement in the Middle East.</p>	<p>A terrorist attack on U.S. soil strikes fear into the heart of Americans, and is a sign of the growing strength of international terrorists.</p>
<p>September 11th Attacks (2001)</p>	<p>Hijackers affiliated with Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda crash two planes into each tower of the World Trade Center in New York City, one into the Pentagon in DC, and a fourth plane, believed to be on course for the U.S. Capitol, crashed into an open field in Pennsylvania. The WTC towers collapse, and approximately 3,000 people were killed in the attacks.</p>	<p>The 9/11 attacks do not have an impact on the U.S. economy (although subsequent wars will), but is perpetrated to retaliate on the U.S. for economic and cultural involvement in the Middle East (as expressed by Osama Bin Laden's Declaration of Jihad).</p>	<p>The 9/11 attacks have huge implications on national security and set the course for much of U.S. foreign policy moving forward. The attacks resulted in two wars, one of which was a pre-emptory war in Iraq.</p>
<p>War in Afghanistan (2001)</p>	<p>In retaliation after the 9/11 attacks, the U.S. invaded Afghanistan (through bombing and ground troops) with the aim of removing the Taliban from power and capturing Osama Bin Laden. By November 2001, the Taliban had been ousted from power in Kabul, but Bin Laden had already escaped to Pakistan</p>	<p>The War in Afghanistan was fought more in retaliation of the 9/11 attacks rather than to protect U.S. economic interests.</p>	<p>Ousting the Taliban was seen as a necessary move to promote national security by eliminating a terrorist stronghold. However, the Taliban saw a resurgence as U.S. backed governments in Afghanistan could not gain control of the country and keep it free from terrorist groups.</p>
<p>Operation Iraqi Freedom (2003)</p>	<p>Under the belief that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), and that Saddam Hussein might be connected to Osama Bin Laden, the Bush administration pushed for a U.S. invasion of Iraq. While</p>	<p>While the stated goal of Operation Iraqi Freedom was to remove a brutal dictator who may be harboring terrorists (Saddam Hussein), much criticism is given to this Iraq war in that an underlying</p>	<p>While Operation Iraqi Freedom was undertaken on the basis of promoting national security, it can be argued that the war has made America less safe by destabilizing Iraq and making it a place conducive</p>

	Hussein was ousted quickly, Iraq devolved into a Civil War, and the U.S. war with Iraq continues today.	and unexpressed reason for entering into war was to depose a ruler who was not friendly to U.S. interests - economic and otherwise.	to terrorists who want to attack the West.
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9/11²¹⁹

Shortly after takeoff on the morning of September 11, 2001, teams of hijackers from the Islamist terrorist group al-Qaeda seized control of four American airliners. Two of the airplanes were flown into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in Lower Manhattan. Morning news programs that were filming the moments after the first impact, then assumed to be an accident, captured and aired live footage of the second plane, as it barreled into the other tower in a flash of fire and smoke. Less than two hours later, the heat from the crash and the explosion of jet fuel caused the upper floors of both buildings to collapse onto the lower floors, reducing both towers to smoldering rubble. The passengers and crew on both planes, as well as 2,606 people in the two buildings, all died, including 343 New York City firefighters who rushed in to save victims shortly before the towers collapsed.

The third hijacked plane was flown into the Pentagon building in northern Virginia, just outside Washington, DC, killing everyone on board and 125 people on the ground. The fourth plane, also heading towards Washington, crashed in a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, when passengers, aware of the other attacks, attempted to storm the cockpit and disarm the hijackers. Everyone on board was killed (Figure).

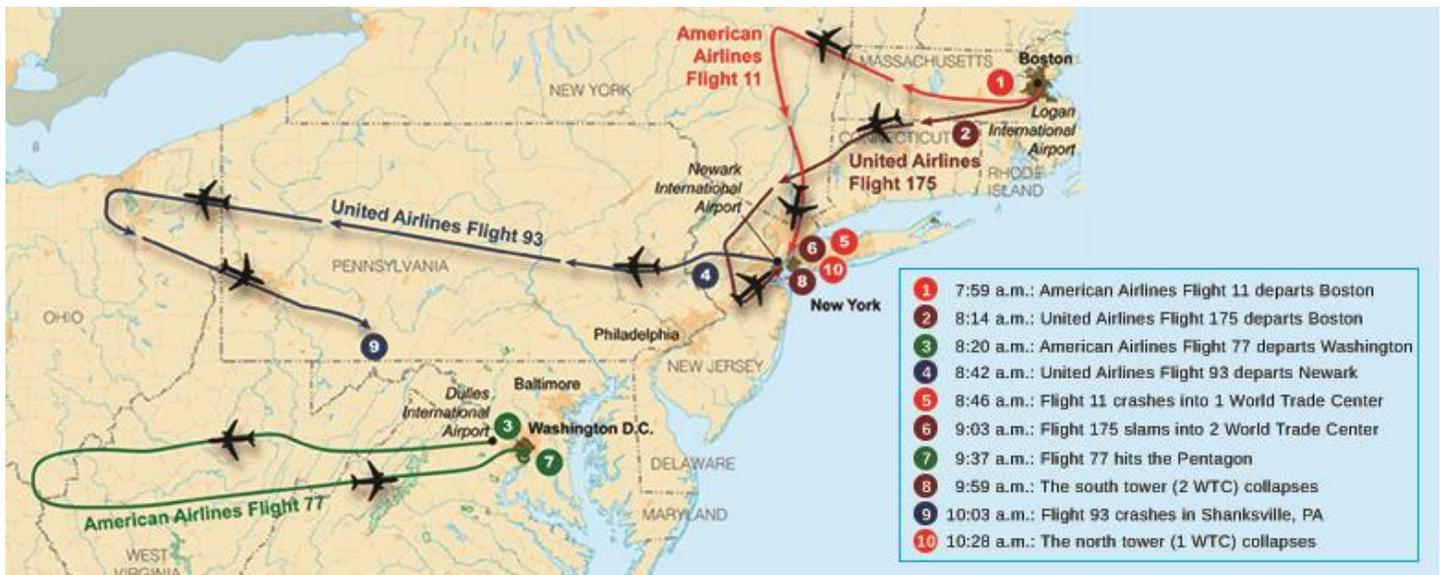


Figure 2. Three of the four airliners hijacked on September 11, 2001, reached their targets. United 93, presumably on its way to destroy either the Capitol or the White House, was brought down in a field after a struggle between the passengers and the hijackers.

That evening, President Bush promised the nation that those responsible for the attacks would be brought to justice. Three days later, Congress issued a joint resolution authorizing the president to use all means necessary against the individuals, organizations, or nations involved in the attacks. On September 20, in an address to a joint session of Congress, Bush declared war on terrorism, blamed al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden for the attacks, and demanded that the radical Islamic fundamentalists who ruled Afghanistan, the Taliban, turn bin Laden over or face attack by the United States. This speech encapsulated what became known as the Bush Doctrine, the belief that the United States has the

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right to protect itself from terrorist acts by engaging in pre-emptive wars or ousting hostile governments in favor of friendly, preferably democratic, regimes.

World leaders and millions of their citizens expressed support for the United States and condemned the deadly attacks. Russian president Vladimir Putin characterized them as a bold challenge to humanity itself. German chancellor Gerhard Schroder said the events of that day were “not only attacks on the people in the United States, our friends in America, but also against the entire civilized world, against our own freedom, against our own values, values which we share with the American people.” Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and a veteran of several bloody struggles against Israel, was dumbfounded by the news and announced to reporters in Gaza, “We completely condemn this very dangerous attack, and I convey my condolences to the American people, to the American president and to the American administration.”

Domestic Terrorism²²⁰

The fears of those who saw government as little more than a necessary evil appeared to be confirmed in the spring of 1993, when federal and state law enforcement authorities laid siege to the compound of a religious sect called the Branch Davidians near Waco, Texas. The group, which believed the end of world was approaching, was suspected of weapons violations and resisted search-and-arrest warrants with deadly force. A standoff developed that lasted nearly two months and was captured on television each day. A final assault on the compound was made on April 19, and seventy-six men, women, and children died in a fire probably set by members of the sect. Many others committed suicide or were killed by fellow sect members.

During the siege, many antigovernment and militia types came to satisfy their curiosity or show support for those inside. One was Timothy McVeigh, a former U.S. Army infantry soldier. McVeigh had served in Operation Desert Storm in Iraq, earning a bronze star, but he became disillusioned with the military and the government when he was deemed psychologically unfit for the Army Special Forces. He was convinced that the Branch Davidians were victims of government terrorism, and he and his coconspirator, Terry Nichols, determined to avenge them.

Two years later, on the anniversary of the day that the Waco compound burned to the ground, McVeigh parked a rented truck full of explosives in front of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City and blew it up (Figure). More than 600 people were injured in the attack and 168 died, including nineteen children at the daycare center inside. McVeigh hoped that his actions would spark a revolution against government control. He and Nichols were both arrested and tried, and McVeigh was executed on June 11, 2001, for the worst act of terrorism committed on American soil. Just a few months later, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 broke that dark record.



(a)



(b)

Figure 4. The remains of automobiles stand in front of the bombed federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995 (a). More than three hundred nearby buildings were damaged by the blast, an attack perpetrated at least partly to avenge the Waco siege (b) exactly two years earlier.

²²⁰ This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:tO_jgics@3/Bill-Clinton-and-the-New-Econo.

Going to War in Afghanistan and Iraq²²¹

When it became clear that the mastermind behind the attack was Osama bin Laden, a wealthy Saudi Arabian national who ran his terror network from Afghanistan, the full attention of the United States turned towards Central Asia and the Taliban. Bin Laden had deep roots in Afghanistan. Like many others from around the Islamic world, he had come to the country to oust the Soviet army, which invaded Afghanistan in 1979. Ironically, both bin Laden and the Taliban received material support from the United States at that time. By the late 1980s, the Soviets and the Americans had both left, although bin Laden, by that time the leader of his own terrorist organization, al-Qaeda, remained.

The Taliban refused to turn bin Laden over, and the United States began a bombing campaign in October, allying with the Afghan Northern Alliance, a coalition of tribal leaders opposed to the Taliban. U.S. air support was soon augmented by ground troops (Figure). By November 2001, the Taliban had been ousted from power in Afghanistan's capital of Kabul, but bin Laden and his followers had already escaped across the Afghan border to mountain sanctuaries in northern Pakistan.



Figure 3. Marines fight against Taliban forces in Helmand Province, Afghanistan. Helmand was a center of Taliban strength. (credit: "DVIDSHUB"/Flickr)

At the same time that the U.S. military was taking control of Afghanistan, the Bush administration was looking to a new and larger war with the country of Iraq. Relations between the United States and Iraq had been strained ever since the Gulf War a decade earlier. Economic sanctions imposed on Iraq by the United Nations, and American attempts to foster internal revolts against President Saddam Hussein's government, had further tainted the relationship. A faction within the Bush administration, sometimes labeled neoconservatives, believed Iraq's recalcitrance in the face of overwhelming U.S. military superiority represented a dangerous symbol to terrorist groups around the world, recently emboldened by the dramatic success of the al-Qaeda attacks in the United States. Powerful members of this faction, including Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, believed the time to strike Iraq and solve this

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festering problem was right then, in the wake of 9/11. Others, like Secretary of State Colin Powell, a highly respected veteran of the Vietnam War and former chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, were more cautious about initiating combat.

The more militant side won, and the argument for war was gradually laid out for the American people. The immediate impetus to the invasion, it argued, was the fear that Hussein was stockpiling weapons of mass destruction (WMDs): nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons capable of wreaking great havoc. Hussein had in fact used WMDs against Iranian forces during his war with Iran in the 1980s, and against the Kurds in northern Iraq in 1988—a time when the United States actively supported the Iraqi dictator. Following the Gulf War, inspectors from the United Nations Special Commission and International Atomic Energy Agency had in fact located and destroyed stockpiles of Iraqi weapons. Those arguing for a new Iraqi invasion insisted, however, that weapons still existed. President Bush himself told the nation in October 2002 that the United States was “facing clear evidence of peril, we cannot wait for the final proof—the smoking gun—that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud.” The head of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission, Hans Blix, dismissed these claims. Blix argued that while Saddam Hussein was not being entirely forthright, he did not appear to be in possession of WMDs. Despite Blix’s findings and his own earlier misgivings, Powell argued in 2003 before the United Nations General Assembly that Hussein had violated UN resolutions. Much of his evidence relied on secret information provided by an informant that was later proven to be false. On March 17, 2003, the United States cut off all relations with Iraq. Two days later, in a coalition with Great Britain, Australia, and Poland, the United States began “Operation Iraqi Freedom” with an invasion of Iraq.

Other arguments supporting the invasion noted the ease with which the operation could be accomplished. In February 2002, some in the Department of Defense were suggesting the war would be “a cakewalk.” In November, referencing the short and successful Gulf War of 1990–1991, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld told the American people it was absurd, as some were claiming, that the conflict would degenerate into a long, drawn-out quagmire. “Five days or five weeks or five months, but it certainly isn’t going to last any longer than that,” he insisted. “It won’t be a World War III.” And, just days before the start of combat operations in 2003, Vice President Cheney announced that U.S. forces would likely “be greeted as liberators,” and the war would be over in “weeks rather than months.”

Early in the conflict, these predictions seemed to be coming true. The march into Bagdad went fairly smoothly. Soon Americans back home were watching on television as U.S. soldiers and the Iraqi people worked together to topple statues of the deposed leader Hussein around the capital. The reality, however, was far more complex. While American deaths had been few, thousands of Iraqis had died, and the seeds of internal strife and resentment against the United States had been sown. The United States was not prepared for a long period of occupation; it was also not prepared for the inevitable problems of law and order, or for the violent sectarian conflicts that emerged. Thus, even though Bush proclaimed a U.S. victory in May 2003, on the deck of the USS *Abraham Lincoln* with the banner “Mission Accomplished” prominently displayed behind him, the celebration proved premature by more than seven years ([Figure](#)).



Figure 4. President Bush gives the victory symbol on the aircraft carrier USS *Abraham Lincoln* in May 2003, after American troops had completed the capture of Iraq's capitol Baghdad. Yet, by the time the United States finally withdrew its forces from Iraq in 2011, nearly five thousand U.S. soldiers had died.

Unit Six Instruction

Topic Two: Presidential Administrations in the New Era (US.6.1-2, US.6.4-5)

Connections to the unit claim: Students explore the domestic policies and administrations of the post-Cold War presidencies of George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush, and then explore trade policies and their impacts across administrations in the modern era. Using the information learned in this topic, students will be able to contrast the impact of domestic policy on the national identity with that of terrorism, and make a claim on whether or not domestic policies or the fear of terrorism defines us more as a nation.

Suggested Timeline: 13 class periods

Use this sample task:

- [Comparing Administrations in the Post-Cold War Era](#)
- [Trade in the Modern Era](#)

To explore these key questions:

- How does a president influence the national identity?
- Who has been better for the economy in the post-Cold War era, Democrats or Republicans?
- What impacts Americans more: economic policy or social policy?
- Which president had the biggest impact on the national identity: H.W. Bush, Clinton, or W. Bush?
- Is free trade worth the price?
- What are the arguments for free trade?
- What are the arguments against free trade?
- Why did the U.S. sign on to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)?
- Has NAFTA achieved its goals?

