

U.S.A. AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

Unit Structure:

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Political Developments
- 1.3 Economic Transformation
- 1.4 Summary
- 1.5 Questions
- 1.6 Suggested Readings

1.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the potential economic and industrial development.
- 2) To know change in agricultural pattern leading to vast agricultural holdings.
- 3) To comprehend the growth of transcontinental railroads.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The last decades of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century witnessed the transformation of the United States into an industrial and urban nation at the domestic and the imperialistic designs at the foreign fronts. The USA came of age. It was transformed from a rural republic to an urban state. The frontier vanished. Great factories and steel mills, transcontinental railroads, flourishing cities and vast agricultural holdings marked the land. There emerged revolution in the arena of both industry and foreign trade which prepared the USA sit on the lap of growth, progress and prosperity.

1.2 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

At the turn of the 20th century the American politics was not found sound. Both the Republican and Democratic Parties failed

to provide the people with any clear cut programme on major social or economic issues, instead both became machines for the capture of power. This was mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, the local politicians who were in real control of the parties were reluctant to take important stand on different questions due to fear of people getting against them. Secondly, the rigid party discipline was not present.

1.2.1 Election of 1888 and Benjamin Harrison :

In the election of 1888 the Republican candidate Benjamin Harrison won. As both the houses of the 51st Congress (The American Parliament) at that time were also Republicans, he was able to push through his legislative programme without any difficulty. His iron rule of the House earned him the sobriquet Czar Reed but only through his firm control of the House could the Republicans pass three controversial bills in the summer and early autumn of 1890. One dealt with monopolies, another with silver, and the third with the tariff. Two more legislations on Civil Service and Pension were also passed.

1.2.1.1 The Sherman Anti - Trust Act :

This Act was passed by the Congress early in July 1890 which declared illegal all combinations that restrained trade between states or with foreign nations. More than 10 years passed before the Sherman Act was used to break up any industrial monopoly. It was invoked by the feudal government in 1894 to obtain an injunction against a striking railroad union accused of restraint of interstate commerce, and the use of injunction was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1895. To those who hoped that the Sherman Act would inhibit the growth of monopoly, the results were disappointing. The passage of the act only three years after the Interstate Commerce Act was, however, another sign than the public was turning from state capitals to Washington for effective regulation of industrial giants.

1.2.1.2 The Silver Issue :

Less than two weeks after Congress passed the Anti-Trust Act, it enacted the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which required the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase each month 130,000 kilograms of silver at the market price. This Act superseded the Bland- Allison Act of 1878, effectively increasing the government's monthly purchase of silver by more than 50 percent. It was adopted in response to pressure from mine-owners, who were alarmed by the falling price of silver, and from Western farmers who were always favorable to inflationary measures and who in 1890, were also suffering from the depressed prices of their products.

1.2.1.3 The McKinley Tariff

The McKinley Tariff Act was passed in October 1890 which designed to appeal to the farmers because some agricultural products were added to the protected list. A few items, notably sugar, were placed on the free list, and domestic sugar planters were to be compensated by a subsidy of two cents a pound. The central feature of the Act was a general increase in tariff schedules, with many of these increases applying to items of general consumption. The new Act which added to the agrarian resentment of the West and South became an issue in the Congressional elections.

1.2.1.4 Civil Service :

Ignoring the Civil Service rules Harrison packed the government offices with his party men. But it also goes to the credit of Harrison that he appointed Theodore Roosevelt to the Civil Service Commission, who made all appointments in the classified category on merit, although this was not fully approved by the president.

1.2.1.5 Pension Legislation :

The Congress adopted the Dependent's Pension Act in 1889 which provided pensions for all Union Veterans who had suffered any physical or mental disability, no matter how or where contracted. It also provided for increased allowances to the widows and children of veterans.

1.2.2 Election of 1892 and Cleveland :

In the election of 1892 the democratic candidate Grover Cleveland was voted to power. When he was inaugurated for his second term in March 1893, the country hovered on the brink of financial panic. Six years of depression in the trans-Mississippi West, the decline of foreign trade after the enactment of the McKinley tariff, an abnormally high burden of private debt was disquieting features of the situation. Cleveland did not take any measures to stimulate economic recovery lent simply concentrated attention on maintaining the solvency of the Federal Government, and saw to it that the Treasury could pay at all times gold dollars in exchange for paper and silver currency. It was assumed that a minimum reserve of \$100,000,000 was necessary to assure redemption of government obligations in gold.

When on 21st April 1893, the reserve fell below that amount, the psychological impact was far-reaching. Investors hastened to convert their holdings into gold; banks and brokerage houses were hard-pressed; and many business houses and financial institutions failed. Prices dropped, employment was curtailed,

and the nation entered a period of severe economic depression that continued for more than three years.

Cleveland wanted to bring substantial reduction of tariffs but could not accomplish anything due to opposition of Democratic Senators. The House passed a bill that would have revised tariff rates downward in accordance with the president's views. In the Senate, however, the bill was so altered that it bore little resemblance to the original measure and on some items of imposed higher duties than had the McKinley Tariff Act. It was finally passed in August 1894, but Cleveland was so dissatisfied that he refused to sign it; and it became law without his signature. The act contained a provision for an income tax, but this feature was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1895.

1.2.3 Election of 1896 and McKinley

The depression years of early nineties gave stimulus to radical thinking and people started realizing that the economic system was fundamentally unsound. The election of 1896 was once again fought on the specific issue of silver vs. gold in which the republican candidate McKinley defeated the Democratic candidate Jennings Bryan. The victory of the McKinley was interpreted as a vote for the capitalistic system and its machinery.

When McKinley was inaugurated in office on March 4, 1897 the depression was coming to an end and the country was making a re-entry into prosperity. On the same day he called Congress into special session to revise the tariff once again. The Congress responded by passing the Dingley Tariff Act, which eliminated many items from the free list and generally raised duties on imports to the highest level they had yet reached. This is how it assured industrialists of complete protections against foreign competition and thereby enabled them to increase their prices in the domestic market.

Although the preservation of the gold standard had been the chief appeal of the Republicans in 1896, it was not until March 1900 that the Congress enacted the Gold Standard Act, which required the Treasury to maintain a minimum gold reserve of \$150,000,000 and authorized the issuance of bonds, if necessary, to protect that minimum. In 1900 such a measure was almost anti-climactic, for an adequate gold supply had ceased to be a practical problem. Beginning in 1893, the production of gold in the United States had increased steadily; by 1899 the annual value of gold added to the American supply was double that of any year between 1881 and 1892. This was made possible because huge stocks of gold were discovered in South Africa

which greatly increased world's supply of gold. There was no controversy regarding the currency till the depression of 1930's.

With the assumption of Presidency by McKinley once again the politics assumed its earlier shape and two political parties followed a definite programme. Particularly after the assumption of office by Theodore Roosevelt every effort was made to put into practice the reform advocated by populist platform.

1.3 ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

One of the outstanding features of America's development during the period from the Civil war to the World War I have been her phenomenal economic transformation in the wake of both agricultural and industrial revolutions. Before the onset of the Civil war, the USA was far behind Great Britain and France in her productive capacity and skill, but by 1914 her industrial production exceeded the rest of the world put together. In the field of technology, no other nation except Germany could match her.

1.3.1 Revolution in Agriculture :

Despite the great gains in industry, agriculture remained the nation's basic occupation. The revolution in agriculture paralleling that in manufacturing after the Civil war, involved a shift from hard labour to machine farming and from subsistence to commercial agriculture. Between 1860 and 1910, the number of farms in the United States tripled, increasing from 2 million to 6 million, while the area farmed more than doubled from 160 million to 352 million hectares.

Between 1860 and 1890, the production of such basic commodities as wheat, corn and cotton out stripped all previous figures in the United States. In the same period, the nation's population became more than double with largest growth in the cities. But the American farmer grew enough grain and cotton, raised enough beef and pork, and clipped enough wool not only to supply American workers and their families but also to create ever-increasing surpluses.

Several factors accounted for this extraordinary achievement. One was the expansion into the West. Another was the application of machinery to farming. The farmer of 1800, using a hand sickle, could hope to cut 20 percent of a hectare of wheat a day. With the cradle, 30 years later, he might cut 80 percent of a hectare daily. Different farm machines were developed in rapid succession like the automatic wire binder, the threshing machine and the reaper-thresher or combine. Mechanical planters, cutters, huskers and shellers appeared, as did cream separators, manure spreaders, potato planters, hay driers, poultry incubators and a hundred other inventions.

Scarcely less important than machinery in the agricultural revolution was science. In 1862 the Morrill Land Grant College Act allotted public land to each state for the establishment of agricultural and industrial colleges. These were to serve both as educational institutions and as centres for research in scientific farming. Congress subsequently appropriated funds for the creation of agricultural experiment stations throughout the country and also granted funds directly to the Department of Agriculture for research purposes. By the beginning of the 20th century, scientists throughout the United States were at work on a wide variety of agricultural projects. Ironically, the federal policy that enabled farmers to increase yields ultimately generated vast supplies which drove market prices down and disheartened farmers.

One of these scientists, Mark Carleton, travelled for the Department of Agriculture to Russia. There he found and exported to his homeland the rust- and drought- resistant winter wheat that now accounts for more than half the United States wheat crop. Another scientist, Marion Dorset, conquered the dreaded hog cholera, while still another, George Mohler, helped prevent hoof-and-mouth disease. From North Africa, one researcher brought back Kaffir corn; from Turkestan, another imported the yellow-flowering Alfalfa. Luther Burbank, in California, produced scores of new fruits and vegetables; in Wisconsin, Stephen Babcock devised a test for determining the butterfat content of milk; at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, the African-American scientists George Washington Carver found hundreds of new uses for the peanut, sweet potato and soya bean.

1.3.2 Revolution in Industry :

Broadly, two features of America's industrial development were distinctly visible. First, United States employed mass production techniques through development of large- scale business organization. Second, along with the growth of industry in United States there was corresponding growth in population (it rose from 30 million to over one hundred million), extension of the rail-road network across the continent, and settlement of the rest of the west. Within twenty-five years of the death of Lincoln (1865), America became the first manufacturing nation of the world. Thus, what England had once accomplished in a hundred years, the United States achieved in almost half the time.

Six factors could be accredited for the rapid growth of industry in the USA. They are:

- America possessed vaster and varied raw materials than possessed by any other country, except Russia;

- Inventions and techniques to convert the raw materials into finished products;
- A fully adequate system of water and rail transport to meet the demands of an expanding economy;
- A consistently expanding domestic market and growth of foreign markets.
- A consistent labour supply through immigration; and
- The absence of tariff barriers between states, protection against foreign competition, and government subsidies.

Another outstanding feature of industrialization of this period was that instead of the isolated establishment under the owners of a single master or a few masters, the big corporations came to the fore. At the end of the 19th century three-fourth of the manufactured products came from factories under corporate direction. Production of oil, iron, steel, copper, lead, sugar & coal etc. was in the hands of huge organizations. As a result of this transformation, the small units engaged in various competitions came under the control of the big corporation which dominated the market, fixed their own prices and charged whatever they desired.

In short, it resulted in the emergence of a new economic system in which the principle of 'competition' was no longer present. To eliminate competition the businessmen in the later 19th century came together and pooled their resources to prevent competitive price-cutting, which deprived them the high profits.

Competition was also eliminated because of another factor. As the new method of production required huge capital investments, it was natural that only a small number of enterprises could work in various fields. And as there were only a limited number of corporations engaged in any particular branch of manufacture, it was easy for them to reach agreement on price. As a consequence, it was not possible for any public authority to enforce competition. The only way to compete these big corporations was to set up an equally huge organization engaged in large scale production. But this was not possible because the investors were not willing to contribute capital for new enterprises unless they felt assured of a substantial long- term profits.

The expansion and development of industry was a complex process. War needs after the civil war had enormously stimulated manufacturing, speeding an economic process based on the exploitation of iron, steam and electric power, as well as the forward march of science and invention. In the years before 1860, 36,000 patents were granted; in the next 30 years, 440,000

patents were issued, and in the first quarter of the 20th century, the number reached nearly a million. A brief description of the expansion of certain industries will enable us to have an idea of the industrial development.

1.3.2.1 Steel Industry :

The nation's basic industry- iron and steel was forging ahead protected by a high tariff. The production of steel was of great significance because changes in all other industries depended on it. As the railroads found their way everywhere, the demand for steel for rails, engines, cars and equipment grew rapidly. The iron ore of Michigan and of the Mesabi Range at the head of Lake Superior in Minnesota provided most of the raw material. With their knowledge and ability, the steel-makers turned out wire, tubes, sheets and structural parts.

Andrew Carnegie was largely responsible for the great advances in steel production. A Scottish by birth, who came to America as a child of 12, progressed from bobbin boy in a cotton factory to a job in telegraph office, then to one on the Pennsylvania Railroad. Before he was 30 years old he had made shrewd and farsighted investments, which by 1865 were concentrated in iron. Within a few years, he had organized or had stock in companies making iron bridges, rails and locomotives. Ten years later, the steel mill he built on the Monongahela River in Pennsylvania was the largest in the country. His business, allied with a dozen others, could command a favorable term from a railroad and shipping lines. Nothing comparable in industrial growth had ever been seen in America before.

In the 1890s, new companies challenged his preeminence and at first, stung by competition, Carnegie threatened to build an ever more powerful business complex. But later he was persuaded to merge his holdings with an organization that eventually embraced most of the important iron and steel properties in the nation.

The United States Steel Corporation which resulted from this merger in 1901 illustrated a process under way for 30 years: the combination of independent industrial enterprises into federated or centralized companies. Begun during the Civil War, the trend gathered momentum after the 1870s, as business began to fear that overproduction would lead to declining prices and falling profits. They realized that if they could control both production and markets, they could bring competing firms into a single organization. The "corporation" and the "trust" were developed to achieve these ends.

1.3.2.2 Oil Industry :

Another important achievement of the period was the production and refining of oil. Initially the oil was used for the purpose of lighting, and a small number of operators looked after this business. However, in 1862 with the entry of John D. Rockefeller, oil industry underwent far-reaching changes. He left the job of drilling to other people and concentrated on refining. He adopted most efficient method of production and by forming alliance with the ablest men in industry; he was able to establish a kind of monopoly of brains. He eliminated all competition by resorting to ruthless price-cutting.

In 1870 Rockefeller and his associates formed the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, which acquired a monopoly of refining in Cleveland area. In subsequent years he formed alliances with refineries in other parts of the country and by 1880 his group controlled almost 90 percent of the oil business in the United States. In 1882 he formed a trust of nine trustees to look after the stocks of corporation, and thus gave a new concept to the business in United States. Subsequently, the group also began to acquire ownership of railroads, iron and copper mines, public utilities and numerous other industries.

1.3.2.3 Electricity :

Another development of the period was the growing use of electricity for light, power and communication. Though the use of electricity for the purpose of lighting was being made since the dawn of the 19th century, it came to general use only in 1879 when Thomas Alva Edison devised a satisfactory and durable filament. In 1882 the Edison Electric Company opened a power plant in New York City to supply current for electric light. In 1887 Richmond made use of electricity for transportation and built the first electric street car. The telephone and telegraphs were the other means of communication worked by electricity. Most of the electrical equipment's were manufactured by Edison Electric which was expanded into General Electric in 1892 and Wasting – house Electric.

1.3.2.4 Railways Industry :

Railroads became increasingly important to the United States. The railroad linked the Atlantic and the Pacific (by 1884 there were four transcontinental lines linking the two), brought the farmer his machinery and took his grain to markets in the cities of the East, took live cattle to the city of Chicago and frozen meat to the cities of New York and Philadelphia, brought new engineering machinery for the miner without which he could not work. The construction of railroads, especially in the West and South, with the resulting demand for steel rails, was a major

force in the expansion of the steel industry and increased the railroad mileage in the United States from less than 93,262 miles (150,151 kilometers) in 1880 to about 190,000 miles (310,000 kilometers) in 1900.

But the control of the railroads was in the hands of a very small number of men, who treated it not as an essential public service, but as a source of private profit. What was worst, the railroads did not charge the same rates from all customers. They gave special rebates to large-scale shippers, which gave the latter an advantage over their smaller competitors. Further, by resorting to pooling agreements, the different railroads avoided competition, divided the business and raised their rates. To escape public control, they resorted to devices like giving of face passes to politicians and influential persons and succeeded in getting favorable laws passed.

1.3.2.5 Other Industries :

Simultaneously equally, revolutionary advances were made in other industries. A number of mechanical implements were devised which greatly transformed the farming methods. With the development of refrigeration and canning, the food habits of the public were modified. The growth of business was speeded by the invention of the electric telegraph in 1844, the typewriter in 1867, the telephone in 1876, the adding machine in 1888 and the cash register in 1897. The linotype composing machine, invented in 1886, and rotary press and paper folding machinery made it possible to print 240,000 eight-page newspapers in an hour. The talking machine, or phonograph, too, was perfected by Thomas Edison, who in conjunction with George Eastman, also helped develop motion picture. These and many other applications of science and ingenuity resulted in a new level of productivity in almost every field.

Meat-packing, which in the years after 1875, became one of the major industries of the nation with a large of it concentrated in Chicago. Flour milling, brewing, and the manufacture of farm machinery and lumber products were other important Mid-western industries. The industrial invasion of the South was spearheaded by textiles. Cotton mills became the symbol of the New South, and mills to Georgia and into Alabama. By 1900 almost one-quarter of all the cotton spindles in the US were in the South, and Southern mills were expanding their operations more rapidly than were their well-established competitors in New England.

1.3.2.6 Foreign Trade :

The foreign trade of the US, if judged by the value of exports, kept pace with the growth of domestic industry. Exclusive of gold, silver and re-exports, the annual value of exports from

America in 1877 was about \$590,000,000; by 1900 it had increased to approximately \$1,371,000,000. The value of imports also rose, though at a slower rate. When gold and silver were included, there was only one year in the entire period in which the United States had an unfavorable balance of trade; and, as the century drew to a close, the excess of exports over imports increased perceptibly.

Agriculture continued to furnish the bulk of US exports. Cotton, wheat, flour and meat products were consistently the items among exports with the greatest annual value. Of the non-agricultural products sent abroad, petroleum was the most important. Despite the expansion of foreign trade, the U.S. merchant marine was a major casualty of the period. While the aggregate tonnage of all shipping flying the US flag remained remarkably constant, the tonnage engaged in foreign trade declined sharply, dropping from more than 2,400,000 tons on the eve of the civil war to a low point of only 726,000 tons in 1898.

1.3.2.7 Check Your Progress :

1. What political party Benjamin Harrison belongs?
2. How was the Sherman Anti-trust Act passed?
3. Who was responsible for great advance in steel production?

1.4 SUMMARY

At the turn of the century the United States underwent a metamorphosis in all walks of life. In the political sphere, every effort was made by the Congress since 1888 to inaugurate an era of populist reforms for the cause of the bulk of the population. In the economic field, the United States made phenomenal progress in the wake of both agricultural and industrial revolutions. By 1914 her industrial production exceeded the rest of the world put together. In technology, no other nation except Germany could match her. Transcontinental railroads developed ushering great industrial boom. The same trend could also be experienced in the field of foreign trade. Thus, the USA headed towards a great political and economic transformation.

1.5 QUESTIONS

1. Explain the political developments in America at the turn of 20th century.
2. Analyze the process of economic transformation in America at the turn of 20th century.

3. Write short notes:
 - i) The McKinley Tariffs
 - ii) Revolution in Agriculture
 - ii) Foreign Trade

1.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Bayer, The Oxford Companion to United States History, New York, 2001.
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PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT (1900-1919)

Unit Structure:

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Progressive Movement- It's Nature
- 2.3 Important features of the populist Movement
- 2.4 Prohibition
- 2.5 Theodore Roosevelt and Progressive Movement
- 2.6 Results of the Progressive Movement
- 2.7 Summary
- 2.8 Questions
- 2.9 Suggested Readings

2.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the features of populist movement.
2. To explain the rule of Theodore Roosevelt and Progressive movement.
3. To analyze the results of the progressive movement.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The progressive leaders believed in the traditional American ideals of democratic government, individual liberty, the rule of law and the protection of private property. They argued that in the new industrial era these ideals need to be protected by new political techniques. They strongly emphasized the ethical, humanitarian and religious values rather than stir up economic resentments and class hatreds. Socialist proposals for any thorough transformation of the traditional, political and economic system formed little support.

Progressivism was a movement with predominantly middle-class objectives and view point. It derived much of its support from small business, farmers and professional people.

2.2 PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT- IT'S NATURE

The typical progressive leader was some lawyer, journalist, or businessman. Aroused by the corruption and mis-government in the community they started a crusade to elect better men to office. They soon realized that what were needed were a reform of system as well as a change of men.

They adapted a traumatic approval whenever they saw an evil; they attempted to deal with it without comprehensive theory or formulating ultimate objectives.

The progressive movement did not make any clear-cut division between reformers and conservatives. Popular sentiment was so strong in favour of reform that most responsible leaders recognized that it was necessary. Party labels therefore became more meaningless than usual. There were progressive Republicans and progressive Democrats.

2.3 IMPORTANT FEATURES OF THE POPULIST MOVEMENT

2.3.1 The Progressive Movement and the government:

In times of Jefferson and Hamilton the United States was a country mainly of small owners and abundant unsettled land. Under these circumstances' democracy could be best protected by restricting powers of government and by allowing free play to individual initiative. The early American liberals were generally suspicious of government and opposed any extension of their responsibilities. As a result, economic developments during the nineteenth century big corporations and a large wage-earning class emerged while the farmer's condition deteriorated. An average individual found it difficult to achieve economic independence by his own unaided efforts. He began to ask for government protection consequently reformers and liberals wanted to increase the powers of the government.

2.3.2 The problem of Monopoly:

Although the progressives wanted the government to assume prodder economic responsibilities, they differed about the methods. The growth of monopoly was the chief economic problem in those days. Theodore Roosevelt and others argued that the growth of big corporations was an inevitable trend and that the government should regulate them instead of trying to dissolve them. Woodrow Wilson and others laid emphasis on prohibiting monopoly, protecting the small businessman and enforcing effective completion. Theodore Roosevelt and others would like a greater increase in the powers of government while Woodrow Wilson and others were more in line with traditional liberalism. On this fundamental question there were wide differences in the progressive movement.

Herter Crowley in his *Promise of American Life* (1909) argued that economic injustice could be ended not by dissolving the trusts but by extending the powers of government to control them and also by building

up a strong trade union movement that would counteract the powers of business. The remedy for the special privileges of the rich was not to abolish them but to give compensatory privileges to other groups in the community.

Lord Brandeis was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1916. Disturbed by what he called “Curse of Bigness”, he believed that any organization, whether in business or government, became too large, it could no longer be managed efficiently. He suggested that no corporation should be allowed to control more than 30 percent of any industry.

2.3.3 The Muckrakers:

A group of journalists, known as muckrakers, played a great role in publicizing the need for reform. Theodore Roosevelt called them muckrakers. They carefully documented and exposed fraud and graft, and also emphasized corrupt connections between business and politics. Heavy Demarest’s Lloyd’s “Wealth against Commonwealth” (1904) was the first example of muck-racking which denounced trusts. By 1902 muck-racking found a large audience. Lincoln Steffens’s analyses political corruption in St Louis, Missouri, while Ida Tar bale came out with the first installment of the History of the Standard Oil Company. Upton Sinclair’s novel ‘The Jungle’ (1906) exposed the filthy conditions in the Chicago meat packaging industry. Public alarm that it aroused led to the enactment of Meat Inspection Act of the same year. Ray Stanford Baker, Charles Russe, Norman Hopgood and Mark Sullivan were some other leading muckrakers.

Some of the muckrakers became sensational and unreliable. Public grew tired of them. By 1914 it died away. There had been nothing like it before in the history of the American journalism and there has been nothing like it since then.

2.3.4 Progressivism in State and Municipal Politics:

Probably the most impressive achievements of the progressive movement were in local government. On this level problems were simpler than in the Federal politics, the corruption was more and obvious and issues could be more easily dramatized in terms that average citizen could understand. In municipal government, city planning, housing codes, to enforce safety, health regulation in slum areas and larger provision for schools, parks, playgrounds and other improvement. In this battle they found that their real enemies were not corrupt politicians but powerful owners of public transport and other utility corporations that had obtained special privileges by corrupt methods. Consequently, many progressives began to advocate public ownership of public transport and other utilities.

Thomas Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio, was the best-known city reformer. He gathered around him able and enthusiastic describes and gave Cleveland the reputation for best government city in the United States.

These were similar reform movements in many other cities where an attempt was made to get rid of bosses and machines by abolishing the traditional form of government by a Mayor and a board of older men and substituting a small non-partisan commission, sometimes accompanied by a city manager. By 1921 some five hundred cities had adopted some form of commission government. But the results were not impressive because in a number of cities bosses soon found a way of controlling the commissions. Progressivism did not have much effect in the three largest cities in the United States. New York, Chicago and Philadelphia continued to be governed most of the time by very corrupt bosses.

State Reformers – Pioneering examples of progressivism in state government had been provided during the 1890's John P. Altgeld (Illinois) and Hazen Pingree (Michigan). But the outstanding figure among the state reformers and possibly the greatest of all the progressives was Robert Marion La Follet of Wisconsin. La Follet inspired respect rather than affection, but few men in the history of the states have fought more consistently for democratic ideals. He had faith in the wisdom of the people. He appealed to their reason rather than their prejudices. In 1900 he became the governor of the state of Wisconsin. During his six-year term as governor he pushed through the State legislature a series of laws which came to be known as the Wisconsin Idea. This included taxation of rail roads (railways are known as rail roads in the United States.) Fixing their rates on the basis of physical value of their properties, regulation of banks and insurance companies, limiting the working hours of women and children, a workman's compensation law, creation of forest reserve and establishment of primary election for the choice of party candidates.

He insisted that effective regulation of business must always be based on accurate information for which he enrolled scholars into state service and worked closely with political scientists and economists. The main purpose of the whole programme was defined as new individualism which would give the individual a better chance to possess property.

The Wisconsin Idea left a strong influence in the Midwest farm states of Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska and South and North Dakota. But their similar trends in most of the states in the United States.

2.3.5 Extension of Democracy:

State reformers supported measures giving electorate more direct power over the government in the hope of thereby diminishing the influence of political bosses. Most important was the adoption of primary system allowing popular choice of party candidates. This system originated in the South in the 1890's and by 1915 it was established in thirty-seven states. By 1912 twenty-nine states extended the primary system to the choice of senatorial candidates and passed laws requiring their legislatures to obey the popular decision. This led to the 17th Amendment of the constitution which established direct popular election of Senators.

Throughout the west there was a strong demand for further extensions of democracy. The western programme included referendum, by which a

proposal could be submitted to a direct popular vote and recall, by which elected officials could be removed from office by popular vote. Twenty-one states adopted the initiative and the referendum, twelve states adopted the recall of elected officials and eight states adopted the recall of judges.

Women's suffrage – By 1890 the National American Woman Suffrage Association was founded. Carrie Chapman Katta and Anna Howard Shaw were its principal leaders. During the Progressive period an increasing number of women demanded political rights. By 1920 the nineteenth amendment was added to the constitution which granted suffrage to women.

2.3.6 Economic Legislation:

In order to curb powers of business corporations many states set up commissions to regulate the rates and practices of rail roads and public utilities. Bribery of officials was diminished by anti-lobbying and corrupt practices laws and by establishments of civil service rules. By 1920 forty-three states had adopted the workmen's Compensation Act. It defined more stringently the obligations of the employers and set up compulsory insurance plans for the benefit of injured workers. Limiting hours of work and fixing minimum wages caused some controversy and the Supreme Court invalidated them as contrary to the fourteenth amendment of the constitution. A large number of States passed maximum hours laws for women which the States of Oregon and Massachusetts also limited hours of work for male workers. However, some of these laws were invalidated by the Supreme Court.

2.4 PROHIBITION

Eighteenth Amendment to the constitution was another victory of the reform movement. It prohibited the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating liquors which were defined as containing more than 0.5 percent of alcohol. The Amendment came into force on 1st January 1920. The Amendment was introduced during the World War when the country was in a mood of idealism and self-sacrifice. Banning alcoholic liquors would it was believed, greatly increase the efficiency of the American people and so further the war effort. When the war ended that mood passed away and the Americans gradually began to realize the difficulties of prohibition. In practice law against drinking or importing drink was hard to enforce. The United States had over 18000 thousand miles of coast line and land boundary and it was very easy to smuggle the liquor at shore. There were a large number of Americans ready to break the law in order to get a drink. A large minority had opposed prohibition throughout. The government spent ten million dollars a year and assessed about 50000 people to enforce the law but failed to completely to check drinking and boot legging.

It led to a great increase in crimes of every kind, especially violent crimes. In 1933 the twenty first Amendments was passed repealing the Eighteenth Amendment and thus prohibition was abolished. The Amendment was an

admission that the experiment of prohibition had failed. The results of the experiment were a national disaster.

2.5 THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

After the assassination of President McKinley Theodore Roosevelt became the president. Roosevelt was one of the most controversial characters in American history. Although his achievements in domestic sphere were meager he infused a new spirit into the Federal politics. He was shocked by the low ethical standards prevalent among businessmen and by their apparent conviction that they were independent of the laws and the government. Although he had no desire to make fundamental changes in the economic system he believed that business must be compelled to conform to higher standards. Since otherwise American institutions might be endangered by a growth of revolutionary sentiment. He was the first president since the size of big corporations, to insist on the principle of government supremacy over business. He was also the first president since Lincoln to assert strong executive leadership.

2.5.1 Theodore Roosevelt and Trust Busting:

In March 1902 Roosevelt ordered his Attorney General to bring suit against the Northern Securities Company under the Sherman Act. James Hill and Edward Harriman had organized this company to monopolize the rail road lines in the North-West United States. Since this was the first suit of its kind the government seemed to be serious about enforcing the Sherman Act. After the Supreme Court ruled in favour of the government. Roosevelt went on to attack a number of other trusts, including the Standard Oil Company. During his tenure as president he was responsible for forty-three such cases. Roosevelt's trust-busting crusade aroused greater popular enthusiasm and equally violent indignation among the corporation magnets. The trusts were compelled to dissolve into their component parts but their different parts could not be transferred to different ownership or compelled to compete with each other.

The economic results were not impressive and Roosevelt himself recognized the inadequacy of trust busting. He made it clear that he was not opposed to big business as such. He made a distinction between good and bad trusts. He drew a line against misconduct, not against wealth. He favored regulation of corporations by the Federal government instead of by the states, but bills to this effect were rejected by Congress. He believed that it was important to assert the principle of government supremacy. These men demanded for themselves immunity from government controls which if granted would be as wicked and foolish as immunity to the barons of the twelfth century. The absolutely vital question was whether the government had power to control them at all.

Roosevelt tried to regulate business with the Interstate Commission Act. This 1903 Act required railroads to adhere to their published rates and forbidding them to give rebates. This Act was supported by rail road men

and it was directed against the corporations like the standard oil company which had obtained competitive advantages by forcing the rail roads to carry their goods at preferential rates. But effective enforcement of this Act proved to be impossible.

Much more important progressive objective was to bring about the reduction of excessive rates. He suggested that broad powers be given to the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate rates. As this proposal was blocked by the senate he agreed to a compromise. This led to the Hepburn Act of 1906. It authorized the commission to order a reduction of unreasonable rates; but a rail road could then appeal to the law courts in which case the directive of the commission was held in abeyance till and unless the court decided that it was reasonable.

The most important feature of the Hepburn Act was that the commission was empowered to prescribe a uniform system of booking for all rail roads. It was thus, for the first time, able to find out what they were really doing and whether their profits were excessive.

Progressives found the Hepburn Act inadequate. But in spite of its weaknesses it was followed by thousands of complaints of high rates to the commission. Its prepared way for the measures in later administrations giving it full power over rates.

Coal Strike – Roosevelt’s intervention in the coal strike was not able because it set a new precedent. In 1902 miners in anthracite coal mines struck demanding higher wages, nine-hour day and union recognition. Roosevelt intervened to bring about a settlement by negotiations. The mine owners accepted higher wages and nine-hour day.

Conservation – Roosevelt helped to secure the passage of the 1902 New Lands Act which authorized the government to establish irrigation projects on arid lands and created a Reclamation service to supervise them. The government then constructed a series of dams which are impressive engineering projects in human history. In 1908 he convened the White House Conference to publicize the need for action to protect and develop the country’s natural resources. Because of his leadership the American people began to realize that the time had come to establish checks on the wrathful individualism characteristic of the pioneering period.

Meat Inspection Act and Pure Food and Drug Act were passed in 1906. The FD Act prohibited the sale of certain harmful foods and ordered that medicines containing dangerous drugs be correctly labeled. Both Acts marked another break the strict *laisse faire* doctrines according to which consumers were supposed to be capable of protecting themselves.

2.5.2 President Taft and the Progressive Movement:

Taft had been Roosevelt’s secretary of State since 1904. Taft did not have the necessary qualities of leadership. A huge man weighing 350 pounds he lacked both dynamic force and political safety. He was reluctant to take

initiative or assert executive responsibility. In consequence he did not receive credit even for what he did accomplish.

Taft and Progressive Legislation :

During the four years of the Taft administration more was accomplished than in the seven and half years of Roosevelt. The popular demand for reform was so strong that even the old leaders recognized the need for making concessions. Taft loyally supported most progressive proposals except when he felt that he was prevented by legal obstacles. He respected the letter and spirit of the law and the constitution. He was also reluctant to interfere with the prerogatives of congress.

Taft Administration dissolved ninety trusts. Congress also passed a series of progressive laws. The Interstate Commerce Commission was further strengthened by the Mann – Elkins Act of 1910 which gave it the power to suspend rate increases for ten on this pending decision as to whether they were reasonable. Ownership of minerals in the sub soil was separated from the ownership of the surface by an Act. The Act provided for the lease rather than the sale of minerals in public land. A postal saving Bank and a parcel post were instituted. Political corruption was checked by laws which required that campaign expenditure and contributions to party funds be made public. The sixteen Amendments authorized an Income Tax and the seventeenth Amendment provided for a popular election of Senators. There and other measures made an impressive record; and although in some instances, especially Mann – Elkins Act, Congress went further than Taft desired, most of the programme had his support.

Like Roosevelt before him Taft continued to cooperate with the official party leaders rather than with the progressive block. Consequently, the progressives soon began to denounce him as a conservative and a tool of predatory business interests. According to Senator Dolliver of Iowa, he was an amicable man, completely surrounded by men who know exactly what they want.

Progressivism went on gaining strength. The Democrats won an impressive majority in the 191 election. They won a majority in the House of Representatives while most of the states west of Mississippi came under the control of Progressive Republicans. It was obvious that in the next presidential election public sentiment would demand a leader much more dynamic and strongly committed to the progressive cause than Taft had proved to be. Woodrow Wilson was that dynamic leader.

2.5.3 Woodrow Wilson and Progressive Movement:

Tariff Revision – The underwood Tariff became law in 1913, it marked the first real reduction since the civil war. Duties were abolished on more than hundred articles and reduced on nearly thousands of others. The average rate was cut from thirty-seven to twenty seven percent. The effect of tariff reduction could not be assessed properly because the World War irrupted in international trade.

The Federal Reserve System :

The Glass Owen Federal Reserve Act reformed the monetary system. Currency reform was demanded by farmers and even Eastern Conservatives recognized it as necessary. The system set by the National Bank Act of 1863 had two major weaknesses.

1. Since the quality of Bank notes in circulation was limited by the quality of government bonds held by the banks the supply of currency had no relation to the need for it. There was no provision for increasing the quality of notes in proportion to the increase in volume of business, so that money was likely to be scarce, especially in the south and west.
2. Each of the nation's 30,000 banks was separate and independent and had to rely solely on its own resources during times of financial pressures it resulted in frequent bankruptcies.

Twelve Federal Banks were established in the different regions and the supervision of the whole system was entered to the Federal Reserve Board, consisting of the secretary of treasury, the comptroller of currency and five other members appointed by the President for ten-year terms. All national banks were required and state banks were invited to become members of the new system.

The bank notes circulated under the old system were replaced by Federal Reserve notes. By 1915 the Federal Reserve System controlled about half the nation's banking capital and by 1928 the proportion had gone up to eighty percent.

Anti-Trust Legislation :

In September and October 1914 Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Anti-trust Act were passed. The Federal State Act, modeled on the Interstate Commerce Commission was to supervise business practices, with powers to cease and desist orders against which corporations could appeal. The Clayton Act specified as illegal a number of practices tending to prevent competition. Samuel Gompers has described two sections of this Act as the 'Magna Carta' of labour. Section six exempted labour unions from anti-trust laws and section twenty restricted the use of injunctions and declare that strikes, boycotts and picketing were not contrary to any federal law.

Wilson continued the trust-busting campaign initiated by Roosevelt. He brought ninety-two cases in eight years. It was hoped that the problem of monopoly would be solved by prevention rather than cure. Between 1915 and 1921 the Federal Trade Commission issued 788 formal complaints and 379 cease and desist orders. The La Follett seamen's Act, 1915, improved conditions on board ships. The Adamson Act, 1916, established an eight-hour day for employees of interstate railroads. The Federal Farm Act, 1916, set up twelve land banks which were to make mortgage loans available for farmers at relatively low rates of interests. But the progress

of reform had been checked by the World War – I in August 1914. It also marked the end of the progressive movement in national affairs.

2.6 RESULTS OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

To sum up the progressives had not brought about any major transformation of political and economic system; it was not their intention also. They had concentrated on a series of specific reforms most of which had been achieved by 1914. In politics they had done much to revitalize democracy by making officials more directly responsible to public sentiment. In the economic sphere they had failed to find any solution to the problem of monopoly, but they had extended the powers of the Federal and State governments to regulate big business, to check the exploitation of labour and to conserve natural resources.

Check Your Progress:

1. Who were the muckrakers?
2. What is women's suffrage?
3. What is Federal Reserve System?

2.7 SUMMARY

More important than any specific reforms were the new attitude. A notable result of the progressive movement was that both political and business leaders became much more concerned with securing popular approval and support than they had been in the nineteenth century. It was significant that business corporations began to shed large sums on public relations to present their activities in a favorable light. Ultimately the effectiveness of progressive reforms depended on enlightenment of voters and their capacity for appraising propaganda.

2.8 QUESTIONS

- 1) Bring out the salient features of the Progressive Movement.
- 2) Discuss the part played by Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson in the Progressive Movement.

2.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

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EMERGENCE OF UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER (1900-1919)

Unit Structure:

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Growth of Imperialism
- 3.3 Caribbean and Mexican Policy
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 Questions
- 3.6 Suggested Readings

3.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To analyze the growth of imperialism.
- 2) To grasp the rise of U.S.A. from a colony to a World power.
- 3) To understand the open-door policy of America.
- 4) To comprehend the Roosevelt Corollary.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the late nineteenth century most of the west European countries had completed the process of industrialization. It was a process by which raw material was turned into a finished product with the help of machines. Consequently, they began to feel the need for more foreign markets. Since the industrialized European countries lacked an abundant supply of raw materials they began searching for colonies which would supply them with various raw materials at very low prices; these colonies could also serve as assured markets where their finished products could be sold, without any competition whatsoever. The industrialized European Countries needed both raw materials and assured market for these needs. This led to a race among industrialized European and France were on the forefront while Germany joined it by the end of the nineteenth century.

3.2 GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM

Mean while at the other side of the world Japan emerged as a new power. She joined European powers in cutting the Chinese Melon. Winning the Sino Japanese war in 1894 the Japanese served a notice on the rest of the world that a new power was demanding a place in the sun. Perhaps the

chief reason for the trend away from isolation in the American Foreign policy was that the United States could no longer feel so secure as in the past. All through the nineteenth century British sea power had controlled the Atlantic, while the Pacific had been a power vacuum. But the revival of imperialism in the late nineteenth century led to a general sense of tension and by the beginning of the twentieth century Americans steadily became more disturbed by the threat to the world balance of power presented by the growth of the German and Japanese sea power.

3.2.1 American Imperialism:

Meanwhile the United States also developed tendencies towards imperialism. American industry began to need foreign markets. Although the United States remained, on balance a debtor nation until the World War – I surplus capital was being invested in neighboring countries like Canada, Mexico and Cuba. Yet presidents and secretaries of state were concerned that with the partitioning of world by European powers, American business might be denied access to profitable areas and felt it necessary to ensure that foreign markets remain open for American capital. They also began to acquire overseas colonies.

A small group of men who believed in Manifest Destiny strongly supported the idea of building an American Empire. Influenced by social Darwinism and by European imperialist writers like Rudyard Kipling they looked for a world leadership by American people. Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator Albert Beveridge were some of the prominent leaders of this group. They had considerable influence on the American policy especially when they advocated the acquisition of naval bases overseas. American imperialist expansion in the late nineteenth century was due more to strategic considerations than to economic factors. Captain Alfred T. Mahan in his “Influence of Naval Power on History” (1890) had emphasized the importance of naval bases. He argued that national greatness and prosperity will follow from naval power. Economic development called for a large navy and an equally large merchant marine. It was America’s destiny to control the Caribbean, build a Isthmian Canal and to spread western civilization in the Pacific region.

3.2.2 Social Darwinism:

The Darwinian theory of natural selection provided a convenient justification to imperialistic ventures. If the theory of natural selection worked among biological species why can it not work in human society? Historian John Finke in his “American Political Ideas” (1885) stressed the superior character of Anglo-Saxon people and institutions. He argued that the English were destined to dominate the world. Josiah strong in his “Our Country: Its Possible Future and Present Crisis” (1885) argued that the Anglo – Saxons embodied two great ideas of civil liberty and spiritual Christianity.

3.2.3 Expansion in Pacific:

In 1867 secretary of state Seward signed a treaty with Russia to purchase Alaska from her for \$ 7, 20,000/-. He also annexed the Midway Islands. Later in the century growing emphasis on sea power led to the acquisition of naval bases in the Pacific. In 1878 the United States had signed a treaty with Samoa by which she received the right to establish a naval base at Pago Pago. Later on, both Germany and Britain became interested in Samoa and a conflict among the three powers for the control of the island seemed imminent. The German government then gave way and an agreement was reached for a joint protectorate. Later the island was divided among the three powers. Tutubia which included Pago Pago became an American possession. Though Samoa itself was not very important the episode was significant as the first manifestation of a new imperialist psychology in the United States.

Guarding the approach to the American coastline the Hawaii islands had not been considered as strategically important even before the civil war. As early as 1842 Secretary of State Webster had declared that the United States would oppose its annexation by any other power. In 1875 a treaty was concluded which made Hawaii virtually an American protectorate. In 1887 the United States acquired the right to build a naval base at Pearl Harbor. In July 1898 Congress voted for annexation and the Hawaii islands were organized as a territory with a view to eventual statehood. This was during the war with Spain; When the United States was in an expansionist mood and becoming more conscious of her security.

3.2.4 Pan Americanism:

During the 1880's and 1890's the United States foreign policy began to look southwards and westward as well. In the hope of finding new markets for American industry the United States began to cultivate closer relation with Latin America in general. She also moved towards establishing an American sphere of influence in the Caribbean, control of which was thought to be necessary for American security. In 1889 a conference was held in Washington, which did little to increase American trade with Latin America. It founded the Pan American Union as a clearing house for disseminating information. It was followed by a series of other conferences. After the First World War the conference began to deal with serious political and economic problems; the ideal of cooperation with Latin America became more real.

3.2.5 The Venezuelan Boundary Dispute:

During the boundary dispute between British colony of Guinea and Venezuela American power in the Caribbean was asserted for the first time. Since ownership of land in the western theme sphere was at stake and the British had refused to submit their claim to arbitration President Cleveland felt that the Monroe Doctrine should be invoked secretary of State Olney declared that the United States would resort to force unless the British gave way. He declared, "Today the United States is practically

sovereign on this continent; and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition. Its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable against any or all its powers”.

The controversy continued for some time and war seemed imminent at one point. By that time the British were also involved in dispute in South Africa by comparison with the ownership of a few square miles of South American jungles was not important. They agreed to accept the decision of an international board of arbitration. Prime Minister Lord Salisbury pointed out that if the United States was going to protect the Latin American countries from European intervention she must, in turn; assume responsibility for their good behavior. The United States accepted this implication which in 1904 led to the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. In spite of Olney’s belligerence, the Venezuela dispute led in the end to closer relations with Britain. She withdrew most of her armed forces from the Western hemisphere and began to approve the Monroe Doctrine.

3.2.6 The Spanish American War:

The next step in the establishment of American hegemony in the Caribbean was the war with Spain. After losing her possessions on the mainland, Spain had retained the ownership of Cuba and Puerto Rico but had failed to reform her methods of government. A ten-year rebellion in Cuba (1868-78) ended unsuccessfully. In 1895 the Cubans rebelled again and the atrocities committed by the Spanish authorities and ravage nature of the struggle soon aroused the public opinion in the United States. By the beginning of 1898 there was considerable popular sentiment in favour of war with Spain. Liberal and Humanitarian idealism mingled with a nationalistic eagerness to assert the American power.

Meanwhile a small group of men led by Theodore Roosevelt, who was Assistant Secretary of Navy at that time, looked forward to world leadership by the United States also favored war for more practical reasons. While liberating Cuba the United States could also acquire naval bases in the Caribbean. Spain also owned the Philippines and if they were conquered by the United States they would serve as a valuable foothold in the Pacific. On the other hand, American business community was mostly opposed to war. It had invested very little money in Cuba and did not anticipate any particular advantages from its liberalization.

In February 1898 the battleship Marine was blown up. In April 1898 President McKinley declared war. In July 1898 American troops landed on the Cuban island, defeated the Spanish forces and then went on to occupy Puerto Rico.

By the Paris Peace Treaty, December 1898, Spain handed over Cuba, Philippines, Puerto Rico and the small island Guam in the Pacific to the United States. In 1902 Cuba assumed self-government, with some restrictions. Cuba’s future relationship with the United States was defined

by the Platt Amendment passed by the Congress in the form of an amendment to the Appropriations Bill of 1901.

3.2.7 Puerto Rico:

Although American rule in Puerto Rico brought about a number of improvements, it cannot be regarded as successful. Death rate was lowered, education was developed and public works were built. But the population began to increase rapidly, and since the government failed to solve the consequent problems living standards were very low. American corporations producing sugar and other tropical crops owned much of the land, a large part of the population worked on the plantations at extremely low wages. Puerto Ricans strongly resented the control exercised by the American government over the destinies of their country. A vigorous nationalist movement soon developed.

3.2.8 The Philippines:

Some of the Philippines had hoped for independence and annexation was followed by a rebellion headed by Emilio Aguinaldo. Civil government was set up in 1901, the first governor being William Howard Taft. An elected legislature was established, public education was developed and the public health was improved.

From the point of view of American national interests, the annexation of the Philippines was probably a mistake. They were of little economic value to the United States; they could not serve as a base for trade with other parts of the Far East. Being six thousand miles away from the American coastline they were a military liability and the responsibility of defending them was a serious handicap for the United States.

3.2.9 China and Open-Door Policy:

For a long time, the United States had been active in the Pacific. In the late eighteenth century, she developed commercial relations with China and Indonesia. Since the 1830's American Protestant missionaries had been active in China. It was believed that there were immense opportunities for profit, power and idealistic enterprises in the East, Asia especially in China, and that it was the duty of the American Government to see that they remain open. The next step towards involvement in the Far East was the enunciation of the Doctrine of open Door in China which then became one of the guiding principles of American foreign policy.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century Britain, France, Russia and Japan annexed or assumed protectorates over a number of outlying areas and by the end of the nineteenth century the central provinces of China also began to be carved out into spheres of interest. In theory, Political power remained with the Chinese officials, but foreign powers assumed the right to invest capital and exercise economic control and it seemed likely that these spheres of interest would gradually develop into colonial possessions. In 1898 British officials suggested to the American government that they join together in sponsoring another Door Policy, by

which China would not be partitioned but remain open to businessmen of all nations on equal terms. Since President McKinley was not very keen about the idea nothing came out of it. However, in 1889 Secretary of State John Hay circulated a note among the leading powers urging them to maintain commercial equality for citizens of all countries in their spheres of interests. Although the replies were decidedly evasive, He resorted to bluff and declared that all of them had agreed. In 1900 nationalistic resentment led to the Boxer Rebellion; the United States joined other nations in sending a joint military expedition to protect their citizens. Secretary of State was afraid that some of the powers might seize the opportunity to keep their troops permanently in China. He then circulated a second open Door note much more far reaching than the first in its implications. He declared that the policy of the United States was to preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity.

In practice however none of the powers, not even Britain was willing to accept the open-Door Doctrine. Although China was never carved out into colonies, this was mainly due to the inability of the imperialist powers to come to terms with each other and eventually to the outbreak of the First World War, rather than to the influence of the United States. The United States was not strong enough to maintain Chinese independence. Single handed and certainly not sufficiently interested in the East Asia to attempt to do so. The Open-Door Doctrine was thus merely a pious aspiration not backed by sufficient force.

Later in their Far Eastern policy President Theodore Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson all professed adherence to the open-door doctrine, but all of them discovered that little could be done to enforce it. The dominating factor in the situation was the growth of Japanese ambition to expand at the cost of China.

3.3 CARIBBEAN AND MEXICAN POLICY

In the Caribbean which was much closer than China the United States was willing to use sufficient force to protect her interests, although not always wisely or with adequate justification. It can be argued that the essential objectives of American policy would have been attained more successfully if the responsible officials had shown more restraint and more respect for the view point of their neighbors in Latin America.

Theodore Roosevelt succeeded President McKinley in 1901, he was particularly inclined towards strong arm methods in foreign policy, the most flagrant example was the method by which he secured the right to build the Panama Canal.

3.3.1 Panama Canal:

After the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Great Britain in 1850, the project for a canal across Central America was dropped for a generation. In 1870's United States again became interested but was no longer willing to share control with Britain. As President Hays remarked the canal would be virtually part of the United States. But for a long time Britain would not

accept any change in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Meanwhile French Company acquired a concession to build a Panama Canal from the Republic of Colombia; to which the region belonged. A few miles were constructed after which construction was stopped for lack of funds.

The war with Spain made the United States more security conscious and was followed by a general recognition of the need to build two navies, one each for the Atlantic and the Pacific. Britain was now willing to surrender her rights and by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 it was agreed that the United States could build and fortify a canal provided ships of all nations could use it in peace times on equal terms. The next question was whether to build the Canal across Panama or Nicaragua. The congress voted for the Panama route, the French Company applauded the decision which was anxious to sell its rights and properties.

In 1903, by the Hay-Harran Treaty with Colombia the United States agreed to pay ten million dollars and an annual rent of \$ 2, 50,000/- for the lease of the Canal Zone. The French Company agreed to sell its properties for forty million dollars. The treaty was then submitted to the Colombian Senate which decided that the terms were not good enough and refused to satisfy. At this point the United States could have negotiated a new treaty with Colombia or could have changed to the Nicaragua route, but Theodore Roosevelt refused to do so. While he did not actually promote a revolution in Panama he made it apparent that he would support Panamas if they chose to secede from Colombia. Panama soon declared herself independent Republic. The United States immediately granted recognition and sent an American warship to prevent Colombia from re-establishing its authority. The United States then made a treaty with Panama leasing a canal zone and also assuming the right of intervening in order to maintain order. Construction began in the course and in 1914 the first ship passed through the Canal.

No other episode in American foreign policy except the war with Mexico has done so much to arouse Latin American fears of Yankee imperialism and the Colossus of the north. In 1921 the United States decided to make amends to Colombia and paid twenty-five million dollars in separation.

3.3.2 The Roosevelt Corollary:

Construction of the canal made it necessary for the United States to control the Caribbean and prevent any hostile power from acquiring bases in that region. This led in 1904 to the annunciation of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.

Most of the small Caribbean and Central American republics were governed by dictators; they suffered from frequent revolutions during which foreign citizens were sometimes in danger. They were also unable to make payments on their national debts, much of which was held by European financiers. Under such circumstances European powers claimed the right of intervention by force to protect the rights of its citizens. As a last resort this right was recognized as valid under the international law. But there was also the danger that a power would abuse this right to

acquire bases or political control. To avert this danger Theodore Roosevelt decided that when such intervention was necessary it would be done solely by the United States. The Roosevelt Corollary was explained thus: chronic wrong doings may in America as elsewhere, ultimately require some 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 wrong doings or impudence to the exercise of an international police power. The Latin Americans came to believe that the United States had deliberately embarked on a programme of imperialistic expansion and could be stopped only by force.

In 1905 the Roosevelt corollary was applied in the Dominican Republic which was unable to pay its debts. With the consent of the Dominican government the United States assumed control of the finances; the foreign debt was scaled down and was transferred from European to American bankers. The American officials collected taxes and made part payment of the debt. Otherwise the country retained its autonomy. The only other intervention during Theodore Roosevelt's second term was in Cuba under the Platt Amendment. In 1906 revolutionary disturbances were followed by the landing of American troops, which stayed there till 1909.

3.3.3 The Mexican Revolution:

The immediate southern neighbors of the United States presented a much more complex diplomatic problem than the smaller Caribbean countries. From 1876 to 1911 Porfirio Diaz was the President of Mexico almost continuously. His main policy was to encourage the entry of foreign capital. Approximately fifteen million dollars were invested in rail roads, public utilities, plantations, mines and oil fields and about two thirds of it came from the American Citizens. Mexico's economic growth caused Diaz to be regarded as one of the greatest statesmen in the history of the hemisphere. Unfortunately, it benefited only a small upper class. Diaz allowed the Mexican Indian peasants to be robbed of their lands and transformed into workers at starvation wages for big land owners. Miners and industrial workers were similarly exploited. Almost all Mexicans resented the privileges acquired by foreign businessmen; they felt that a large proportion of national wealth was being drained off to pay dividends to European and American shareholders.

Mass discontent exploded in a revolution which was to cause far-reaching changes in Mexican society. In 1911 Diaz was exiled and an idealistic but somewhat ineffectual liberal Francisco Madero was elected President. Though he made no substantial reforms, he allowed the peasants and workers to organize and express their grievances. He was also less friendly than Diaz to foreign capital. In February 1913 Madero was overthrown by a reactionary coup headed by General Victoriano Huerta. To the lasting discredit of American diplomacy, the coup was aided by Henry Lane Wilson, United States minister to Mexico.

Huerta secured most of the country but in the north and south there were movements to avenge the death of Madero, restore the constitutional government and bring about land and labour reforms. The movements were led by Venustiano Carranza, Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata, an Indian peasant chief. Thus, when Wilson became President Mexico was plunged into civil war. Wilson adopted a policy of watchful waiting, he tried to persuade Huerta to retire and allow free election. Huerta refused to do so. Wilson then allowed the nationalist leaders to purchase arms and ammunition but did not allow Huerta to do so. This meant that the United States was taking sides in the Mexican conflict, but some form of indirect participation was inevitable. Whatever attitude the United States adopted was bound to work for the advantage of one party or the other.

3.3.4 Intervention in Mexico:

Eventually Wilson went beyond watchful waiting. In April 1914 he was informed that a German merchant ship was on the way to the Mexican port of Veracruz with arms for Huerta. He then ordered the marines to seize Veracruz. Although Wilson's action was intended to help the nationalists they denounced it as vigorously as Huerta. Wilson then arranged a conference on Mexican problems which was attended by leading South American countries. This move towards participation with Latin America in setting Latin American problems was a significant step towards the later Good Neighbor Policy.

In August 1914 Huerta went into exile and in November American marines left Veracruz. Now different factions of the nationalist movement came to blow with each other in a war which continued for two years and once again the United States was compelled to take sides. By 1917 Mexico achieved some degree of peace and order; she adopted a new constitution which provided for radical agrarian and labour reforms. It was only after 1920 that the Mexican government began to curtail the privileges which American investors had acquired during the Diaz era.

3.3.5 United States and Japan:

In their Far Eastern Policy Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson professed adherence to Hay's Policy of Open Door but they discovered that little could be done to enforce it. The growth of Japanese power and ambition about China was the dominating factor in the situation.

3.3.6 Theodore Roosevelt and Japan:

In 1904 rivalry between Japan and Russia for control of Korea and of the Chinese province of Manchuria led to war. The Japanese won a series of victories and then became anxious for peace before their strength was exhausted. At their request Theodore Roosevelt acted as a mediator which led to the Treaty of Portsmouth (N.H.) of 1905. Japan gained exclusive control of Korea and southern part of Manchuria but was unable to obtain indemnity which she had demanded from Russia.

Japanese American relations rapidly deteriorated. Japanese assumed exclusive control of Korea and the southern part of Manchuria paying no attention to Open Door and blamed the United States for their failure to secure an indemnity. Relations were further strained by racial discrimination in the United States where Japanese were looked on as yellow peril by their white neighbor. The Japanese were extremely sensitive to any suggestion that they were an inferior people. Both sides began to talk of war.

Theodore Roosevelt met the danger realistically. He stopped racial discrimination against the Japanese and in 1907*08 secured an agreement from the Japanese government to stop the flow of immigrants. By the 1908 Root – Takahira Agreement both countries agreed to respect each other's possession and maintain status quo in the Pacific area. The Agreement also reaffirmed Open Door in China and Chinese integrity. Since the status quo now included Japanese economic control of Southern Manchuria these statements were apparently face saving.

Theodore Roosevelt understood the danger of adopting any position anywhere unless we can make good. "Never draw unless you mean to shoot. Japanese advances in Manchuria cannot be stopped unless we (the United States) go to war and a successful war with Manchuria would require a fleet of good as that of England and an army as good as that of Germany.

Taft was an exponent of dollar diplomacy; he reverted to the original Open Door and tried to bring about more American investment in Chinese railroad. But when Wilson came to power in 1913 he stopped all government support for American investment in China.

Thus, the United States continued to affirm the Open Door on paper. While declining to defend it in reality. But now the motivations had changed. Originally an expansionist measure, designed to keep the Chinese market open for American trade and investment, it had become primarily defensive. By 1913 the United States had only fifty million dollars invested in China, bought from China only two percent of her imports and sold China only one percent of her exports. She had much closer economic relation with Japan.

Check Your Progress:

1. What is Roosevelt Corollary?
2. Comment on Mexican Revolution.

3.4 SUMMARY

To sum up American rise as a world power was mainly a matter of trial and error. Her policy went on evolving during the latter part of the nineteenth century. She also realized that there is vast difference between theory and practice, between idealism and reality and that what appeared attractive on paper could not either be brought into reality or that it would jeopardize national interests. Consequently, the United States position

about a particular policy went on changing and made her policy liable to be charged as opportunistic.

3.5 QUESTIONS

- 1) Enumerate the factors that led to the emergence of the United States as a world power.
- 2) What is Open Door Policy? How far did it succeed?
- 3) Discuss the various stages by which the United States became a world power.

3.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Barck O.T. & Blake N.M: Since 1900: A History of the United States in Our Times.
- 2) Parker, Henry Bamford. The United States of America a History.



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GREAT DEPRESSION

Unit Structure:

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Important Features of Economic Development
- 4.3 Economy of Abundance
- 4.4 Weaknesses in the Economic System
- 4.5 The Great of Depression
- 4.6 Political Repercussions
- 4.7 Summary
- 4.8 Questions
- 4.9 Suggested Readings

4.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the important features of economic development.
- 2) To know the causes of Great Depression.
- 3) To analyze the Great Depression.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

President Harding, Coolidge and Herbert Hoover were convinced that the primary economic function of the government was to assist business in making high profits: not to supervise business practice. Their conviction seemed to be justified during the 1920's. Business made profits on an unprecedented scale, rapidly invested them in industrial expansion. It rapidly increased national wealth and productive capacity. Some of these benefits percolated down to the wage earners in the form of consumer's goods, steady employment and higher standards of living. However, a considerable part of the population did not share at all in the prosperity. Neither the conservatives nor the liberals were able to realize that the policy of stimulating the accumulation of profits might have been justified after the Civil war, but eventually it must lead to disaster in the new era of abundance. Very soon over production, over speculation and under consumption brought about the worst depression in American History. It became quite clear that during the 1920's there had been serious weaknesses in the whole economic structure and that in failing to take action to rectify then the abdicated its proper functions.

4.2 IMPORTANT FEATURES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The most important feature of economic development during the 1920's was the growth of production resulting from the application of scientific inventions, new sources of power and new techniques of promoting efficiency. By 1929 sixty-nine workers could produce as much as one hundred workers in 1920. Total production in all branches of economic system increased between 1920 and 1929 by forty six percent. In 1929 national income amounted to 82 billion dollars; allowing for changes in value of money this represented an increase of thirty one percent over 1922; while population during the same period increased by only eleven percent.