That students answer through this assessment:

- Students compare and contrast domestic policies of post-Cold War administrations by completing the [Comparing Presidential Administrations Graphic Organizer](#).
- Students will participate in a series of [philosophical chairs](#) debates comparing the three post-Cold War presidential administrations.
- Students write an extended paragraph (not a full essay, but more than a paragraph) answering the compelling question for the task, “how does a president influence the national identity?”
- Students create a T-Chart listing the arguments for and against free trade.
- Students will write a paragraph detailing three reasons why the U.S. signed on to NAFTA.
- Students will construct an argument (detailed outline, poster, or essay) that addresses the compelling question, “Is free trade worth the price?,” using specific claims and relevant evidence with information from contemporary sources.

US History Instructional Task: Comparing Administrations in the Post-Cold War Era

Unit Six: Entering a New Era, Topic Two: Presidential Administrations in the New Era

Description: Students will explore the administrations and policies of three post-Cold War presidencies: George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush. Students will participate in a philosophical chairs debate, comparing and contrasting the domestic policies of each presidency.

Suggested Timeline: 5 class periods

Materials: [Republicans Back in the White House](#); [Creating Conservative Policy](#); Comparing Presidential Administrations Graphic Organizer ([blank](#) and [completed](#)); [A Changing Domestic Landscape](#); [The AIDS Crisis, The War on Drugs, and the Road to Mass Incarceration](#); [Bill Clinton and the New Economy](#); [The Election of 2000](#); [George W. Bush: The Domestic Mission](#); [The Great Recession](#); [Obama Takes Office](#)

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “To have an informed response to our unit claim question for unit 6, we must also explore domestic policies in the modern age. In this task, we will look at the post-Cold War presidencies of George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush, and investigate challenges and key events faced by each administration, and the resulting domestic policies supported by each administration. We will use the compelling question, “how does a president influence the national identity?” to guide our inquiry. Before we explore each of these administrations, let’s rewind back to unit 5 and take a look at domestic policies and political trends at the end of the Cold War.”
2. Ask students to review what they know about Ronald Reagan. Students should be able to state important points of Reagan’s foreign policy as covered through the end of the Cold War (policies towards the USSR and diplomacy with Gorbachev, the Iran-Contra Affair, etc.) Tell students that there were many important domestic changes under Reagan that influenced American politics moving forward, and it’s important we understand Reagan’s domestic impact before exploring the post-Cold War presidencies.
3. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [Republicans Back in the White House](#) and direct them to read individually. After reading, direct students to discuss the following in small groups:
 - a. What is the coalition of the New Right, and what is its significance to Reagan’s election and the Republican Party?
 - b. Explain the theory of supply-side economics (also known as Reaganomics or trickle-down economics).
 - c. Do you think Reagan’s economic policies benefited most Americans? Why or why not?
4. Provide students with [Creating Conservative Policy](#) and direct them to read individually. After reading, direct students to discuss the following in small groups:
 - a. How did think tanks/policy advocacy groups impact Reagan’s presidential administration? Do we see evidence of this influence in today’s politics?
 - b. What is the Moral Majority? What was the impact of religious groups on politics? Do we see evidence of this influence in today’s politics?
5. After small group discussions, lead students in a brief class discussion on President Reagan’s legacy. Possible questions include:

- a. How did President Reagan influence the American identity? Think about his policies and the movements he supported/supported him.
- b. Do you see evidence of Reagan’s legacy on today’s politics?
6. Introduce the [Comparing Presidential Administrations Graphic Organizer](#) to students, and explain that at the end of the task, students will be participating in a [philosophical chairs](#) debate comparing policies of post-Cold War presidencies. The purpose of the graphic organizer is to help students prepare for that debate. After learning about each administration, students will have time to complete the graphic organizer for that administration.
7. Provide students with [A Changing Domestic Landscape](#), and them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following in small groups:
 - a. What is the significance of “Read My Lips - No New Taxes,” and why wasn’t Bush able to fulfill this promise?
 - b. What economic policies did Bush promote?
 - c. Was Bush more successful with domestic or foreign policy? Why?
 - d. How were Reagan and Bush different in their abilities to create conservative coalitions?
8. Say: “A changing cultural and political climate started during the Reagan years, but came to the forefront during the Bush years. We will now explore some of cultural and social shifts experienced by Americans in the late 80s and early 90s.”
9. Provide students with [The AIDS Crisis, The War on Drugs, and the Road to Mass Incarceration](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following in small groups:
 - a. Why do you think President Reagan was slow to respond to the AIDS crisis?
 - b. How is the war on drugs connected to mass incarceration?
 - c. Explain the connection between politics and the war on drugs/mass incarceration.
 - d.
10. After small group discussions, lead students in a brief class discussion on President H.W. Bush’s legacy. Possible questions include:
 - a. What were the signature domestic policies of President H.W. Bush?
 - b. Why did Bush have a difficult time navigating a changing domestic landscape?
 - c. How did the American identity change during the Bush administration? To what extent did Bush influence this change?
 - d. What is the legacy of President Bush?
11. Allow students time to complete the George H.W. Bush section of the [Comparing Presidential Administrations Graphic Organizer](#).
12. Provide students with [Bill Clinton and the New Economy](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. Explain Clinton’s economic policy.
 - b. What is NAFTA? What are the positives and negatives of the agreement?
 - c. How did the advent of new technologies (personal computers and the internet) impact the economic boom during the Clinton presidency?
 - d. Why did health care reform fail in 1993? Why do you think healthcare reform was eventually able to pass in 2010 (Affordable Care Act/Obamacare)?
 - e. Explain Clinton’s relationship with social issues - gay rights, women’s rights, and government support for those in poverty.

- f. Why was Clinton impeached? Why do you think his impeachment didn't have a big negative impact on his approval ratings?
13. After small group discussions, lead students in a brief class discussion on President Clinton's legacy. Possible questions include:
 - a. What were the signature domestic policies of President Clinton?
 - b. Why did Clinton remain so popular, despite his scandals and legislation on social issues that fell short of being progressive?
 - c. How did the American identity change during the Clinton administration? To what extent did Clinton influence this change?
 - d. What is the legacy of President Clinton?
14. Allow students time to complete the Bill Clinton section of the [Comparing Presidential Administrations Graphic Organizer](#).
15. Say: "We will now cross an important point in this course - we will begin to talk about a time period that most if not all of you were alive during! We will now discuss the presidency of the son of George H.W. Bush, George W. Bush. We will start by exploring the unique election of 2000."
16. Provide students with [The Election of 2000](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What is the legacy of the landmark Supreme Court case, Bush v. Gore?
 - b. Do you think the Supreme Court was right to halt the recount in Florida? Why or why not?
 - c. In what ways could the election of 2000 have changed the people's perception of government?
 - d. What were some long-term consequences of the 2000 election?
17. Say: "We have already explored the presidency of George W. Bush through the lense of the 9/11 attacks, but Bush campaigned on many domestic policies that took somewhat of a backseat after 9/11. In this section of the task we'll explore the domestic policies of the second Bush president."
18. Provide students with [George W. Bush: The Domestic Mission](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following in small groups:
 - a. Explain Bush's 2001 and 2003 tax cut plans.
 - b. What was the impact of Bush's supply-side (trickle down) economic policies on wealth inequality?
 - c. In promoting (and passing) the No Child Left Behind Act, Bush sought to counter what he called "the soft bigotry of low expectations." What is meant by this phrase, and how do you see its influence in the NCLB act?
 - d. How does (did) No Child Left Behind impact your life? What are some positives and negatives of the act?
 - e. What were the reasons for sinking approval ratings in Bush's 2nd term?
 - f. In what ways did Hurricane Katrina, and the government's response, change the people's perception of government?
19. Provide students with [The Great Recession](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What caused the recession in 2008?
 - b. What are the similarities and differences between subprime mortgages, and the speculation/buying on margin before the Great Depression?
 - c. How did the government (Congress, Treasury Secretary, Federal Reserve, and Bush administration) attempt to solve the Great Recession and avoid economic collapse?

- d. In what ways did TARP (Troubled Asset Relief Program) change the people’s perception of government?
20. After small group discussions, lead students in a brief class discussion on President George W. Bush’s legacy. Possible questions include:
- What were the signature domestic policies of President Bush?
 - At one point in his presidency Bush had a 90% approval rating, but he ended his presidency very unpopular. What caused this?
 - How did the American identity change during the Bush administration? To what extent did Bush influence this change?
 - What is the legacy of President Bush?
21. Allow students time to complete the George W. Bush section of the [Comparing Presidential Administrations Graphic Organizer](#).
22. Provide students with [Obama Takes Office](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
- Why do you think Obama’s campaign messages of “hope and change” took hold with a majority of Americans?
 - How did technological advances influence the campaign of 2008?
23. Students will now participate in a series of [philosophical chairs](#) debates comparing the three post-Cold War presidential administrations they’ve been studying. Use the following questions:
- Who has been better for the economy in the post-Cold War era, Democrats or Republicans?
 - What impacts Americans more: economic policy or social policy?
 - Which president had the biggest impact on the national identity: H.W. Bush, Clinton, or W. Bush?
24. To conclude the task, direct students to write an extended paragraph (not a full essay, but more than a paragraph) answering the compelling question for the task, “How does a president influence the national identity?” Collect and grade for content accuracy.

Republicans Back in the White House²²²

After two unsuccessful Republican primary bids in 1968 and 1976, Reagan won the presidency in 1980. His victory was the result of a combination of dissatisfaction with the presidential leadership of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter in the 1970s and the growth of the New Right. This group of conservative Americans included many very wealthy financial supporters and emerged in the wake of the social reforms and cultural changes of the 1960s and 1970s. Many were evangelical Christians, like those who joined Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, and opposed the legalization of abortion, the feminist movement, and sex education in public schools. Reagan also attracted people, often dubbed neoconservatives, who would not previously have voted for the same candidate as conservative Protestants did. Many were middle- and working-class people who resented the growth of federal and state governments, especially benefit programs, and the subsequent increase in taxes during the late 1960s and 1970s. They favored the tax revolts that swept the nation in the late 1970s under the leadership of predominantly older, white, middle-class Americans, which had succeeded in imposing radical reductions in local property and state income taxes.

Voter turnout reflected this new conservative swing, which not only swept Reagan into the White House but created a Republican majority in the Senate. Only 52 percent of eligible voters went to the polls in 1980, the lowest turnout for a presidential election since 1948. Those who did cast a ballot were older, whiter, and wealthier than those who did not vote (Figure). Strong support among white voters, those over forty-five years of age, and those with incomes over \$50,000 proved crucial for Reagan's victory.



Figure 3. Ronald Reagan campaigns for the presidency with his wife Nancy in South Carolina in 1980. Reagan won in all the Deep South states except Georgia, although he did not come from the South and his opponent Jimmy Carter did.

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REAGANOMICS

Reagan’s primary goal upon taking office was to stimulate the sagging economy while simultaneously cutting both government programs and taxes. His economic policies, called Reaganomics by the press, were based on a theory called supply-side economics, about which many economists were skeptical. Influenced by economist Arthur Laffer of the University of Southern California, Reagan cut income taxes for those at the top of the economic ladder, which was supposed to motivate the rich to invest in businesses, factories, and the stock market in anticipation of high returns. According to Laffer’s argument, this would eventually translate into more jobs further down the socioeconomic ladder. Economic growth would also increase the total tax revenue—even at a lower tax rate. In other words, proponents of “trickle-down economics” promised to cut taxes and balance the budget at the same time. Reaganomics also included the deregulation of industry and higher interest rates to control inflation, but these initiatives preceded Reagan and were conceived in the Carter administration.

Many politicians, including Republicans, were wary of Reagan’s economic program; even his eventual vice president, George H. W. Bush, had referred to it as “voodoo economics” when competing with him for the Republican presidential nomination. When Reagan proposed a 30 percent cut in taxes to be phased in over his first term in office, Congress balked. Opponents argued that the tax cuts would benefit the rich and not the poor, who needed help the most. In response, Reagan presented his plan directly to the people ([Figure](#)).

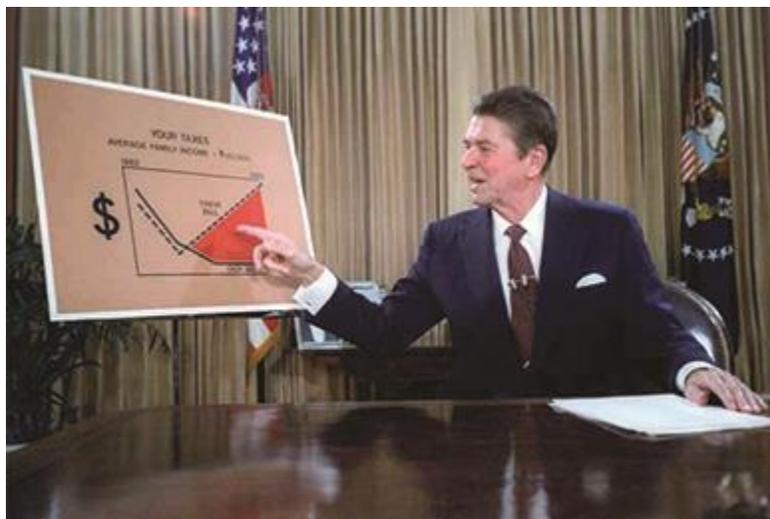


Figure 4. Ronald Reagan outlines his plan for tax reduction legislation in July 1981. Data suggest that the supply-side policies of the 1980s actually produced less investment, slightly slower growth, and a greater decline in wages than the non-supply side policies of the 1990s.

Reagan was an articulate spokesman for his political perspectives and was able to garner support for his policies. Often called “The Great Communicator,” he was noted for his ability, honed through years as an actor and spokesperson, to convey a mixture of folksy wisdom, empathy, and concern while taking humorous digs at his opponents. Indeed, listening to Reagan speak often felt like hearing a favorite uncle recall stories about the “good old days” before big government, expensive social programs, and greedy politicians destroyed the country ([Figure](#)). Americans found this rhetorical style extremely compelling. Public support for the plan, combined with a surge in the president’s popularity

after he survived an assassination attempt in March 1981, swayed Congress, including many Democrats. On July 29, 1981, Congress passed the Economic Recovery Tax Act, which phased in a 25 percent overall reduction in taxes over a period of three years.

Creating Conservative Policy²²³

Ronald Reagan’s popularity and effectiveness as a leader drew from his reputation as a man who fought for what he believed in. He was a very articulate spokesperson for a variety of political ideas based on conservative principles and perspectives. Much of the intellectual meat of the Reagan Revolution came from conservative think tanks (policy or advocacy groups) that specifically sought to shape American political and social dialogues. The Heritage Foundation, one such group, soon became the intellectual arm of the conservative movement.

Launched in 1973 with a \$250,000 contribution from Joseph Coors (of Coors Brewing Company) and support from a variety of corporations and conservative foundations, the Heritage Foundation sought to counteract what conservatives believed to be Richard Nixon’s acceptance of a liberal consensus on too many issues. In producing its policy position papers and political recommendations to conservative candidates and politicians, it helped contribute to a sanitization of U.S. history and a nostalgic glorification of what it deemed to be traditional values, seemingly threatened by the expansion of political and personal freedoms. The foundation had lent considerable support and encouragement to the conservative dialogues that helped carry Ronald Reagan into office in 1980. Just a year later, it produced a document entitled *Mandate for Leadership* that catalogued some two thousand specific recommendations on how to shrink the size and reach of the federal government and implement a more consistent conservative agenda. The newly elected Reagan administration looked favorably on the recommendations and recruited several of the paper’s authors to serve in the White House.

CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIANS AND FAMILY VALUES

Among the strongest supporters of Ronald Reagan’s campaign for president were members of the Religious Right, including Christian groups like the Moral Majority, 61 percent of whom voted for him. By 1980, evangelical Christians had become an important political and social force in the United States. Some thirteen hundred radio stations in the country were owned and operated by evangelicals. Christian television programs, such as Pat Robertson’s *The 700 Club* and Jim Bakker’s *The PTL (Praise the Lord) Club*, proved enormously popular and raised millions of dollars from viewer contributions. For some, evangelism was a business, but most conservative Christians were true believers who were convinced that premarital and extramarital sex, abortion, drug use, homosexuality, and “irreligious” forms of popular and high culture were responsible for a perceived decline in traditional family values that threatened American society.

Despite the support he received from Christian conservative and family values voters, Reagan was hardly an ideologue when it came to policy. Indeed, he was often quite careful in using hot button, family-value issues to his greatest political advantage. For example, as governor of California, one of the states that ratified the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in its first year, he positioned himself as a supporter of the amendment. When he launched his bid for the Republican nomination in 1976, however, he withdrew his support to gain the backing of more conservative members of his party. This move demonstrated both political savvy and foresight. At the time he withdrew his support, the Republican National Convention was still officially backing the amendment. However, in 1980, the party began to qualify

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its stance, which dovetailed with Reagan’s candidacy for the White House.

Reagan believed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was sufficient protection for women against discrimination. Once in office, he took a mostly neutral position, neither supporting nor working against the ERA. Nor did this middle position appear to hurt him at the polls; he attracted a significant number of votes from women in 1980, and in 1984, he polled 56 percent of the women’s vote compared to 44 percent for the Democratic ticket of Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro, the first female candidate for vice president from a major party.

Comparing Presidential Administrations Graphic Organizer

	George H.W. Bush	Bill Clinton	George W. Bush
Political Ideology			
Foreign Challenges		<p>We did not cover foreign challenges in class - Clinton saw the role of the U.S. military as the “global police,” and during his presidency the U.S. military intervened in humanitarian crises in Bosnia and Somalia, and brokered a peace process between the Israelis and Palestinians. Clinton was criticized for not intervening in the Rwandan genocide.</p>	
Domestic Challenges			
Signature Domestic Policies			

Key Events (related to the president, or occurring during his administration)			

Comparing Presidential Administrations Graphic Organizer (Completed)

	George H.W. Bush	Bill Clinton	George W. Bush
Political Ideology	Republican, moderately conservative. Was a fiscal conservative who wanted to shrink government and keep taxes low similar to Reagan, but was more moderate and pragmatic on social issues and had difficulty catering to social conservatives.	Democrat, fiscally moderate (favored free trade and deregulation, welfare reform, and higher taxes on the rich), but socially liberal (wanted to make good on traditional democratic commitments to the poor, minority groups, and women).	Republican, fiscally conservative (wanted to lower taxes, subscribed to supply side economics and believed corporate tax cuts would stimulate the economy), socially moderate (advocated for “compassionate conservatism” and supported some liberal policies, specifically in education.)
Foreign Challenges	The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Bush’s Gulf War was seen as a success, gaining him high approval ratings at home.	We did not cover foreign challenges in class - Clinton saw the role of the U.S. military as the “global police,” and during his presidency the U.S. military intervened in humanitarian crises in Bosnia and Somalia, and brokered a peace process between the Israelis and Palestinians. Clinton was criticized for not intervening in the Rwandan genocide.	9/11 terrorist attacks and the subsequent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan
Domestic Challenges	Trying to balance the budget, reduce the deficit, and keep taxes low all while waging a war and addressing social needs without wanting to increase social program spending (spending to address the war on drugs, the AIDS crisis, and the cost of mass incarceration).	Creating economic recovery after a recession. Helped by the tech boom, America saw huge economic success under Clinton’s policies. For 10 years, jobs increased and the deficit shrank. The budget deficit went from \$290 billion to a \$230 billion surplus.	Growing wage inequality (the richest gaining wealth and middle and lower income Americans staying stagnant or decreasing wealth), inept government response to disaster (Hurricane Katrina), and lax banking policies that led to the threat of economic collapse and the Great Recession.
Signature Domestic Policies	-Passing a budget bill after a govt shutdown that	-NAFTA: negotiated by Bush but ratified by Clinton.	-2001 and 2003 Tax Cuts: cut taxes across the board,

	<p>reduced the deficit and cut gov't spending, but also raised taxes.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Americans with Disabilities Act -promoted private citizens to address social ills ("thousand points of light.") 	<p>reduced tariffs and increased trade between the U.S., Canada, and Mexico.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -1993 budget bill: limited spending, cutting the budget to reduce the deficit, low interest rates, and diminished protectionist tariffs. Clinton's budget bill also raised taxes on the richest 1.2 percent of Americans, and lowered taxes for 15 million low income families. -don't ask don't tell: allowed for gay people to serve in the military as long as they were closeted. 	<p>but most benefit went to the wealthiest, left the budget unbalanced and increased the deficit.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -No Child Left Behind: sought to improve the education system in America by creating school accountability measures through testing, and consequences for schools who did not improve. NCLB also promoted charters and vouchers as ways for students to attend higher performing schools if their school was failing.
<p>Key Events (related to the president, or occurring during his administration)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The Gulf War -Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings and Anita Hill testimony 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Oklahoma City federal building bombing -Whitewater and sexual harassment scandals -Impeached for perjury 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -9/11 Terrorist Attacks -The start of the Great Recession

A Changing Domestic Landscape²²⁴

By nearly every measure, Operation Desert Storm was a resounding success. Through deft diplomatic efforts on the international stage, Bush had ensured that many around the world saw the action as legitimate. By making the goals of the military action both clear and limited, he also reassured an American public still skeptical of foreign entanglements. With the Soviet Union vanishing from the world stage, and the United States demonstrating the extent of its diplomatic influence and military potency with President Bush at the helm, his reelection seemed all but inevitable. Indeed, in March 1991, the president had an approval rating of 89 percent.

Despite Bush's successes internationally, the domestic situation at home was far more complicated. Unlike Reagan, Bush was not a natural culture warrior. Rather, he was a moderate, Connecticut-born Episcopalian, a pragmatic politician, and a life-long civil servant. He was not adept at catering to post-Reagan conservatives as his predecessor had been. By the same token, he appeared incapable of capitalizing on his history of moderation and pragmatism regarding women's rights and access to abortion. Together with a Democratic Senate, Bush broke new ground in civil rights with his support of the Americans with Disabilities Act, a far-reaching law that prohibited discrimination based on disability in public accommodations and by employers.

President Bush's weaknesses as a culture warrior were on full display during the controversy that erupted following his nomination of a new Supreme Court judge. In 1991, Justice Thurgood Marshall, the first African American ever to sit on the Supreme Court, opted to retire, thus opening a position on the court. Thinking he was doing the prudent thing by appealing to multiple interests, Bush nominated Clarence Thomas, another African American but also a strong social conservative. The decision to nominate Thomas, however, proved to be anything but prudent. During Thomas' confirmation hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Anita Hill, a lawyer who had worked for Thomas when he was chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), came forward with allegations that he had sexually harassed her when he was her supervisor. Thomas denied the accusations and referred to the televised hearings as a "high tech lynching." He survived the controversy and was appointed to the Supreme Court by a narrow Senate vote of fifty-two to forty-eight. Hill, also African American, noted later in frustration: "I had a gender, he had a race." In the aftermath, however, sexual harassment of women in the workplace gained public attention, and harassment complaints made to the EEOC increased 50 percent by the fall of 1992. The controversy also reflected poorly on President Bush and may have hurt him with female voters in 1992.

"NO NEW TAXES"

Confident they could win back the White House, Democrats mounted a campaign focused on more effective and competent government under the leadership of Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis. When George H. W. Bush, Reagan's vice president and Republican nominee, found himself down in the polls, political advisor Lee Atwater launched an aggressively negative media campaign, accusing Dukakis of being soft on crime and connecting his liberal policies to a brutal murder in Massachusetts. More importantly, Bush adopted a largely Reaganesque style on matters of economic policy, promising to shrink government and keep taxes low. These tactics were successful, and the Republican Party retained the White House.

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Although he promised to carry on Reagan’s economic legacy, the problems Bush inherited made it difficult to do so. Reagan’s policies of cutting taxes and increasing defense spending had exploded the federal budget deficit, making it three times larger in 1989 than when Reagan took office in 1980. Bush was further constrained by the emphatic pledge he had made at the 1988 Republican Convention—“read my lips: no new taxes”—and found himself in the difficult position of trying to balance the budget and reduce the deficit without breaking his promise. However, he also faced a Congress controlled by the Democrats, who wanted to raise taxes on the rich, while Republicans thought the government should drastically cut domestic spending. In October, after a brief government shutdown when Bush vetoed the budget Congress delivered, he and Congress reached a compromise with the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990. The budget included measures to reduce the deficit by both cutting government expenditures and raising taxes, effectively renegeing on the “no new taxes” pledge. These economic constraints are one reason why Bush supported a limited domestic agenda of education reform and antidrug efforts, relying on private volunteers and community organizations, which he referred to as “a thousand points of light,” to address most social problems.

When it came to foreign affairs, Bush’s attitude towards the Soviet Union differed little from Reagan’s. Bush sought to ease tensions with America’s rival superpower and stressed the need for peace and cooperation. The desire to avoid angering the Soviets led him to adopt a hands-off approach when, at the beginning of his term, a series of pro-democracy demonstrations broke out across the Communist Eastern Bloc.

The AIDS Crisis, The War on Drugs, and the Road to Mass Incarceration²²⁵

THE AIDS CRISIS

In the early 1980s, doctors noticed a disturbing trend: Young gay men in large cities, especially San Francisco and New York, were being diagnosed with, and eventually dying from, a rare cancer called Kaposi's sarcoma. Because the disease was seen almost exclusively in male homosexuals, it was quickly dubbed "gay cancer." Doctors soon realized it often coincided with other symptoms, including a rare form of pneumonia, and they renamed it "Gay Related Immune Deficiency" (GRID), although people other than gay men, primarily intravenous drug users, were dying from the disease as well. The connection between gay men and GRID—later renamed human immunodeficiency virus/autoimmune deficiency syndrome, or HIV/AIDS—led heterosexuals largely to ignore the growing health crisis in the gay community, wrongly assuming they were safe from its effects. The federal government also overlooked the disease, and calls for more money to research and find the cure were ignored.

Even after it became apparent that heterosexuals could contract the disease through blood transfusions and heterosexual intercourse, HIV/AIDS continued to be associated primarily with the gay community, especially by political and religious conservatives. Indeed, the Religious Right regarded it as a form of divine retribution meant to punish gay men for their "immoral" lifestyle. President Reagan, always politically careful, was reluctant to speak openly about the developing crisis even as thousands faced certain death from the disease.

With little help coming from the government, the gay community quickly began to organize its own response. In 1982, New York City men formed the Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC), a volunteer organization that operated an information hotline, provided counseling and legal assistance, and raised money for people with HIV/AIDS. Larry Kramer, one of the original members, left in 1983 and formed his own organization, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), in 1987. ACT UP took a more militant approach, holding demonstrations on Wall Street, outside the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), and inside the New York Stock Exchange to call attention and shame the government into action. One of the images adopted by the group, a pink triangle paired with the phrase "Silence = Death," captured media attention and quickly became the symbol of the AIDS crisis ([Figure](#)).

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Figure 3. The pink triangle was originally used in Nazi concentration camps to identify those there for acts of homosexuality. Reclaimed by gay activists in New York as a symbol of resistance and solidarity during the 1970s, it was further transformed as a symbol of governmental inaction in the face of the AIDS epidemic during the 1980s.

THE WAR ON DRUGS AND THE ROAD TO MASS INCARCERATION

As Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, violent crime in the United States was reaching an all-time high. While there were different reasons for the spike, the most important one was demographics: The primary category of offenders, males between the ages of sixteen and thirty-six, reached an all-time peak as the baby-boomer generation came of age. But the phenomenon that most politicians honed in on as a cause for violent crime was the abuse of a new, cheap drug dealt illegally on city streets. Crack cocaine, a smokable type of cocaine popular with poorer addicts, was hitting the streets in the 1980s, frightening middle-class Americans. Reagan and other conservatives led a campaign to “get tough on crime” and promised the nation a “war on drugs.” Initiatives like the “Just Say No” campaign led by First Lady Nancy Reagan implied that drug addiction and drug-related crime reflected personal morality.

Nixon had first used the term in 1971, but in the 1980s the “war on drugs” took on an ominous dimension, as politicians scrambled over each other to enact harsher sentences for drug offenses so they could market themselves as tough on crime. State after state switched from variable to mandatory minimum sentences that were exceedingly long and particularly harsh for street drug crimes. The federal government supported the trend with federal sentencing guidelines and additional funds for local law enforcement agencies. This law-and-order movement peaked in the 1990s, when California introduced a “three strikes” law that mandated life imprisonment without parole for any third felony conviction—even nonviolent ones. As a result, prisons became crowded, and states went deep into debt to build more. By the end of the century, the war began to die down as the public lost interest in the problem, the costs of the punishment binge became politically burdensome, and scholars and politicians began to advocate the decriminalization of drug use. By this time, however, hundreds of thousands of people had been incarcerated for drug offenses and the total number of prisoners in the nation had grown four-fold in the last quarter of the century. Particularly glaring were the racial inequities of the new age of mass incarceration, with African Americans being seven times more likely to be in prison ([Figure](#)).

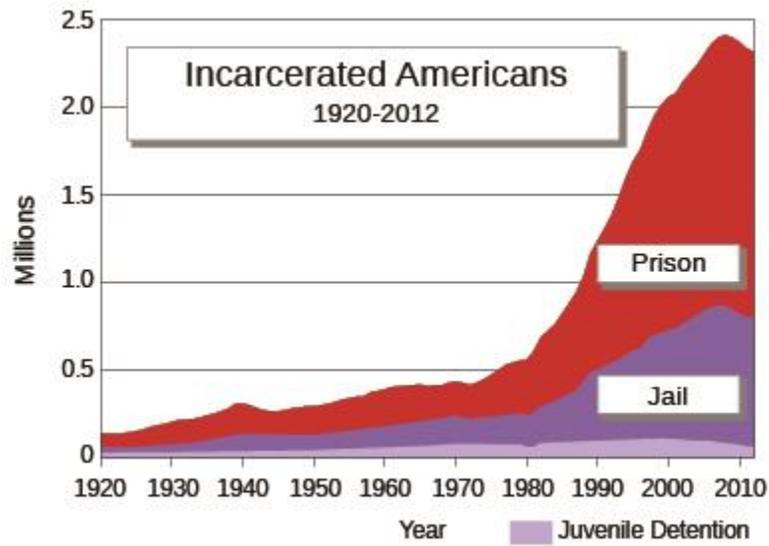


Figure 4. This graph of the number of people in jail, prison, and juvenile detention by decade in the United States shows the huge increase in incarceration during the war on drugs that began in the 1980s, during the Reagan administration. (Prisons are long-term state or federal facilities; jails are local, short-term facilities.)