With the steady improvement of productive methods, relatively few workers were needed for basic necessities such as food and clothing. In 1899 these had amounted to 57.9 percent, by 1929 this proportion had been dropped to 43.6 percent. Meanwhile there was a rapid increase in new buildings and machinery and in durable consumption goods such as cars, refrigerators, telephones and electrical appliances. This meant that articles originally regarded as luxuries for the upper class were becoming available for the average American family. The middle-class American family now enjoyed a standard of living that seemed incredible even to the very rich at any earlier period of history.

Rapid growth of service, distribution and white-collar operations was another aspect of economic progress. Fewer people were engaged in administration and in providing amenities for consumers. Between 1920 and 1929 the number of industrial workers employed in manufacturing, mining and transportation actually decreased by more than five lakhs, while the number of farmers came down by 2, 50,000. According to the 1930 census, only fifty eight percent of the employed population was directly engaged in production of the remaining eight percent were in business, 5.5 percent were domestic servants and about 30.5 percent were engaged in professional, clerical and service occupation.

4.2.1 Automobiles:

Industrial expansion of the late nineteenth century was centered on rail roads and steel. The expansion of 1920's was dominated by a building boom and by a number of durable consumption industries. Most important of these was the manufacture of automobiles, of which Henry Ford was the leading figure. By 1909 Henry Ford had evolved his famous Model TV which could be produced at a price that made it accessible to middle class Americans. Henry Ford had graced the essential elements of the new era of abundance – standardization and division of labour in order to cut costs, high wages to increase purchasing power and mass production at low prices for a popular market. Largely because of his leadership, an automobile after 1909 ceased to be a toy for the rich and became essential ingredient in the American standard of living.

By 1928 a total number of 24,500,000 cars had been manufactured and nearly four million workers were directly and indirectly dependent on this industry. Meanwhile Federal and State government spent one billion dollars each year on making highways. Thus, American people became people on wheels. Every big city was facing apparently insoluble problems; the rhythms of life became much quicker. The nation's oil reserves were consumed at a dizzy and alarming rate. But there was no question that the life of the average American, especially in the rural areas, had become vastly richer and more varied.

4.2.2 Other Industries:

Rapid increase in the use of electricity was another significant advance of the 1920's. This made many forms of manufacturing and transportation cheaper and more efficient. It also brought about new comforts to the home and lightened the labors of housewives in their kitchens.

In terms of Horse Power, the production of electricity went from 7,500,000 (1912) to 20,300,000 (1922) and to 43,200,000 (1930). It was an expansion of about sixty percent in eighteen years. E.I. Dupont made a fortune in making gun powder and later branched into industrial chemistry, especially coal, tar and cellulose products. A.T. & T General Motors were giants in the fields of communication and automobiles respectively. By 1920's seeing films became a national habit and by 1926 there were ten million movie theaters in the United States. Earlier in the country the inventions of Marconi, an Italian, and Lee De Forest, an American made possible the radio. By 1927 there were 732 radio stations and a radio set had become a normal feature in the American home.

4.3 ECONOMY OF ABUNDANCE

Many of the new inventions of the early twentieth century directly enriched the life of the average American citizen. Their combined effect upon human life was so momentous that they can be fairly described as a second industrial revolution. The age of coal and steam was being replaced by an age of oil and electricity. With the use of new sources of power and forms of transportation it was no longer necessary for people to crowd in vast industrial cities. Urban areas were no longer over shadowed by smoking chimneys; they could become cleaner and healthier. The farmer no longer lived in isolation and the barriers between the city and the country began to disappear.

During the 1920's it was widely believed that the United States had entered a new era of permanent abundance, and the mass production, combined with high wage levels, was abolishing poverty and creating, for the first time in history, a high standard of living for everybody. This belief was widely held by businessmen, they liked to describe themselves as serving the people. Rotary Clubs and other businessman's organizations began to preach service and high ethical standards. Most big corporations felt the need for popular support; they began to spend more and more on "Public Relations" which was a suitable form of advertising. It is easy to

be cynical about service, obviously business was still carried on to make profit, yet increasing willingness of business leaders to recognize that they had social responsibilities and to appreciate the dependence of prosperity upon mass purchasing power, was a significant trend.

4.4 WEAKNESSES IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The high hopes of the 1920's was frustrated by the great depression of the 1930's. Although the economy could produce goods in an astonishing quantity and variety, it had not solved the problem of distribution. An analysis of how industry was organized and controlled and income distributed showed that there were serious weaknesses in the mechanism of market. This led to a financial crisis and made the ensuing depression unusually prolonged and intense.

4.4.1 Monopoly and Oligopoly:

By the end of the nineteenth century big corporations came to dominate the economic system. In 1929 there were 1,349 big corporations with annual incomes in excess of one million dollars. They earned eighty percent of all corporate profit leaving only twenty percent to the remaining 4, 55,000 corporations. Almost half of all corporate wealth and a quarter of national wealth was the property of only 200 firms. Big corporations-controlled transportation and public utilities, did most of retail trade. Small ownership remained strong only in agriculture, some consumer goods like clothing, some forms of retail trade and service occupations.

Probably there was less out sight monopoly in 1929 than in 1901. This was due partly to trust busting and partly due to the vast economic expansion, which had made it more difficult for a single firm to dominate an entire industry. But decrease of monopoly had not brought much revival of price competition. The rise of oligopoly – control of market not by one corporation but by a few. Under oligopoly corporations usually cooperated with each other in maintaining uniform prices, either by agreement or by following a leader. But they competed through improving quality and through advertising. This was true of many basic industries like steel and in some consumer goods industries; four or five cigarette companies always charged the same prices.

There were strong arguments in favour of managed prices, as they facilitated long range planning and expansion. But it made it more difficult for the economy to weather a depression. Under a fully competitive system any decrease in purchasing power would have been quickly counteracted by a cut in prices. But when depression started, the big corporations found it more profitable to keep their prices stable and cut production, thereby increasing unemployment and intensifying the crisis. Price rigidity was thus one major weakness in the economic system.

4.4.2 Corporate Organization:

Some industries were controlled by entrepreneurs like Carnegie and Rockefeller who combined ownership with management. Other business

leaders were primarily financial promoters seeking speculative profits; this type was especially prevalent in electric power industries. With the steady trend towards the separation of ownership from management, there was no longer much room for individual drive and ambition. Ownership was diffused in a large number of shareholders, while management was assumed by salaried executives. In 1930 A.T. & T was owned by 5, 70,000 shareholders, none of whom held as much as one percent of shares. With the rapid increase in the number of shareholders the United States appeared to be becoming a nation of capitalists. But this was very optimistic, nobody knew how many individuals were shareholders, but major share of the profits of industry went to a relatively small group.

4.4.3 Distribution of Income:

Salaries and profits increased much rapidly in the 1920's than wages. Many corporations gave their workers substantial increase in wages, adopted pension plans and spent large sums on welfare and recreation. However, the wage increases failed to keep pace with the growth of production. Between 1922 and 1929 the real wages of industrial workers rose, on an average, by 1.4 percent per year, whereas production per capital was increasing by 2.4 percent per year. During these years the total money wages paid to industrial workers increased by thirty three percent as contrasted with a rise in salaries of forty two percent, corporations net profits by seventy six percent and shareholders dividends by one hundred eight percent. Thus, while wage earners were earning larger incomes they were at the same time a smaller share of national income.

An appreciable part of population like workers in textile manufacturing and mining of bituminous coal had definitely no share in the prosperity. This was true of many farmers as well. Increased production in the war years was followed in 1921 by a steep drop in farm prices of forty four percent. Throughout the 1920's agriculture never recovered with the loss of foreign markets, over production became chronic and farm prices to other prices, the farmers were eleven percent worse off than 1913. Many of them were unable to pay off the heavy debts they had incurred during the boom years of the war. Millions of farmers and their families, especially in the South, lived close to starvation. About thirty lakhs farm families had an annual income of less than one thousand dollars.

In 1929 more than seventy percent of the employed population was getting less than two thousand five hundred dollars a year and more than forty percent were getting less than one thousand five hundred dollars per year. The degrees of income inequality become so acute that 6, 31,000 families at the top were earning much more than sixteen million families at the bottom of the ladder.

4.4.4 Saving and Purchasing Power:

Since the richer classes save a large part of their incomes, while the poor save little or nothing, inequality of income distribution leads to a rapid growth of savings. This is desirable only if the savings can be invested in industrial expansion. But the purpose of expansion is to produce more

goods for consumers, and it is profitable only to the extent that people are able and willing to buy them. For this reason, an economic system is likely to seem into difficulties if savings are allowed to seem ahead of consumer's purchasing power. This happened in the later 1920's. Large sums were laid aside by people in higher income brackets. Most of the big corporations were accumulating savings instead of distributing their profits to shareholders. The result was that the building of industrial expansion of the later 1920's was far in excess of the effective needs of the economy while billions of dollars of savings were diverted into speculation in real estate and the share market instead of being invested in production.

This deficiency of purchasing power did not become clear because of the growth of debt. A considerable part of goods sold in the 1920's, especially in durable consumer's goods, were not paid for immediately. But the process of piling up of debts could not continue indefinitely. Borrowing money and buying on credit enlarged the market for some time, but sooner or later debts would have to be paid and the market would than contract.

4.4.5 Growth of Debt:

Installment buying was one form of debt. Between 1923 and 1929 this was estimated at five billion dollars per year. The average American family bought its car and its refrigerator by making a small down payment and contracting to pay the remainder over a period of years. Other forms of private debts also increased rapidly. By 1930 the total farm mortgage debt was 92,200,000,000, dollars and urban mortgage debt reached the colossal sum of twenty-six billion dollars. Small and medium size businessmen were also borrowing heavily for expansion. By 1930 the total amount of long term and short-term private debt was two hundred billion dollars. Nearly everybody seemed to be in some debt to somebody else. This made the economy vulnerable since whenever any group became unable to meet its obligations, the whole structure would start collapsing like a house of cards.

4.4.6 Public Debts:

Although the Federal government was to reducing the national debt states and municipal bodies were raising more and more money for building roads, hospitals and offices. In the 1920's spending on Public works averaged three billion dollars per year. This was paid partly out of taxes but by 1930 the total debt of local governments had reached sixteen billion dollars.

4.4.7 Foreign Investments:

Prior to the First World War the United States was a debtor country; foreigners had invested more money in the United States than Americans had invested abroad. By 1929 total American long-term foreign investments amounted to 15.4 billion dollars. Since foreigners had invested 5 – 7 billion dollars in the United States Americans Credit balance was 9.7 billion dollars.

One of the effects of foreign investment was to make it possible foreign countries to buy American goods. The United States continued to export agriculture products like tobacco, wheat and cotton and manufactured goods, capturing markets previously held by the British and the Germans. Between 1922 and 1929 American exports exceeded imports by an average of seven hundred million dollars every year. In other words, the American economy was disposing a part of its surplus products by exporting them and was at the same time lending foreign countries, money with which to buy them.

4.5 THE GREAT DEPRESSION

4.5.1 Causes of Depression:

1. Relatively too much money was saved while not enough was available for spending by consumers. Part of the accumulated savings was invested in expansion but sooner or later the supply of new factories, machinery and office buildings and office buildings and apartment houses was in excess of the actual possibilities of the market. Throughout the 1920's the market was stimulated through the growth of debt, both internal and foreign. But debt is like a drug; the doses have to be increased and cannot safely go on indefinitely and once the period of expansion ended and capital goods industries slowed down the economy could not quickly or easily readjust itself.
2. An extremely complicated system of debt obligations was another reason. When one group became unable to meet its obligations, everybody ran into difficulties.
3. Price fixing by big corporations deprived the economy of the necessary flexibility and capacity for adjustment. Instead of cutting prices and maintaining production, the corporations-maintained prices and cut production. Thereby they created large scale unemployment.
4. The economy depended heavily on the sale of durable goods. Even in bad times people have to eat, but they can go on without buying cars and refrigerators and they also need not move into new houses. Recovery in their industries was very slow.
5. These material factors do not represent the whole picture. The inner motor which keeps the wheels rolling in modern industrial community is psychological. Prosperity depends on that mysterious thing known as confidence, which causes businessmen to expand their activities, incur debts on the assumption that they can repay them, produce new goods in the expectation that somebody will buy them, and keep money and goods in circulation. During the boom period of the 1920's confidence led to frenzied over production, speculation and piling up of debts. When the crash came confidence suddenly disappeared and businessmen suddenly became reluctant to take any new under taking.

4.5.2 The Collapse of 1929:

By the summer of 1929 there were symptoms of a coming depression. Production was declining in the building, steel and automobile industries and workers were being laid off. But nobody realized the significance of these facts, since attention was concentrated on the dizzy rise share prices. The great bull market of 1929 can only be regarded as a case of temporary mass insanity.

The main function of the share market was to provide facilities for the investment of capital in productive enterprise was almost forgotten. Americans now started to gamble on the share prices. People bought shares not because they wanted sound investments but, in the hope, that they could sell them to others after a few weeks at substantial profits. Many Americans now began to buy shares on margin; they paid only a small fraction of the price and were given credit by their brokers for the remainder. Mass speculation led to rising share prices which had no relation to the Company's real capacity for earning dividends. But this process could not go on indefinitely. As soon as prices began to go down those who bought on margin were forced to sell in a hurry. Catastrophe was inevitable.

On 19th October share prices began to fall and the inevitable catastrophe came on 29th October 1929. Some 16.5 billion shares were bought and sold and, in some cases, prices dropped as much as eighty percent. Nobody was prepared to buy them and thousands of margin accounts were wiped out. Some thirty billion dollars paper wealth was wiped out. Businessmen stopped investing money in expansion, consumers began to buy fewer goods, production of capital and durable goods declined, workers in those industries were laid off and growing unemployment further contracted purchasing power. Thus, there began a vicious circle of less investments, less production, more unemployment and further decline in demand.

4.5.3 The Course of Depression:

Between 1929 and 1932 the national income decreased from eighty-two billion dollars to forty billion dollars. Allowing for the fall in prices this represented a drop-in production of thirty seven percent. Total industrial production fell by forty eight percent which led to a rapid growth of unemployment. By the summer of 1932 between twelve and sixteen million people remained unemployed, this was about twenty five percent of the total work forces.

On the other hand, farmers could not control prices and had to go on producing. Total farm products fell by six percent while farm prices fell by sixty three percent. At its lowest point in 1932 the purchasing power of farmers was exactly half of what it had been ten years earlier.

These figures tell a story of mass misery on a scale unequalled in earlier American history. Its psychological results were shocking because of the contrast of high hopes of permanent prosperity that had been entertained

during the 1920's. By 1932 lakhs of people became homeless migrant drifting aimlessly about in the country. Many were living in huts built out of refuse timber on vacant plots in the city. They were known as Homerville's. Five lakh workers had gone back to agriculture; other unemployed were living on relief doles. For a large part of American people depression meant deprivation of home and savings, prolonged malnutrition and a loss of respect of confidence in their own capacity to support themselves.

Yet the most remarkable feature of the depression was the patience displayed by most of its victims. Throughout these bitter years American people displayed an extraordinary respect for law and order and the rights of property. Among the farmers there were a few outbreaks of organized violence and some group of workers, like Coalmines, went on strike against wage cuts. But on the whole country remained astonishingly peaceful.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) State any two features of economic development.
- 2) Enlist the causes of the Great Depression.
- 3) What was the rough period of Great Depression?

4.6 POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS

In parts of Europe the depression struck a blow to liberalism, democracy and private enterprise capitalism. Many people were willing to give up freedom in the hope of achieving economic security. Many of them turned to communism which promised a classless society and a planned economy. Many responded to the programme of fascist organizations as in Germany and Italy. Even in those countries which retained faith in democracy governments acquired much powers of economic regulation. The general trend was towards economic nationalism resembling the mercantilism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Latin America there were revolutions in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and nine other countries. Only the Soviet Russia largely isolated from rest of the world and operating on different economic principles seemed immune from the crises and unemployment.

In the United States democracy had more solid foundations and totalitarian movements made little headway. Popular sentiments changed from Republicans to Democrats. In less obvious ways the depression tended to weaken the faith in the American tradition. The shock of the World War – I, followed by the favorites money making of the 1920's had given many of them a feeling of being alienated from the society, unable to participate in its activities or believe in its values. This sense of non-belonging was now reinforced by the economic collapse.

Socialism and Communism: The depression caused many idealistic American writers, professors, ministers of religion and college students to feel that economic salvation could be found through a planned economy and to become sympathetically interested in the Soviet experiment and willing to believe that it was moving in the right direction.

4.7 SUMMARY

Depression produced three mass leaders whose irrational and hysterical propaganda had disturbingly fascist flavors. They were Huey P. Long, Dr Francis Townsend and Father Charles E. Laughlin. Long was elected the Governor of Louisiana in 1928. A cross between a populist shell binder and a Caribbean dictator he acquired insularly absolute power over the state of Louisiana. But he used them for the benefit not only of himself but also for the poorer classes. Dr. Townsend was a retired physician from California. He put forth the idea that depression could be prevented by paying a pension of two hundred dollars a month to everybody over the age of sixty. He was an honest man but no competent economist approved of his plan and the methods used by his associates to promote it were decidedly demagogic. Father Coughlin was a Catholic Priest from Michigan. He denounced bankers, demanded inflation and advocated isolationism and was sympathetic to liberalism.

Although they made tall claim a large majority of American people retained their sense of security. They wanted to bring about full production and employment without at the same time destroying the essential liberty of the individual to choose his occupation, accumulate property and to spend or to save his money as he pleased.

During the darkest period of depression almost everybody demanded vigorous action by the Federal government but there were considerable differences about their objectives. They wanted the Federal government to take positive steps to restore prosperity and most of them accepted the traditional system of constitutional government and private enterprise. They rejected the Socialist and communist programme for the abolition of private ownership. The conservatives regarded government expedient as temporary expedient, and insisted that the economic system was basically strong. They attributed the crisis partly to the disturbing effects of the war and the post war debt and reparation payments and partly to errors of financial policy. On the other hand, liberals emphasized the restricted purchasing power of the farmers and many of the wage earners and called for government action to diminish inequalities of incomes and raise mass living standards.

John Maynard Keynes was the most liberal economist of the 1930's. He believed that the accumulation of surplus savings was due to more fundamental causes than errors of financial policy. According to him this was bound to happen in a mature economy and could not be rectified by the automatic process of supply and demand. The remedy suggested by him was for the government to put their savings into circulation through a public works programme and thereby compensate for the private

investment. Thus, the traditional belief in a constantly budget ought to be abandoned, and in times of prosperity the government could impose heavy taxes and start reducing the debt, but during a depression it ought to spend more than it collected. The government's financial policy, if wisely implemented, could serve as control over the working of the economy, evening out business cycles and maintaining full employment. A number of influential American economists such as Alvin Hauzen of Harvard University adopted the Keynesian theory. During the 1930's it largely occupied the American liberal thought.

4.8 QUESTIONS

1. Explain various causes that led to the Great Depression in 1929.
2. Analyze the great Depression and its results on America.

4.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Parker, Henry Bamford. The United States of America a history, Scientific Book Agency. Calcutta 1.



NEW DEAL

Unit Structure:

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Background of New Deal
- 5.3 Franklin Roosevelt and New Deal
- 5.4 Banking and Finance
- 5.5 Roosevelt and the Supreme Court
- 5.6 Results of the New Deal
- 5.7 Summary
- 5.8 Questions
- 5.9 Suggested readings

5.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the background of New Deal.
- 2) To examine the role of Franklin Roosevelt in the New Deal of America.
- 3) To analyses the results of New Deal.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

New Deal is the name given to a series of actions undertaken by President Roosevelt to lift the American people out of depression and lead them to a new future. These actions do not form one carefully planned scheme.

The economic crisis dominated American politics for nearly a decade. Both Hoover and Roosevelt attempted to bring about recovery. Government encouragement and supervision of economic growth had been an established practice. But the measures adopted during the 1930's were of unprecedented scope and involved far reaching changes in the relation between the government and business.

5.2 BACKGROUND OF NEW DEAL

Hoover was a strong believer in the virtues of private enterprise and rugged individualism. He was afraid of the growth of a super state where every man becomes the servant of the state and real liberty is lost. He was convinced that relief for the unemployed must be left to the private charity

and local authorities. If people get into the habit of looking for government support, liberty would be destroyed and the country would come under the dictatorship of a remote bureaucracy. On the other hand, the Federal government should give up help to private business in order to bolster up private enterprise and save it from total collapse. However, Hoover's willingness to give Federal aid to corporations, while denying it to starving people made him appear as callously indifferent to human suffering. He was a man of high integrity, an efficient administrator and extremely hardworking. But he lacked political skill and experience and he could not appeal to masses.

5.2.1 Hoover's programme:

During the first two years of the debacle Hoover doubled the spending on public worker, urged businessmen not to cut wages and tried to expand credit. He went on stressing that prosperity would return soon. But that did not happen. He set up a Reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend money to business corporations; twelve Federal Home Loan Banks to refinance the home owners who were in danger of losing their homes; and Federal Land Banks to help farmers. Similarly, a large extension of Bank credit was made possible through changes in Federal Reserve System; taxes were increased to compensate decrease in Federal revenue in the hope of balancing budget. By the time these measures were affected the 1932 presidential election was approaching.

5.2.2 The election of 1932:

Renominated by the Republican Party, Hoover argued that severity of the depression was due to world conditions beyond the control of the United States and that his measures were rapidly producing results. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was nominated by the Democrats. He promised a balanced budget, a reduced Federal expenditure, sound currency and no interference with legitimate private enterprise. He also called for some reforms of business abuses and Federal spending on relief and public works. He also gave expression to the main principles of what later came to be known as New Deal, but in vague and general terms. By the time he took office on 4th March 1933 serious financial condition threatened to ruin every bank. In most of the state's Banks declared a holiday. By February, 1933 alarmed depositors were removing their money in such quantities that state governments had to intervene.

5.3 FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT AND NEW DEAL

In dealing with depression Roosevelt followed a pragmatic approach; he was guided by experience rather than by doctrine. He was willing to try almost any method that appeared promising. He was also willing to abandon it if it did not succeed. He was also temperamentally on the side of the underdog. He was an enemy of privilege and exploitation. In fighting for his objects, he showed stubborn courage and political skill unsurpassed by any of his predecessors. He had a clear grasp of popular sentiment and capacity to give it expression and direction. His fire side chats, in a language which everybody could understand, made him more intimately known to American people. In his inaugural address he

declared, that only thing we have to fear is fear itself. He promised prompt action against depression. The Congress met in a special session and during the hundred days of his presidency enacted a number of important laws. He restored the faith of the American people to control their own destiny.

5.3.1 New Deal:

New Deal consists of a series of actions undertaken by the Roosevelt Administration to lift the American people out of depression and to lead them to a new future. These actions were not a part of a carefully planned scheme. In 1933 time was short and the need was urgent, so many of Roosevelt's actions were steps taken in a hurry to deal with immediate problems. Relief, Recovery and Reform were the three great aims of the New Deal. Relief had to be provided to millions of Americans who were desperately in need of food and cash. Recovery was about the government action to lead the country out of depression and Reform was about setting right the glaring wrongs so that the United States can go forward to new future. In practice they included a wide variety of purposes. Roosevelt wanted to help the poor, not only the poor people throughout the country but also poverty-stricken industries like the coal industry, poverty-stricken regions like the farmlands in the South and West. He wanted to attack the rich employers and financiers and help the workmen to organize trade unions so that they can bargain fairly with their employers. He wanted to safe guard democracy against the power of the rich. He wanted to help industries to recover not, as President Hoover had done, by making the ordinary American to buy from the business firms. He also wanted to stop the waste of America's natural resources – her oil, her land, in order to keep them for Americans of the future. He made it clear that it was his own personal policy. The New Deal was not the policy of the Democrat party, but it was the policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He used to the utmost the full powers which the constitution had allowed him. No previous American President ever wielded such great power in peace time. He collected around him a group of comparatively young men, college professors, and experts in finance, economics and such subjects. This group was known as the Brains Trust. It planned the details of the New Deal. In his fireside chats he spoke about the common problems of American people. In his bi-weekly White House press conferences he left the journalists crowd into his office, ask him any question of their liking. His quick answers, his friendliness and his willingness to crack jokes won him popularity among pressmen.

Many able persons with varied opinions such as Harold Ickes (Secretary for interior), Harry Hopkins (Federal Relief Administrator), and Henry Wallace (Secretary for Agriculture and Vice-President during Roosevelt's third term) Frances Perkins (first woman secretary for labour) contributed much to carrying out the New Deal. Roosevelt's Team changed substantially over the years, and so did the New Deal itself so much so that it became customary to talk of two New Deals. The first New Deal lasted from 1933 to 1935. It concentrated mainly on immediate problems of restoring the banking system, providing jobs for the unemployed and

raising agricultural prices to help farmers, setting industries on their own feet. The second New Deal lasted from 1935 to 1938. It brought more measures of lasting reform; involved heavy expenditure and unbalanced budget, higher taxation of the rich. It showed far less sympathy to business and more to such groups as trade unions. The change was neither so clear cut nor so sudden as this division suggests, for actions of the government were numerous and complicated, they took time to affect. The depression did not yield easily; the national income for 1934, almost two years of New Deal, was only little more than half of the 1929 figure and there were almost ten million unemployed. More radical action was needed. Businessmen had become critical of some points of the New Deal and Roosevelt was very much willing to take up their challenge. He was worried about the growing popularity of people like Huey Long and Dr. Francis Townsend. The best way to deal with them was to take some serious action. Roosevelt had not as yet satisfied the trade unions as a series of 1934 strikes indicated. All these things led him to lean after two years in office and thus brought about more far reaching reforms. Some of the main reforms of the New Deal were as follows.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) Comment on Socialism and Communism.
- 2) What was Hoover's Programme?

5.4 BANKING AND FINANCE

When Roosevelt assumed office all banks in the country were shut. His first task was to get the national finance system working again. He did this by giving people confidence in their banks once more. Within a week of assuming office Roosevelt got the Congress to pass an Emergency Banking Act, which gave him power over the banks and power to reopen those he considered solvent. In his first fire side chat he convinced the people that all was well with the country's finances. Confidence was restored; banks were reopened and people deposited their money in them again. He followed this emergency action by other important laws. Banking Act of 1933 established a stricter control of the banks; in order to prevent frauds separated banks which did only banking business. Most important was the setting up of Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation which insured deposits in banks and thus safeguarded depositors against losing their money because of a run on the bank in times of panic. 1933 Securities Act attempted to stop formation of fraudulent companies. It ordered all companies to state all facts about themselves clearly and accurately on any prospectus issued to the public. 1934 Act set up the Securities Exchange Commission. This was a special body to ensure that all companies carried out the act of 1933 and to investigate all dishonest and dubious practices on the share markets. Slowly the Securities Exchange Commission transformed stock Exchanges into super markets devoted to their proper purpose of channeling capital into productive industry. He tried to encourage banks to lend money at low rates of interest, for which he made use of the Federal Reserve Banking system created by President Wilson.

5.4.1 Farmers:

American farmers had gained very little from the prosperity of the 1920's. They had suffered in common with the rest of the people during the depression. They faced many difficulties the chief of which was the low prices their farm products were fetching. They were not able to sell their crops overseas and they were growing more than the American people were consuming. The depression made their plight worse by making Americans pay still less for farm products. Roosevelt's main aim was therefore to raise farm prices. He also did a number of other things for the farmers. The government lent them money to save them from being evicted from their farms and helped those whose farms were on poor land to start all over again in fertile areas. But the only effective way would be to make sure that farmers got good prices for their produce. So, in 1933 the Farmer's Relief Act was passed. It created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to encourage cooperative marketing for some farm products. Those American farmers who had lost their overseas markets such as cotton, tobacco, rice, wheat and pigs. The government devised a scheme for reducing the amount of the produce grown by the farmers. Farmers who wished to do so could sign agreements with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to reduce the amount of a particular crop. They wished to grow. This meant destroying some of their crops in the first year and planning to grow less in the following years. The government paid the farmers to do this because less crop meant higher prices. The money paid to the farmers was provided by processing taxes. For example, tax on cotton spinning was used to withdraw poor cotton lands from cultivation and tax on flour mills was used to give similar help to wheat farmers. Nature helped the scheme; in 1934 and 1936 there were severe draughts. But in 1936 the Supreme Court ruled that the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was un-constitutional; it took exception to the processing tax. The government then came back with a soil conservation Act which did much the same as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, raising money by a different method and leasing poor land from farmers.

The soil Conservation Act also paid attention to the problem of saving American soil from wastage caused by reckless farming and draught. Much land had been ruined in the south and the Dust Bowl, the western parts of the plains, from which dust storms blew tons of soil into the Middle West. Thus, it tried to prevent great areas of the United States from going the way of parts of Iraq and North Africa, which once were fertile land but arid desert now. All these attempts produced one clear sign of Improvement. Between 1932 and 1937 the total income of American farmers almost doubled.

5.4.2 The Civilian Conservation Corps:

Rising unemployment of young men was one of the worst features of the depression. Roosevelt tried to solve this problem by creating in 1933 the Civilian Conservation Corps. Under this scheme unmarried young men between eighteen and thirty-five years of age were given a chance to join

for six months government camps set up chiefly in mountain and forest areas. There they did various jobs benefiting the community. They learnt forestry, built dams, fought forest fires, floods and storms, constructed tracts and telephone lines through remote areas. Each month the Corps paid him thirty dollars of which twenty-five dollars were sent to his family. The scheme began with three lakh men and by 1940 two million men passed through it. Many of these rejoining after six months were up. But the number of those rejoining grew less; employers preferred the corps men, because training in the camp made them fit and alert and gave them technical skill. National Industrial Recovery Act and Works Progress Administration. The National Industrial Recovery Act was the central feature of Roosevelt's plan for the recovery of Americans from depression. His main aim was to put more people to work; once they were employed and started getting their wages, they would be able to buy more; the factories would produce more and national recovery would get going. He also aimed at reforming the conditions under which they worked, by raising wages and lowering working hours and by getting rid of child labour and making trade unions legal.

5.4.3 The National Industrial Recovery Act had three important features:

1. It set up a works progress Administration, an organization which encouraged the building of public works of all kinds. The Federal govt itself employed many men on building dams, airports, warships, post-offices and various government offices. It also gave and lent money to states and cities for public works like roads, bridges, hospitals, schools and slum clearance schemes. The Works Progress Administration provided work to millions of men.
2. It set up a National Recovery Administration which was to make rules to govern industries. Usually their rules were drafted by the industries themselves and then approved by the National Recovery Administration. They abolished child labour, lowered working hours, fixed a minimum wage and stopped unfair competition. Within one year five hundred such codes were approved. But they took time to draw up and Roosevelt wanted quick action. So, in July 1933 he first drafted a blanket code to be applied to any industry that wanted it. This blanket code abolished child labour, established a eight hour day and gave a minimum wage of 12.50 dollars per week. Over two million workers asked for it and eventually sixteen million were covered by this code. All employers who accepted it were given the privilege of displaying a blue Eagle on their goods, and the government encouraged the public to deal with firms showing the Blue Eagle.
3. It gave workmen the legal right to bargain with their employers through their trade unions.