Bill Clinton and the New Economy²²⁶

THE ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE

The contrast between George H. W. Bush and William Jefferson Clinton could not have been greater. Bill Clinton was a baby boomer born in 1946 in Hope, Arkansas. His biological father died in a car wreck three months before he was born. When he was a boy, his mother married Roger Clinton, an alcoholic who abused his family. However, despite a troubled home life, Clinton was an excellent student. He took an interest in politics from an early age. On a high school trip to Washington, DC, he met his political idol, President John F. Kennedy. As a student at Georgetown University, he supported both the civil rights and antiwar movements and ran for student council president.

In 1968, Clinton received a prestigious Rhodes scholarship to Oxford University. From Oxford he moved on to Yale, where he earned his law degree in 1973. He returned to Arkansas and became a professor at the University of Arkansas's law school. The following year, he tried his hand at state politics, running for Congress, and was narrowly defeated. In 1977, he became attorney general of Arkansas and was elected governor in 1978. Losing the office to his Republican opponent in 1980, he retook the governor's mansion in 1982 and remained governor of Arkansas until 1992, when he announced his candidacy for president.

During his campaign, Bill Clinton described himself as a New Democrat, a member of a faction of the Democratic Party that, like the Republicans, favored free trade and deregulation. He tried to appeal to the middle class by promising higher taxes on the rich and reform of the welfare system. Although Clinton garnered only 43 percent of the popular vote, he easily won in the Electoral College with 370 votes to President Bush's 188. Texas billionaire H. Ross Perot won 19 percent of the popular vote, the best showing by any third-party candidate since 1912. The Democrats took control of both houses of Congress.

"IT'S THE ECONOMY, STUPID"

Clinton took office towards the end of a recession. His administration's plans for fixing the economy included limiting spending and cutting the budget to reduce the nation's \$60 billion deficit, keeping interest rates low to encourage private investment, and eliminating protectionist tariffs. Clinton also hoped to improve employment opportunities by allocating more money for education. In his first term, he expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit, which lowered the tax obligations of working families who were just above the poverty line. Addressing the budget deficit, the Democrats in Congress passed the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993 without a single Republican vote. The act raised taxes for the top 1.2 percent of the American people, lowered them for fifteen million low-income families, and offered tax breaks to 90 percent of small businesses.

Clinton also strongly supported ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), a treaty that eliminated tariffs and trade restrictions among the United States, Canada, and Mexico. The treaty had been negotiated by the Bush administration, and the leaders of all three nations had signed it in December 1992. However, because of strong opposition from American labor unions and some in Congress who feared the loss of jobs to Mexico, the treaty had not been ratified by the time Clinton took office. To allay the concerns of unions, he added an agreement to protect workers and also one to protect the environment. Congress ratified NAFTA late in 1993. The result was the creation of the world's largest common market in terms of population, including some 425 million people.

During Clinton's administration, the nation began to experience the longest period of economic expansion in its history, almost ten consecutive years. Year after year, job growth increased and the deficit shrank. Increased tax revenue and

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budget cuts turned the annual national budget deficit from close to \$290 billion in 1992 to a record budget surplus of over \$230 billion in 2000. Reduced government borrowing freed up capital for private-sector use, and lower interest rates in turn fueled more growth. During the Clinton years, more people owned homes than ever before in the country's history (67.7 percent). Inflation dipped to 2.3 percent and the unemployment rate declined, reaching a thirty-year low of 3.9 percent in 2000.

Much of the prosperity of the 1990s was related to technological change and the advent of new information systems. In 1994, the Clinton administration became the first to launch an official White House website and join the revolution of the electronically mediated world. By the 1990s, a new world of instantaneous global exposure was at the fingertips of billions worldwide.

DOMESTIC ISSUES

In addition to shifting the Democratic Party to the moderate center on economic issues, Clinton tried to break new ground on a number of domestic issues and make good on traditional Democratic commitments to the disadvantaged, minority groups, and women. At the same time, he faced the challenge of domestic terrorism when a federal building in Oklahoma City was bombed, killing 168 people and injuring hundreds more.

Healthcare Reform

An important and popular part of Clinton's domestic agenda was healthcare reform that would make universal healthcare a reality. When the plan was announced in September of the president's first year in office, pollsters and commentators both assumed it would sail through. Many were unhappy with the way the system worked in the United States, where the cost of health insurance seemed increasingly unaffordable for the middle class. Clinton appointed his wife, Hillary Clinton, a Yale Law School graduate and accomplished attorney, to head his Task Force on National Health Care Reform in 1993. The 1,342-page Health Security Act presented to Congress that year sought to offer universal coverage. All Americans were to be covered by a healthcare plan that could not reject them based on pre-existing medical conditions. Employers would be required to provide healthcare for their employees. Limits would be placed on the amount that people would have to pay for services; the poor would not have to pay at all.

The outlook for the plan looked good in 1993; it had the support of a number of institutions like the American Medical Association and the Health Insurance Association of America. But in relatively short order, the political winds changed. As budget battles distracted the administration and the midterm elections of 1994 approached, Republicans began to recognize the strategic benefits of opposing reform. Soon they were mounting fierce opposition to the bill. Moderate conservatives dubbed the reform proposals "Hillarycare" and argued that the bill was an unwarranted expansion of the powers of the federal government that would interfere with people's ability to choose the healthcare provider they wanted. Those further to the right argued that healthcare reform was part of a larger and nefarious plot to control the public.

To rally Republican opposition to Clinton and the Democrats, Newt Gingrich and Richard "Dick" Armey, two of the leaders of the Republican minority in the House of Representatives, prepared a document entitled Contract with America, signed by all but two of the Republican representatives. It listed eight specific legislative reforms or initiatives the Republicans would enact if they gained a majority in Congress in the 1994 midterm elections.

Lacking support on both sides, the healthcare bill was never passed and died in Congress. The reform effort finally ended in September 1994. Dislike of the proposed healthcare plan on the part of conservatives and the bold strategy laid out in the Contract with America enabled the Republican Party to win seven Senate seats and fifty-two House seats in the November elections. The Republicans then used their power to push for conservative reforms. One such piece of

legislation was the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, signed into law in August 1996. The act set time limits on welfare benefits and required most recipients to begin working within two years of receiving assistance.

Don't Ask, Don't Tell

Although Clinton had campaigned as an economically conservative New Democrat, he was thought to be socially liberal and, just days after his victory in the 1992 election, he promised to end the fifty-year ban on gays and lesbians serving in the military. However, in January 1993, after taking the oath of office, Clinton amended his promise in order to appease conservatives. Instead of lifting the longstanding ban, the armed forces would adopt a policy of “don't ask, don't tell.” Those on active duty would not be asked their sexual orientation and, if they were gay, they were not to discuss their sexuality openly or they would be dismissed from military service. This compromise satisfied neither conservatives seeking the exclusion of gays nor the gay community, which argued that homosexuals, like heterosexuals, should be able to live without fear of retribution because of their sexuality.

Clinton again proved himself willing to appease political conservatives when he signed into law the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) in September 1996, after both houses of Congress had passed it with such wide margins that a presidential veto could easily be overridden. DOMA defined marriage as a heterosexual union and denied federal benefits to same-sex couples. It also allowed states to refuse to recognize same-sex marriages granted by other states. When Clinton signed the bill, he was personally opposed to same-sex marriage. Nevertheless, he disliked DOMA and later called for its repeal. He also later changed his position on same-sex marriage. On other social issues, however, Clinton was more liberal. He appointed openly gay and lesbian men and women to important positions in government and denounced discrimination against people with AIDS. He supported the idea of the ERA and believed that women should receive pay equal to that of men doing the same work. He opposed the use of racial quotas in employment, but he declared affirmative action programs to be necessary.

As a result of his economic successes and his moderate social policies, Clinton defeated Senator Robert Dole in the 1996 presidential election. With 49 percent of the popular vote and 379 electoral votes, he became the first Democrat to win reelection to the presidency since Franklin Roosevelt. Clinton's victory was partly due to a significant gender gap between the parties, with women tending to favor Democratic candidates. In 1992, Clinton won 45 percent of women's votes compared to Bush's 38 percent, and in 1996, he received 54 percent of women's votes while Dole won 38 percent.

IMPEACHMENT

Public attention was diverted from Clinton's foreign policing actions by a series of scandals that marked the last few years of his presidency. From the moment he entered national politics, his opponents had attempted to tie Clinton and his First Lady to a number of loosely defined improprieties, even accusing him of murdering his childhood friend and Deputy White House Counsel Vince Foster. One accusation the Clintons could not shake was of possible improper involvement in a failed real estate venture associated with the Whitewater Development Corporation in Arkansas in the 1970s and 1980s. Kenneth Starr, a former federal appeals court judge, was appointed to investigate the matter in August 1994.

While Starr was never able to prove any wrongdoing, he soon turned up other allegations and his investigative authority was expanded. In May 1994, Paula Jones, a former Arkansas state employee, filed a sexual harassment lawsuit against Bill Clinton. Starr's office began to investigate this case as well. When a federal court dismissed Jones's suit in 1998, her lawyers promptly appealed the decision and submitted a list of other alleged victims of Clinton's harassment. That list included the name of Monica Lewinsky, a young White House intern. Both Lewinsky and Clinton denied under oath that they had had a sexual relationship. The evidence, however, indicated otherwise, and Starr began to investigate the

possibility that Clinton had committed perjury. Again, Clinton denied any relationship and even went on national television to assure the American people that he had never had sexual relations with Lewinsky.

However, after receiving a promise of immunity, Lewinsky turned over to Starr evidence of her affair with Clinton, and the president admitted he had indeed had inappropriate relations with her. He nevertheless denied that he had lied under oath. In September, Starr reported to the House of Representatives that he believed Clinton had committed perjury. Voting along partisan lines, the Republican-dominated House of Representatives sent articles of impeachment to the Senate, charging Clinton with lying under oath and obstructing justice. In February 1998, the Senate voted forty-five to fifty-five on the perjury charge and fifty-fifty on obstruction of justice. Although acquitted, Clinton did become the first president to be found in contempt of court. Nevertheless, although he lost his law license, he remained a popular president and left office at the end of his second term with an approval rating of 66 percent, the highest of any U.S. president.

George W. Bush: The Domestic Mission²²⁷

The Republican Party platform for the 2000 election offered the American people an opportunity to once again test the rosy expectations of supply-side economics. In 2001, Bush and the Republicans pushed through a \$1.35 trillion tax cut by lowering tax rates across the board but reserving the largest cuts for those in the highest tax brackets. This was in the face of calls by Republicans for a balanced budget, which Bush insisted would happen when the so-called job creators expanded the economy by using their increased income to invest in business.

The cuts were controversial; the rich were getting richer while the middle and lower classes bore a proportionally larger share of the nation's tax burden. Between 1966 and 2001, one-half of the nation's income gained from increased productivity went to the top 0.01 percent of earners. By 2005, dramatic examples of income inequity were increasing; the chief executive of Wal-Mart earned \$15 million that year, roughly 950 times what the company's average associate made. The head of the construction company K. B. Homes made \$150 million, or four thousand times what the average construction worker earned that same year. Even as productivity climbed, workers' incomes stagnated; with a larger share of the wealth, the very rich further solidified their influence on public policy. Left with a smaller share of the economic pie, average workers had fewer resources to improve their lives or contribute to the nation's prosperity by, for example, educating themselves and their children.

Another gap that had been widening for years was the education gap. Some education researchers had argued that American students were being left behind. In 1983, a commission established by Ronald Reagan had published a sobering assessment of the American educational system entitled *A Nation at Risk*. The report argued that American students were more poorly educated than their peers in other countries, especially in areas such as math and science, and were thus unprepared to compete in the global marketplace. Furthermore, test scores revealed serious educational achievement gaps between white students and students of color. Touting himself as the "education president," Bush sought to introduce reforms that would close these gaps.

His administration offered two potential solutions to these problems. First, it sought to hold schools accountable for raising standards and enabling students to meet them. The No Child Left Behind Act, signed into law in January 2002, erected a system of testing to measure and ultimately improve student performance in reading and math at all schools that received federal funds ([Figure](#)). Schools whose students performed poorly on the tests would be labeled "in need of improvement." If poor performance continued, schools could face changes in curricula and teachers, or even the prospect of closure.

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Figure 1. President Bush signed the No Child Left Behind Act into law in January 2002. The act requires school systems to set high standards for students, place “highly qualified” teachers in the classroom, and give military recruiters contact information for students.

The second proposed solution was to give students the opportunity to attend schools with better performance records. Some of these might be charter schools, institutions funded by local tax monies in much the same way as public schools, but able to accept private donations and exempt from some of the rules public schools must follow. During the administration of George H. W. Bush, the development of charter schools had gathered momentum, and the American Federation of Teachers welcomed them as places to employ innovative teaching methods or offer specialized instruction in particular subjects. President George W. Bush now encouraged states to grant educational funding vouchers to parents, who could use them to pay for a private education for their children if they chose. These vouchers were funded by tax revenue that would otherwise have gone to public schools.

THE 2004 ELECTION AND BUSH’S SECOND TERM

In the wake of the 9/11 attacks, Americans had rallied around their president in a gesture of patriotic loyalty, giving Bush approval ratings of 90 percent. Even following the first few months of the Iraq war, his approval rating remained historically high at approximately 70 percent. But as the 2004 election approached, opposition to the war in Iraq began to grow. While Bush could boast of a number of achievements at home and abroad during his first term, the narrow victory he achieved in 2000 augured poorly for his chances for reelection in 2004 and a successful second term.

Reelection

As the 2004 campaign ramped up, the president was persistently dogged by rising criticism of the violence of the Iraq war and the fact that his administration’s claims of WMDs had been greatly overstated. In the end, no such weapons were ever found. These criticisms were amplified by growing international concern over the treatment of prisoners at the Guantanamo Bay detention camp and widespread disgust over the torture conducted by U.S. troops at the prison in Abu Ghraib, Iraq, which surfaced only months before the election ([Figure](#)).



(a)



(b)

Figure 2. The first twenty captives were processed at the Guantanamo Bay detention camp on January 11, 2002 (a). From late 2003 to early 2004, prisoners held in Abu Ghraib, Iraq, were tortured and humiliated in a variety of ways (b). U.S. soldiers jumped on and beat them, led them on leashes, made them pose naked, and urinated on them. The release of photographs of the abuse raised an outcry around the world and greatly diminished the already flagging support for American intervention in Iraq.

In March 2004, an ambush by Iraqi insurgents of a convoy of private military contractors from Blackwater USA in the town of Fallujah west of Baghdad, and the subsequent torture and mutilation of the four captured mercenaries, shocked the American public. But the event also highlighted the growing insurgency against U.S. occupation, the escalating sectarian conflict between the newly empowered Shia Muslims and the minority of the formerly ruling Sunni, and the escalating costs of a war involving a large number of private contractors that, by conservative estimates, approached \$1.7 trillion by 2013. Just as importantly, the American campaign in Iraq had diverted resources from the war against al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, where U.S. troops were no closer to capturing Osama bin Laden, the mastermind behind the 9/11 attacks.

With two hot wars overseas, one of which appeared to be spiraling out of control, the Democrats nominated a decorated Vietnam War veteran, Massachusetts Senator John Kerry ([Figure](#)), to challenge Bush for the presidency. As someone with combat experience, three Purple Hearts, and a foreign policy background, Kerry seemed like the right challenger in a time of war. But his record of support for the invasion of Iraq made his criticism of the incumbent less compelling and earned him the byname “Waffler” from Republicans. The Bush campaign also sought to characterize Kerry as an elitist out of touch with regular Americans—Kerry had studied overseas, spoke fluent French, and married a wealthy foreign-born heiress. Republican supporters also unleashed an attack on Kerry’s Vietnam War record, falsely claiming he had lied about his experience and fraudulently received his medals. Kerry’s reluctance to embrace his past leadership of Vietnam Veterans Against the War weakened the enthusiasm of antiwar Americans while opening him up to criticisms from veterans groups. This combination compromised the impact of his challenge to the incumbent in a time of war.



Figure 3. John Kerry served in the U.S. Navy during the Vietnam War and represented Massachusetts in the U.S. Senate from 1985 to 2013. Here he greets sailors from the USS *Sampson*. Kerry was sworn in as President Obama’s Secretary of State in 2013.

Urged by the Republican Party to “stay the course” with Bush, voters listened. Bush won another narrow victory, and the Republican Party did well overall, picking up four seats in the Senate and increasing its majority there to fifty-five. In the House, the Republican Party gained three seats, adding to its majority there as well. Across the nation, most governorships also went to Republicans, and Republicans dominated many state legislatures.

Despite a narrow win, the president made a bold declaration in his first news conference following the election. “I earned capital in this campaign, political capital, and now I intend to spend it.” The policies on which he chose to spend this political capital included the partial privatization of Social Security and new limits on court-awarded damages in medical malpractice lawsuits. In foreign affairs, Bush promised that the United States would work towards “ending tyranny in the world.” But at home and abroad, the president achieved few of his second-term goals. Instead, his second term in office became associated with the persistent challenge of pacifying Iraq, the failure of the homeland security apparatus during Hurricane Katrina, and the most severe economic crisis since the Great Depression.

The Great Recession²²⁸

For most Americans, the millennium had started with economic woes. In March 2001, the U.S. stock market had taken a sharp drop, and the ensuing recession triggered the loss of millions of jobs over the next two years. In response, the Federal Reserve Board cut interest rates to historic lows to encourage consumer spending. By 2002, the economy seemed to be stabilizing somewhat, but few of the manufacturing jobs lost were restored to the national economy. Instead, the “outsourcing” of jobs to China and India became an increasing concern, along with a surge in corporate scandals. After years of reaping tremendous profits in the deregulated energy markets, Houston-based Enron imploded in 2003 over allegations of massive accounting fraud. Its top executives, Ken Lay and Jeff Skilling, received long prison sentences, but their activities were illustrative of a larger trend in the nation’s corporate culture that embroiled reputable companies like JP Morgan Chase and the accounting firm Arthur Anderson. In 2003, Bernard Ebbers, the CEO of communications giant WorldCom, was discovered to have inflated his company’s assets by as much as \$11 billion, making it the largest accounting scandal in the nation’s history. Only five years later, however, Bernard Madoff’s Ponzi scheme would reveal even deeper cracks in the nation’s financial economy.

Banks Gone Wild

Notwithstanding economic growth in the 1990s and steadily increasing productivity, wages had remained largely flat relative to inflation since the end of the 1970s; despite the mild recovery, they remained so. To compensate, many consumers were buying on credit, and with interest rates low, financial institutions were eager to oblige them. By 2008, credit card debt had risen to over \$1 trillion. More importantly, banks were making high-risk, high-interest mortgage loans called subprime mortgages to consumers who often misunderstood their complex terms and lacked the ability to make the required payments.

These subprime loans had a devastating impact on the larger economy. In the past, a prospective home buyer went to a local bank for a mortgage loan. Because the bank expected to make a profit in the form of interest charged on the loan, it carefully vetted buyers for their ability to repay. Changes in finance and banking laws in the 1990s and early 2000s, however, allowed lending institutions to securitize their mortgage loans and sell them as bonds, thus separating the financial interests of the lender from the ability of the borrower to repay, and making highly risky loans more attractive to lenders. In other words, banks could afford to make bad loans, because they could sell them and not suffer the financial consequences when borrowers failed to repay.

Once they had purchased the loans, larger investment banks bundled them into huge packages known as collateralized debt obligations (CDOs) and sold them to investors around the world. Even though CDOs consisted of subprime mortgages, credit card debt, and other risky investments, credit ratings agencies had a financial incentive to rate them as very safe. Making matters worse, financial institutions created instruments called credit default swaps, which were essentially a form of insurance on investments. If the investment lost money, the investors would be compensated. This system, sometimes referred to as the securitization food chain, greatly swelled the housing loan market, especially the market for subprime mortgages, because these loans carried higher interest rates. The result was a housing bubble, in which the value of homes rose year after year based on the ease with which people now could buy them.

Banks Gone Broke

When the real estate market stalled after reaching a peak in 2007, the house of cards built by the country’s largest financial institutions came tumbling down. People began to default on their loans, and more than one hundred

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mortgage lenders went out of business. American International Group (AIG), a multinational insurance company that had insured many of the investments, faced collapse. Other large financial institutions, which had once been prevented by federal regulations from engaging in risky investment practices, found themselves in danger, as they either were besieged by demands for payment or found their demands on their own insurers unmet. The prestigious investment firm Lehman Brothers was completely wiped out in September 2008. Some endangered companies, like Wall Street giant Merrill Lynch, sold themselves to other financial institutions to survive. A financial panic ensued that revealed other fraudulent schemes built on CDOs. The biggest among them was a pyramid scheme organized by the New York financier Bernard Madoff, who had defrauded his investors by at least \$18 billion.

Realizing that the failure of major financial institutions could result in the collapse of the entire U.S. economy, the chairman of the Federal Reserve, Ben Bernanke, authorized a bailout of the Wall Street firm Bear Stearns, although months later, the financial services firm Lehman Brothers was allowed to file for the largest bankruptcy in the nation's history. Members of Congress met with Bernanke and Secretary of the Treasury Henry Paulson in September 2008, to find a way to head off the crisis. They agreed to use \$700 billion in federal funds to bail out the troubled institutions, and Congress subsequently passed the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act, creating the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP). One important element of this program was aid to the auto industry: The Bush administration responded to their appeal with an emergency loan of \$17.4 billion—to be executed by his successor after the November election—to stave off the industry's collapse.

The actions of the Federal Reserve, Congress, and the president prevented the complete disintegration of the nation's financial sector and warded off a scenario like that of the Great Depression. However, the bailouts could not prevent a severe recession in the U.S. and world economy. As people lost faith in the economy, stock prices fell by 45 percent. Unable to receive credit from now-wary banks, smaller businesses found that they could not pay suppliers or employees. With houses at record prices and growing economic uncertainty, people stopped buying new homes. As the value of homes decreased, owners were unable to borrow against them to pay off other obligations, such as credit card debt or car loans. More importantly, millions of homeowners who had expected to sell their houses at a profit and pay off their adjustable-rate mortgages were now stuck in houses with values shrinking below their purchasing price and forced to make mortgage payments they could no longer afford.

Without access to credit, consumer spending declined. Some European nations had suffered similar speculation bubbles in housing, but all had bought into the mortgage securities market and suffered the losses of assets, jobs, and demand as a result. International trade slowed, hurting many American businesses. As the Great Recession of 2008 deepened, the situation of ordinary citizens became worse. During the last four months of 2008, one million American workers lost their jobs, and during 2009, another three million found themselves out of work. Under such circumstances, many resented the expensive federal bailout of banks and investment firms. It seemed as if the wealthiest were being rescued by the taxpayer from the consequences of their imprudent and even corrupt practices.

Obama Takes Office²²⁹

Born in Hawaii in 1961 to a Kenyan father and an American woman from Kansas, Obama excelled at school, going on to attend Occidental College in Los Angeles, Columbia University, and finally Harvard Law School, where he became the first African American president of the *Harvard Law Review*. As part of his education, he also spent time in Chicago working as a community organizer to help those displaced by the decline of heavy industry in the early 1980s. Obama first came to national attention when he delivered the keynote address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention while running for his first term in the U.S. Senate. Just a couple of years later, he was running for president himself, the first African American nominee for the office from either major political party.

Obama's opponent in 2008 was John McCain, a Vietnam veteran and Republican senator with the reputation of a "maverick" who had occasionally broken ranks with his party to support bipartisan initiatives. The senator from Arizona faced a number of challenges. As the Republican nominee, he remained closely associated with the two disastrous foreign wars initiated under the Bush administration. His late recognition of the economic catastrophe on the eve of the election did not help matters and further damaged the Republican brand at the polls. At seventy-one, he also had to fight accusations that he was too old for the job, an impression made even more striking by his energetic young challenger. To minimize this weakness, McCain chose a young but inexperienced running mate, Governor Sarah Palin of Alaska. This tactic backfired, however, when a number of poor performances in television interviews convinced many voters that Palin was not prepared for higher office ([Figure](#)).



Figure 1. John McCain (on the far right) campaigns with his wife Cindy (in green), Sarah Palin (in black), and Palin's husband Todd. Palin was a controversial choice for running mate. The campaign never succeeded in erasing the charges that she was ignorant of foreign policy—an impression she enforced in her own ad-lib statements. (credit: Rachael Dickson)

Senator Obama, too, was criticized for his lack of experience with foreign policy, a deficit he remedied by choosing experienced politician Joseph Biden as his running mate. Unlike his Republican opponent, however, Obama offered promises of "hope and change." By sending out voter reminders on Twitter and connecting with supporters on Facebook, he was able to harness social media and take advantage of grassroots enthusiasm for his candidacy. His youthful vigor drew independents and first-time voters, and he won 95 percent of the African American vote and 44 percent of the white vote ([Figure](#)).

²²⁹ This work is licensed by Rice University under a [Creative Commons Attribution License \(by 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). The original work is available at <https://cnx.org/contents/p7ovulk1@3.84:A0PMfqs@4/Hope-and-Change>.



Figure 2. Barack Obama takes the oath of office as the forty-fourth president of the United States. Standing next to him is First Lady Michelle Obama. Like her husband, she graduated from Harvard Law School.

POLITICKING IN A NEW CENTURY

Barack Obama's campaign seemed to come out of nowhere to overcome the widely supported frontrunner Hillary Clinton in the Democratic primaries. Having won the nomination, Obama shot to the top with an exuberant base of youthful supporters who were encouraged and inspired by his appeal to hope and change. Behind the scenes, the Obama campaign was employing technological innovations and advances in social media to both inform and organize its base.

The Obama campaign realized early that the key to political success in the twenty-first century was to energize young voters by reaching them where they were: online. The organizing potential of platforms like Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter had never before been tapped—and they were free. The results were groundbreaking. Using these social media platforms, the Obama campaign became an organizing and fundraising machine of epic proportions. During his almost two-year-long campaign, Obama accepted 6.5 million donations, totaling \$500 million. The vast majority of online donations were less than \$100. This accomplishment stunned the political establishment, and they have been quick to adapt. Since 2008, nearly every political campaign has followed in Obama's footsteps, effecting a revolution in campaigning in the United States.

US History Instructional Task: Trade in the Modern Era

Unit Six: Entering a New Era, Topic Two: Presidential Administrations in the New Era

Description: Students investigate the reasons people trade, and the benefits and drawbacks of policies of free trade, specifically NAFTA. Students will engage in a trade simulation to understand motivations for protectionist and free trade measures, and students will also explore a variety of documents on NAFTA to determine if free trade is worth the price.

Suggested Timeline: 6 class periods

Materials: [Free Trade](#); [Why People Trade](#); [Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of 1930](#); [The Fruits of Free Trade](#); [Milton Friedman's 1978 Speech - Free Trade Versus Protectionism](#); [Our Misplaced Trust in Free Trade](#); [Joseph Stiglitz Free Trade interview - transcript excerpts](#); [Transcript Remarks from the NAFTA Signing Press Conference](#) ; [NAFTA's Economic Impact](#); [NPR's series 20 Years of NAFTA](#)

Instructional Process:

1. **NOTE:** *This task is modeled after the [Free Trade](#)²³⁰ inquiry based lesson from C3 Teachers*
2. "In our last task for this course, we will explore a topic that has been heavily debated throughout U.S. history, and is currently a hot topic of debate: trade. We will investigate free trade in comparison to protectionist trade policies of the past, in order to answer the compelling question for the task - is free trade worth the price? Before we start exploring trade policies, let's investigate what trade is and why people trade."
3. Conduct the trade simulation in the lesson [Why People Trade](#)²³¹ from the IMF Center's Thinking Globally curriculum.
4. After the simulation, read students the [first two paragraphs](#) for the definition of *tariff*. Direct students to define the term *tariff* in their own words to a partner. Ask students if they saw any evidence of tariffs being used in the simulation, and how tariffs may have affected trade (based on their experience in the simulation).
5. Project the following definition:
 - a. *free trade*: international trade free from protective duties, and subject only to such tariffs as are needed for revenue²³².
6. Ask students if they saw any evidence of free trade during the simulation, and how the lack of tariffs when trading affects trade (based on their experience in the simulation).
7. Say: "throughout U.S. History, trade policies have ranged from protectionist, wherein high tariffs are placed on foreign goods in order to make U.S. goods more competitive at home, and therefore benefit the producer, to policies of free trade. In recent years, the U.S. has supported free trade policies, such as NAFTA. In previous years, such as during the Great Depression, protectionist policies were favored."
8. Lead students in a review of the causes of the Great Depression. In addition to speculation and buying on margin in the stock market, students should also come up with overproduction in the agricultural sector. Review what

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²³¹ Lessons produced by the IMF Center and the National Council on Economic Education and available at <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/center/students/hs/think/lesson3.pdf>

²³² <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/free-trade?s=t>

happened to the price of U.S. agricultural goods due to overproduction, and how that impacted the lives of farmers.