5.4.4 Poor Relief:

President Hoover had set up the reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend money to those states which needed it to give immediate cash help to

the poor. In 1933 President Roosevelt set up the Federal Emergency Relief Administration under which the Federal government itself gave direct cash relief to the poor throughout the country as well as assisting local charitable schemes. Such help was necessary for the time being but it was not enough to go on paying money to keep the poor in idleness, and Roosevelt was determined to provide work instead. For this purpose, in 1933 he created the Civil Works Administration which provided work to about four million unemployed. A large part of this work was found to be useless and the scheme was cancelled in 1934. In 1935 the government created another and much more satisfactory organization – The Works Progress Administration. Under this scheme millions of men and women were employed on many jobs of value to the community. The government paid them wages enough to keep them alive but not as large as they would have earned in ordinary employment. The Works Progress Administration built roads, dams, airports, schools, hospitals, community centers, play grounds and swimming pools. Its activities covered every part of the country. Moreover, it gave work to out of work actors, musicians, writers and artists. For example, the Federal Theater Project sent traveling companies who performed plays in big cities while artists were employed in decorating post offices and other public buildings. The Works Progress Administration was costly but it saved millions of people from wasting in idleness, and most of its work was of permanent value to the United States. Taken as a whole the Works Progress Administration was a bold and notable achievement.

5.4.5 Social Security:

Before 1933 the United States had no scheme of unemployment, or health insurance or of age pensions, while Germany had Old Age Pensions since 1889 and Great Britain since 1909. Wisconsin was the only state in the United States which had an unemployment scheme before 1935. The 1935 social security Act was the most important of all New Deal laws. This established a scheme of old age pensions, run by the Federal government and paid for by contributions by both the employers and employees. It also created a plan for unemployment insurance scheme under which the separate states were to make their own detailed schemes. It also provided for Federal Government grants to states for such problems as help to the blind and children's health. The whole scheme aimed at providing social security, safety against old age or unemployment, for millions of Americans.

5.4.6 Trade Unions:

The National Industrial Recovery Act also included a section which gave workmen the legal right to bargain with employers through their trade unions. Although beneficial to workmen the Act proved to be difficult to enforce. It was therefore replaced by the Wagner Act of 1935. This Act compelled the employers to recognize the union to which the majority of their workmen belonged, to bargain with it in any dispute over wages and hours. It also forbade employers to interfere with their workmen's freedom to join unions and set up a National Labour Relations Board to

which workmen could complain and which had the power to punish employer. The 1938 Fair Labour Standards Act improved standards in many poorly paid occupations by fixing hours and minimum wages. The New Deal gave immense encouragement to trade unionism. In 1933 only, 7.3 percent American Workmen were organized in unions while by 1938 the proportion had increased to 21.9 percent in 1935 a group of trade union leaders led by John Levis seceded from the American Federation of Labour to set up the committee of Industrial Organization to organize unskilled workers in mass industry. They were remarkably successful. By 1938 the Committee of Industrial organization had almost four million members which was about the same number of members as the American Federation of Labour. In 1937 it won strikes against two of the biggest American Corporations General Motors and United States Steel although it failed against another group of steel companies like Republic steel, Bethlehem steel and other companies. This strike was marked by blood shed when police killed eleven strikers in the Memorial Day Massacres at Chicago. The strike ended in a defeat but the National Labour Relations board, in a decision subsequently upheld by the Supreme Court, ordered these companies to accept collective bargaining. In 1936 and 1937 automobile workers went on strike in which instead of merely picketing they adopted a new technique and occupied factories. But these sit in strikes seemed to conservatives as alarming violation of private property rights and was finally declared illegal by the Supreme Court in 1939.

In seeking benefits for their members unions sometimes flouted national interests, and some of them sought to safe guard jobs by blocking technological progress. But the fundamental reason for the growth of the unions was the conviction of the workers that they could not obtain their just rights without unions. Henceforth the unions played an important role in American economic, social and political life. Union leaders like Hillman, Dubinsky, Philip Murray, George Meaney and Walter Reuther ranked among the most influential national figures. In 1955 AFL – CIO were united in one federation claiming membership of about sixteen million workers.

5.4.7 Tennessee Valley Authority:

During the First World War the government had built a dam across the Tennessee River of Muscle Shoals to generate power. Later Senator Norris of Nebraska had got through the Congress Bills which would have enabled the Federal government to use the Muscle Shoals dam for the benefit of the residents of the Tennessee valley. But both these bills were vetoed by President Coolidge and Hoover. In 1933 the Tennessee Valley Authority was created. Through this authority the government undertook a great experiment in planning the Welfare of the whole Tennessee Valley, an area of 41,000 sq. miles, covering large parts of seven states. It was the largest planned area outside the Soviet Russia. The T.V.A was to build and operate dams along the river and sell power, manufacture fertilizer, carry out flood control and conservations operations and promote economic and social welfare of the communities living in the valley. By 1940 the Tennessee Valley Authority had built seven dams and brought

about marked improvements in the standards of living throughout the valley. It sought voluntary cooperation for all its activities, working directly with local farmers and businessmen, avoiding remote control from Washington and kept clear of politics.

5.4.8 Conservation:

Apart from the Tennessee Valley Authority the New Deal spent a lot of money in other ways to promote conservation. A series of natural disasters had now forced a general realization that unless the United States adopted a new attitude towards her natural resources she could not survive as a great power for long. With the cutting of forests and loss of top soil rain water, instead of remaining in the soil, flowed down into the river valleys producing floods in Ohio, the Mississippi and other rivers wind erosion created a dust bowl in part of Kansas and Oklahoma states and left it almost a desert. David Lilienthal, one of the Tennessee Valley Authority directors said, "For the first time since the trees fell to the settler's axe, America set out to command nature, not by defying her, as in that wasteful part but by understanding and acting upon her first law, the oneness of man and nature".

A soil conservation service was set up in 1934. It persuaded farmed farmers to adopt terraced farming and other conservation practices. The government added extensively to its forest reserves and restricted the grazing of cattle on public land. Much of the money spent on relief and public works was used for conservation.

5.4.9 Other Details:

The Home Owner's Loan Corporation set up by President Hoover, greatly extended its work and helped to save the homes of many Americans from being sold because of non-payment of loan and mortgages.

The Federal Housing Authority (1937) encouraged clearing of slums and building of flats and houses at low rents, by lending money to cities and countries.

A National Electricity Scheme was established in 1938. The National Resources Board (1934) made a survey of the natural wealth of the country.

The government levied higher taxes on the incomes of the rich. An excess profit tax was levied in 1939. In 1939 Roosevelt attempted to tackle the trusts by anti-trust laws. Cordell Hull, secretary of state made a series of trade agreements with foreign countries to improve foreign trade and by reducing tariffs in a reciprocal manner.

5.5 ROOSEVELT AND THE SUPREME COURT

Roosevelt began his second term by calling for a reform of the judiciary. Supreme Court had been opposing the New Deal for two years. Of the nine judges of the Supreme Court four were extreme conservatives, they interpreted the constitution to give maximum protection to property rights in accordance with the precedents established in the 1880's. These were liberals who allowed more leeway to legislators and showed more concern

for freedom of speech. Chales Evans Hughes who succeeded Justice Robert Taft as Chief Justice in 1930, inclined more to the liberal side while Roberts stood in the middle. In practice what the government could do seemed to depend upon the wavering opinion of Roberts. Between 1933 -1936 the Supreme Court ruled that many measures of the New Deal were unconstitutional. The most important decision condemned the National Industrial Reconstruction Act (1935) and the Agricultural Adjustment Act (1936). The Supreme Court decided unanimously against the National Industrial Reconstruction Act while most of the others were by a majority of five versus four only. The older and more conservative judges of the Supreme Court were holding up the New Deal. This also meant that as long as Robert's voted with the conservatives, neither the Federal nor the states could regulate wages and hours.

Roosevelt proposed that when a judge passed the age of seventy without retiring, the President should be allowed to appoint an extra judge to assist him. Since six judges of the Supreme Court were over seventy this meant that number of judges of the Supreme Court would be raised to fifteen. Roosevelt's Court packing plan aroused the most intense opposition which was not restricted to the conservatives alone. Many progressives felt that it would undermine the independence of the judiciary; they wanted a more strength forward way of doing this, for example, by amending the constitution. A long and bitter fight followed in the Congress. While it was in progress Roberts changed his mind and validated the Washington minimum wage law; the Supreme Court also accepted the Wagner and Social Security Acts. With resignation of the conservative judges Roosevelt was able to appoint Hugo Black to Supreme Court. These developments made reform of the Supreme Court unnecessary. For the first time Roosevelt had accepted defeat. Yet in the end Roosevelt got his objectives. During his second and third term he was able to appoint eight judges to the Supreme Court. The judiciary now became a strong hold of liberalism.

Roosevelt's quarrel with the Supreme Court at the beginning of his second term was a land mark in the history of the New Deal. Much of the opposition to him centered on one point – the extent of government control which the New Deal involved.

5.6 RESULTS OF THE NEW DEAL

In its primary objective, the revival of full employment and production New Deal had obviously failed. Even in 1937 7.5 million Americans were unemployed and the national debt had reached only 77.8 billion dollars as compared to the 1932 figure of 82 billion dollars approximately. While the consumer goods industries had recovered there was little new investment. The function of putting the savings of the community back into circulation, which had been formerly performed by private investors, now, seemed to have been taken over by the government. When the government cut down its own spending in 1937 there was an immediate recession.

The opponents of the New Deal argued that by attacking private enterprise, imposing bureaucratic regulations, increasing the national debt and giving many privileges to the labour the New Deal had created a state

of uncertainty in which expansion of business was impossible. Progressives argued that the New Deal had failed because it had not done enough. They called for a more drastic redistribution of income in order to increase the purchasing power of the masses. They also argued that a falling off a private investment was inevitable in a mature economy.

5.7 SUMMARY

To describe the New Deal as revolutionary would be an exaggeration. There was no change in the ownership and control of the basic economic enterprise. In fact, the big corporations had become even bigger in the 1940's than they had been in the 1920's. The New Deal had made two changes in the economic system.

1. It had given protection to wage earners and farmers and thereby had built up agriculture and big labour as checks on the power of big business.
2. It had given the Federal government much broader responsibilities than in the past for regulating the movements of economy, providing security and protecting under privileged groups.

To sum up although New Deal did not restore prosperity it introduced a new spirit in the public affairs. By its forward looking and adventurous attitude it restored the American morale. By insisting that the government must find work for starving men it changed despair into hope. And through its public works programme it added immensely to the national wealth. More satisfying achievements of the New Deal were not its direct attempts to promote recovery but some of its peripheral activities such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, dams built in the western states, rural electrification, promotion of soil conservation and many cultural projects sponsored by the New Deal.

5.8 QUESTIONS

- 1) What is New Deal? How and to what extent did it fight with the great depression?
- 2) Discuss the various aspects of the New Deal.

5.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Parker, Henry Bamford. The United States of America a history, Scientific Book Agency. Calcutta 1.
2. Hill, C.P. A history of the United States. Arnold – Heinemann India



STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE:
A. THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
B. WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT
C. AMERICAN WORKERS AND UNION

Unit Structure:

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Negroes in America
- 6.3 Negroes in the Twentieth Century
- 6.4 Martin Luther King
- 6.5 Rights for Women
- 6.6 The 19th Amendment to the Constitution
- 6.7 Trade Unions
- 6.8 Beginning of Labour Unions
- 6.9 Summary
- 6.10 Questions
- 6.11 Suggested Readings

6.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To study the conditions of Negroes in the 20th century.
- 2) To understand the role of Martin Luther King in Negro Movement.
- 3) To comprehend the rights of women in American Society.
- 4) To explain the beginning of trade unions in America.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

American Negroes or African-Americans as they are known these days, women and workers had to undertake a long struggle to secure their rightful place in society. Some of their demands were met but they still continue to face some injustices. Their struggle still goes on.

Conflict is to be expected whenever there is a marked discrepancy between the values of a society and its actual practices. The most obvious examples of such a conflict in American Society is related to the value of equality. The traditional American belief was that all men are created equal and were entitled to equal opportunities for developing their talents and achieving success. However, in actual practice equality of opportunity was a myth rather than a reality, since it was restricted by distinctions of both class and race. Although Negroes had been brought into America during the Colonial period they were never permitted to move up the social ladder or become fully integrated into the American Community.

Struggle for justice:
A. The Civil Rights Movement
B. Women's Liberation
Ovement
C. American Workers and Union

A. THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT:

6.2 NEGROES IN AMERICA

At the beginning of the twentieth century 90 percent of Negroes still lived in the Southern States and more than 75 percent of them were engaged in agriculture. A policy of segregation was enforced by law with reference to them. Jim Crow rules or a policy of segregating them or discriminating against them in public places, vehicles and employment was followed. Negroes went to different schools. Theoretically educational and other facilities provided for both the white and the Negro people were supposed to be equal, but in practice those allotted to the Negroes were inferior. For example, even in 1930 the southern states were spending 45.63 dollars on public education of each white child and only 14.95 dollars on the public education of each Negro child. In the northern state's segregation was not followed officially, but it was enforced in practice by popular pressure, especially in housing and access to jobs. Severely restricted in their employment and educational opportunities, Negroes suffered from great economic handicaps. In addition to the material problems of poverty they were also burdened by the difficult problem of emotional adjustment to a society in which they were branded inferior to the white people.

6.3 NEGROES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The twentieth century saw a considerable improvement in the position of the Negro people. They moved in large numbers from south to the north and from farms to cities; especially during the two world wars. Although they were confined to congested slum areas, the migration brought some gains in living standards and cultural levels. By 1950 more than half of them were living in cities and more than one third of them were outside the south. New job opportunities in industry and transportation became available to them; educational facilities steadily expanded, and illiteracy dropped from 30 percent in 1910 to 8 percent in 1940. A considerable Negro professional and professional class emerged and a few gifted individuals achieved national fame in athletics, entertainment and the arts. Some Negro leaders, with support from white sympathizers formed organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People fight for the rights granted to them by the constitution. After the Second World War a sizeable conscience about colour prejudices. They became aware that as long as the United States practiced

discrimination at home, her claim to be the champion of freedom abroad would be regarded in other countries as hypocritical. A large number of Negroes in the northern states abandoned their traditional Republicanism and turned to any party which was likely to give them concrete assistance.

In 1941 President Roosevelt set up a Fair Employment Practices Committee to end discrimination in industries on government contracts. Some northern states later passed legislation to promote the same objective. During the 1940's a series of Supreme Court decisions affirmed the right of Negroes in the South to vote in primary elections, sit on juries and to secure admission to white educational institutions where the facilities allotted to Negroes were plainly inadequate. A Negro became general in the army; Dr. Ralf Bunche became the director of the Department of Trusteeship in the United Nations, many Negro became College teachers, Negroes were admitted to professional football in 1948 – Jackie Robinson, a Negro baseball player, joined the Brooklyn Dodgers baseball team. More than one million Negroes voted in the elections of 1952 and 1956.

During the 1950's Negro leaders, with the support of the judicial and executive branches of the Federal government made bolder moves to secure their civil rights and there were some orderly and well-organized protests against discrimination. Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, carried out a lengthy boycott of the local bus system. In April 1956 the Supreme Court affirmed that enforced segregation on all public transport was constitutional. The main storm center was the segregation in public schools. In May 1954 the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that segregation in schools was a violation of the legal equality guaranteed by the 14th Amendment of the Constitution. The court also recognized that desegregation would be a long and painful process but a beginning in that direction had to be made in that direction. During the next 4 years segregation was ended only in the District of Columbia schools. In September 1957 the Federal government was obliged to intervene to secure the right of the Negro students to attend the high school in Little Rocks, Arkansas. In 1957 Congress passed the Civil Rights Bill to protect the Negro's right to vote. In 1964-65 the Johnson administration passed two more bills providing almost complete Federal protection for Negro rights.

In the 1950's and 1960's there was a sharp increase in the Negro militancy. The militants wanted to be treated as equals of the white peoples. They realized that this would not happen unless they engage active agitation. They turned to organized protests, sought legal action to stop discrimination and publicized their grievances by marches and demonstrations.

6.4 MARTIN LUTHER KING

Born in 1929 Martin Luther was a Baptist minister who played a very important role in the Civil Rights movement. He took keen interest in the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence and Satyagraha. In 1954 the

Supreme Court in *Brown VS Board of Education* laid down that all segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. However, white people resorted to violence to keep Negro students out of the white schools. In 1955-56 he organized a 381 day boycott of public transport system in Montgomery, Alabama. It was a milestone in the Civil Rights Movement which forced the city to administration to desegregate all its public transport system. In 1963 he led a mass rally of 1,50,000 Negroes into Washington. It created a profound effect on the Civil Rights Movement. In 1964 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He was shot dead on 4th April 1968 at Memphis.

Struggle for justice:
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In the mid-sixties a new group of militants took over the control of the Negro organizations and began to advocate militant action. They believed that only Negroes could win rights for Negroes. Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Committee and Floyd McKissick, Chairman of the Congress for Racial Equality were typical spokesmen of this new attitude. They urged Negroes to preserve their ethnic and cultural identity and not to shrink from violent action. Black Power was their favorite slogan.

In 1965 mass misery and deprivation of Negro slums explode into a series of violent riots. These riots were not planned or organized; they were spontaneous expressions of a mass anger against a civilization which had failed to provide its Negro members with the means of decent living. These riots quickly spread. In 1966 and 1967 there were riots in 38 and 70 different cities. In April 1968 the assassination of Martin Luther King sparked another series of riots.

6.4.1 Check Your Progress:

- 1) Where did the Negroes live in the beginning of 20th century?
- 2) Who was the prominent leader of the Negroes ?

B. WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT:

6.5 RIGHTS FOR WOMEN

The European family had been patriarchal, characterized by the rule of the father over his wife and children. Wives had been denied the power to own property and deprived of other basic rights. Early American laws regulating family relationships were copied from those of England, but American mores soon began to diverge. The power of the father decreased while women and children acquired greater independence. The change in the status was probably due initially to frontier conditions. In new country women had to share equally the labours and dangers of pioneering and could no longer remain in the sheltered and submission position of their European cousins. In the west Americans generally admired those women who were capable of looking after themselves. Women began to win few legal rights from state governments in the early 19th century but they had to fight a long battle before they could acquire economic and political equality.

Women played a prominent role in the various reform movements. Although American women had few legal rights and no political rights they began to assert their convictions about social evils with greater vigor. Mrs. Lucretia Mott and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton held a convention at New York in 1848. The convention adopted a Declaration of Sentiments listing 18 grievances against male tyranny. From this time women like Mrs. Stanton and Mrs. Susan B. Anthony worked tirelessly for equality among sexes. Often, they had to face ridicule and abuse. Although women did not get the right to vote until the 20th century a number of states passed improving legal position of women before the Civil war, they came to control their property after marriage.

Meanwhile a number of women were disproving the notion of feminine inferiority by becoming highly educated and pursuing professional careers. Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher, Mary Lyon did pioneer work in establishing academies for girls. Margaret Fuller, Lydia Maria Child and Sarah Josepha Hale were successful journalists and magazine editors. In 1849 Elizabeth Blackwell became the first fully qualified woman doctor. In 1853 Antoinette Brown was ordained a minister.

6.6 THE 19TH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

The women's movement initiated before the Civil war became more vigorous after 1880 i.e. when National American Suffrage Association was founded. Carry Chapman Catt and Anna Howard Shaw were its principle leaders. During the progressive period an increasing number of women campaigned actively for social reforms and most of them demanded political rights.

Four Western states Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho and Utah granted women the right to vote before 1900. By 1914, eight more states, all of them west of Mississippi followed their example. In 1916 Jeanette Rankin of Montana was elected to the Congress. In 1920 the 19th Amendment to the constitution granted women the right to vote.

6.6.1 New Attitude to Sex:

During 1920's women began to repudiate some of the restrictions imposed upon them during earlier periods, so that the line between the respectable and the immoral woman was no longer drawn so sharply. Girls asserted their right to smoke in public, began to discuss subjects hitherto taboos and wore fewer clothes. According to an estimate in 1913 it took 19 1/4 yards of cloth to for a woman's dress, in 1928 only 7 yards were required. Extra marital relations were no longer considered sinful and sexual inhibitions were regarded as positively harmful. Alfred C. Kinsey of the Indiana University explored the prevalence of these new attitudes; the possibility of making such a study was itself a demonstration of changed values.

There was an alarming increase in divorce rate. From 0.7 for every thousand people in 1900 it went up to 2.6 in 1949. When hasty war time marriages were dissolved it went up to 4.3. Thus, during the 1940's one of

four marriages was ending in divorce. Fall of birth rate was another consequence because of the growing use of contraceptives. Rural and working-class families continued to have large number of children. In 1921 Margaret Sanger founded the first Birth Control League. She also led the campaign for free birth control clinics. By 1950 there were eight hundred such clinics. Birth rate was much higher among poorer classes than among the professional classes. This was a cause of concern.

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Check Your Progress:

- 1) What kind of family Europeans followed?
- 2) What was the divorce rate in 1900 in America?

C. AMERICAN WORKERS AND UNION:

6.7 TRADE UNIONS

Up to 1830's native farm population, including women and children was the main source of Labour. Small children were employed in the first textile factories. The Boston Manufacturing Company set out to attract young women. For this purpose, it built boarding houses, carefully supervised the morals of their employees, encouraged them to cultivate their cultural interests, insisted upon regular Church attendance and black listed anyone who broke these rules. This was known as the Waltham System. In 1831, four-fifths of New England textile factory workers were women. In the 1830's immigrants from Ireland came in large numbers, they began to replace native labour in New England. Soon thereafter the textile industry was in difficulties; wages were reduced and production process was speeded up. The Waltham System was no longer attractive. Girls stopped working in these textile factories and Irish workers took their places.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution there was no large permanent working class in the United States. As the factory system expanded urban areas sprang up in which workers were housed in crowded slums without any health care or other amenities. Life there was much harsher than on the farms, even though the wages were high. Throughout the nineteenth century it was assumed that nothing could be done to regulate business cycle or mitigate its consequences. Consequently, there was no job security for workers.

Earliest trade unions were formed not among factory workers but among skilled craftsmen like shoemakers – than known as Corduiners – Latter's, carpenters, masons and printers. Many of these men were earlier independent but were now becoming employees of merchant capitalists. When their economic conditions deteriorated they were encouraged to organize. This was something unskilled workers were not able to do. Labour organizations appeared in Philadelphia before the end of the eighteenth century. In 1799 shoe makers went on strike in order to get higher wages. But early trade unions were short-lived; they were formed

in response to specific grievances and dissolved as soon as the grievances were addressed.

During 1828-1837 there was a rapid growth of labour organizations. The Philadelphia craftsmen set up a central organization known as Mechanics Central Association. Similar organizations were formed in 13 other cities. In 1834 delegates from 6 of these cities held a convention to form a National Trade Union. Between 1833-37 there were 175 strikes. At first there were regarded as illegal by law courts. In 1842 in the case of Common Wealth VS Hunt Massachusetts courts fully recognized worker's right to organize. This epoch-making decision was followed by courts in other states.

The main demand of the trade unions of the 1830's was the 10-hour day. Originating with the carpenters of Boston the movement assumed national proportions by 1835 and was the objective of a large number of strikes. Among the skilled craftsmen it had considerable success. Apart from the 10-hour day the labour organizations were interested in a number of reforms not directly connected with working conditions. They advocated removal of property qualifications for voting, and other extensions of democracy establishment of free universal education and the abolition of imprisonment for debt.

6.8 BEGINNING OF LABOUR UNIONS

Prior to the twentieth century unionism did not make headway except in those occupations which required skilled craftsmen. Such workers enjoyed a strong bargaining position because they could not be easily replaced. A number of craft unions were formed before the Civil war, but the first attempt to combine them into a united labour movement failed because their objectives were too ambitious and too vague. In 1865 William Sylvi's organized a National Labour union which claimed a membership of 6, 00,000 by 1868, but it wasted its energies by advocating various political reforms, by 1872 it almost disappeared. In 1869 a Philadelphia Garment Cutter Urea Stephens founded the Knights of Labour but it also displayed a similar lack of realism. The organization admitted almost to its membership, it hoped to achieve its purpose by organizing cooperatives and through legislation rather than by conflict with the employers. Terence Powderly was a machinist from Pennsylvania; in 1879 he took over its leadership after which it grew rapidly. By 1886 it had a membership of 700,000 workers. But Powderly and his associates did not know how to organize and guide these workers with the result that by 1900 it had almost disappeared.

In 1881 Samuel Gompers, a cigar maker in New York, launched a pure and simple union movement aiming at immediate gains and reformation more ambitious and remote objectives. In 1886 it assumed a new name – American Federation of Labour. It had a slow steady growth and by 1900 it had a membership of 5, 50,000. Gompers served as its President till his death in 1924.

This new type of unionism emphasized the value of strict discipline, regular payment of Union dues, and centralized control under the leadership of salaried officials. It also built up reserve funds with which to finance strikes and pay insurance benefits. Its main objective was to establish collective bargaining and where ever possible, the closed shop; that is to make union membership a prerequisite at particular jobs largely as a result of Gompers political skill, shrewdness and force of character the American Federation of labour won an influential place in American society. A number of employers were compelled by strikes and other methods to accept collective bargaining. But while the American Federation of Labour brought higher wages and shorter hours for its members, it did little to improve conditions for the vast majority of American workers. The organization represented chiefly the labour aristocracy of skilled craftsmen and made little headway in the basic mass-production industries.

Struggle for justice:
A. The Civil Rights Movement
B. Women's Liberation
Ovement
C. American Workers and Union

6.8.1 Labour and Courts:

One of the main obstacles to the growth of the Unions was the attitude of the law courts, which frequently showed a strong bias in favour of the employers. They used injunctions a court order forbidding a certain action like strikes and picketing. Those violating these injunctions were convicted of the contempt of court.

6.8.2 Labour and New Deal:

New deal brought substantial gains to labour. The National Labour Relations Act brought higher wages and shorter working hours and greatly encouraged union membership. In July 1935 Congress passed the Wagner Act reaffirming the workers right to join unions, and bargain collectively. In 1938 it passed the Fair Labour Standards Act which fixed minimum wages and maximum hours and prohibited child labour for all industries engaged in interstate commerce.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) What was the force of labour in America in 1930s?
- 2) Who organized the Labour Union in 1865?

6.9 CONCLUSION

The New Deal legislation supported the labour because of which there was a significant rise in militant union movement. After the death of Gompers in 1924 a group of militant union leaders set up the Committee for Industrial Organization. Hence forth unions came to play an increasingly important role in American economic, social and political life. In December 1955 the American Federation of Labour and Committee for Industrial Organization united in one federation which, in December 1955 claimed a membership of 16, 00,000 workers. It must also be said that union leaders had often too much power, and sometimes used it corruptly. Some units American Federation of Labour were led by racketeers; and

some units of Committee for Industrial Organization were led by communists. In seeking benefits for their members, union sometimes flouted the national interest, and some of them sought to safeguard jobs by blocking technological progress. But the fundamental reason for the growth of unions was the conviction of the workers that they could not otherwise obtain their just rights.

6.10 QUESTIONS

1. Elucidate the various stages in the struggle for justice of Women or workers in the United States.
2. What is Civil Rights Movement? Explain the main stages in it.

6.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

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MODERN AMERICA: SOCIETY AND CULTURE, IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY

Unit Structure:

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Society
- 7.3 Culture
- 7.4 Immigration
- 7.5 Ethnicity
- 7.6 Summary
- 7.7 Questions
- 7.8 Suggested Readings

7.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To study the social and cultural transformation of America.
- 2) To understand the Immigration policies that America adopted.
- 3) To analyze American strategies to handle the multi-ethnic immigrants.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Having set herself on a strong footing in science and technology; and Art and Literature, America plunged into societal and cultural development. American society underwent a transition in religion, education, equality, multi-culture, immigration and ethnicity. In spite of being involved in the Cold War America did not ignore her thrust areas of development. She kept her politics away from her all-round development in her mission to modernize herself. Thus did America enter into the modern phase of her history.

7.2 SOCIETY

The American society after the World War II presented a number of apparent paradoxes. On one hand, high standards of living, varied opportunities for cultural advancement and for

recreation, were more widely diffused among the American people than ever before. While America had assumed leadership of a large part of the human race and achieved an unprecedented power and prestige, changing values and the tensions of modern life produced a general sense of insecurity and some symptoms of social disintegration. While American society in 1967 was far from perfect, it was undoubtedly healthier than many of the books written about it seemed to suggest. In spite of certain shifts of value, the basic attitudes and institutions on American society had built its distinctive character still retained their vitality.

7.2.1 The Church:

In the early years of the 20th Century religion was incompatible with rational views of life and concepts of morality. Down to the 1930's the churches seemed to be losing influence with the younger generation. But the anxieties generated by the economic and political problems of the 1930's and 1940 have strengthened the plausibility of the doctrine of original sin. Numerous books presenting religious answers to personal conflicts became bestsellers and there was a rapid rise in the church membership. By 1964 more than 123,317,000 Americans, slightly over one-half of the total population of all ages, were affiliated to various churches.

7.2.2 Protestantism:

Nearly two-thirds of Americans belonged to different Protestant organizations, with the Methodists and various Baptist groups far in the lead. In the 1930s New Deal programme of socio-economic planning brought about a change in the religious attitudes. Theological controversies subsided and there was a strong tendency towards unification. Different groups of Lutherans, Congregationalists, and the Methodists combined into single organizations and in 1950 a majority of the Protestant Churches in America came together to set up the National Council of Churches in order to coordinate their educational and welfare activities.

There emerged two new trends in the American Protestantism, the Neo-orthodoxy and the death of God movement. Neo-orthodoxy, a reaction against the modern world's optimism, was an updating of the more pessimistic doctrines of Martin Luther and John Calvin. The death of God movement held that in Christianity God stopped being "transcendent" and became world-bound, thus making it necessary to reexamine traditional doctrines.

7.2.3 Catholicism:

While the number of Catholic immigrants decreased the number of the Catholic Churches increased tremendously. In 1910 there were 16,000,000 Catholic Churches; by 1964 their number had increased to 45,641,000. With the steady growth of its educational and cultural institutions and its increasing influence in city governments and in the trade union movement, it was an important factor in the American Society. Between 1940 and 1964 the number of Catholic elementary and high school students increased from 2,400,000 to more than 6,000,000. There were 300 institutions of higher learning 2,500 secondary schools and 10,000 elementary schools with 200,000 teachers.

The most significant new movement in Catholicism was Ecumenism, taking the form of a worldwide inter-religious dialogue. Emerging slowly in the 20th Century, it was greatly expanded in the 1960's by Pope John XXIII's encyclicals, the First and Second Vatican Councils, the Council's Constitution on the Church and the Decree on Ecumenism. The Declaration of Ecumenism abjured Catholics to take the initiative in Catholic–Jewish understanding, and in Catholic–Protestant and Orthodoxy affairs.

The Catholics and non–Catholics differed on two main issues. First, non–Catholics objected to the church's-imposed stand on birth control, divorce, books, plays, TV and movies. Second, it was held in accord with the federal constitution that public money should not be used to transport parochial students or otherwise support parochial institutions.

Towards the close of the 20th Century a large group of fundamentalist Christians, who regarded the Bible as the direct word of God, were particularly concerned about an increase in crime and sexual immorality. A Baptist minister, Jerry Falwell, led one of the most politically effective groups in the early 1980s, called the Moral Majority. Another group led by Pat Robertson, built an organization called the Christian Coalition, which by the 1990's was a potent force in the Republican Party. Like many such groups, they wanted religion to occupy a central place in American life. Television evangelists like Falwell and Robertson developed huge followings.

7.2.5 Problems of Equality:

Class structure of 20th Century American Society was the subject of a number of sociological analyses which showed that it had become more complex and more rigid than had generally been recognized. The most obvious differentiating line in urban America was between the business and professional class and the working class. The lower categories of white-collar workers

formed an intermediate class, while a number of different grades could be distinguished within the business class. Although the differences in living standards between the upper class and working-class families were markedly less than in earlier periods, the lines between them were not easy to cross. Children born into wealthy families had great initial advantages and access to educational and professional opportunities not open to children born in poor families. Most business executives were the sons of the executives while sons of workers became workers.

A much sharper deviation from the professed American ideal of equality was represented by the emphasis on distinctions of race and national origin. Many of these proved to be transitory; each new immigrant group in turn encountered initial hostility, but was usually well on the way to assimilation after one or two generations. At the beginning of the 20th Century 90 percent of the Negroes (African-Americans as they are called today) still lived in the South, and more than three-quarters of them were engaged in agriculture. With a few exceptions, they were not permitted to vote or sit on juries, and law enforced a policy of segregation. Negroes in the South went to different schools, and were kept apart from the White people by Jim Crow rules. Theoretically, the educational and other facilities provided for the two races were supposed to be equal, but in practice those allotted to the Negroes were far inferior.

The twentieth century saw a considerable improvement in the position of the Negroes. They moved in large numbers from the farms to the cities. By 1950 more than half of them were living in cities and more than a third of them were outside the South. In spite of opposition from some white trade unions, new job opportunities in industry and transportation became available. Educational facilities steadily expanded with a drop in the rate of Negro illiteracy. Gains became rapid during and after the World War II. People in large number could feel that as long as the United States practiced discrimination at home, her claim to be the champion of freedom abroad would be regarded in other countries as blatantly hypocritical.

During the 1950's the Negro leaders, assured of support from the judicial and executive branches of the federal government, made bolder moves to secure their civil rights, and there were some impressively orderly well-organised protests against discrimination. Under the Johnson administration two more bills were passed in 1964 and 1965, providing almost complete federal protection for the Negro rights. Equality of opportunity remained also the basic criteria in social sphere till the close of the 20th Century.

7.2.6 A Society in Transition:

Shifts in the structure of the American society became apparent in 1980s. The composition of the population and the most important jobs and skills in the American Society underwent changes. The dominance of service jobs in the economy became undeniable. By the mid-1980s, capping a trend under way for more than half a century, three-fourths of all employees worked in the service sector such as retail clerks, office workers, teachers, physicians and other health care professionals, government employees, lawyers, and legal and financial specialists.

Service-sector activity benefited from the availability and increasing use of the computer. This was the age of Information Technology, (IT), that could collect and store enormous amount of data about economic and social trends. In 1970s two young Californian entrepreneurs, working out of a garage, assembled the first widely marketed computer for home use, named it the Apple- and ignited a revolution. By the early 1980s, millions of computers had found their way into the America business and homes.

Population patterns shifted as well. After the end of the post war “baby boom”, which lasted from approximately 1946 to 1964, the overall rate of population growth declined and the population grew older. Household composition also changed. In 1980 the percentage of family households dropped; a quarter of all groups were now classified as “non-family households”, in which two or more unrelated persons lived together. New immigrants changed the character of the American society in other ways. The 1965 reform in immigration policy shifted the focus away from the Western Europe, and the number of new arrivals from Asia and Latin America increased dramatically. In 1980, 808,000 immigrants arrived, the highest number in 60 years, as the country once more became a heaven for people from around the world.

In the 1980s additional groups became active participants in the struggle for equal opportunity. Homosexuals, using many of the tactics of the Civil Rights movement, sought the same freedom from discrimination that another group claimed. Often pressure brought results. In 1975, for example, the American Civil Service Commission lifted its ban on employment of homosexuals, and many States enacted anti-discrimination laws. Inevitably, a backlash occurred, and incidents of hostility towards homosexuals surfaced as well.

Then in 1981, came the discovery of AIDS (Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome), a devastating disease striking the body’s immune system. AIDS is transmitted sexually or through blood;

and in America although it affected gay and lesbians, the general population proved vulnerable as well. By 1992 more than 150,000 Americans had died of AIDS, with estimates of those carrying the AIDS virus ranging from 300,000 to more than one million. But the AIDS epidemic was by no means limited to America, and the effort to treat the disease encompassed physicians and medical researchers throughout the world. One of their earliest successes largely the result of the joint American and French research, was to isolate the AIDS virus and develop tests to ensure protection of the blood supply.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) What is Neo-Orthodoxy in American Protestantism?
- 2) What is Baby Boom in America?

7.3 CULTURE

The culture that endures in America, as in any country, is made not by vast impersonal forces but by uniquely talented men and women; and many of the most gifted artists in America, as elsewhere, have chosen to make their art far from the shared realities of daily life. Some Americans expressed their discontent with the character of modern life in the 1920's by focusing in family and religion, as an increasingly urban, secular society came into conflict with older rural traditions. The fundamentalist preachers such as Billy Sunday, for example, a professional baseball player turned evangelist and provided an outlet for many who yearned for a return to a simpler past.

Perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of this yearning was the fundamentalist crusade, which pitted the biblical interpretation against the Darwinian Science of biological evolution. In the 1920s, bills to prohibit the teaching of evolution began appearing in the mid-Western and Southern State Legislatures. The issue came to a climax in 1925 in Tennessee, when the American Civil Liberties Union challenged the nation's first anti-evolution land. A young high school teacher, John Scopes went on trial for teaching evolution in a biology class. He was convicted but released on a technicality. Prohibition stood one more example of clash of cultures when an Act prohibited the manufacture, sale or transportation of alcoholic beverages. Prohibition, although intended to eliminate the saloon and the drunkard from the American society, served to create thousands of illegal drinking places called "Speakeasies". In 1933 Prohibition had to be repealed.

The common thread linking such disparate phenomenon as the resurgence of fundamentalist religion and Prohibition was a reaction to the social and intellectual revolution of the time - variously referred to as the Jazz Age, the era of excess, the

Roaring '20s. Many were shocked by the changes in the manners, morals and fashion of the American youth, especially on the college campuses. H. L. Mencken, a journalist and critic who was unsparing in denouncing sham and venality in American life, became a hero. F. Scott Fitzgerald captured the energy, turmoil and disillusion of the decade in his short stories and novels such as "The Great Gatsby".

Fitzgerald was a part of a small but influential movement of writers and intellectuals dubbed the "Lost Generation", who were shocked by the carnage of World War I and who were dissatisfied with what they perceived to be the materialism and spiritual emptiness of life in America. At the same time, an African-American literary and artistic movement, termed the "Harlem Renaissance" emerged which rejected the middle-class values and conventional literary forms, even as they addressed the realities of the American life.

During the 1950's, a sense of uniformity pervaded the American society. Conformity was common, as young and old alike followed group norms rather than striking out on their own. Though men and women had been forced into new employment patterns during World War II, once the war was over, traditional roles were re-affirmed. Men expected to be the breadwinners; women, even when they worked, assumed that their proper place was at home. Television contributed to the homogenizing trend by providing young and old with a shared experience reflecting accepted social patterns.

But not all Americans conformed to such cultural norms. A number of writers, members of the so-called "beat generation", rebelled against conventional values. Stressing spontaneity and spirituality, they asserted intuition over reason, Eastern mysticism over Western institutionalized religion. The "beats" went out of their way to challenge the patterns of respectability and shock the rest of the culture. Their literary work displayed their sense of freedom. Jack Kerouac typed his best-selling novel "On the Road" on a 75-metre roll of paper. Lacking accepted punctuation and paragraph structure, the book glorified the possibilities of the free life.

Musicians and artists rebelled as well. Tennessee singer Elvis Presley popularized black music in the form of "Rock and Roll", and shocked more staid Americans with his ducktail haircut and undulating hips. Moreover, Elvis and other rock and roll singers demonstrated that there was a white audience for black music, thus testifying to the increasing integration of the American culture. Painters like Jackson Pollock discarded easels and laid out gigantic canvases on the floor, then applied paint, sand and other materials in wild splashes of colour, which symbolized the wider and more deeply felt social revolution of the 1960s.

The 1970's and 1980's witnessed the visible signs of the counter culture. Men grew long hair and beards became common. Blue jeans and tee shirts took the place of slacks, jackets and ties. The use of illegal drugs increased in an effort to free the mind from past constraints. The Beatles, the Rolling Stones and other British groups took the country by storm. "Hard-rock" grew popular, and songs with a political or social commentary, such as those by the singer-song writer Bob Dylan, became common. The Civil Rights Movement of the mid-1960s also catalyzed the counter-culture in the American society.

7.4 IMMIGRATION

No country's history has been more closely bound to immigration than that of America. During the first fifteen years of the 20th Century alone, over 13 million people came to the shores of America. Many passed through Ellis Island, the federal immigration center that opened in New York Harbour in 1892. Though no longer in service, Ellis Island reopened in 1992 as a monument to the millions who crossed America's threshold there.

The first official census in 1790 numbered Americans at 3,929,214. Approximately half of the population of the original 13 states was of English origin; the rest were Scots-Irish, German, Dutch, French, Swedish, Welsh and Finnish who were mostly Protestants. A fifth of the population was enslaved African Negroes. From early on, Americans viewed immigrants as a cheap source of labour. As a result, few official restrictions were placed upon immigration into America until the 1920s. As more and more immigrants arrived, however, some Americans became fearful that their culture was threatened. The Founding Fathers, especially Thomas Jefferson, were ambivalent over whether or not America ought to welcome arrivals from every corner of the globe. The author of America's Declaration of Independence, Jefferson wondered whether democracy could ever rest safely in the hands of men from countries that revered monarchs or replaced royalty with mob rule. However, few supported closing the gates to new-comers in a country desperately short of labour.

Immigration lagged in the late 18th and 19th Centuries as wars disrupted trans-Atlantic travel and European governments restricted immigration to retain young men of military age. After 1750 the European mortality rates declined in response to improved medical care and sanitation. Food supplies increased as crop rotation and systematic fertilization became standard. Still, more people on the same land constructed the size of farming lots to a point where families could barely survive. Moreover, cottage industries were falling victim to an Industrial Revolution that was mechanizing production. Thousands of

artisans unwilling or unable to find jobs in factories were out of work.

Between 1890 and 1921 almost 19 million people arrived in America. Most of these immigrants were from Italy, Russia, Poland, Greece and the Balkans. The Non-Europeans came too from Japan in the East, Canada in the North and Mexico in the South. By the early 1920s an alliance was forged between the wage-conscious organized labour and those who called for restricted immigration on racial or religious grounds, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Immigration Restriction League. The Johnson– Reed Immigration Act of 1924 permanently curtailed the influx of new–comers with quotas calculated on the nation of origin which was to characterize the national immigration policy until 1968.

This quota system drastically reduced the flow of immigrants from southeastern Europe and discriminated in favour of northwestern European countries. Under this system Great Britain, Ireland and Germany were allotted more than 70 percent of the quota, an allotment that rarely was filled. The Great Depression of the 1930s dramatically slowed immigration still further. With public opinion generally opposed to immigration, even for persecuted European minorities, relatively few refugees found sanctuary in America after Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933. Throughout the post war decades America continued to cling to nationally based quotas. The supporters of the McCarran–Walter Act of 1952 argued that quota relaxation might inundate America with Marxist subversives from the Eastern Europe.

The quota system was liberalized in December 1965, and in 1968 it was finally abolished in favour of a first–come, first–served policy. An annual ceiling of 170,000 immigrant visas for nations outside the Western Hemisphere was established with 20,000 the maximum allowed to any nation. A ceiling of 120,000 was set for persons from the Western Hemisphere. In 1978 the hemispheric quotas were replaced by a worldwide ceiling of 290,000, a limit reduced to 270,000 after passage of the Refugee Act of 1980. Since the mid-1970s, America has experienced a fresh wave of immigration, with arrivals from Asia and Latin America, in particular, transforming communities throughout the country.

The more open attitude towards the newcomers has tended to dissolve the older suspicion against refugees. Increasing numbers have entered from repressive regimes in the Eastern Europe, the Caribbean, Central and South America and Asia. Sympathy for their plight has reduced racial inhibitions against such people as the Vietnamese, and successful adjustment has demonstrated the wisdom of the welcoming policy.

Because immigrant and refugee quotas remain well under demand, however, illegal immigration is still a major problem. A law in 1986 granted amnesty to many of those already in America, regularized their status, and sought to prevent further unauthorized immigration. Since the national– origins quota had lapsed in 1968 migration for family reunification was preferred, the law favored the most recent immigrants and particularly the Asians and diminished opportunities for the Europeans formerly favored. The current estimates suggest a total annual arrival of approximately 600,000 legal newcomers to the United States.

An old immigrant saying is that “America beckons, but Americans repel”. As the current wave of immigration spills into the American mainstream economically, politically and culturally, the debate over immigration has sharpened. Deeply ingrained in most Americans, however, is the conviction that the Statue of Liberty does, indeed, stand as a symbol for America as she lifts her lamp before the “golden door”, welcoming those, “yearning to breathe free”. This belief, and the sure knowledge that their fore-bearers were once immigrants, has kept America a nation of nations

Check Your Progress:

- 1) Write briefly on American Culture.
- 2) What was the American population in 1790 Census?

7.5 ETHNICITY

Although the current usage confines the term “ethnic” to the descendants of the newest immigrants, its proper, more comprehensive meaning applies to all groups unified by their cultural heritage and by their experience in the New World. More recently established ethnic groups have preserved greater visibility and greater cohesion. Indeed, by the 1970s and 1980s, “ethnic” had come to be used to describe the Americans of Polish, Italian, Lithuanian, Bohemian, Slovakian and other extraction, most of whom live in the northern and mid-western cities. They tend to be middleclass Roman Catholics.

Most workers are either part of the blue– collar labour force or holders of low-level white-collar jobs. The neighborhoods in which many of them live have their roots in the “Little Italys” and “Polish Hills” established by the immigrants. Their strong ethnic ties are apparent in the pattern of their lives: spouses, friends, neighbours, fellow churchgoers, and even co-workers often are also the Polish, Italian, or Slovakian. Their ethnic group identity is not, however, merely a holdover from the era of mass immigration. It is based not only upon a common cultural heritage but also on the common interests, needs, and problems they face in the present-day America.

As the ethnics become more vocal, the public has become aware of the problems and concerns of the urban ethnic minorities and stopped dismissing them as merely “racist” or “uneducated”. Ethnic groups have begun to be included in the planning and administration of social welfare programmes of the government. An ethnic identity is no longer looked upon as somehow un-American and vaguely shameful. It has become legitimate to be an “ethnic”.

7.5.1 The Blacks:

The Civil Rights Movement that gained momentum in the early 1960s awakened the nation’s conscience to the plight of black Americans, who had long been denied first class citizenship. By the late 20th Century, despite government poverty programmes and equal opportunity laws that outlawed discrimination in education, housing and employment, blacks remained unequal partners in the American society. Their income and education are below those of whites, and their average rate of unemployment is far greater. The black population still has made spectacular progress. Their share of higher paying jobs, their median income and their college enrolment have dramatically increased.

The rise of militancy among the blacks to claim their rights in the American society and culture was a great factor to be reckoned with. The militants rejected the American cultural mainstream and spoke of black pride. They turned their attention to developing black political organizations that would give them a position of bargaining strength and political control over their own communities. The older civil rights tradition, however, remained vital, sustained by steadily widening access to professional and business opportunities. In Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Baltimore, Atlanta and Washington, D.C., the black mayors gained election with white support, demonstrating the openness of the political system; and government programmes at all levels promised improvement of the condition of the disadvantaged. Above all, the non-violent message of the martyred Martin Luther King, Jr., retained its attraction long after his death. In 1988 a follower of the King, Jesse Jackson, campaigned for the Presidential Elections on a platform, which rejected separatism.

7.5.2 The Hispanics:

Persons with Spanish surnames make up more than 7 percent of the U.S. population, but they hardly form a coherent group. Majority of them are of Mexican origin, some are descendants of ancestors who had lived in areas were once part of Mexico, such as Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and California – others, legal and illegal migrants from across the loosely guarded border. The

Hispanics of Puerto Rican origins are similar to the Mexican-Americans only in language. Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States who leave their overcrowded island for the mainland in the hope of raising their conditions of life. Migration for them is like the continuous process of movement by which the Americans have always moved to where chances seem best.

The example of black activism and growing self-confidence has induced the Mexican-Americans and the Puerto Ricans to draw together to further group influence through politics and social organization. They have lacked cohesion to form any large nationwide associations, but rather have developed spontaneous local groupings that fight for better health, housing and municipal services, for bilingual school programmes and for improved education for their children.

7.5.3 The Asian- Americans:

The Asian-Americans as a group have confounded earlier expectations that they would form an indigestible mass in the society. The Chinese, earliest to arrive, and the Japanese were the victims of racialism. 1924 Law barred further entries; those already in America had been ineligible for citizenship since the previous year. In 1942, thousands of Japanese, many of them born in America and were therefore American citizens were interned in relocation camps because their loyalty was doubted. In the decades since World War II attitudes changed and the anti-Asian prejudice has diminished. Asian-Americans along with others like the Vietnamese have adjusted and advanced despite occasional local outbreaks of hostility.

7.5.4 The Indians:

The Native American Indians form an ethnic group only in a very general sense. Actually, they encompass numerous tribes that are widely separated in language, inherited cultures, and experiences in adaptation. In the East, centuries of co-existence with the dominant whites have led to some degree of intermarriage and assimilation and to various patterns of stable adjustment. In the West the hasty expansion of agricultural settlement crowded the Indians into reservations, where federal policy has vacillated between efforts at assimilation and the desire to preserve tribal cultural identity, with unhappy consequences. The Indian reservations are often enclaving of deep poverty and social distress. The median Indian family income is far below the national average. The infant mortality rate among the Indians is higher than the national figure, and the average age at death is much younger than for the rest of the population.

The physical and social isolation of the reservation has caused a cultural hiatus that has left Indians unprepared educationally and culturally to take part in the urbanized, technical America. Poverty and frustration of life on the reservation has prompted many Indians to migrate to larger cities like Los Angeles and Chicago. In such environments they often possess neither the occupational skills nor the cultural background necessary to sustain them, and social workers report a high percentage of family disintegration, alcoholism and suicide among them. A few activist Indian groups have begun to organize to call attention to their condition and press for change through political and legal means.

7.5.5 The Cuban Immigrants:

The Cubans and their children who fled Fidel Castro's revolution of 1959 are altogether a different ethnic group in the American society. Although among them are representatives of every social group, the Cubans are distinctive in the large number of professional and middle-class people who migrated. Despite being Spanish-speaking, their social and political attitudes differ significantly from those of the Mexican – Americans and Puerto Ricans.

Check your Progress:

- 1) What is “Speakeasies”?
- 2) Comment on Hispanics.

7.6 SUMMARY

The closing decades of the 20th Century brought fresh challenges to the Americans at home and abroad. The only constant was change. The Cold War came to an end. The computer and telecommunications revolutions began to transform both the economy and the way people lived. New waves of immigration made the American Society even more diverse than in the past, producing what one commentator, has called “the first universal nation”. Shifts in the structure of the American society became apparent by the time the 1980s arrived. The composition of the population and the most important jobs and skills in the American society underwent huge transformation too.

7.7 QUESTIONS

1. Enumerate the important characteristics of the American society.
2. Bring out the multi religious, multi ethnic and multi-racial nature of the American society.

7.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

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ART AND LITERATURE

Unit Structure:

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Art
- 8.3 Education
- 8.4 Literature
- 8.5 Summary
- 8.6 Questions
- 8.7 Suggested Readings

8.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To study the progress in art and Literature in American society.
- 2) To evaluate the cultural development in America.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In American society there was progress in the society and culture of expressionism, pop art, photography, dance, music, architecture etc. The American society also, had some remarkable progress in education in the 20th century and it continued till modern period. Apart from the society of America and its art and education also witnessed progress in classical literature.

8.2 AMERICAN ART

Perhaps the greatest and loudest event of American cultural life after World War II was what the critic Irving Sandler has called “the triumph of American painting” – the emergence of a new form of art that allowed the American painting to become dominant in the world. This dominance lasted for at least 40 years, from the birth of the so– called New York School or Abstract Expressionism, around 1945 until at least the mid–1980s, and took in many different kinds of art and artists.

8.2.1 Abstract Expressionism:

This new painting seemed abstract, rarefied and constructed from a series of negations, from saying “no” to everything except the purest elements of painting. Abstract Expressionism seemed to stand at the farthest possible remove from the common life of American culture. This painting, in later years, came under a new and less austere scrutiny; and the art historian Robert Rosenblum has argued that many of the elements of Abstract Expressionism, for all of their apparent hermetic distance from common experience, are inspired by the scale and light of the American landscape and of 19th Century landscape painting.

A group of American painters, who throughout the 1950's continued the unparalleled dominance of American influence in the visual arts, made their art aggressively and unmistakably of the dialogue between the studio and the street. The painter Jasper Johns took as his subject the most common and even banal of American symbols – maps of the 48 continental states, the flag itself while his contemporary, Robert Rauschenberg, took up the same dialogue in a different form. His art consisted of dream like collages of images silk-screened from the mass media, combined with personal artifacts and symbols. In a remarkably similar spirit, Joseph Cornell worked largely in isolation; his sense of poetry that lurks unseen in everyday objects had a profound effect on other artists.

8.2.2 Pop Art:

By the early 1960s, with the explosion of the new kind of art called the Pop Art, the engagement of painting and drawing with popular culture seemed so explicit as to be almost overwhelming. Artists such as Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein and Claes Oldenburg took the styles and objects of popular culture – everything from comic books to lipstick tubes and treated them with the absorption and grave seriousness previously reserved for religious icons. Oldenburg drew ordinary things – fire hydrants, ice-cream bars, bananas etc. with a vision and Warhol silk-screened images of popular movie stars. Lichtenstein used the techniques of comic-book illustration to paraphrase some of the monuments of modern painting.

The Minimalists like Frank Stella, who made abstract art out of simple, and usually hard-edged, geometric forms, carried on the tradition of austere abstraction. Some artists made their art public by borrowing from images and icons of the street while other artists wanted art to take on a new responsibility by making an art for the street. Many artists in the 1970s and 1980s like Mary Miss, Alice Aycock, James Terrell and Robert Irwin,

tried to bridge the gulf between the American art and life through the simple means of making sculpture for public spaces. This movement, called “site–sculpture” or “public art”, rejected the idea of public sculpture as forbidding monuments set in the middle of arid plazas and instead tried to construct environments through which viewers could pass, so that their experience of the work took place overtime.

8.2.3 Photography:

Photography also gained popularity as an important art. In the first half of the 20th Century, American photographers tried to make photography into a fine art by divorcing it from its ubiquitous presence as a recorder of moments and by splicing it onto older, painterly traditions. After World War II, however, a few photographers were able to transcend the distinction between media image and aesthetic object, between art and photojournalism and to make from a single, pregnant moment a complete and enduring image. Robert Mapplethorpe, Diane Arbus, Richard Avedon and Irving Penn dominated both fashion and portrait photography for almost half a century and straddled the lines between museum and magazine.

8.2.4 Theatre:

Perhaps more than any other art form, the American theatre has suffered from the invention of the new technologies of mass reproduction. At the beginning of the 20th Century, a few dramatists, notably Bronson Howard, Augustus Thomas and Clyde Fitch were writing social comedies of some merit. And in 1915 two important non– commercial theatrical groups were organized; the Washington Square Players, which later became the Theatre Guild; and the Provincetown Playhouse. These groups produced an outstanding figure, Eugene O’Neill, whose first play; “Bound East for Cardiff” was staged at the Provincetown Playhouse in 1916.

In 1920s there emerged some authors of comedy and satire, such as S. N. Behrman, Sidney Howard, Philip Barry and George Kelly who made sophisticated liberalism as their base to display their theatrical acumen. Experimenting with the realistic methods of presenting social problems became one of the main themes of this decade. The radicalism of the 1930s produced one talented dramatist Clifford Odets whose portrayals of middle-class futility were more convincing than his affirmations of faith in revolution. The 1940’s and 1950’s saw the emergence of several gifted dramatists. Arthur Miller supported a radical view of American society in which he tried to analyze the failures of American individualism. William Inge glorified a frank sexuality, which he saw as the remedy for the ailments of middle-class society. The 1950’s and 1960’s saw an extra

ordinary development of off – Broad way theatres, which operated on low-budget and were able to make experiments in both subject–matter and production techniques.

Thus, the main function of the American theatre was to provide popular entertainment, with the musical comedy as its most characteristic expression. Perhaps the most encouraging feature of theatrical history was the steady improvement in the aesthetic and intellectual standards of Broadway musicals.

8.2.5 Dance:

Dance, a remarkable development of another art form associated with the theatre also was experienced. At the beginning of the 20th Century America produced one of the greatest figures in choreographic history, Isadora Duncan. Impulsive, undisciplined, and egoistical, Miss Duncan had a tempestuous and, in some ways, tragic life; but she transformed the technique of the dance, in Europe as well as America, by making it a vehicle for spontaneous emotional expression. Partly as a result of her innovations, the ballet developed into one of the most interesting art forms of 20th Century culture.

Unto the mid-century there had been a rapid growth of interest in the ballet in America, and the American audiences enjoyed the dancing of such individual figures as Martha Graham, Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn; and the choreography of Agnes De Mille and George Balanchine. Balanchine dominated the greatest of the American ballet troops, the New York City Ballet, from its founding in 1948 until his death in 1983. He created new standards of beauty for both men and women dancers and invented an audience for dance in America, where none had existed before.

8.2.6 Architecture:

Architects sought to design houses adapted to 20th Century needs and in harmony with their environment, and made a bold and imaginative use of the new building materials supplied by modern technology. The twenty years following the World War II were an exciting period in American architectural history. During 1950s and 1960s a considerable part of the urban population was rehoused, and many of the new apartment and office buildings were barrack-like structures, oppressive, monotonous and which crowded even more people to each acre of ground than the slum tenements had ever done. Meanwhile, the long controversy between classicism and functionalism remained unsettled, and conservative–minded critics continued to deny the basic premises of functionalism.

8.2.7 Music:

The history of serious music in America has remained largely a history of appreciation. Here the progress made during the 20th Century has been remarkable. The invention of the phonograph and radio made good music accessible to the average citizen. Appreciation courses increased in high schools and colleges, while an important contribution was made during the 1930's by the WPA music project, which organized unemployed musicians into orchestras and gave thousands of concerts all over the country. In 1900 there had been fewer than half a dozen of symphony orchestras in the whole country and by 1940s there were hundreds.

Check your Progress:

- 1) Comment on Abstract Expressionism.
- 2) Name any three dancing stars of America during mid-twentieth century.

8.3 PROGRESS OF EDUCATION

Great cultural changes set in motion as a consequent to economic development and urbanization, Large scale immigration from various countries of Europe to the United States provided a wide variety of new ethnic groups to the American society and culture. But the progress of educated, culture etc. was made possible and to a great extent stimulated by urbanization which enabled the people of like libraries, schools, museums and theatre; and provided money for its utilization in the growth of culture.

8.3.1 School Education:

Most of the States began by requiring only two- or three-year's attendance at a grammar school. But after the initial adopted of compulsory education, the number of years was steadily extended, and states began to assume responsibility for providing secondary as well as primary education. The number of public high schools increased from 500 in 1870 to 2,500 in 1890 and 12,000 in 1915. By the end of fell from 17 percent to 11 percent.

The expansion of the public-school system seemed to indicate that the American Society had an unlimited respect for education. But this did not always extend to the profession responsible for it, which contained to the underpaid and to have a relatively low social status. The city and state authorities had a careful watch over teachers best they express radical opinions or violate established mores. Teacher's salaries were low. As late as 1900 the average male teacher earned only \$42.14 a

month, less than a manual laborer, while women teachers received even less. During the 20th century there was a considerable improvement in the richer states, but even in New York and California teaching was still underpaid by contrast with other professions. Since it was impossible to support a family on the average teacher's salary, relatively few men cared to enter the profession. The proportion of male teachers dropped from 43 percent in 1880 to 30 percent in 1900 and 15 percent in 1920.

Compulsory education meant that every American child had an opportunity to learn the essentials of literary and citizenship. The passage of most American Children through the same school system promoted national unity and secured as a check on the growth of class and race distinctions. It was primarily in the schools that children of immigrant parents learned American ways and won acceptance into the American society often by becoming star-performers in the high-school athletics.

8.3.2 College Education:

Striking developments took place in the field of higher education the federal government was a principal contribution through the Morell Act of 1862, under which 13,000,000 acres of public land were turned over to the states for the support of colleges and universities. Long established colleges like Harvard, Yale and Columbia grew into large universities, and new institution like Chicago, Cornell, John Hopkins, Duke Vanderbilt and Stanford were founded. By 1900 there were some 500 colleges in the United States, an increase of nearly 100 percent since 1860. The right of women of higher education was now generally recognized, and by 1900 they comprised about 25 percent of the total number of graduates. Around 70 percent of the colleges, turned coeducational, while the two decades following the civil war had seen the foundation of such women's colleges as Vassar, Wellesley, Smith and Bryn Mar.