9. Provide students with access to [Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of 1930](#)²³³ and direct them to read independently. After reading, lead students in a brief discussion on the rationale and impact of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff. Possible questions include:
 - a. Why were some people in favor of this protectionist trade policy?
 - b. What was the actual impact of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act?
 - c. Why do you think some people (and politicians) favor protectionist trade policies today? Why do some favor free trade policies?
10. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “What are the arguments for free trade?”
11. Tell students that they will be creating a T-Chart during this part of the task outlining the arguments for and against free trade made in the sources they will be exploring. Provide students with a piece of blank paper and direct them to make a T-Chart with one side labeled “arguments for free trade,” and the other side labeled “arguments against free trade.”
12. Divide students into small groups using an established classroom routine. Provide students with [The Fruits of Free Trade](#) and direct them to read individually. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What are the benefits of free trade, as outlined by this report?
 - b. As noted in Figure 13, why does the stock market “hate protectionism?”
 - c. What arguments for free trade are made in this report?
13. Provide students with [Milton Friedman's 1978 Speech - Free Trade Versus Protectionism](#) excerpt, and direct them to read individually. After reading, direct students to discuss the following questions in small groups:
 - a. What is the relationship between exports and imports, according to Friedman?
 - b. What arguments for free trade does Friedman make?
14. Lead students in a brief whole class discussion on the arguments for free trade. Possible questions include:
 - a. How does free trade benefit Americans? How does it benefit the rest of the world?
 - b. What are the arguments for free trade?
15. Allow students time to update their T-Chart with arguments for free trade.
16. Post and read aloud the second supporting question for the task: “What are the arguments against free trade?”
17. Provide students with the New York Times editorial [Our Misplaced Trust in Free Trade](#) by Jeff Madrick and direct them to read individually. After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
 - a. According to Mr. Madrick, what lessons from history can be learned about the impacts of free trade?
 - b. How does free trade create “winners and losers?”
 - c. How do you think Mr. Madrick would respond to Milton Friedman’s 1978 speech?
 - d. What arguments does Mr. Madrick make against free trade?
18. Provide students with the [Joseph Stiglitz Free Trade interview - transcript excerpts](#) and direct them to read independently. After reading, direct students to answer the following in small groups:
 - a. According to Stiglitz, why don’t we truly have free trade?
 - b. What arguments against free trade does Mr. Stiglitz make?
19. Lead students in a brief whole class discussion on the arguments against free trade. Possible questions include:

²³³ Written by the editors of Encyclopedia Britannica and available at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Smoot-Hawley-Tariff-Act>
Return to [U.S. History: How to Navigate This Document](#)

- a. How does free trade harm Americans? How does it harm the rest of the world?
 - b. What are the arguments against free trade?
20. Allow students time to update their T-Chart with arguments for free trade.
21. Post and read aloud the third supporting question for the task: “Why did the United States sign the North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA)?”
22. Provide students with [Transcript Remarks from the NAFTA Signing Press Conference](#) and direct them to read independently (**NOTE:** reading of this source can also be done using the [jigsaw](#) strategy with each group member reading one president/former president’s remarks, if the teacher would like to cut down on the length of reading). After reading, direct students to answer the following in small groups:
- a. What reasons does President Clinton give for wanting the U.S. to adopt NAFTA?
 - b. What reasons does each former president give for supporting the signing of NAFTA?
 - c. What do you think Mr. Madrick would say at this press conference if he was there and given a chance to speak?
23. Direct students to write a paragraph detailing three reasons why the U.S. signed on to NAFTA. Collect and grade for content accuracy.
24. Post and read aloud the fourth supporting question for the task: “Has NAFTA achieved its goals?”
25. Provide students with access to [NAFTA's Economic Impact](#)²³⁴ by James McBride and Mohammed Aly Sergie, and direct them to read the following sections: Introduction, How has NAFTA affected the U.S. Economy?, and What’s next for NAFTA? After reading, direct students to answer the following questions in small groups:
- a. What has been NAFTA’s effect on the U.S. GDP?
 - b. What has been NAFTA’s effect on jobs in the U.S.?
 - c. Does this report support or deny Mr. Madrick’s claim that there are winners and losers in NAFTA?
 - d. According to this report, has NAFTA achieved its goals?
26. Play a few audio clips from [NPR’s series 20 Years of NAFTA](#)²³⁵. Recommended clips: NAFTA Turns 20 To Mixed Reviews, What Has NAFTA Meant For Workers? That Debate is Still Raging, The Secret Protectionism Buried Inside NAFTA, and How NAFTA Drove the Auto Industry South. Direct students to take notes on evidence for or against NAFTA achieving its goals. After listening to the clips, lead students in a discussion on NAFTA’s overall effects. Suggested questions include:
- a. If free trade results in cheaper goods and a higher GDP for the U.S., but also results in the loss of jobs, is it worth it?
 - b. What should be done to support U.S. citizens who lose their jobs due to trade agreements, if anything?
 - c. Overall, has NAFTA achieved its goals? Why or why not?
27. To conclude the task, students should construct an argument through a detailed outline or poster (teachers may also choose to have students write an essay) that addresses the compelling question, “is free trade worth the price?” using specific claims and relevant information from contemporary sources. Collect and grade for content accuracy. Students’ arguments will likely vary, but could include any of the following:
- a. Whether a nation imposes trade restrictions or not, there are opportunity costs of either decision, and it is important to consider those costs.

²³⁴ Written by James McBride and Mohammed Aly Sergie for Council on Foreign Relations, last updated October 4th, 2017. available at <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/naftas-economic-impact>

²³⁵ Special Series created by NPR December 2013. Available at <https://www.npr.org/series/249998251/20-years-of-nafta>

- b. Most economists support unregulated trade because, in the end, most people will be better off, and that ought to be the goal of every society.
- c. Free trade is an unrealistic theory in a global world, so the government should look to regulate it with enlightened protectionist policies.
- d. When it comes to international trade, nations must look out for themselves, their industries, and their workforce, so if erecting barriers to trade will protect these interests, then a nation should strongly consider it.

The Fruits of Free Trade²³⁶

Trade is not invasion. It does not involve aggression on one side and resistance on the other, but mutual consent and gratification. There cannot be a trade unless the parties to it agree, any more than there can be a quarrel unless the parties to it differ. England, we say, forced trade with the outside world upon China, and the United States upon Japan. But, in both cases, what was done was not to force the people to trade, but to force their governments to let them. If the people had not wanted to trade, the opening of the ports would have been useless.

Civilized nations, however, do not use their armies and fleets to open one another's ports to trade. What they use their armies and fleets for, is, when they quarrel, to close one another's ports. And their effort then is to prevent the carrying in of things even more than the bringing out of things—importing rather than exporting. For a people can be more quickly injured by preventing them from getting things than by preventing them from sending things away. Trade does not require force. Free trade consists simply in letting people buy and sell as they want to buy and sell. It is protection that requires force, for it consists in preventing people from doing what they want to do. Protective tariffs are as much applications of force as are blockading squadrons, and their object is the same—to prevent trade. The difference between the two is that blockading squadrons are a means whereby nations seek to prevent their enemies from trading; protective tariffs are a means whereby nations attempt to prevent their own people from trading. What protection teaches us, is to do to ourselves in time of peace what enemies seek to do to us in time of war.

Can there be any greater misuse of language than to apply to commerce terms suggesting strife, and to talk of one nation invading, deluging, overwhelming or inundating another with goods? Goods! What are they but good things—things we are all glad to get? Is it not preposterous to talk of one nation forcing its good things upon another nation? Who individually would wish to be preserved from such invasion? Who would object to being inundated with all the dress goods his wife and daughters could want; deluged with a horse and buggy; overwhelmed with clothing, with groceries, with good cigars, fine pictures, or anything else that has value? And who would take it kindly if any one should assume to protect him by driving off those who wanted to bring him such things?

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²³⁶ This task is adapted from the [Is Free Trade Worth the Price?](#) task developed for the New York State Social Studies Resource Toolkit. The task is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](#), which allows for it to be shared and adapted as long as the user agrees to the terms of the license.

EXHIBIT 13. Protect and Destroy: The Lesson of Smoot–Hawley

The stock market hates protectionism. That lesson—perhaps the clearest history has ever taught—comes from the Smoot–Hawley Tariff Act of 1930. In the late 1920s farmers, whose economic fortunes had not kept pace with industrialists', lobbied Congress for tariffs on agricultural products. The proposed act had few political sponsors at first (two of the three major political parties opposed it), and the stock market ignored it.

But as word of the bill spread, more and more U.S. producers joined the bandwagon, arguing for tariffs to assist domestic industry or protect them from foreign competition. Smoot–Hawley eventually expanded to cover more than 20,000 items across the gamut of U.S. production, with rates practically prohibitive to trade. With so many political constituents now on board, the Progressive and Democratic parties jumped the fence and on October 28, 1929, joined the Old Guard Republicans in supporting the legislation. That day the stock market crashed, falling 12 percent.

In the months that followed, foreign governments filed 34 formal protests, and 1,028 economists petitioned President Hoover not to sign the bill. But he did, on June 17, 1930, and the Great Depression engulfed the nation. The Dow Jones Industrial Average fell from a daily high of 381 in September 1929 to a low of 41 in 1932 as world trade contracted from \$ 5.7 billion to just \$ 1.9 billion three and a half years later.

It was the most expensive lesson markets have ever taught: Protect and destroy.

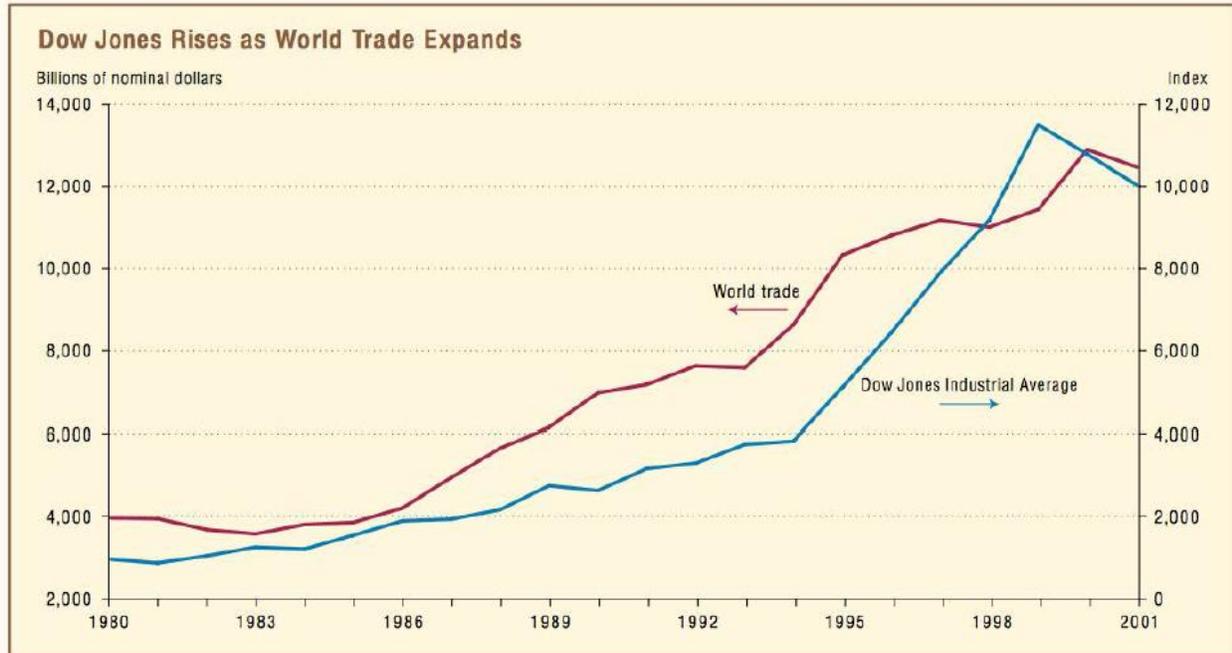


Dow Jones Falls as World Trade Contracts



EXHIBIT 14. Compete and Prosper: The Lesson of NAFTA and GATT

The passage of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the North American Free Trade Agreement and GATT's successor, the World Trade Organization, ushered in an era of freer trade that's been applauded by stock markets worldwide. Smoot-Hawley taught us trade's lesson the hard way—protect and destroy. Today, we're relearning it the right way—compete and prosper.



The entire report can be found online at <http://www.dallasfed.org/assets/documents/fed/annual/2002/ar02.pdf>.

Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, *The Fruits of Free Trade*. 2002 Annual Report. Used with permission.

Milton Friedman's 1978 Speech - Free Trade Versus Protectionism²³⁷

Transcribed Excerpt from the Lecture:

In the international trade area, the language is almost always about how we must export, and what's really good is an industry that produces exports. And if we buy from abroad and import, that's bad. But surely that's upside---down. What we send abroad we can't eat, we can't wear, we can't use for our houses. The goods and services we send abroad are goods and services not available to us. On the other hand, the goods and services we import, they provide us with TV sets we can watch, automobiles we can drive, with all sorts of nice things for us to use. The gain from foreign trade is what we import. What we export is the cost of getting those imports. And the proper objective for a nation as Adam Smith put it, is to arrange things so we get as large a volume of imports as possible, for as small a volume of exports as possible.

This carries over to the terminology we use. When people talk about a favorable balance of trade, what is that term taken to mean? It's taken to mean that we export more than we import. But from the point of view of our well---being, that's an unfavorable balance. That means we're sending out more goods and getting fewer in. Each of you in your private household would know better than that. You don't regard it as a favorable balance when you have to send out more goods to get less coming in. It's favorable when you can get more by sending out less.

The entire lecture can be found online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=urSe86zpLI4>.

²³⁷This task is adapted from the [Is Free Trade Worth the Price?](#) task developed for the New York State Social Studies Resource Toolkit. The task is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](#), which allows for it to be shared and adapted as long as the user agrees to the terms of the license.

Our Misplaced Trust in Free Trade²³⁸

Trade is one of the few areas on which mainstream economists firmly agree: More is better. But as the Obama administration pursues two huge new trade deals — one with countries in the Asia---Pacific region, the other with the European Union — Americans are skeptical. Only 17 percent believe that more trade leads to higher wages, according to a Pew Research Center survey released last month. Just 20 percent think trade creates jobs; 50 percent say it destroys them.

The skeptics are on to something. Free trade creates winners and losers — and American workers have been among the losers. Free trade has been a major (but not the only) factor behind the erosion in wages and job security among American workers. It has created tremendous prosperity — but mostly for those at the top.

Little wonder, then, that Americans, in another Pew survey, last winter, ranked protecting jobs as the second---most--- important goal for foreign policy, barely below protecting us from terrorism.

Many economists dismiss these attitudes as the griping of people on the losing end of globalization, but they would do better to look inward, at the flaws in their models and theories. Since the 1970s, economic orthodoxy has argued for low tariffs, free capital flows, elimination of industrial subsidies, deregulation of labor markets, balanced budgets and low inflation. This philosophy — later known as the Washington Consensus — was the basis of advice the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank gave to developing countries in return for financial help.

The irony is that during the Industrial Revolution, today's rich countries — Britain, France and the United States — pursued the very opposite policies: high tariffs, government investment in industry, financial regulations and fixed values for currencies. Trade expanded, and capital flowed anyway.

World War II changed everything. Tariffs were seen as having exacerbated the Depression, and inadequate globalization as one cause of the two world wars. So, through the late 1970s, the United States and Europe cut tariffs, though currencies were fixed and capital was still highly controlled. Astonishing American prosperity in the three decades after 1945 led economists to overestimate the impact of free trade. In reality, high growth in those years resulted from many factors: pent---up demand from the war; the Marshall Plan; Cold War military spending; investments in universities, highways and scientific research; and falling oil prices.

Starting in the 1970s, however, under the influence of free---market enthusiasts like Milton Friedman, economists urged further removal of barriers to trade and capital flows, hoping to turn the world into one highly efficient market, unobstructed by government.

The results were often disastrous. The lowering of protective tariffs did not lead to rapid growth in Latin America,

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which stagnated in the 1980s.

Mr. Friedman's acolytes also urged the reduction or elimination of capital controls — starting in the 1970s in the United States, and in the 1980s in Europe — along with lower tariffs. This, too, was ruinous. An exodus of short-term investments contributed to financial crises in East Asia, Russia, Argentina and Turkey in the mid-1990s, and to the collapse of the Long-Term Capital Management hedge fund in 1998 (a prelude to the 2008 crisis).

Though these mistakes were recognized, the World Trade Organization continued to push one-size-fits-all rules, premised more on ideology than experience, that hurt developing countries.

In 1995, it demanded that members substantially reduce subsidies for export industries. Imagine what would have happened if South Korea, Japan and Taiwan had had to follow this guidance; they became economic powerhouses in the 1960s and 1970s by nurturing their export sectors. (To join the W.T.O., in 2001, China was forced to slash industrial subsidies, but it resorted to currency manipulation to boost its export sector.)

Also that year, the W.T.O. adopted a rule obliging members to abide by rich nations' patent laws. (Never mind that Americans stole technologies from Europe throughout the 1800s.) These laws typically enabled investors in rich countries to reap substantial rewards, while poor nations like India were forced to pay the same price for patented drugs as the rich West, because they were not allowed to make generic substitutes.

But the consensus was flawed. Even free-trade advocates now admit that American wages have been reduced as a result of outsourcing, the erosion of manufacturing and an ever-increasing reliance on imports. Middle-income countries, meanwhile, have been blocked from adopting policies that might make them world-class competitors. Nations that have ignored the nostrums of the Washington Consensus — China, India and Brazil — have grown rapidly and raised their standards of living. Improvements in poverty and inequality occurred in Latin America only in the 2000s, after the I.M.F. and the World Bank reduced their grip on those nations.

Expanding global markets is a worthy goal, but history offers lessons that can lead to more constructive trade, capital and currency policies.

The first is that gradual reform is more effective than a sudden turn to free markets, deregulation and privatization. Shock therapy in Russia was a failure, and nations from Argentina to Thailand paid a dear price for liberalizing capital markets too quickly. The historical models of sustained growth are clear: gradual development of core industries; economic diversification; improvements in literacy and education, especially for women; slow, deliberate opening of capital markets; and the protection of labor from abusive pay and working conditions.

A second lesson is that nations should be left space for experimentation. Some spend too much on social programs, others too little; some need transportation infrastructure, others improved banking; some require literacy programs, others advanced education; some need to subsidize emerging industries, others to privatize bloated state industries; some need worker protections like unemployment insurance, others need labor mobility. Most have too few regulations to protect the environment, finance and consumers.

A third lesson is that models of growth that depend indefinitely on exports are not sustainable. The large imbalances in trade between China and the United States distort economies. The same is true of Germany's huge trade surpluses, which are based on a fixed euro and restrained domestic wages.

Finally — and this is especially true for rich nations — every free-trade agreement should come with a plan to strengthen the social safety net, through job training, help for displaced workers, and longer-term and higher unemployment benefits. Free-trade deals must also be accompanied by policies to stimulate growth through infrastructure investments, subsidies for clean energy and, perhaps, other industries, as well as loans to small businesses, and even wage subsidies.

Free trade has been a priority for the Obama administration, but Congress, wisely, has not given it “fast track” authority, as it gave Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, to negotiate new trade deals without its approval.

Any trans-Pacific agreement, its terms still a secret, should be discussed in the open with ample protection of worker rights and healthy debate over regulatory changes requested by developing countries or big business. A trade agreement with the European Union makes more sense, but the danger is that environmental, financial and product-safety regulations will be watered down to meet the demands of corporate interests.

Economists are correct that free trade need not be a zero-sum game. But the genuine gains in prosperity from free trade can be maximized, and broadly shared, only if the policy errors of the past 40 years are properly understood.

Jeff Medrick, “Our Misplaced Faith in Free Trade,” New York Times Sunday Review, October 3, 2014.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/04/opinion/sunday/our-misplaced-faith-in-free-trade.html>.

Joseph Stiglitz Free Trade interview - transcript excerpts²³⁹

JOSEPH STIGLITZ: We don't really have a free trade regime. Free trade would mean that you took away all barriers to trade, all impediments to a level playing field.

For instance, the United States and the European Union subsidize agriculture. That means that almost half of the income of produced in these countries comes from government subsidies; they don't just rely on the market. Free trade would be to rely on the market alone. Some might argue that they spend more money farming Washington than they do farming the land.

The problem is that developing countries, too poor to give subsidies, have to compete with this highly subsidized Western agriculture. So even if they were twice as efficient, they would have a hard time competing. But they have all kinds of other problems that would make it more difficult for them to take advantage of a free---trade regime, even if such existed. For example, you have to take your product to the port, put it on a ship to the United States where it can be sold. But if your roads don't exist, if your ports aren't very good, it's hard to export. Developing countries have a very weak infrastructure. So we say that they have internal barriers to trade as well as the artificial barriers to trade of tariffs and other artificial government---imposed trade impediments.

Trade negotiations lower the artificial barriers, but in the past they have done nothing about the internal barriers. Europe opened up its markets unilaterally to the least---developed countries about three or four years ago. They recognized that in the past, trade agreements had been totally unfair to developing countries and they said: "We care about those who are less fortunate than us. We give aid. Well, rather than just giving a handout, let's help them grow and let's open up our markets." So they took away their tariffs on most goods.

But very little trade resulted. Part of the problem was the technical provisions, but it also had to do with supply---side constraints—that they had neither the goods to produce, nor the infrastructure to deliver any goods to market. The result was very little increase in real trade.

The video of the entire interview can be found online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4rgj9EG5PS8>.

Reprinted with permission from Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Trade Full transcript available from the Carnegie Council website at <http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia/20060403/index.html>.

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Transcript Remarks from the NAFTA Signing Press Conference²⁴⁰

For Immediate Release September 14,
1993 REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON,
PRESIDENT BUSH, PRESIDENT CARTER, PRESIDENT FORD,
AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE
IN SIGNING OF NAFTA SIDE
AGREEMENTS
The East Room

10:39 A.M. EDT

VICE PRESIDENT GORE: Ladies and gentlemen, please be seated. We'd like to welcome all of you. President and Mrs. Ford, President and Mrs. Carter, President Bush, Mr. President, to the First Lady, to the Ambassador of Mexico, Mr. Montano, Ambassador Keegan of Canada, Ambassador Kantor....

There are some issues that transcend ideology. That is, the view is so uniform that it unites people in both parties. This means our country can pursue a bipartisan policy with continuity over the decades. That's how we won the Cold War. That's how we have promoted peace and reconciliation in the Middle East. And that's how the United States of America has promoted freer trade and bigger markets for our products and those of other nations throughout the world. NAFTA is such an issue....

We will, indeed, have much room for free debate during this controversy. That it is in our nation's best interest to ratify and pass this treaty cannot be left to doubt. The person who is leading the fight and who has marshaled support in both parties is the person it is my pleasure to introduce now. The President of the United States, Bill Clinton. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: ...It's an honor for me today to be joined by my predecessor, President Bush, who took the major steps in negotiating this North American Free Trade Agreement; President Jimmy Carter, whose vision of hemispherical development gives great energy to our efforts and has been a consistent theme of his for many, many years now; and President Ford who has argued as fiercely for expanded trade and for this agreement as any American citizen and whose counsel I continue to value....

Today we turn to face the challenge of our own hemisphere, our own country, our own economic fortunes. In a few moments, I will sign three agreements that will complete our negotiations with Mexico and Canada to create a North

²⁴⁰ This task is adapted from the [Is Free Trade Worth the Price?](#) task developed for the New York State Social Studies Resource Toolkit. The task is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](#), which allows for it to be shared and adapted as long as the user agrees to the terms of the license.

American Free Trade Agreement. In the coming months I will submit this pack to Congress for approval. It will be a hard fight, and I expect to be there with all of you every step of the way. (Applause.)

We will make our case as hard and as well as we can. And, though the fight will be difficult, I deeply believe we will win. And I'd like to tell you why. First of all, because NAFTA means jobs. American jobs, and good—paying American jobs. If I didn't believe that, I wouldn't support this agreement....

For two decades, the winds of global competition have made these things clear to any American with eyes to see. The only way we can recover the fortunes of the middle class in this country so that people who work harder and smarter can at least prosper more, the only way we can pass on the American Dream of the last 40 years to our children and their children for the next 40 is to adapt to the changes which are occurring.

In a fundamental sense, this debate about NAFTA is a debate about whether we will embrace these changes and create the jobs of tomorrow, or try to resist these changes, hoping we can preserve the economic structures of yesterday....

I believe that NAFTA will create 200,000 American jobs in the first two years of its effect. I believe if you look at the trends—and President Bush and I were talking about it this morning—starting about the time he was elected president, over one—third of our economic growth, and in some years over one—half of our net new jobs came directly from exports. And on average, those export—related jobs paid much higher than jobs that had no connection to exports.

I believe that NAFTA will create a million jobs in the first five years of its impact. And I believe that that is many more jobs than will be lost, as inevitably some will be as always happens when you open up the mix to a new range of competition.

NAFTA will generate these jobs by fostering an export boom to Mexico; by tearing down tariff walls which have been lowered quite a bit by the present administration of President Salinas, but are still higher than Americans.

Already Mexican consumers buy more per capita from the United States than other consumers in other nations. Most Americans don't know this, but the average Mexican citizen—even though wages are much lower in Mexico, the average Mexican citizen is now spending \$450 per year per person to buy American goods. That is more than the average Japanese, the average German, or the average Canadian buys; more than the average German, Swiss and Italian citizens put together.

So when people say that this trade agreement is just about how to move jobs to Mexico so nobody can make a living, how do they explain the fact that Mexicans keep buying more products made in America every year? Go out and tell the American people that. Mexican citizens with lower incomes spend more money—real dollars, not percentage of their income—more money on American products than Germans, Japanese, Canadians. That is a fact. And there will be more if they have more money to spend. That is what expanding trade is all about.

In 1987, Mexico exported \$5.7 billion more of products to the United States than they purchased from us. We had a trade deficit. Because of the free market, tariff---lowering policies of the Salinas government in Mexico, and because our people are becoming more export---oriented, that \$5.7---billion trade deficit has been turned into a \$5.4---billion trade surplus for the United States. It has created hundreds of thousands of jobs.

Even when you subtract the jobs that have moved into the Maquiladora areas, America is a net job winner in what has happened in trade in the last six years. When Mexico boosts its consumption of **petroleum products in Louisiana**, where we're going tomorrow to talk about NAFTA, as it did by about 200 percent in that period, Louisiana refinery workers gained job security. When Mexico purchased industrial machinery and computer equipment made in Illinois, that means more jobs. And guess what? In this same period, Mexico increased those purchases out of Illinois by 300 percent.

Forty---eight out of the 50 states have boosted exports to Mexico since 1987. That's one reason why 41 of our nation's 50 governors, some of them who are here today—and I thank them for their presence—support this trade pact. I can tell you, if you're a governor, people won't leave you in office unless they think you get up every day trying to create more jobs. They think that's what your job is if you're a governor. And the people who have the job of creating jobs for their state and working with their business community, working with their labor community, 41 out of the 50 have already embraced the NAFTA pact.

Many Americans are still worried that this agreement will move jobs south of the border because they've seen jobs move south of the border and because they know that there are still great differences in the wage rates. There have been 19 serious economic studies of NAFTA by liberals and conservatives alike; 18 of them have concluded that there will be no job loss.

Businesses do not choose to locate based solely on wages. If they did, Haiti and Bangladesh would have the largest number of manufacturing jobs in the world. Businesses do choose to locate based on the skills and productivity of the work force, the attitude of the government, the roads and railroads to deliver products, the availability of a market close enough to make the transportation costs meaningful, the communications networks necessary to support the enterprise. That is our strength, and it will continue to be our strength. As it becomes Mexico's strength and they generate more jobs, they will have higher incomes and they will buy more American products.

We can win this. This is not a time for defeatism. It is a time to look at an opportunity that is enormous.

Moreover, there are specific provisions in this agreement that remove some of the current incentives for people to move their jobs just across our border. For example, today Mexican law requires United States automakers who want to sell cars to Mexicans to build them in Mexico. This year we will export only 1,000 cars to Mexico.

Under NAFTA, the Big Three automakers expect to ship 60,000 cars to Mexico in the first year alone, and that is one reason why one of the automakers recently announced moving 1,000 jobs from Mexico back to Michigan.

In a few moments, I will sign side agreements to NAFTA that will make it harder than it is today for businesses to relocate solely because of very low wages or lax environmental rules. These side agreements will make a difference.

The environmental agreement will, for the first time ever, apply trade sanctions against any of the countries that fails to enforce its own environmental laws. I might say to those who say that's giving up of our sovereignty, for people who have been asking us to ask that of Mexico, how do we have the right to ask that of Mexico if we don't demand it of ourselves? It's nothing but fair.

This is the first time that there have ever been trade sanctions in the environmental law area. This ground--- breaking agreement is one of the reasons why major environmental groups, ranging from the Audubon Society to the Natural Resources Defense Council, are supporting NAFTA.

The second agreement ensures the Mexico enforces its laws in areas that include worker health and safety, child labor and the minimum wage. And I might say, this is the first time in the history of world trade agreements when any nation has ever been willing to tie its minimum wage to the growth in its own economy.

What does that mean? It means that there will be an even more rapid closing of the gap between our two wage rates. And as the benefits of economic growth are spread in Mexico to working people, what will happen? They'll have more disposable income to buy more American products and there will be less illegal immigration because more Mexicans will be able to support their children by staying home. This is a very important thing. (Applause.)

The third agreement answers one of the primary attacks on NAFTA that I heard for a year, which is, well, you can say all this, but something might happen that you can't foresee. Well, that's a good thing; otherwise we never would have had yesterday. (Laughter and applause.) I mean, I plead guilty to that. Something might happen that Carla Hills didn't foresee, or George Bush didn't foresee, or Mickey Kantor, or Bill Clinton didn't foresee. That's true.

Now, the third agreement protects our industries against unforeseen surges in exports from either one of our trading partners. And the flip side is also true. Economic change, as I said before, has often been cruel to the middle class, but we have to make change their friend. NAFTA will help to do that....

This agreement will create jobs, thanks to trade with our neighbors. That's reason enough to support it. But I must close with a couple of other points. NAFTA is essential to our long---term ability to compete with Asia and Europe. Across the globe our competitors are consolidating, creating huge trading blocks. This pact will create a free trade zone stretching from the Arctic to the tropics, the largest in the world—a \$6.5 billion market, with 370 million people. It will help our businesses to be both more efficient and to better compete with our rivals in other parts of the world.

This is also essential to our leadership in this hemisphere and the world. Having won the Cold War, we face the more subtle challenge of consolidating the victory of democracy and opportunity and freedom....

(NAFTA side agreements are signed.) (Applause.)

I'd like to ask now each of the presidents in their turn to come forward and make a statement, beginning with President Bush and going to President Carter and President Ford. And I will play musical chairs with their seats.