More important than the number of institutions that grew during this period was the kind of leadership which was provided by a small group of University Presidents like Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, Daniel Coat Gilman of John Hopkins, Andrew Dickson white of Cornell, David Starr Jordan of Stanford, and William Rainey Harper of Chicago. All of them were not only outstanding scholars, but also were determined to have on their faculties only such scholars who did have the passion for extending the boundaries of learning. They too stood instrumental in setting the American system of higher education revised from time to time according to the changing demand of time

8.3.3 Professional Education:

The period also witnessed sharp increase of technical and professional education. So far most of the Americans received their professional education to become doctors, lawyer and dentists by working for a few years under the supervision of some experienced practitioner. While a few professional institutes existed. Students merely memorized lectures and received to practical experience. The pioneering role in this direction was played by President Eliot who in the 1870s reorganized the Harvard Schools of Medicine and Law. So that they would give adequate training in both theory and practice and impose strict standards of appointment. Other universities followed suit. The state governments made regulations preventing unqualified persons from practicing law, medicine and dentistry. This encouraged the Americans to go for high standard technical degrees.

8.3.4 Adult Education:

The scientific progress and wide ethnic variables of the society made the diffusion of new knowledge among the mass of the adult population even more necessary than in the past. One of the chief agencies in this field was the free public library. By 1900 there were 9000 libraries containing at least 300 books a piece, as contrasted with a mere handful before the civil war. This growth owed much to Andrew Carnegie, who contributed \$6,000,000 to the building of libraries on condition that municipal authorities undertake to support them.

In the field of adult education, the most important role was played by Chautauqua Movement, originated in 1874. It soon expanded into a nation-wide organization for all adults interested in educating themselves. In addition to its annual summer schools, it organized study circles which had 100,000 members by 1892 and sent out for thousands of lectures, among them men like William James, Josiah Royce, and William Jennings Bryan, who were among the nation's intellectual and political leaders.

The period also witnessed the development of philosophy and social studies. William James, who served on the Harvard Faculty over thirty-five years, gave wide popularity to the philosophical concept known as pragmatism, which laid emphasis on the practical mode of thinking. Study of Literature & Fine Arts was also made popular. Scholars like Mark Twain, Horatio Alger, Lewis Wallace, Henry James, William Dean Howells, Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson and Stephen Crane contributed greatly to the literary world of the American society. In the field of Fine Arts, music, architecture, sculpture

and paintings had their profound footprints in enriching the American Culture.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) What kind of school education was imparted in America?
- 2) How was the professional education given in American society?

8.4 LITERATURE

After the World War II many American writers made their subject the things that set Americans apart from one another. Although, for many Americans, ethnic and even religious differences had become increasingly less important, many post war writers seized on these differences to achieve a detached point of view on American life. Beginning in the 1940's and 1950's, three groups in particular – the Southerners, Jews and Blacks brought a special vision to fiction. Each group had a sense of uncertainty, mixed emotions and stifled aspirations that lent a questioning counterpoint to the general chorus of affirmation in American life.

8.4.1 Fictional Works:

The Southerners namely William Faulkner, Eudora Welty and Flannery O'Connor thought that a noble tradition of defeat and failure had been part of the fabric of Southern life since the Civil War; at a time when "official" American culture often insisted that its American story was one of endless triumphs and optimism, they told stories of tragic fate. Jewish writers, most prominently, the Chicago novelist Saul Bellow, who won the Nobel Prize in 1976, Bernard Malamud, and Philip Roth found in the "golden exile" of the Jews in America a juxtaposition of surface affluence with deeper unease and perplexity that seemed to many of their countrymen to offer a common predicament in a heightened form.

For black Americans the promise of the American life had in many respects never been fulfilled. "What happens to a dream deferred?" the poet Langston Hughes asked, and many black writers attempted to answer that question through stories that mingled pride, perplexity and rage. Black literature achieved one of the unquestioned masterpieces of the 20th Century American fiction was Ralph Ellison's "Invisible Man" (1952). Since the 1970s there has been an explosion of women's fiction, including the much-admired work of Toni Morrison (Beloved; 1987), Anne Tyler (The Accidental Tourist; 1985), and Louise Erdrich (Love Medicine; 1984).

Many writers, on the other hand, had the sense that fiction, and particularly the novel, might no longer be the best way to record the American life. For them, the novel seemed to have become above all a form of private, interior expression and could no longer keep up with the extravagant oddities of America. Many of them took up journalism with some of the passion for perfection of style that had once been reserved for fiction. The exemplars of this form of poetic journalism included the masters of “The New Yorker” magazine, most notably A. J. Liebling, whose books included “The Earl of Louisiana” (1961), a study of an election in that state. The dream of combining facts and lyrical fire also achieved a masterpiece in James Agee’s “Let Us Now Praise Famous Men” (1941), an account of sharecropper life in the South which is a landmark in the struggle for imparting to nonfiction the beauty and permanence of poetry.

8.4.2 Non – fictional Works:

As the century developed, the genre of imaginative nonfiction (sometimes called the “non-fiction novel” or “documentary novel”) took on different forms. Truman Capote’s “In Cold Blood” (1965), for example, recreated a multiple murder in Kansas. By contrast, Tom Wolfe, whose influential books included “The Right Stuff” (1979), an account of the early days of the U.S. space programme, and Norman Mailer, whose books included “The Armies of the Night” (1968), a ruminative piece about the political conventions in 1968, took on huge public events and made them subject to the insights of a personal sensibility.

As the nonfiction novel often pursued extremes of grandiosity and hyperbole, the short story assumed a preciously unexpected importance in the life of American writing. The short story became the voice of private vision and private lives. The short story, with its natural insistence on the unique moment and the glimpse of something private and fragile, came to have a new prominence. The rise of the American short story is bracketed by two remarkable books— J. D. Salinger’s “Nine Stories” of 1953 and Raymond Carver’s collection “What We Talk About When We Talk About Love” (1981), almost exactly a quarter century later. Salinger inspired a generation by imagining that a serious search for a spiritual life could be reconciled with an art of gaiety and charm. Carver confirmed in the next generation their sense of a loss of spirituality through an art of taciturn reserve and cloaked emotions.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) Name any two fictional work in American literature.
- 2) What was Truman Capote’s famous non-fictional work?

8.5 SUMMARY

America transformed itself in the early 20th Century. A rural, agricultural nation became an industrial power whose backbone was steel and coal, railroads and steam power. A young country bound by the Mississippi River expanded across the North American continent, and on to overseas territories. And a nation divided by the issue of slavery and tested by the trauma of the civil war became a world power whose global influence was first felt in the World War I.

For America, the 20th Century has been a period of extraordinary turmoil and change in which she endured the worst economic depression in its history; emerged triumphant with the Allies in the World War II; assumed a role of global leadership in the twilight conflict known as the Cold War; and underwent a remarkable social, economic, political, scientific and technological transition at home. Where once America transformed itself over the slow march of centuries, it now seemed to reinvent herself almost by decades.

8.6 QUESTIONS

1. Briefly describe society and culture of America in the 20th Century.
2. Enumerate the new trends in American art and literature in the 20th Century.

8.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

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AMERICA AND WORLD WAR- II

Unit Structure:

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 American Attitude towards War
- 9.3 Intervention VS Isolation
- 9.4 Roosevelt re-elected as President
- 9.5 Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor
- 9.6 The United States at War
- 9.7 Second World War
- 9.8 Planning for Peace
- 9.9 Summary
- 9.10 Questions

9.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the role of America in the Second World War.
- 2) To study the American attitude after Second World War.
- 3) To analyze the reconstruction of America after Second World War.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The Road to War: Throughout the 1930's Europe had traveled the road to ruin with appalling rapidity. In 1931 the Japanese had seized Manchuria which the League of Nations had failed to prevent. In 1935 Mussolini attacked Ethiopia while Britain and France took some halfhearted and ineffectual action in terms of economic blockade. In 1935 Hitler began rearming Germany and in 1936, remilitarized Rhineland. In 1936 General Franco launched a rebellion with the help of Hitler and Mussolini against the democratically effected leftist government in Spain. In the same year Germany and Japan formed the Berlin Tokyo Axis which Italy joined in 1937. In 1938 Hitler seized Austria and later as a part of the Munich settlement he was allowed to occupy a large part of Czechoslovakia. In 1939 having seized Prague he turned towards Poland. He obviously planned to dominate the whole of Eastern Europe. In April 1939 Prime

Minister Chamberlain of Britain promised aid to Poland against German aggression. This made war inevitable. Germany invaded Poland on 1st September, 1939 and by 3rd September both Britain and France declared war against Germany.

9.2 AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS WAR

9.2.1 The Neutrality Act of 1935:

The administration hoped that the League of Nations would impose sanctions against Italy and support Ethiopia, and that the United States would back the League by independent action, Hull prepared a bill which conceded to isolationist on every point except the crucial one of the arms embargos. It asked for presidential authority to prohibit loans to belligerents to forbid American ships to carry munitions to belligerents, and to withdraw diplomatic protection from American who traveled on belligerent ships - all to prevent "incidents" of the sort which isolationists believed the Wilson administration had used as "excuses" for falling in with the conspiracy of bankers and munitions makers. But the bill also granted the President authority to determine which party or parties to a dispute should be placed under an arms embargo and this would leave room for him to impose a discriminatory embargo against Italy in conjunction with the League while permitting Ethiopia to buy American arms. The bill ran into adamant opposition from Senators who threatened to filibuster against the administration domestic reform bills. As Mussolini blustered that his legions were ready to attack. President Roosevelt on August 18 addressed to him a personal letter begging him to refrain from war. The dictator answered that it was too late because Italy had mobilized, and he cannily added a threat that fed isolationists fears, he said that any interference would lead to an extension of the war.

In the Senate the administrations bill was altered to require a nondiscriminatory embargo on aggressor and victim alike. Hull obtained a concession limiting the measure to six months and then it quickly passed both houses by strong majorities. Roosevelt signed it on August 31, expressing the hope that the nondiscriminatory embargo might later be changed because - and here he uses the bed-rock argument of advocates of collective security-it "might drag us into war instead of keeping us out". When Italy invaded Ethiopia in October, the President issued a proclamation applying the provision of the law to both sides. But he and Hull saw an opportunity to rescue something from the isolationist's victory. Italy's war machine depended on imports of oil and other raw materials. In this proclamation the President went beyond the letter of the Neutrality Act to warn that sales of American oil, coal and other raw material to belligerents although legal would not be accorded diplomatic protection. On November 15, Hull proclaimed against Italy alone a "moral embargo" on sales of raw materials.

He and Roosevelt hoped that this would encourage the League to adopt sweeping sanctions against Italy as the aggressor. But appeasement of the aggressor dictator was emerging as the policy of Great Britain and France.

When the League issued its sanctions list, oil and coal were not included. Britain, Russia, and other league nations proceeded to sell oil to Mussolini without restraint. Although the moral embargo was not perfectly obeyed by American businessmen the United States, found itself in the strange situation of taking stronger action against Italian aggression than the League powers. Still the latter could correctly argue that the Neutrality Act had let them down, and that it rather than the extralegal moral embargo against Italy, represented the sentiment of the American people and the policy of Congress.

9.2.2 The Neutrality Act of 1936:

Sir Samuel Hoare, Foreign Minister in Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin's government and Premier Pierre Laval of France negotiated a pact with Mussolini to give him virtual control of Ethiopia. News of the project caused revulsion in British opinion which forced Hoare out of the government. Anthony Eden as supporter of the League took his place on December 22 1935. Roosevelt and Hull were encouraged to work in the next session of Congress for a legal embargo against aggressors on oil and other new materials. Still he subordinated this aim to the need for domestic reform the administration bill to change the Neutrality Act was never reported.

Instead the existing Act was extended to May 1, 1937. An amendment requiring extension of the arms embargo to any additional nations that became involved in a war was designed to frustrate the administration's plan for a united front of governments opposing aggression. Another change dropped the requirement that the President apply the Act to nations at war and granted him discretionary power to apply it when and if he "shall find that there exists a state of war".

In this form the President signed the Neutrality Act of 1936 on February 29, Mussolini successfully carried out his conquest of Ethiopia.

9.2.3 Rearmament:

The departure from the British government of its last supporter of collective security and Hitler's annexation of Austria on March 12, 1938, without opposition by Britain or France discouraged Roosevelt. Abandoning his hope that something might be done to implement quarantine against aggression; he turned to rearmament as the best remaining method to strengthen American security. In a special message to Congress on January 28, 1938, he asked for a heavy naval building programme to permit simultaneous flex operation in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. He stated that it was needed "because of the piling up of additional land and sea armaments in other countries," in such manner as to involve a threat to world peace and security." In 1934 Japan had denounced the Washington Naval Treaty and in 1935 Great Britain had agreed to German naval rearmament including unlimited submarine construction. Now Roosevelt in private discussions with Britain and France brought pressure on them to rebuild their navies according to plans concerted with his own program. Some isolationists detected the

internationalist purpose of the President and opposed the Two-Ocean Navy Bill even after they obtained an amendment forbidding the use of the new navy for “aggression”- which they identified with collective security. Holding to a different definition the President accepted the amendment and signed the Act on May 17. It authorized 24 new battleship and comparable numbers of lesser warship besides some increase in Army and Air programmes. Without these the United States would have been rendered defenseless at sea when the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor-and destroyed mostly old battleships.

9.2.4 The Munich Crisis:

Hitler with Mussolini in tow proceeded during the summer of 1938 to wage against the Czechoslovakian Republic a “war of nerves” that threatened to engulf all Europe. Chamberlain amplified his dream of appeasement to embrace Hitler as well as Mussolini. When Hitler had whipped up the crisis to the breaking point by claiming the right to annex the German-speaking Sudeten areas of Czechoslovakia - which would give Germany the mountain defense perimeter of the country-Chamberlain September 22 flew to meet Hitler and beg him to take the Sudeten area peacefully. Hitler immediately raised his demands. Chamberlain apparently prepared to resist. He ordered air-raid shelters dug in London mobilized the Royal Navy and warned Hitler that Britain would stand by France and the chain of alliances linking the latter to the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia. This seemed to Roosevelt an opportunity to add the moral weight of the United States to the cause of resistance. On September 26, he addressed messages to the European leaders appealing for a peaceful solution. But when Chamberlain Premier Edouard Daladier, Mussolini, and Hitler met at Munich on September 29 the French and British leaders conceded not only the stepped up demands of Hitler, but new ones besides. The Czechoslovakian Republic was dismembered in the resulting Munich Agreement of September 30, in return for a pledge by Hitler to take his winnings peacefully and refrain from annexing the defenseless remainder of Czechoslovakia.

With the hysteria of relief much of the world hailed Chamberlain’s boast that he had won “peace in our time.” But there is much evidence that President Roosevelt believed the betrayal at Munich had brought war closer, that dictators could not be appeased. During the months after Munich he worked to reestablish the unity of the Democratic Party, which had most recently been torn by the primary’s “purge” campaign. He decided to abandon further major efforts to obtain domestic reforms for the sake of an all-out effort to repeal the arms embargo. He stepped up defense spending and initiated plans for vastly increased aircraft production in November Hitler lost his followers upon Jews, torturing them on public streets in broad daylight. His Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels called this proof of the “Healthy instincts” of Germans. Roosevelt publicly stated; “I myself could scarcely believe that such things could happen in a twentieth century civilization” and he recalled the United States Ambassador from Germany Americans now began to loathe the Nazi regime as they had probably lathed no other in their history.

Japan, too became bolder after Munich. On November 3, she proclaimed a “New Order in East Asia” to include annexation of China. the Roosevelt administration rejected an offer to negotiate instead it arranged loan of \$25 million to China and private credits for the purchase of war materials. On November 17, important reciprocity trade agreements with Great Britain and Canada were hurried to conclusion. In December Hull strengthened hemispheric defenses in the Declaration of Lima.

9.2.5 The Fight to Repeal the Arms Embargo:

President Roosevelt in his Annual Message on January 4, 1939 subordinated all other issues to obtain repeal of the arms embargo. “There are,” he said, “many methods short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words of bringing home to aggressor governments the aggregate sentiments of our own people.” First among these methods short of war was repeal of arms embargo.

This speech was the most important turning point in the twelve-year history of the Roosevelt administration. It marked the end of the creative period of the New Deal and the beginning of a new period when strengthening foreign policy commanded the chief attention of Roosevelt and his subordinates. Again, Secretary Hull worked quietly with Senator key Pittman, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and after Hitler marched into Prague on March 15, Roosevelt accepted a compromise resolution to extend “cash-and-carry” to arms and munitions as well as commodities. This would at least help Britain and France in their new policy of guaranteeing the independence of Poland and other countries east of Germany. But isolationists dug in for a fight against all compromises. Hitler now plainly marked Poland as his next victim and Mussolini grabbed Albania on April 7. The president decided that time was running out and something must be done to warn Hitler that the economic might of the United States would be available to his enemies. On May 1, cash-and -carry for commodities expired and the Neutrality Act became more unsatisfactory than ever to internationalists. On May 19, Roosevelt told House leaders that repeal of the arms embargo and application of cash-and -carry for all war materials and commodities might prevent war in Europe or if it did not would make less likely a victory by the powers unfriendly to the United States.

The State Department learned that a Nazi-Soviet pact opening the door to Poland for Hitler was in the making. On July 14, the President sent to Congress a special message in terms of the greatest urgency with a masterly argument by Hull that the best method to secure the peace and neutrality of the United States was to end the penalty the Neutrality Act placed upon Great Britain and France.

After this, Congressional leaders abandoned their original argument and simply denied that Roosevelt and Hull were correct in their warning that war was imminent in Europe. The Senators told Roosevelt they would postpone action on the Neutrality Act until the next session of Congress in January 1940. Roosevelt was defeated. Congress adjourned, but he made

public the contention of the isolationists that there would be no war in Europe for the present. This helped to discredit them when the fearful events of August unfolded.

9.2.6 The War: Repeal of the Arms Embargo:

On August 23, 1939, the Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed. It promised mutual nonaggression in its public terms and provided in secret protocols for a division of spoils in Eastern Europe. Safe from the threat of a two-front war, Hitler stormed against Poland and mobilized additional divisions. He rejected last-minute British efforts to negotiate his pretended grievances admitting finally that war and conquest was his object. On September 3, Great Britain and France declared war against Germany in fulfillment of their guarantee of assistance to Poland. That evening President Roosevelt addressed the nation. He said he hoped that now "Our neutrality can be made true neutrality," by repeal of the arms embargo. When peace has been broken anywhere the peace of all countries is in danger.

The President called Congress into special session on September 21. Last-ditch isolationists fought hard but the tide of opinion in and out of Congress had turned. Americans were frightened by the onrush of Nazi power and by new moves of Russia, aligning her with Japan as well as Germany. Their sympathy went out to France and Great Britain not only on moral grounds but because they began to realize what genuine isolation of the Western Hemisphere would mean if brutal dictatorships triumphed from the Atlantic shores of Europe to China. Roosevelt carefully avoided one of Wilson's mistakes by obtaining the co-operation of Alfred M. Landon and Frank Knox the leaders of the Republican Party as the nucleus of a bipartisan coalition to renovate American foreign policy. His assuagement of anti-New Deal rancor's began to show results. Almost the same proportion of the nation's newspapers that had opposed his reelection in 1936-80 per cent - now supported repeal of the arms embargo.

He told the special session of Congress that he regretted that he had signed the Neutrality Act - a rare instance of a President admitting he had been wrong in an important matter. Pleading that repeal of the arms embargo would restore traditional neutrality he made no secret of his hope that it would help Britain and France to win the war and argued that this was the best assistance of American peace and security. He was willing that cash-and -carry should apply to all sales to belligerents and urged that American ships be forbidden to enter war Zones. Alfred E. Smith returned to support the President and former Secretary of state Stimson campaigned vigorously for repeal.

The Senate adopted the bill in the President's terms on October 27 by a vote of 63 to 80. It was the first no isolationist measure to pass that body since it defeated Wilson and the Leagues. A large majority of Representatives voted for the measure and the President signed it on November 4, 1939. At the moment Britain and France made very slight use of their opportunity to buy Americans and materials. Their leaders

adopted a defensive strategy in the West. The War in its major phase had not yet begun. But in the United States the era of isolationism was drawing to a close. President Roosevelt henceforth was never defeated by Congress on a major issue of foreign policy.

9.2.7 The Axis Challenges 1940-41:

The Fall of France in June 1940 immensely affected the course of American history. The Fall of France to Hitler and his immediate threat to invade the British Isles opened the eyes of Americans to these elements of their national security which they had come to take for granted. The awakening began in near-panic. But it was permanent.

Most people became eager for measures short of war but well beyond the scope of neutrals under the older code of international law. President Roosevelt took the lead in reorganizing the foreign policy of the United States, and his leadership was all the more exceptional because he was convinced he should take the great political risk of running for a third term to carry the work through. The willingness of voters to elect him again, despite the two-term tradition, demonstrated their recognition of the crisis the country faced and of Roosevelt as a leader equal to it. Though by no means unaware of the Japanese threat in the Far East, he and his advisers gave first consideration to those who were fighting against tyranny in Europe. When the war lords of Japan struck a surprise blow against the United States in the Pacific, they forced the Republic into war on two fronts.

The Pearl Harbor attack did more than that. It instantly unified the American will to victory. In almost equal measure it determined Americans not to allow victory in this war to be thrown away on another isolationist gamble.

In August 1939, the President had created a War Resources Board to prepare a plan of industrial mobilization. The Board was criticized by spokesmen of labour farmers and the New Deal. When the war settled down to apparent stalemate, Roosevelt quietly shelved the War Resources Board and rejected its report calling for a single economic dictator.

Soviet policy further confused American attitudes towards the war. Anger against the Russian leaders for betraying the anti-Nazi cause was exacerbated when the American merchantman City of Flint was captured by the German battleship Deutschland in October and taken to Murmansk, where the Soviet government refused to perform its duty under international law of returning the ship to its American crew. Late in November, Stalin refused Roosevelt's offer of good offices to settle Soviet disputes with Finland and invaded the small Republic. The Finns aroused American admiration by their remarkable defense. Roosevelt publicly condemned the Soviet Union as an absolute dictatorship, Credits for agricultural products were extended to Finland, but she needed weapons. She was allowed to buy 44 military airplanes, while a moral embargo was placed on exports to Russia. When Congress convened in January 1940 it was ready for stronger measures of aid to Finland. But as Secretary Hull

later explained the President and he were unwilling to drive Russia “further into the arms of Germany.” Convinced that the Nazi and Communist regimes were fundamentally irreconcilable they did what they could during the following year to convince the Russians that their interest lay in common action against the Axis. This strategy disturbed many Americans who wished for a stronger policy against Soviet aggression. The Russians finally broke Finish resistance in March 1940.

Peace talk further confused the situation. Roosevelt commissioned Under Secretary Welles in February 1940, to consult with the heads of the belligerent governments in Europe to discover whether grounds existed for a peaceful settlement. The European leaders learned from Welles as he traveled from capital to capital that the President was now interested in a compromise or appeasement scheme. Welles tried to discourage Mussolini from joining Hitler and he learned from the Nazi leaders that they planned an offensive in the West. His mission was a failure in its avowed purpose, but it gave the administration a fresh view of the European situation.

Congress indulged in cuts of defense appropriation throughout the winter and early spring. Privately the President took momentous steps to explore the possibility that nuclear fission could be exploited for military use. Warned by Albert Einstein and others that Germany might win the race to develop an atomic bomb, Roosevelt appointed an Advisory Committee on Uranium and early in 1940 carried out its advice to procure graphite and uranium. American scientists, heavily reinforced by refugee experts from Europe, soon discovered the decisive characteristics of uranium isotope - 235.

Opponents to the Reciprocity Trade Agreements Act argued that it should not be renewed because the war and attendant dislocation of trade made it useless. But it was precisely the war and their desire to use liberal trade policy to strengthen the international political order that made Roosevelt and Hull fight for renewal. They won by a margin of three votes in the Senate on April 5, four days before the “real” war began.

In April and May 1940, the American people forgot the confusions and distemper of the winter of “phony war” as they watched Hitler burst into Norway, Denmark and the Low countries. In June, they were transfixed by the apparition of savage and triumphant Nazi war machine on French shores opposite the United States. These were days when consoling fictions gave way to terror. Americans felt cut adrift from the world as they had known it. They suddenly demanded strong leadership and swift action to hold off the appalling danger of conquest of the world by Axis and Communist dictatorships. Only the coming to power to Prime Minister Winston Churchill on May 10, and the refusal of the British people under his galvanizing leadership to compromise, gave Americans a point of hope. “Aid to Britain!” superseded all other public demands in the United States.

The Nazi attack on Norway aroused Americans’ emotions, but Germany’s occupation of Denmark was more strategically important to the United

States. Greenland and Iceland, which were Danish possessions, commanded the sea and air routes to North America and the possibility that Germany would occupy them created new apprehensions. On April 13, President Roosevelt publicly condemned Nazi aggression against Norway and Denmark. Hull encouraged the ancient Icelandic parliament, the Althing to form independent diplomatic relations with the United States. On April 18, the President announced that Greenland was part of the Western Hemisphere and under the protection of the Monroe Doctrine. The Coast Guard assisted the Greenlanders with food and with arms so that they were able to wipe out several Nazi expeditions to establish weather stations in the northern wastes of the great island.

Hitler on May 9 began his main assault against France. Destroying the defenses of The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg he outflanked the French Maginot Line. Churchill had told the Commons that this policy was war and victory. He now told Roosevelt privately that the situation of Britain was desperate and that if she felt Americans would face the Nazified Europe alone. He asked Roosevelt to send him immediately a fleet of overage destroyers, hundreds of airplanes, antiaircraft guns and ammunition and other materials. Britain would pay dollars as long as her resources lasted, he said but he would like to be "reasonably sure that when we can pay no more you will give us the stuff all the same."

For two years before the war broke out Roosevelt and his Secretary of State Cordell Hull had been looking for ways of checking the drift towards war. They saw the futility of appeasement but their hands were tied by the neutrality legislation and the isolationist public opinion in the United States. When Chamberlain finally dropped appeasement they asked senator leaders of both the parties to reconsider revising the neutrality legislation which they refused. When war came American sentiment began to change. Congress passed the new Neutrality Act in November 1939 allowing for the sale of arms and ammunition to belligerents under cash and carry rules but the Act forbade American merchant ships to enter Combat Zone. Thus, Britain and France could buy arms and ammunition if they had enough money and ships.

In April 1940 German forces seized Denmark and Norway. In May they overran Holland and Belgium and quickly inflicted a crushing defeat on the French army. On 25th June Marshal Petain signed an armistice agreeing to German occupation of a large part of France. Meanwhile Italy entered the war and Battle of Britain started. If Hitler were able to conquer Britain he could control all the eastern Atlantic and compete with the United States for naval supremacy. He could also take over West Africa from where he could move into South America and the United States could not possibly defend it. Japan was threatening to take over all the Western Pacific. The United States then would be able to hold only North America and the Caribbean. This view of the situation was the determining influence on American foreign policy after the spring of 1940.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) What was the attitude of America towards Second World War?
- 2) What is Munich Crisis?

9.3 INTERVENTION VS ISOLATION

The fall of France precipitated one of the greatest debates in American history, a debate conducted not only in Congress and in the Press but among private citizens all over the country of the various organizations which undertook to influence public opinion two were outstanding: The Committee to Defend America by Biding the Allies headed by William Allen White, editor of the Emporia Gazette, and the isolationist America First Committee. The interventionists argued that security of American people required the defeat of Hitler for which the United States should give all possible aid to Britain, short of going to war. On the other hand, the isolationists argued that Hitler could never consolidate his conquests, and even if he were victorious it would be possible to come to terms with him, and that the United States would never be attacked.

The results of this debate are still a subject of bitter controversy. It had been said that most of the Americans favored neutrality and that Roosevelt, eager to retain power and conceal the failure of the New Deal, pulled the country into war against its will. While there were many honest and patriotic Americans in the America First Committee, it was also supported by reactionary groups who thought that Hitler was better than the New Deal, fascistic and anti-Semitic agitators and those who looked any form of liberalism as communism. As opinion crystallized in favour of intervention Roosevelt's policy became more firm. He decided that aviation industry must increase its production to produce fifty thousand planes per year and by 1944 production had reached double that figure. By October 1939 the Congress appropriated 17,692 million dollars for defense. In September the United States for the first time in year time adopted conscription or compulsory military service. Meanwhile American diplomacy tried, without any success, to defer Italy from entering war and France from accepting armistice. After the fall of France, the Defense Department sold its surplus guns and planes to Britain. The United States also leased bases on the Britain territory of New-found land and the West Indies and gave Britain fifty destroyers in return. The United States also made plans to take over any European colony in the Western hemisphere which might be occupied by Germany. In July 1940 Havana Conference secured the assent of Latin America. This conference also produced the strongest statement so far of hemisphere unity; it passed a resolution to the effect that an attack on any of the American states from outside the hemisphere would be considered an attack on all. Thus, the United States had definitely abandoned neutrality. Henceforth the American Policy was to bring about the defeat of Hitler.

9.4 ROOSEVELT RE-ELECTED AS PRESIDENT

In 1940 Roosevelt was re-elected as President but with a reduced margin and the chief reason for his victory was the feeling of Americans was that it was wise to keep an experienced man in office in time of crisis. Roosevelt interpreted his victory as a mandate for all out support to Britain. He wanted the United States to be the great arenol of democracy. Implementing this policy meant the dropping of cash and carry requirements of the Neutrality Act, since the British required supplies far in excess of what they could pay for and transport. In order to solve the financial problem Roosevelt devised the Lend-Lease programme. He proposed that instead of money goods be supplied to Britain, with the understanding that repayment be made in kind after the war. He suggested that the United States should think of herself as a man lending his garden hose to a neighbor whose house was on fire. This momentous and imaginative proposition was approved by the Congress in March 1941 with a large majority. Goods might be lent to any country whose defense the President thought as vital to the defense of the United States. The shipping problem was far more complex. As in the First World War German submarines were sinking British freight ships rapidly, but if the United States herself undertook to transport war material across the Atlantic she would almost certainly be involved in a shooting war, which the Roosevelt administration was still trying to avoid. In April American naval and air patrols were instructed to watch out for hostile sub-marines and warn the British accordingly. By July American forces occupied Greenland and Iceland and American war ships began to escort British vessels as far as that point.

Shooting quickly followed in September 1941. The destroyed Greer was attacked by a sub-marine. In October 1941 two more destroyers were attacked, one of them, Reuben James, was sunk. Congress kept aside what was left of the Neutrality Act authorized arming of merchant vessels and their entry into combat zone. Thus, the United States was engaged in an undeclared naval war in the North Atlantic.

In August 1941 Roosevelt and Churchill held conference on a battleship near the coast of New-Found land to discuss Britain's need for supplies. They also issued the Atlantic Charter which contained their war aims.

1. They sought no territorial aggrandizement for themselves.
2. They sought no territorial changes contrary to the wishes of the people concerned.
3. They wanted people to have the right to choose their own form of government.
4. They wanted all nations to have access to trade and raw materials.
5. They would encourage international cooperation for economic advancement, social security and peace and freedom from want.
6. They wanted that aggressive nations be disarmed.

Meanwhile, the Nazis, unable to conquer Britain turned eastward. They over ran Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria without any resistance. Early in 1941 they took over Greece and Yugoslavia. On 22nd June, 1941 they launched an invasion of Russia. Both Britain and the United States were convinced that the defeat of Hitler was more important than any other consideration. They therefore immediately rushed war material to the Soviet Union. Communist organizations the world over were till now pro-German, they now began to advocate war against the Axis powers.

9.5 JAPAN'S ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOUR

Meanwhile Japan was still fighting in China with only a part of her forces; they could easily conquer South East Asia. In September both Japan and Germany signed a treaty by which they agreed to assist each other if either were attacked by the United States. Meanwhile the Japanese ambassador to the United States Kichisaburo Nomura and his assistant Sabuzo Kurusu had a series of meetings with secretary of state Cordell Hull. They promised that Japan would not attack Indonesia if, in return, The United States would give her a free land in China and dropped all trade restrictions. Whether Japan was serious about this offer was doubtful. But Roosevelt was not ready to abandon either China or the traditional American Policy of Open Door and maintain status quo in the Pacific. Thus, the negotiations broke down. On 7th December 1941 Japanese planes raided Pearl Harbor and sunk the entire American fleet anchored in the port. Pearl Harbor united the American people more fully than ever before in history. The Congress declared war on Japan and soon thereafter both Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. The European and Asiatic conflicts now merged into a single global war.

9.6 THE UNITED STATES AT WAR

American contribution to the defeat of the Axis powers was the greatest. The Achievements of American industry were almost beyond belief. The total national production increased by 125 percent. So that by 1944 the administration was able to spend on war purposes alone a larger sum than the whole national income in any peacetime year. In addition to 49 billion dollars' worth of lend-lease goods sent to other countries mainly Britain and Soviet Russia, the United States created a powerful navy, army and air force that fought two wars in Europe and in Asia at the same. Although there was little production of durable consumer's goods, some serious shortages developed, especially in housing. General standard of the living of the civilian population actually grew higher. About 12 million able bodied workers joined the armed forces. Although planning for war began in early 1939 nothing concrete was done for about a year. An advisory committee of seven members was appointed to supervise the armament programme but it was not given adequate powers. In December 1940 it was replaced by other office of Production Management under the dual control of William Knudsen of General Motors and Sidney Hillman, President of Amalgamated clothing Workers. Finally, in January 1942 James F. Byrens was appointed the head of office of the economic Stabilization. In 1943 an office of war mobilization was created under

Fred M. Winson. The original selective Training and Service Act of September 1940 made men between 18 and 35 years of age liable for compulsory military service the upper age limit was extended to 45 years but men above 38 were rarely called. With 12 million men joining the armed forces serious man power shortage might have been expected but their places were taken by women and young boys under 18 and by retired persons. In 1940 about 50 million people were gainfully employed and another 4 million people were looking for work.

9.6.1 Prices, wages and Taxes:

With national income increasing to 198 billion dollars (72 billion dollars in 1939) these was an enormous amount of purchasing power over available goods. This made price control essential. IN April the office of Price Administration was set up but it did not have the authority to fix price ceilings as farmers wanted higher prices for their products. By 1942 there was a danger of sum away inflation. In October 1942 the Congress passed the Stabilization of Cost of Living Act which authorized the office of price administration to freeze wages and prices at September 1942 levels. After this the office of Price Administration was remarkably successful in holding the price line. The total increase in the cost of living between 1939 and 1945 was about 31 percent. The office of Price Administration also rationed a number of essential goods but it was felt only in serious cut in the national levels of patrol consumption. Part of the higher purchasing power was absorbed by the higher taxes, but much of it was saved until after the war, which made possible the remarkable boom of 1945-1949.

The National War Labour Board arbitrated labour disputes. It allowed 15 percent wage increase in 1942 but later on it was able to stabilize wages during the war years. Hours of work rose to 45 but overtime rates were paid after 40 hours. Almost all union leaders cooperated with the government, coal fields were the only exception where in 1943, and the government had to assume in order to prevent strike.

From 1939 to 1945 the government spending on war purposes was about 300 billion dollars; 215 of which was paid out of taxes. This raised the level of taxation and the number of income tax payers increased from 4 million in 1939 to 30 million in 1943. By the end of the war the national debt had risen to 247 billion dollars. But it caused no alarm and prevented no insoluble difficulties.

9.6.2 Civil Liberties:

One of the most satisfying features of the war period was the absence of intolerance. These were little interference with civil rights, partly because most radicals were as anxious for the defeat of Axis powers as anyone else. The administration set up the Office of War Information but it did not create any war hysteria. Public opinion remained calm and critics of the government continued to express their opinions freely. Treatment of Americans of Japanese descent was the only blot on record. About 1, 10,000 of them were removed from the Pacific Coast to other parts of the

country. Many of them were born in the United States and were therefore American citizens. Yet most of them were loyal to the United States. Ships and planes were the most vital needs of the war programme. In 1940, the production of new merchant shipping was about 600,000 tons. In 1943 it went up to 19 million tons and in 1944 to 16 million tons. During the same period the number of combat vessels went up to 19 million tons and in 1944 to 16 million tons. During the same period the number of combat vessels went up from 380 to 1100. Plane production was about 2100 in 1939 and 96358 in 1944. The output of tanks, guns, and many other items went up fantastically. New industries like synthetic rubber also came into existence.

In agriculture there was little increase acreage under cultivation and farm labour supply decreased by 10 percent. Yet by making use of improved methods the American farmers increased farm production by about 1/3. Which was more than enough to cover what the United States was shipping to other countries?

Throughout the war an effort was made to establish a close partnership with Britain. Personal relations between Roosevelt and Churchill were very congenial. They held 6 major conferences and were in constant communication with each other. Joint Boards were set up to coordinate war planning and production. American and British commanders were appointed in different theaters of war. Global unity of command was however not possible. The Russians and Chinese fought their own wars.

9.6.3 Later developments in the War:

For five months after Pearl Harbor Japanese continued their winning sheer while a small army under the command of Gen. Mac Arthur was defending the Philippines. In 1942 Gen. Montgomery defeated the German forces in the battle of El Alamein. By November 1942 the German army was forced to withdraw from Soviet Russia. Although the Allies had not as yet won the war the Axis powers had lost it. By 1943 Gen. Montgomery and Eisen Hower liberated North Africa. On 17th August they also captured Sicily. Their army landed in south Italy in November 1943. It soon became clear that Germany would have to be invaded.

6th June was the Day. Allied forces landed on the Normandy beach heads. By August almost all France was liberated. By February 1945 Russian army was crossing the Oder and threatening to invade Berlin. While the Allied forces began crossing the Rhine on 13th March German resistance began to crumble. At the end of April, 1945 Hitler committed suicide and a few days later German army agreed to surrender unconditionally. The war in Europe ended officially on 7th May 1945.

9.6.4 Surrender of Japan:

After the surrender of Germany Allied forces were gathered for an invasion of the Japanese mainland. In the event this invasion was not necessary. Two atomic bombs, recently developed by the United States,

were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6th and 10th August respectively. On 10th August Japan agreed to surrender unconditionally and on 14th August the Pacific war ended officially.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) What was the incident that led the America's entry into Second World War?
- 2) Comment on the Civil Liberties during Second World War in America.

9.7 THE SECOND WORLD WAR

At an early stage in the conflict the United States administration took lead in drafting peace laws. Earlier President Wilson's efforts in that direction were repudiated by the American people; but it soon became apparent that his experience was not going to be repeated. In 1943 both the houses of Congress passed by a large majority resolution calling for American membership in world organization. Later the State Department cooperated with senators of both political parties in working out a bi-partism foreign policy. Isolationism was not dead but now it took the form of various forms of economic cooperation.

In order to avoid any repetition of Wilson's unhappy experience both Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull tried to secure agreement about the main features of the peace settlements while the war was still going on. They also clearly separated the treatment of enemy powers from the planning of a new world order. Germany and Japan were required to surrender unconditionally by the Casablanca Conference held in January 1943. Meanwhile it was hoped that wartime association among the allies could be permanent and extended into a permanent organization.

Second World War changed the balance of power more drastically than the First World War of the eight great powers existing in 1914 (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Russia, The United States and Japan.) only one Austria-Hungary had been eliminated. But by the end of the Second World War only the United States and Soviet Russia were still first-class powers. All of Europe was exhausted. The Soviet Russia was left as the main center of power in the whole Eurasian continent. But the Soviet Union was not likely to join the United States in maintaining peace. During the war Russians were not willing to cooperate. They refused to share military information, did not acknowledge the 11 billion dollars' worth of land lease and given by the United States and recognized communist groups instead of the official governments in-exile in Yugoslavia and Poland. However, Roosevelt was willing to go to great lengths to meet soviet demands. He argued that their uncooperativeness was due to fear and could be removed by a display of friendship. This was a gamble, and in the end, it failed. It was obvious that the Soviet Policy was determined not by fear but by the expansionist policy of Stalin and by his conviction that communism was basically opposed to capitalism and must in the end become worldwide. But in fairness to Roosevelt it must be

remembered that large sections of American people were hopeful of winning Soviet cooperation and ready to find excuses for Stalin's policies. Moreover, if the United States had not tried to win over Soviet Russia public opinion throughout the world would have blamed the United States.

9.8 PLANNING FOR PEACE

Top level planning for peace began in October, 1943. Secretary of State Hull, Anthony Eden of Britain and Molotov of Soviet Russia met in Moscow. They signed a declaration promoting permanent cooperation and the establishment of a general international organization based on sovereign equality of all peace-loving states. In November 1943 these followed meetings of Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai Shek at Cairo and Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at Teheran, At Cairo it was agreed that Japan should be deprived of whatever she had conquered since 1894. At Teheran it was agreed that Russia should retain some, at least, of the territories she had appropriated in 1939-40.

9.8.1 Yalta and Potsdam:

During 1944 cooperation promised at the Moscow Conference was conspicuously absent. When the Russians drove the German armies out of Poland and the Balkan countries they installed communist controlled governments without consulting the United States and Britain. Meanwhile the British stepped into Greece and set up a conservative regime there. This led Roosevelt to make his last attempt to reach an understanding with Russia at the Yalta Conference in February 1945. It was attended by the top leaders of Britain, the United States and Soviet Russia. The Conference decided to divide Germany into four zones one each of which was to be occupied by the United States, Britain, Soviet Russia and France. Germany was also to pay some reparation for the damage she had inflicted on other countries. In the smaller liberated axis nations broadly, representative democratic governments would be set up. These were to be followed by free elections. Poland was to be compensated for the loss of her eastern province by getting a part of East Germany. By a secret agreement Russia promised to enter the war against Japan for which she was to regain territories she had lost to Japan also to recover her prominent position in Manchuria. In making these concessions Roosevelt acted at the request of American Military leaders who were convinced that Russian assistance would save many American lives. Stalin also promised to make a treaty of friendship and alliance with Chiang Kai Shek which could lead to permanent peace in East Asia.

In July 1945 the last of the war time conferences took place at Potsdam which was concerned mainly with filling the details of decisions made at Yalta. The occupation policies of the four powers in Germany were to be coordinated through a Central control Council; the general purpose was to bring about disarmament and promote democracy. The Western border of Poland was fixed provisionally and the German city of Konigsberg was to be transferred to the Soviet Union. The promises of democracy and free

elections in Poland and the Balkans were never honored, nor was there any coordination of occupation policies in Germany. From the beginning the Russians set out to establish communism in zones assigned to them. Yalta and Potsdam agreements weakened the moral but not the power position of the United States. Russian armies were already in control of Eastern Europe and Roosevelt could not give them anything which they could not have taken in any care.

9.9 SUMMARY

To sum up; for the second time idealists throughout the world hopped to bring about the rule of law in international affairs. United Nations was not a world government. It was based on the principle of Sovereign equality of all its members. Its efficacy would depend on the willingness of the member states to support its purposes. It would depend, in particular, on the attitude of the United States and the Soviet Union each of which could wreck the organization by refusing to support it. The United Nations structure assumed that the war time cooperation between its leading members would continue in the post war period. This did not happen.

So, the United States entered the Second World War defensively by the acts of the aggressor nations. The challenge to American survival was so clear and menacing that the people and their political parties closed ranks far more tightly than in the First World War and far more sternly than the Axis militarists; with their contempt for “degenerate democracy”, expected. The Pearl Harbor attack and the declarations of war by Hitler and Mussolini killed American isolationism. The hope that out of their new realization of national insecurity the American people and their government could develop a new world order of collective security was dependent first of all upon victory in the most dangerous war the United States had ever fought.

9.10 QUESTIONS

- 1) Enumerate the sequence of events leading to American entry into World War II.
- 2) Discuss the contribution of the United States towards winning the World War II.

9.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Parker, Henry Bamford. The United States of America a history, Scientific Book Agency. Calcutta 1.
2. Hill, C.P. A history of the United States. Arnold – Heinemann India.



DEVELOPMENT IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Unit Structure:

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Scientific Advancement
- 10.3 Technological Development
- 10.4 Summary
- 10.5 Questions
- 10.6 Suggested Readings

10.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the progress of scientific advancement in modern America.
- 2) To study the development in technology from 20th century and in modern America.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

America dominated the global affairs in the years immediately after World War II. Victorious in that great struggle, her homeland undamaged from the ravages of war, the nation was confident of its mission at home and abroad. American leaders wanted to maintain the democratic structure they had defended at tremendous cost and to share the benefits of prosperity as widely as possible. They accepted the need for a strong position against the Soviet Union in the Cold War after 1945 on one hand, and endorsed the growth of government authority and accepted the outlines of welfare state on the other. They enjoyed the postwar prosperity that created new levels of affluence in America through spectacular development of science and technology; and art and literature; taking America into the modern phase of her history.

The 20th Century witnessed great changes in technology and science that humans have ever witnessed. These occurred rapidly and affected a broad range of people. Scientists,

inventors and engineers built upon the great inventions of the 19th Century to expand the reach of modern technology. For an American in 1900, communication, transportation and agriculture were still primarily local activities, but by 2000, he was a part of interconnected global community. These developments in science and technology were also important in the social and cultural changes of the period. The Great Depression, the World Wars and the Cold War, the Civil Rights and Women's Rights Movements – all were greatly affected by the rapid scientific and technological advancements in universities and industries.

10.2 SCIENTIFIC ADVANCEMENT

As the 20th Century began, the inner logic of scientific development had superseded physical environment in shaping American Science. All leading American universities now encouraged research, and vast sums of money were devoted to its promotion by foundations, by business corporations, and by the Federal government. In consequence, America was now beginning to assume world leadership in science and scholarship, especially after 1933, when the growth of totalitarianism compelled many of Europe's most gifted intellectuals to seek refuge in American universities.

The only two American Nobel laureates in science during the first twenty years of the 20th Century, they were Albert Michelson in Physics in 1907 and Theodore W. Richards of Chemistry in 1914, won for characteristically American feats of precision in measurement. The British and the Germans still outpaced the Americans, but the Americans were now in the running and bent on taking the lead. The growth of American pre-eminence was indicated by the distribution of the Nobel Prizes for the sciences. Between 1930 and 1950 one-third of them went to American citizens, as contrasted with less than 6 percent from 1901 to 1929, while Britain and Germany together received another third, and remainder were distributed over rest of the world. The growing interdependence of science and technology in both theory and instrumentation made science's claims to public favour more persuasive. And the expansion and democratizing of higher education broadened the base of the scientific community.

10.2.1 Physics:

The most important developments in both theory and practical application were made in physics. New experimental data and hypothesis presented mankind with a view of the universe radically different from common-sense perceptions. The principles of relativity and indeterminacy undermined traditional certainties, and made matter more substantial, laws of causation,

less universal and human knowledge more subjective. Possibly, there was little justification for the argument, advanced by some scientists, that the new physics corroborated religious beliefs, but there was no doubt that it had made untenable the kind of dogmatic materialism popular in the 19th Century. The problem of coping with its applications, however, was urgent and inescapable, since the new physics led directly to the atomic bomb.

World War I aroused public and governmental interest in the enlistment of science and technology, now ripe for the assignment. The resulting agencies had no time to achieve much, but the National Research Council (1916) survived to dispense postwar fellowships, and the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (1915) ultimately evolved into the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) of 1958.

The 1920s saw private support of science at its relative peak. Foundations increased their funding minor but significant projects as seed money for unconstrained research. Herbert Hoover's Commerce Department promoted industrial research, and academic physics developed strong ties with industry. American technology now captivated the mind of Western Civilization. Revolutionary developments in Europe excited physicists, now braced by more advanced training in mathematics. Ernest Lawrence moved physics towards "big science" with his cyclotron.

While Europeans formulated most of the major new hypotheses, Americans like Robert A. Millikan, Arthur Compton, Harold C. Urey, Ernest Lawrence and Robert Van de Graaff made important additions, particularly in finding experimental validations. Physicists from half a dozen different countries helped to formulate the theories on which the invention of the atomic bomb was based, while the most essential American contributions were the money and resources, the practical know-how, and the capacity for organizing effective teamwork. The most notable new weapons— radar, the proximity fuse, the atom bomb, sprang from pre-war breakthroughs. And it was neither basic research nor applied science but applied technology that decided the World War II. Nevertheless, the awesome revelation of the atom bomb project at war's end convinced the nation that science could win the next war – or better yet, prevent it.

10.2.2 Medicine:

While science was making it easier to kill, it was also enabling human life to be prolonged. Most important achievements were made in the field of medicine. The main medical advances between the 1920s and the 1960s were a series of new drugs, which proved remarkably efficacious in dealing with infections,

a number of discoveries in nutrition, and a growing understanding of the importance of psychic factors in somatic disorders. While relatively little progress was made in fighting the degenerative diseases of middle and old age, such as cancer and heart trouble, most of the infections could now definitely be kept under control.

Medical progress intensified the practical problem of making the best treatment available to families in the lower income brackets. Proposals by the Truman administration for compulsory health insurance were opposed as socialistic by the conservative spokesmen for the medical profession, though a rapid growth of private insurance plans helped to make sickness less catastrophic. But even though many people could not afford adequate health care, the general progress of medical knowledge and the activities of the public-health authorities had remarkable results. Between 1900 and 1949 the death rate dropped from 17.2 to 9.7 per thousand, male life expectancy increased from 45 to 64, and the median age of the population rose from 22.9 to 30.1.

10.2.3 Big Science:

A massive government-sponsored postwar research and development (R & D) programme gathered force after Soviet Russia put her satellite "Sputnik" (1957) in the orbit. The Soviet Sputnik inspired the National Defense Education Act (1958), strengthening the educational underpinnings of science and led to NASA and the triumphant moon landing of 1969. Serving the cold war arms race, longer-lived government R & D agencies succeeded the wartime the Office of Scientific Research Foundation and the National Institutes of Health.

The Federal wealth supported a new age of big science, not only in high-energy physics but also in astronomy and biomedicine, culminating in the nineties with the Hubble Space Telescope, the human genome mapping project, and the superconducting supercollider, as grandiose in scale as in name. Big technology armed science with space vehicles, computers, lasers, and other wonders. Although big science made headlines, other science, even in physics, also flourished. In the late eighties the Americans produced more than a third of the world's scientific papers.

10.2.4 Space Programme:

Space became another arena for competition after the Soviet Union launched "Sputnik", an artificial satellite in 1957. The Americans were chastened, for the Russians had beaten them into orbit with a rocket that could have easily carried a nuclear bomb. Americans only managed to launch their first satellite "Explorer I" in 1958. The public mood worsened when the Soviets placed the first man in orbit in 1961. President John F.

Kennedy responded by committing the United States to land a man on the moon and bring him back the earth before the end of the 1960's.

With "Project Mercury", in August 1962 John H. Glenn Jr. became the first American astronaut to orbit the Earth. In the mid-1960s, the American scientists used the "Gemini Programme" to examine the effects of prolonged space flight on man. "Gemini", Latin word for "twins" carried two astronauts, one more than the earlier Mercury series and one less than subsequent "Apollo" spacecraft. The Gemini achieved several firsts, including an eight- day mission in August 1965, the longest space flight at that time and in November 1966, the first automatically controlled re-entry into the Earth's atmosphere. The Gemini also accomplished the first manned linkup of two spacecraft in flight as well as the first U.S. walks in space.

The "Apollo Project" achieved Kennedy's goal. In July 1969, with hundreds of millions of television viewers watching around the world, Neil A. Armstrong became the first human to walk on the surface of the moon. Other Apollo flights followed, but many Americans began to question the value of manned space flights. In the early 1970s, as other priorities became more pressing, America scaled down the space programme. Some Apollo missions were scrapped; only one of two proposed "Skylab" space stations were built.

In 1981 America launched the space shuttle "Columbia", the first reusable manned spacecraft. Between 1981 and 1985, the shuttle demonstrated extraordinary versatility, with astronauts conducting experiments, taking photographs and launching, retrieving and repairing satellites while in orbit. But in January 1986, tragedy struck when the space shuttle "Challenger" exploded 73 seconds after takeoff, instantly killing six astronauts and a schoolteacher who was to have been the first ordinary citizen in space. Space shuttle missions were postponed indefinitely while the NASA set out to redesign the shuttle for safety. By the time the U.S. successfully launched the shuttle "Discovery" in late 1988, there had been over 300 changes in shuttle's launch systems and the computer software.

10.2.5 Computer Revolution:

Americans also led the postwar computer revolution, springing from a marriage of science and technology and offering each of its progenitors a tool of epochal versatility and power. Although the computer's early theoretical development owed much to European mathematicians from Blaise Pascal to Charles Babbage to William Thomson, Americans dominated the crucial transition from mechanical analogue machines to electronic digital machines in the 1940s. The first large- scale automatic digital computer was conceived by Howard Aiken of Harvard in 1937 and completed in 1944. An army team, including J. Presper

Eckert, John W. Mauchly, Herman H. Goldstone and John G. Brainerd developed the fast all–electronic, general-purpose computer, ENIAC (1943-1945). In those years also the ENIAC group, joined by John von Neumann, formulated objectives basic to further development, such as stored programmers, random–access memories, and conditional branching. And the Americans led in the practical realization of those concepts.

By 1951 Eckert and Mauchly had developed a commercially available line of computers. Industry assumed a major role in extending computer speed and power. American advances in solid–state technology, notably the transistor, and integrated circuits in the fifties and sixties greatly reduced size and cost and increased reliability and speed. Microminiaturization in the seventies and eighties carried those trends to astounding lengths. The new instruments themselves gave new scope and power to both science and technology. Not only in storing, processing, and interpreting immense quantities of numerical data in astronomy, meteorology, physics, chemistry, genetics and other sciences, but also in furnishing tools for scientific observation, such as space–probe guidance systems, image transmission and enhancement, and non–invasive medical scanning, computers became indispensable.

In industry, computers gave new scope to automation, industrial design, business transactions, quality control, air and rail traffic control, stock market operations, and economic modelling. They entered the home in personal computers, word processors, video games, and household appliances.

Thus, science and technology in the 20th Century American life chronicles the relationship between science and technology and the revolutions in the lives of everyday Americans. In the field of transportation, the century marked the transition from the railroad to the automobile and airplane, and the mass production of the automobile, and the building of roads and highways made it possible for Americans to travel all over the country by car. In communication, radio and television brought news and entertainment into the home, while at the end of the 20th Century the World Wide Web linked people, news and entertainment by personal computer. And in the field of agriculture, the 20th Century America witnessed an era of scientific farming. The techniques of animal and plant breeding were combined with the science of genetics to produce high yielding varieties of crops and live stocks to suit consumers.

Check your Progress:

- 1) Name the two American Nobel Laureates during the 20th century.
- 2) What was the name of first American satellite launched in 1958?

10.3 TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

10.3.1 Agricultural Development:

Despite the great gains in industry, agriculture remained the nation's basic occupation. The revolution in agriculture paralleling that in manufacturing after the Civil war involved a shift from hard labour to machine farming and from substitute to commercial agriculture. Between 1860 and 1910, the number of farms in the United States tripled, increasing from 2 million to 6 million, while the area farmed more than doubled from 160 million to 352 million hectares.

Between 1860 and 1890, the production of such basic commodities as wheat, corn and cotton outstripped all previous figures in the United States. In the same period, the nation's population more than doubled with largest growth in the cities. But the American farmer grows enough grain and cotton, raised enough beef and pork, and clipped enough wool not only to supply American workers and their families but also to create ever increasing surpluses.

Several factors accounted for this extraordinary achievement. One was the expansion into the west. Another was the application of machinery to farming. The farmer of 1800, using a hard sickle, could hope to cut 20 percent of a hectare of wheat a day. With the cradle, 30 years later, he might cut 80 percent of a hectare daily. Different farm machines were developed in rapid succession like the automatic wire binder, the threshing machine and the reaper-thresher or combine. Mechanical planters, cutters, huskers and shellers appeared, as did cream separators, manure spreaders, potato planters, hay driers, poultry incubators and a hundred other inventions.

Scarcely less important than machinery in the agricultural revolution into science. In 1860 the Morrill Land Grant College Act allotted public land to each state for the establishment of agricultural and industrial colleges. These were to serve both as educational institutions and as centers for research in scientific farming. Congress subsequently appropriated funds for the creation of agricultural experiment stations throughout the country and also granted funds directly to the Department of Agriculture for research purposes. By the beginning of the 20th Century scientists throughout the United States were at work on a wide variety of agricultural projects. Ironically, the federal policy that enabled farmers to increase yields ultimately generated vast supplies which drove market prices down and disheartened farmers.

One of these scientists, Mark Carleton, travelled for the Department of Agriculture to Russia. There he found and expected to his homeland the rust and drought resistant winter

wheat that now accounts for more than half the United States wheat crop. Another scientist, Marion Dort, conquered the dreaded hog cholera, while still another, George Mohler helped prevent hook-and-mouth disease. From North Africa one researcher brought back Kaffir corn; from Turkestan, another imported the yellow-flowering alfalfa. Luther Burbank, in California, produced scores of new fruits and vegetables; in Wisconsin Stephen Babcock devised a test for determining the butterfat content of milk; at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, the African-American scientists George Washington Carver found hundreds of uses for the peanut, sweet potato and soya bean.

10.3.2 Industrial Development:

Broadly speaking two features of America's industrial development are distinctly visible. First, United States employed mass production techniques thorough development of large-scale business organization. Second, along with the growth of industry in United States there was corresponding growth in population (it raised from 30 million to over one hundred million extension of the rail-road network across the continent, and settlement of the rest of the west. Within twenty-five years of the death of Lincoln (1865), America became the first manufacturing nation of the world. Thus, what England had once accomplished in a hundred years, the United States achieved in almost half the time.

Six factors could be accredited for the rapid growth of industry in the USA. They are:

- i. America possessed vaster and varied raw materials than possessed by any other country, except Russia;
- ii. Inventions and techniques to convert the raw materials into finished products;
- iii. A fully adequate system of water and rail transport to meet the demands of an expanding economy;
- iv. A consistently expanding domestic market and growth of foreign markets.
- v. A consistent labour supply through immigration; and
- vi. The absence of tariff barriers between States, publication against foreign competition, and government subsidies.

Another outstanding feature of industrialization of this period was that instead of the isolated establishment under the owners of a single master or a few masters, the big corporations came to the force. At the end of the 19th Century three-fourth of the manufactured products came from factories under corporate direction. Production of oil, iron, steel, copper, lead, sugar & coal etc. was in the hands of huge organization. As a result of this transformation, the small units engaged in various

competitions came under the control of the big corporation which dominated the market, fixed their own prices and charged whatever they desired.

In short, it resulted in the emergence of a new economic system in which the principle of 'competition' was no longer present. To eliminate competition the businessmen in the later 19th century came together and pooled their resources to prevent competitive price-cutting, which deprived them the high profits.

Competition was also eliminated because of another factor. As the new method of production required huge capital investments, it was natural that only a small number of enterprises could work in various fields. And as there was only a limited number of corporations engaged in any particular branch of manufacture it was easy for them to reach agreement on price. As a consequence, it was not possible for any public authority to enforce competition. The only way to compete these big corporations was to set up an equally huge organization engaged in large scale production. But this was not possible because the investors were not willing to contribute capital for new enterprises unless they felt assured of a substantial long-term profit.

The expansion and development of industry was a complex process. War needs after the civil war had enormously stimulated manufacturing, speeding an economic process based on the exploitation of iron, steam and electric power, as well as the forward march of science and invention. In the years before 1860, 36,000 patents were granted; in the next 30 years, 440,000 patents were issued, and in the first quarter of the 20th century, the number reached nearly a million. A brief description of the expansion of certain industries will enable us to have an idea of industrial development.

10.3.2.1 Steel Industry:

The nation's basic industry-iron and steel was forging ahead protected by a high tariff. The production of steel was of great significance because changes in all other industries depended on it. As the railroads found their way everywhere, the demand for steel for rails, engines, cars and equipment grew rapidly. The iron ore of Michigan and of the Mesabi Range at the head of Lake Superior in Minnesota provided most of the raw material. With their knowledge and ability, the steel-makers turned out wire, tubes, sheets and structural parts.

Andrew Carnegie was largely responsible for the great advances in steel production. A Scottish by birth, who came to America as a child of 12, progressed from bobbin boy in a cotton factory to a job in telegraph office, then to one on the Pennsylvania railroad. Before he was 30 years old he had made shrewd and

foresighted investments, which by 1865 were concentrated in iron. Within a few years, he had organized or had stock in companies making iron bridges, rails and locomotives. Ten years later, the steel mill he built on the Monongahela River in Pennsylvania was the largest in the country. His business allied with a dozen others, could command a favorable term from a railroad and skipping lines. Nothing comparable in industrial growth had ever been in America before.