(Laughter and applause.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you very much. I thought that was a very eloquent statement by President Clinton, and now I understand why he's inside looking out and I'm outside looking in. (Laughter and applause.)...

You heard an eloquent statement by the President about jobs, and let me just say a word on another facet of this, which he also touched on.

Under Carlos Salinas, a truly courageous young leader, Mexico has changed. And they have moved on environmental matters and on labor matters. And they're working closely with us in the narcotics fight. They're good neighbors and they're good friends, and they're good partners. And on a wide array of fronts, Mexico's courageous young President has tangled with his own bureaucracy, taken on his own special interests. Moving to privatization, he's dramatically improved Mexico. And now the whole world—and President Clinton touched on this—particularly those countries south of the Rio Grande are watching and they're wondering if we're going to go through with this excellent agreement.

Other countries in South America want in, as the President said. And in my view, we should encourage similar deals with other countries because that just simply means more jobs for Americans.

Skeptics abound. Many are taking the cheap and easy way out on this one, appealing to demagoguery and to interests that are very, very special. There's been some longstanding feeling down below our border—oh, well, the United States will make a free trade agreement with Canada, but when it comes to Latin America, when it comes to Hispanics, see if they'll do the same thing for Latin countries. And if we fail, the losers will be those in South America, not just in Mexico who want better relations with us, and the biggest loser, of course, in my view, will be the good old USA.

Democracy is one the rise in this hemisphere, anti--- Americanism is waning, and I honestly believe democracy will be given a setback in those countries if we fail to pass this outstanding agreement. We must say to Mexico that we want you as equal trading partners, and that's good for both of us.

So let's not listen to those who are trying to scare the American people, those demagogues who appeal to the worst instincts that our special interest groups possess, let's do what is right and let's have enough confidence in ourselves, as the President just said, to pass this good agreement.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CARTER: ...Since I left the White House, which is a long time ago, we've spent a lot of time in Latin America. The Carter Center has special programs, one of which is to promote democracy. With my good friend, Gerald Ford, we went to Panama to try to bring both peace and democracy to that country. It finally came with the help of George Bush. We went into Nicaragua to try to hold an honest election and to replace a communist regime. We went to Haiti and to the Dominican Republic and, later on, to Guyana, and just recently to Paraguay. And just this month they've inaugurated a democratically---elected civilian to be the President of Paraguay.

The point is that there is a wave of democracy brought about by the strong U.S. human rights policy that is indeed inspirational to us and is very beneficial to those of us who live in the United States.

We haven't made any progress on Cuba. And Mexico has a long way to go to have a truly honest democratic election. But I think the single most important factor that will democracy and honest elections to our next---door neighbor is to have NAFTA approved and implemented. If this is done, then I believe that we will have rich dividends for our own country.

I'm not going to go into detail about how this will be done. I think you can see it clearly. And I'll get to that in just a few minutes. The two most rapidly growing trade areas in the world are Asia and Latin America. Asia is rapidly growing because their exports to us are increasing. Latin America is rapidly growing because our exports to them are increasing. It's obvious to everyone who looks at this rationally that it's much better to have democracy, freedom and eager markets for American products among our next---door neighbors, who have always looked to the United States with intense interest, far exceeding what I even realized when I was President—sometimes with trepidation, sometimes with admiration, and sometimes with confidence....

President Bush obviously started the NAFTA agreement, a very superb achievement for him. There were some honest problems with it. I called Bill Clinton only three times during his administration—during his campaign. I was for him from the beginning. It's the first time I ever said this publicly, but I'm proud of it. (Laughter.) Because I've tried to stay neutral, you know, within the Democratic Party, but Rosalynn and I were for Bill. I called him three times. One of those times was when I feared that he might make a public statement denouncing the North American Free Trade Agreement. And he said, okay, I will be for it, but with provisos. We've got to do something about labor, to protect the working people of our country, and we've got to do something about the environment. That has now been done. The side agreements have alleviated the serious questions that did arise about NAFTA. That's been done.

Finally, let me say that in a time like this with an earth---shaking change in international relations confronting us, there are those who doubt the ability, or even the integrity of government. That exists, I guess, in all countries and in ours as well. And there are those who are uncertain about the future and doubtful about their own jobs. ...

PRESIDENT FORD: It's a very, very high honor and a very great privilege for me to have the opportunity to follow each of the former Presidents and President Clinton to indicate my very strong affirmative endorsement of the NAFTA Agreement. I will not repeat what each one of them have said—they've done it eloquently and convincingly—but I'm old enough and have been around this town long enough to remember some things that ought to be put on the table.

Right after World War II, there was a tremendous effort by Democratic presidents, Republican presidents, Democratic congresses and Republican congresses to pass what we then called reciprocal trade legislation. And the aim and objective, as Lloyd Bentsen well knows, was to undo the stupidity of what had been done in 1930 and '31 by the then---Congress of the United States to pass what they called the Smoot--- Hawley Tariff Act, which raised tariffs all around the United States to prevent any imports. And the net result was, we, the United States, could not sell abroad.

And in order to undo that very unwise decision back in '30 and '31, Republicans and Democrats, the White House and Return to [U.S. History: How to Navigate This Document](#)

the Congress strongly supported the kind of legislation that has led to tremendous expansion of trade on a global basis.

I don't recall the statistical data, but the truth is that world trade has been the real engine that has given the free Western industrial nations the capacity to have prosperity and growth.

In my judgment, NAFTA is a follow---on to what was done in the post---World War II period to undertake a new global effort. And the consequence of NAFTA, as has been pointed out by my predecessors, is vitally important not only for the United States, this hemisphere, and the globe, but it's important primarily for jobs that are going to be built here in the United States. Our exports will expand tremendously, as the President has pointed out.

And then let's look at what has happened in our neighbor to the south. A few of us can remember five, six years ago when we were deeply concerned with Mexico's \$100---billion foreign debt, how was that going to be resolved. We were worried about runaway inflation in Mexico, over 100 percent. We were concerned about the instability of government in our good neighbor to the south.

In my judgment, President Salinas has done a fantastic job. You no longer hear about their foreign debt. They've privatized banks, airlines, et cetera. They've reduced inflation from 100 percent to less than 10 percent. Mexico is a growing, thriving neighbor, and we should be happy.

I fear very strongly that if NAFTA is defeated it could have serious political and economic ramifications in Mexico. Under Salinas, jobs are growing, wages are going up. Mexicans want to stay in Mexico and work in Mexico.

I read the other day a prominent Mexican political leader said, pass NAFTA and we will have jobs for Mexicans in Mexico. Defeat NAFTA and there will be a tremendous flow of Mexicans to the United States wanting jobs in the United States. We don't want that. We want Mexicans to stay in Mexico so they can work in their home country. We don't want a huge flow of illegal immigrants into the United States from Mexico.

And I say with all respect to my former members of the House and the Congress, don't gamble. If you defeat NAFTA, if you defeat NAFTA, you have to share the responsibility for increased immigration to the United States, where they want jobs that are presently being held by Americans. It's that cold---blooded and practical. And members of the House and Senate ought to understand that.

I think it's a matter of tremendous importance for NAFTA to be approved so we can solidify 370 million people in all of Western society. So we can have growth, prosperity, jobs from the Arctic to the Antarctic. And I applaud those— President Bush, Carla Hills and her associate, President Clinton, Mickey Kantor and his—for bringing before this country an opportunity for future prosperity and good living for people in this entire hemisphere.

We can't afford to make the stupid, serious mistake that was made in the 1930s and 1931 with the passage of legislation that tried to put a protective ring around the United States with high tariffs and high tariff barriers. So I hope and trust that the Congress, the House and Senate, will respond affirmatively. It's good for the United States.

It's good for our people in the Western Hemisphere.

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And I'm pleased to be here this morning to join President Clinton and his associates on this occasion. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 11:33 A.M. EDT

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<http://clinton6.nara.gov/1993/09/1993--09--14--remarks--by--clinton--and--former--presidents--on--nafta.html>.

Unit Six Assessment

Description: Students write an essay addressing the unit claim question: “What defines us as a modern nation: domestic policy or the threat of terror?”

Suggested Timeline: 2 class periods

Student Directions: Based on the sources in this unit and your knowledge of U.S. History, evaluate whether domestic policy or the threat of terror defines us more in the modern era. Consider the following as you construct your argument:

- Domestic policies during each post-Cold War presidential administration (health care, trade, economic policy, social programs)
- Advances in technology and medicine during the modern era
- Terrorist attacks (domestic and foreign)
- Wars to fight terrorism (in Iraq and Afghanistan)

Resources:

[LEAP 2025 U.S. History Extended Response Checklist](#)

Teacher Notes: In completing this task, students meet the expectations for social studies GLEs US.6.1-6. They also meet the expectations for [ELA/Literacy Standards](#): RH.11-12.1, RH.11-12.2, RH.11-12.3, RH.11-12.9, RH.11-12.10, WHST.11-12.1a-e, WHS.T11-12.4, WHST.11-12.5, WHST.11-12.9, WHST.11-12.10.

Use the [LEAP Assessment Social Studies extended response rubric](#) to grade this assessment. Note: Customize the Content portion of the rubric for this assessment. Use the Claims portion of the rubric as written.

Grades 9-12 Conversation Stems²⁴¹

Purpose: Clearly express your ideas.	
Listener Prompt	Speaker Response
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you think about ____? • How did you answer __[the question]__? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the most important idea you are communicating? • What is your main point? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overall what I'm trying to say is ____. • My whole point in one sentence is ____.
Purpose: Make sure you are listening carefully and clearly understand the ideas presented.	
Listener Prompt	Speaker Response
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Let me see if I heard you correctly. Did you say ____? • I heard you say _____. Is that correct? • Put another way, are you saying ____? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes/no. I said _____.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tell me more about ____ or Say more about _____. • I'm confused when you say _____. Say more about that. • Give me an example. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sure. I said __[restate what was said and add further explanation or examples]__. • An example is ____ because __[explain why]__.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who can rephrase what X said? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ____ said _____.
Purpose: Dig deeper and provide evidence to support your claims.	
Listener Prompt	Speaker Response
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What in the text makes you think so? • How do you know? Why do you think that? • Explain how you came to your idea. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to the text _____. This means _____. • If you look at _____, it says _____. This means _____. • I think _____ because _____.
Purpose: Establish new ways of thinking by elaborating on or challenging the thinking of others.	
Listener Prompt	Speaker Response
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who can add to what X said? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adding to what X said, _____. • I agree, and I want to add _____.

²⁴¹ Adapted from Michaels, S., & O'Connor, C. (2012). *Talk Science Primer* [PDF]. Cambridge, MA: TERC. Retrieved from https://inquiryproject.terc.edu/shared/pd/TalkScience_Primer.pdf

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who agrees/disagrees with X? • Who wants to challenge what X said? Why? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What X said supports what I am saying because ____. • I agree/disagree with X because ____. • I see it similarly/differently because ____. • I agree/disagree with X's view that ____ because in the text, ____. • I agree that ____, but we also have to consider ____. • Although I grant that ____, I still maintain that ____. • While it is true that ____, it does not necessarily follow that ____. • On one hand I agree with X that _____. But on the other hand, I insist that _____. • I agree/disagree with X's view that ____ because in the text, ____. • Certainly ____, but _____. • Perhaps ____, yet _____.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does that idea compare with X's idea? • What do you think about X's idea? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • X's point ____ is important/flawed because _____.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whose thinking has changed as a result of this conversation? How and why has it changed? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Before I thought ____, but now I think ____ because _____. • My new thinking is ____ because _____.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Now that you've heard __[summarize the conversation so far]__, what are you thinking? What are you still wondering about? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I still think ____, but now I wonder _____.

TO DISAGREE	TO AGREE--WITH A DIFFERENCE	TO QUALIFY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● I think X is mistaken because she overlooks _____. ● X's claim that _____ rests upon the questionable assumption that _____. ● I disagree with X's view that _____ because in the text, _____. ● X contradicts herself. On the one hand, she argues _____. But on the other hand, she also says _____. ● By focusing on _____, X overlooks the deeper problem of _____. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● X is surely right about _____ because, as she may not be aware, recent studies have shown that _____. ● X's theory of _____ is extremely useful because it sheds insight on the difficult problem of _____. ● I agree that _____, a point that needs emphasizing since so many people believe _____. ● Those unfamiliar with this school of thought may be interested to know that it basically boils down to _____. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Although I agree with X up to a point, I cannot accept his overall conclusion that _____. ● Although I disagree with much that X says, I fully endorse his final conclusion that _____. ● Though I concede that _____, I still insist that _____. ● X is right that _____, but I do not agree when she claims that _____. ● I am of two minds about X's claim that _____. On the one hand I agree that _____. On the other hand, I'm not sure if _____.

LEAP Assessment Social Studies Extended Response Rubric

The response should be scored holistically on its adherence to two dimensions: Content and Claims. Each response should be given the score that corresponds to the set of bulleted descriptors that best describes the response.

Dimension: Content	
Score	Description
4	<p>The student's response:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reflects thorough knowledge of [CONTENT] by incorporating ample, focused factual information from prior knowledge and the sources; ● Contains accurate understandings with no errors significant enough to detract from the overall content of the response; ● Fully addresses all parts of the prompt.
3	<p>The student's response:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reflects general knowledge of [CONTENT] by incorporating adequate factual information from prior knowledge and the sources; ● Contains mostly accurate understandings with minimal errors that do not substantially detract from the overall content of the response; ● Addresses all parts of the prompt.
2	<p>The student's response:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reflects limited knowledge of [CONTENT] by incorporating some factual information from prior knowledge and the sources; ● Contains some accurate understandings with a few errors that detract from the overall content of the response; ● Addresses part of the prompt.
1	<p>The student's response:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reflects minimal knowledge of [CONTENT] by incorporating little or no factual information from prior knowledge and the sources; ● Contains few accurate understandings with several errors that detract from the overall content of the response; ● Minimally addresses part of the prompt.
0	The student's response is blank, incorrect, or does not address the prompt.

Dimension: Claims	
Score	Description
4	<p>The student’s response:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Develops a valid claim that effectively expresses a solid understanding of the topic; ● Thoroughly supports the claim with well-chosen evidence from the sources; ● Provides a logically organized, cohesive, and in-depth explanation of the connections, patterns, and trends among ideas, people, events, and/or contexts within or across time and place.
3	<p>The student’s response:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Develops a relevant claim that expresses a general understanding of the topic; ● Supports the claim with sufficient evidence from the sources; ● Provides an organized explanation of the connections, patterns, and trends among ideas, people, events, and/or contexts within or across time and place.
2	<p>The student’s response:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Presents an inadequate claim which expresses a limited understanding of the topic. ● Includes insufficient support for the claim but does use some evidence from the sources; ● Provides a weak explanation of the connections, patterns, and trends among ideas, people, events, and/or contexts within or across time and place.
1	<p>The student’s response:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Does not develop a claim but provides evidence that relates to the topic; OR develops a substantially flawed claim with little or no evidence from the sources; ● Provides a vague, unclear, or illogical explanation of the connections among ideas, people, events, and/or contexts within or across time and place.
0	<p>The student’s response is blank, incorrect, too brief to evaluate, or lacks a claim that addresses the prompt.</p>