In the 1890s, new companies challenged his preeminence and at first, by competition, Carnegie threatened to build an ever more powerful business complex. But later he was persuaded to merge his holdings. With an organization that eventually embraced most of the important iron and steel properties in the nation.

The United States steel corporation which resulted from this merger in 1901 illustrated a process under way for 30 years: the combination of independent industrial enterprises into federated or centralized companies. Begun during the Civil war, the trend gathered momentum after the 1870s, as business began to fear that overproduction would lead to declining prices and falling profits. They realized that if they could control both production and markets, they could bring competing firms into a single organization. The “corporation” and the “trust” were developed to achieve to achieve these ends.

10.3.2.2 OIL Industry:

Another important achievement of the period was the production and refining of oil. Initially the oil was used for the purpose of lighting, and a small member of operators looked after this business. However, in 1862 with the entry of John D. Rockefeller, oil industry underwent far-reaching changes. He left the job of an operator to other people and concentrated on refining. He adopted most efficient method of production and by forming alliance with the ablest men in industry, he was able to establish a kind of monopoly of brains. He eliminated all competition by resorting to ruthless price reduction.

In 1870 Rockefeller and his associates formed the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, which acquired a monopoly of refining in Cleveland area. In subsequent years he formed alliances with refineries in other parts of the country and by 1880 his group controlled almost 90 percent of the oil business in the United States. In 1882 he formed a trust of nine trustees to look after the stocks of corporation, and thus gave a new concept to the business in United States. Subsequently, the group also began to acquire ownership of railroads, iron and copper mines, public utilities and numerous other industries.

10.3.2.3 Electricity Generation:

Another development of the period that the growing uses of electricity for light, power and communication. Though the use of electricity for the purpose of lighting was being made since the dawn of the 19th century. It came to general use only in 1879 when Thomas Alva Edison devised a satisfactory and durable filament. In 1882 the Edison Electric Company opened a power plant in New York City to supply current for electric light. In 1887 Richmond made use of electricity for transportation and built the first electric street car. The telephone and telegraphs were the other means of communication worked by electricity. Most of the electrical equipment's were manufactured by Edison Electric which was expanded into General Electric in 1892 and Westinghouse Electric.

10.3.2.4 Railway Network:

Railroads became increasingly important to the United States. The railroad linked the Atlantic and the Pacific (by 1884 there were four transcontinental lines linking the two) brought the farmer his machinery and took his grain to markets in the cities of the East, took live cattle to the city of Chicago and frozen meat to the cities of New York and Philadelphia, brought new engineering machinery for the miner without which he could not work. The construction of railroads, especially in the west and south, with the resulting demand for steel rails, was a major force in the expansion of the steel industry and increased the railroad mileage in the United States from less than 93,262 miles (150, 151 kilometers) in 1880 to about 190,000 miles (310,000 kilometers) in 1900.

But the control of the railroads was in the hands of a very small number of men, who treated it not as an essential public service, but as a source of private profit. What was worst, the railroads did not charge the same rates from all customers. They gave special rebates to large-scale shippers, which gave them profit and advantages over their smaller competitors. Further, by resorting to pooling agreements, the different railroads avoided competition, divided the business and raised their rates. To escape public control, they resorted to devices like giving of face passes to politicians and influential persons and succeeded in getting favorable laws passed.

10.3.2.5 Other Industries:

Simultaneously equally, revolutionary advances were made in other industries. A number of mechanical implements were devised which greatly transformed the farming methods. With the development of refrigeration and canning, the food habits of the public were modified. The growth of business was speeded

by the invention of the electric telegraph in 1844; the typewriter in 1867, the telephone in 1876, the adding machine in 1888 and the cash register in 1897. The linotype composing machine, invented in 1886, and rotary press and paper folding machinery made it possible to print 240,000 right-page newspapers in an hour. The talking machine, or phonograph, too, was perfected by Thomas Edison, who in conjunction with George Eastman, also helped develop motion picture. These and many other applications of science and ingenuity resulted in a new level of productivity in almost every field.

Meat-packing, which in the years after 1875 became one of the major industries of the nation with a large part of it concentrated in Chicago? Flour milling, brewing, and the manufacture of farm machinery and lumber products were other important Mid-western industries. The industrial invasion of the South was spearheaded by textiles. Cotton mills became the symbol of the New South, and mills to Georgia and into Alabama. By 1900 almost one-quarter of all the cotton spindles in the U.S. were in the South, and Southern mills were expanding their operations more rapidly than were their well-established competitors in New England.

Check your Progress:

- 1) Comment on oil industry.
- 2) How was the electricity generated in America?

10.4 Conclusion

During the 20th century and up to modern period America made quite remarkable progress in sciences like Physics, Medicine, Space Science, Computer etc. Americans scientists were awarded the Nobel Prizes for their achievements in the science. Apart from scientific advancement Americans also made tremendous development in technology and its application in the industries to and facilitate the American life.

10.5 QUESTIONS

- 1) Trace the scientific advancement in America.
- 2) What were the technological development achieved by America in various fields ? Elaborate.
- 3) Write short notes:
 - i) Development in Medicine
 - ii) Space Programme
 - iii) Agriculture and technology
 - iv) Railway network

10.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Parker, Henry Bamford. The United States of America a history, Scientific Book Agency. Calcutta.
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AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (1900 – 1920)

Unit Structure:

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Growth of Imperialism
- 11.3 American Expansionism
- 11.4 Role of Theodore Roosevelt
- 11.5 Reign Wilson
- 11.6 The Entry of America in the World War-I
- 11.7 Paris Peace Conference
- 11.8 Summary
- 11.9 Questions
- 11.10 Suggested Readings

11.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To study the American Expansionism.
- 2) To understand the preparation of America before the entry into World War-I.
- 3) To explain the reign of Wilson.
- 4) To analyze the role of Americans and the Paris Peace Conference.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

For a generation after the Civil War American attention was concentrated on internal development and foreign relations were of little importance. This period of isolation came to an end before the turn of the century. IN the 1890's the United States became deeply involved in the affairs of Latin America and East Asia, and began to assume the role of a world power. Decisions made during this period made any return to isolation almost impossible. Hence forth the lives of the American people were to be affected in increasingly important ways by events in other parts of the world.

Many Americans did not like this new trend in foreign policy; they argued that entanglement in affairs of Europe and Asia was not in accord with the true interests of the American people and was due mainly to the blunders or personal ambitions of Presidents and their secretaries of State. But in the retrospect of history, the abandonment of isolation appears as a result of broad economic trends, operating in the Western Civilization as a whole, which were perhaps too strong to be resisted. Technological development was drawing all parts of the world more closely together and making all countries more interdependent. The end of American isolation was merely one example of general process which seemed to be leading to some form of global unification. This unit tries to analyze the American foreign policy in this background.

11.2 GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM

By the end of the nineteenth century leading industrial nations of Western Europe felt the need of foreign markets. Industrialists required raw materials, not available at home, new customers to buy their products and new opportunities for investing their surplus capital. Britain, France, Germany and other countries sought exclusive control of their colonies which led to a bitter rivalry among them. Britain came to control India; she also possessed other colonies which gave her a prominent position in the race for colonies. Between 1880 and 1900 there was a three-cornered rivalry between Britain, France and Germany for the partition of Africa. As the competition became more intense and war became more imminent Europe was divided into hostile camps. Germany was allied with Austria-Hungary while Britain, France and Russia came together.

Under these circumstances the United States could no longer feel so secure as in the past and that perhaps was the main reason why the United States turned away from isolation. Throughout the nineteenth century British sea power had controlled the Atlantic while the Pacific had been a power vacuum. But imperialist rivalries in the late nineteenth century led to a general sense of tension and in the 1910's Americans became steadily more disturbed by the threat to the balance of power presented by the growth of German and Japanese sea power.

11.3 AMERICAN EXPANSIONISM

It was in this situation that the United States developed tendencies towards imperialism. American industry began to feel the need of new foreign markets and American surplus capital began to be invested in the neighboring countries like Canada, Mexico and Cuba. The building of an American empire was strongly supported by men who were influenced by social Darwinism and by European imperialist writers like Rudyard Kipling. They looked forward to a world leadership by American people. American imperial expansion in the late nineteenth century was probably due more to the strategic considerations than to economic factors. The emphasis on naval bases owed much to the writings of Alfred T. Mahan and his "Influence of Sea Power on History" (1890). During the 1880's American navy was rapidly enlarged and modernized. The Navy Act of

1890 clearly stated that American Navy had changed from being defensive to a potentially offensive role. Hence forth, strategic requirements were to have an increasingly important influence on the American Foreign Policy.

In 1867 Secretary of State Seward negotiated a treaty with Russia purchasing Alaska for 72, 00,000 dollars. He also annexed the Midway Islands in the same year. In 1878 by a treaty with Samoa the United States established a naval base at Pago Pago. In 1887 the United States acquired the right to build a naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. In 1889 the Pan-American Conference was convened in Washington. It established a Pan-American Union as a clearing house of ideas and information. In 1895 there arose a boundary dispute between Venezuela and the British Colony of Guinea. Invoking the Monroe Doctrine Secretary of state Olney issued a provocative statement declaring that the United States was practically a Sovereign on this continent and its fiat is a law on the subjects to which it confines its interposition. Victory in the Spanish-American war was followed by a peace treaty by which the United States acquired Cuba, the Philippines, Puerto, Rico and the small Pacific island of Guam.

11.3.1 China and the Open-Door Policy:

Enunciation of the Open-Door Policy in China became one of the guiding principles of American foreign policy. Instead of being partitioned between various European countries China should remain open to businessmen of all nations on equal terms. It was the only way by which American citizens could be assured of entry into Chinese market. It was also the United States Policy to preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity. However, none of the European powers, including Britain, was willing to accept the Open-Door Policy. Although China was not partitioned between various European powers it was not because of the influence of the United States. The United States was not strong enough to maintain Chinese independence on her own. She was not sufficiently interested in East Asia to attempt to do so. Thus, the Open Door was merely a pious aspiration not backed by sufficient force.

11.4 ROLE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt became the President in 1901. He was particularly inclined towards using strong arm methods in foreign policy. The method by which he secured the right to build the Panama Canal was the most flagrant example of this method.

11.4.1 The United States and the Panama Canal:

The war with Spain made the United States more security conscious. It was followed by a general recognition of the need of such a canal. In the absence of such a canal the United States would have to build two navies; one for the Atlantic and one for the Pacific. In 1903, by the Hey – Harran Treaty with Colombia the United agreed to lease the canal zone for an annual rent of 250,000 dollars. However, the Colombian Senator refused to ratify this treaty. At this point the United States should have negotiated a new treaty or find an alternate site to build the canal. Roosevelt did

neither of this; he promoted a revolution in Panama by making it appear that he would support the Panamians if they chose to secede from Colombia. Panama declared herself an independent republic, which was immediately granted recognition by the United States. An American warship was sent to prevent Colombia from re-establishing her authority in Panama. The United States then entered into a treaty with Panama by which she was granted a lease of the Canal Zone. In due course construction of the canal began and the first ship passed through it in 1914. Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. Construction of the canal made it even more necessary for the United States to control the Caribbean and prevent any potentially hostile power from acquiring bases in that region. This led in 1904 to the enunciation of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. Most of the small Caribbean and Central American republics were governed by dictators, suffered from frequent revolutions during which foreign citizens were in danger. They were also unable to make payments on their national debts much of which was held by European financiers. Under these circumstances European powers claimed the right of intervening by force to protect the rights of their citizens. As a last resort such a right was recognized under international law. But there was always a danger that any power may abuse it by intervening not merely to protect its citizens but to acquire bases or political control. In order to avert such danger Roosevelt decided that whenever such intervention was necessary, it should be done solely by the United States. Most of the Latin Americans reacted strongly against the Roosevelt corollary. In their eyes the United States was even more to be feared than the European powers. In 1903 Louis Drago, the Argentine foreign minister made it clear that any form of intervention was a violation of the rights of a Sovereign State. For the next generation it was widely believed in the Latin America that the United States had deliberately taken up an imperialistic programme and could be stopped only by force.

Roosevelt corollary was first applied in the Dominican Republic which was unable to pay its debts. With the consent of the Dominican government the United States assumed the control of the finances. The foreign debt was scaled down and was transferred from European to American financiers. American officials collected taxes, allotted the proceeds partly to pay government expenses and partly to pay the debt. In 1906 revolutionary disturbances in were followed by landing of American troops which stayed there until 1909.

In 1909 President Taft and his Secretary of state Knox wanted this kind of financial supervision set up in the Dominican Republic to be extended to other countries. This would serve American strategic and financial interests and also promote order and prosperity in the Caribbean. For the same reason they encouraged American investment. This policy was known as Dollar Diplomacy. Unfortunately, Taft was not tactful in promoting it. In 1911 American bankers took charge of Nicaragua's finances and in 1912 American forces landed there to prevent a revolution. For the next twenty years American forces stayed there and governments friendly to the United States were kept in powers which were probably

more honest than previous regimes, but most Nicaraguans resented the loss of their independence.

Check Your Progress:

1. Who were the countries fighting for the partition of Africa?
2. What is Open Door Policy?

11.5 REIGN OF WILSON

President Wilson was an enemy of imperialism. He declared that the United States would never gain one additional foot of territory by conquest and that his foreign policy would not be determined by material interests. But in spite of his noble declarations his administration was responsible for more interventions than those of Roosevelt and Taft combined. By the end of World War, I American forces were in control of four nominally independent republics – Nicaragua, Haiti, Dominican Republic and Cuba. This was the high watermark of American capitalism in the Caribbean. After World War I the United States gradually abandoned intervention and began to work out a new relationship with her Latin American neighbors based on cooperation rather than on force.

11.5.1 The Mexican Revolution:

The immediate southern neighbor of the United States presented a more complex problem. President Porfirio Diaz was the president of Mexico from 1876 to 1911. His main policy was to encourage foreign capital. About 1.5 billion dollars were invested in rail roads, public utilities, plantations, mines and oil fields. About two thirds of it was invested by American citizens. Although he was regarded as a great statesman in the history of the hemisphere, his policy benefited only a small upper class. Mass discontent finally exploded in a revolution which was to cause far reaching changes in Mexican society. In 1911 Diaz was sent into exile and Francisco Madero was elected the President. He was markedly less friendly towards foreign capital. Many American businessmen hoped for a counter revolution which Henry Lane Wilson, the United States representative in Mexico helped to bring about. February 1913 Madero was over thrown by General Huerta and was murdered soon thereafter.

By the time Wilson became president Mexico was plunged into civil war determined that the Mexican people be left to work out their own destiny. Adopting a policy of watchful waiting he advised Huerta to retire which he refused. In 1914 a German ship was on its way to the Mexican port of Vera Cruz. He then attended by representatives of leading Latin American countries. This move towards partnership with Latin American countries was a significant step towards the later good neighbor policy.

11.5.2 War in Europe:

When war burst upon Europe in August, 1914, most Americans wished only to remain aloof. For nearly three years, as the conflict raged in the

trenches and on the high seas, the United States stayed officially neutral. But the tide of opinion gradually shifted. Emotional ties to the British and French powerful economic considerations, the vision of the world remade in America image, and German violations of Woodrow Wilson definition of neutral rights all combined by April 1917 to suck the United States into the maelstrom.

11.5.3 American People's Response to the World War-I

President Wilson immediately proclaimed American neutrality and called on the nation to be neutral "in thought as well as on action". Most Americans supported Wilson's positions. They felt gratitude that three thousand miles of salt water lay between them and the War.

Although most Americans fervently shared Wilson's desire to stay out of the war, his admonition to remain neutral in thought proved more difficult. The United States and Britain were linked by extensive economic ties. Many Americans of British ancestry, including Wilson himself and most members of his administration, felt an emotional connection with England. As early as August, 1914, Wilson mused to his brother-in-law that a victory for militaristic Germany would spell a disaster for the world. Countless Americans had travelled in England; School textbooks stressed the English origins of American history and institutions. The English language itself the language of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Dickens, and the king James versions of the Bible - formed a strong common bond between Britain's and Americans. The British government subtly reinforced this pro-British mood by a variety of informal contacts as well as by propaganda stressing the British-American link.

But not all Americans felt spontaneous ties with the British. Millions were of German origin, and many looked with sympathy on Germany's cause. Irish-Americans found little reason for dismay in the prospect of a German victory that might at last free Ireland from the British colonial yoke. Some Scandinavian immigrants initially identified more with Germany than with England.

Even though a variety of cultural and ethnic crosscurrent influenced American attitudes toward the War, they did not at first override the fundamental commitment to neutrality. For most Americans, and for the Wilson administration itself, keeping the United States out of the conflict became the chief goal.

11.5.4 The Perils of Neutrality:

Despite its commitment to neutrality in 1914, the U.S. government went to war in 1917, with strong popular support. What causes this turnabout?

First of all, Wilson's vision of a world order built on American political and economic values conflicted with his commitment to neutrality. The international system that he favoured, based on liberalism, democracy, and freedom for American capitalistic enterprise, would have been impossible, he believed, in a world dominated by imperial Germany and its autocratic

ruler Kaiser Wilhelm II. Furthermore, Wilson gradually became convinced that even an Allied victory would not ensure a liberal peace without U.S. participation in the post war settlement. If America were to help shape the peace, America would have to help fight the war.

This larger global vision influenced Wilson's handling of the issue that most obviously and immediately dragged the United States into the conflict; the question of neutral nations' rights on the high seas. Within days of the war's outbreak, the British had intercepted American merchant ships bound for Germany, declaring their cargo contraband that could aid Germany's war effort. Wilson had protested vehemently.

Wilson's protests intensified in November 1914, when Britain declared the North Sea a war zone and planted it with deadly explosive mines. By choking off Germany's maritime imports, including food, Britain hoped to bring Germany to its knees. In March 1915, the British blockaded all German ports. Once more, the United States protested in vain. Britain was determined to exploit its naval advantage to the fullest, even if it meant alienating American public opinion.

But it was Germany, not England, which ultimately violated the American conception of neutral rights so grossly that the United States went to war. If Britannia ruled the waves, Germany controlled the ocean depths with an awesome new weapon; the torpedo-equipped submarine or U-boat. In February 1915, Berlin proclaimed the waters around the British Isles a war zone and warned off all ships, including those of neutrals. Once again Wilson protested; Germany would be held to strict accountability", he declared, for any loss of American ships or lives. Nevertheless, several Americans died in the succeeding months as U-Boats torpedoed British ships and a U.S. tanker.

Then on May 1, 1915, in a small announcement published in U.S. newspapers, the German embassy cautioned Americans against travel on British or French vessels. Six days later, a U-boat without warning sank the British liner Lusitania off the Irish coast, with the loss of 1,198 lives, including 128 Americans. As newspapers reported the news in bold headlines, U.S. public opinion turned sharply anti-German. (The Lusitania's cargo holds historians later discovered, had carried munitions destined for England,)

In increasingly strong messages to the German government, collectively called the Lusitania notes, Wilson demanded specific pledges that Germany would cease unrestricted submarine warfare. A few days after the Lusitania sinking, Wilson insisted that America could persuade the belligerents to recognize the principles of neutral rights without resorting to force.

The Lusitania disaster exposed deep divisions in U.S. public opinion. Many Americans, concluding that war with Germany had become inevitable, ridiculed Wilson's "too proud to fight" speech. Theodore Roosevelt, the Noble Peace Prize winner, beat the drums for war and heaped scorn on the president's "abject cowardice and weakness". The

organizers of a “preparedness” movement, led by a lobby of bankers and industrialists called the National Security League, stirred up patriotism and promoted armament and universal military training. The National Security League organized “preparedness” parades in New York, Washington, and other cities. By the fall of 1915, Wilson himself was calling for a military buildup.

Many others, however, including not only German-Americans and pacifists but millions who had taken Wilson’s neutrality speeches seriously, deplored the drift toward war. Some leading feminists and social-justice reformers warned that the militant war spirit eroded the humanitarian values central to progressive reformers James Addams, for example, pointed out that the International movement to reduce infant mortality and provide better care to the aged had been “scattered to the winds by the war”.

Serious divisions surfaced even within the Wilson administration. Believing Wilson’s Lusitania notes too hostile and dismayed by what he saw as the abandonment of true neutrality, Secretary of State Bryan resigned in June 1915. His successor, the colorless and retiring Robert Lansing, was usually content to let Wilson act as his own secretary of state.

Some neutrality advocates concluded that incidents like the Lusitania crisis were inevitable if Americans continued to sail aboard belligerent ships. Early in 1916 a congressman and a senator introduced legislation to forbid such travel (the Gore-Macklemore Resolutions), but it failed under strong opposition from President Wilson, who insisted that the principle of neutral rights must be upheld.

For a time, Wilson’s firm but restrained approach seemed to work. Although Germany did not specifically answer the Lusitania notes, it secretly ordered U-boat captains to spare passenger ships and eventually agreed to pay compensation for the loss of American lives in the Lusitania sinking. In August 1915, when a U-boat violated orders and sank a British passenger vessel, the Arabic, killing two Americans, Germany pledged that such incidents would not recur. In March 1916, however, a German sub sank a French passenger ship, the Sussex, in the English Channel, and several Americans were injured. This violation of the Arabic pledge provoked Wilson to threaten to break diplomatic relations - a first step toward war. In response, Berlin pledged not to attack merchant vessels without warning, although it added that the United States must compel Britain to observe “the rules of international law”. Ignoring this qualification, Wilson announced Germany’s acceptance of American demands; for the rest of 1916, the crisis over neutral rights eased.

The debate over the meaning of neutrality also involved questions of U.S. financial support to the warring nations. Soon after the war had begun, when banker J.P. Morgan sought permission to extend a loan to France, Secretary of State Bryan had rejected the request as “inconsistent with the true spirit of neutrality”.

But towering economic considerations, combined with outrage over the Lusitania sinking, undermined this policy. In August 1915, Treasury Secretary William G. McAdoo warned Wilson of dire economic consequences if the Allied purchase of munitions and agricultural commodities in the United States was cut off by lack of funds. “To maintain our prosperity, we must finance it”.

Swayed by such arguments, and personally sympathetic to the Allied cause, Wilson permitted the Morgan bank to lend \$500 million to the British and French governments. By April 1917 U.S. banks had lent \$2.3 billion to the Allies, in contrast to only \$27 million to Germany. And although U.S. trade with the Central Powers dropped precipitously from 1914 to 1917, trade with the Allies increased nearly fourfold in these years. Despite dependence upon the United States grew progressively stronger. Although the United States still remained on the sidelines militarily, Wilson had taken full advantage of the Allies’ credit needs to strengthen America’s commercial and financial position in the world economy.

The war loomed large in the 1916 presidential election, in which Woodrow Wilson narrowly edged out Charles Evacuees to win a second term.

Check Your Progress:

1. Comment on the Mexican Revolution.
2. What is Lusitania disaster?

11.6 ENTRY OF AMERICA IN THE WORLD WAR-I

Early in 1917 Germany’s leaders took a fateful step; they resumed unrestricted submarine warfare. From 1914 on a sharp debate had raged in Berlin between Chancellor Theobald Von Bethmann-Hollweg, who favored limiting U-boat warfare to keep the United States neutral and top military leaders who wanted to utilize Germany’s U-boats to the maximum. As the war dragged on and a German victory seemed to nearer, Bethmann-Hollweg’s position weakened. Even if the United States declared war, the generals argued, unrestricted U-boat use could bring victory before an American army reached the front. With billions in American loans already financing the Allied war effort, they further argued, a formal U.S. declaration of war meant little. The military significance of an American war declaration, said one German naval official would be “zero, zero, zero”.

The generals ultimately prevailed. The Germans resolved on January 9, 1917, to return to the earlier policy of unlimited U-boat attacks - a decision that would almost certainly pull the United States into the war.

Events now rushed forward with the rapidity of a torpedo speeding toward its target. Germany made its formal announcement on January 31. Three days later, Wilson broke diplomatic relations. During February and March,

five American ships fell victim to U-boat assaults. On February 24, the United States learned through British intelligence of a telegram from the German foreign secretary, Alfred Zimmermann, to the German ambassador in Mexico. The cable proposed that, should the United States enter the war against Germany, a military alliance be formed among Germany, Mexico and Japan with Mexico promised the return of its "lost territories" of Texas, Arizona and New Mexico. Then later in March a revolution overthrew Russia's czarist government and established the provisional government of a Russian Republic. The fall of the czarist autocracy allowed Americans the illusion that all major Allied powers were now fighting for constitutional democracy. Not until November 1917 was this illusion shattered when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia.

On April 2 Wilson went before Congress with his solemn call for a declaration of war. A short but bitter debate followed. Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin gave an impassioned speech in opposition. The Senate voted 82 to 6 for war, and the House 373 to 50. Three key factors - German attacks on American shipping, U.S. economic investment in the Allied cause, and American cultural links to the Allies, especially England - had converged to draw the United States into the war.

11.6.1 Mobilizing at Home, Fighting in France:

Compared to European nations, the United States was touched relatively lightly by World War- I. The European states were at war for more than four years; the United States, for nineteen months. Their armies suffered casualties of 70 percent or more; the American army's casualty rate was 8 percent. The fighting left large parts of France brutally scarred; the American homeland was untouched. Nevertheless, the war marked a profound turning point in American history. Not only did it change the lives of the hundreds of thousands of men who fought in it, but it deeply affected almost all Americans, men and women alike. As American soldiers struggled and died on the Western front, the crisis of war mobilization transformed the nation's government and economy.

11.6.2 Raising an Army:

The U.S. declaration of war in April 1917 found America's military woefully unprepared. The regular army consisted of 120,000 enlisted men, few with combat experience, plus some 80,000 recently federalized National Guardsmen. Enough ammunition was on hand for only two days of fighting. The War Department was a snake pit of jealous bureaucrats.

To raise an army and impose order on the War Department constituted the most immediate challenge. The brilliant army chief of staff Peyton C. Marsh handled the latter task, and Wilson's Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, took on the former. The fast-talking reform mayor of Cleveland, Baker was a poor administrator but a public relations genius. The Selective Service Act of May 18, 1917, required all young men between twenty-one and thirty (later expanded to eighteen and forty-five) to register for military service.

By November 1918 more than 24 million American men had registered, of whom nearly 3 million were drafted. Volunteers and National Guardsmen swelled the total to 4.3 million.

Thanks to a precedent-breaking decision by Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, eleven thousand women served in the navy in World War I, and several hundred in the marines. Although not assigned to combat duty, these women performed crucial support functions as nurses, clerical workers and telephone operators.

The War Department's original plan called for several months of training, but some urgently needed draftees embarked for France after only a few weeks.

11.6.3 Organizing the Economy for War:

The coming of war in 1917 brought not only military mobilization but also unprecedented government oversight of civilian life. For decades, reformers had called for greater government control of the economy, and now, under the stress of war emergency, an elaborate framework of control quickly took shape.

In 1916, Congress created an advisory body, the Council of National Defense, to oversee the government's preparedness program. In 1917 this council set up the War Industries Board (WIB) to coordinate military purchasing, fight waste, and ensure that the military's needs for weapons, equipment, and supplies were met. The WIB limped along until March 1918, when Wilson reorganized it and put Bernard Baruch in charge.

Under Dr. Baruch, the WIB for a few months exercised enormous control over the industrial sector. In addition to allocating raw materials, the board established production priorities and introduced all kinds of efficiencies. As a war measure, the WIB induced companies that had been bitter competitors to standardize and coordinate their production processes to save steel, rubber, and other scarce commodities.

Another wartime conservation measure, daylight saving time, was introduced by federal law in March 1918. Benjamin Franklin, in the 1770s, had originally proposed the idea of adjusting the clocks to take advantage of the longer summer daylight hours, but it took the war emergency to bring it about.

Baruch's counterpart on the agricultural front was Herbert Hoover, head of the Food Administration. Born in poverty in Iowa; Hoover had prospered as a mining engineer in Asia. He was organizing food relief in Belgium when Wilson brought him back to Washington. The Food Administration, created by Congress in August 1917, oversaw the production and allocation of foodstuffs—especially wheat, meat, and sugar—to assure adequate supplies for the army as well as for the desperately food-short Allies.

The War Industries Board and the Food Administration represented only the tip of the regulatory iceberg. Nearly five thousand government agencies supervised home-front activities during the war. The Overman Act of May 1918 gave President Wilson ultimate control of this vast tangle of federal agencies, including the Fuel Board, and the National War Labor Board, which resolved labor-management dispute that jeopardized production. When a massive railroad tie-up during the snowy winter of 1917-1918 threatened the flow of supplies to Europe, the government simply took over the system. Within a few months, the U.S. Railroad Administration, headed by Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo, transformed the four hundred thousand miles of track owned by nearly three thousand competing companies into an efficient national transportation system.

American business, long a target of attack by progressive reformers utilized the war emergency to improve its image. Corporate executives poured into Washington as consultants and advisers. Factory owners distributed prewar propaganda to their workers. Trade associations worked to mobilize the nation's productive strength behind the war.

In place of the trustbusting of a few years before the government how waived the antitrust laws and actively encouraged industrial cooperation. The number of major corporate mergers in 1917 soared to nearly two hundred, more than twice the annual average for the immediate prewar years.

This colossal regulatory apparatus fell apart quickly when the war ended, but its influence lingered. The corporate mergers and coordination of the war years profoundly affected the future evolution of American business. And the old laissez-faire further blows in 1917-1918. In the 1930s, when the nation faced a different kind of crisis, the government activism of World War I would be remembered.

11.6.4 Advertising the War:

For President Wilson the war at home was no less important than the war in France. Wilson's was aware that millions of Americans opposed the war. The opponents of the war represented many diverse view points, but collectively they posed a formidable barrier to Wilson's dream of rallying the nation behind his crusade for a new and finer world order.

Seeking initially to overcome domestic opposition by voluntary rather than coercive means, the Wilson administration drew upon the new professions of advertising and public relations to sell the war to Americans. Treasury Secretary William Gibbs McAdoo set the tone.

McAdoo played a critical role in raising the enormous sums needed to defray the costs of the war. Including loans to the Allies, World War I cost the United States \$35.5 billion - more than the government had spent in its entire first century of existence. About two-thirds of this amount was raised by a series of government bond drives, called Liberty Loans, orchestrated by McAdoo. As a consequence of this heavy wartime

borrowing, the national debt rose from \$1 billion in 1914 to nearly \$27 billion in 1919.

The remaining one-third of the government's war costs came from the pockets of the American people in the form of higher taxes. Taking advantage of its new power to tax individual income granted by the Sixteenth Amendment (ratified in 1913), Congress imposed stiff wartime income taxes that rose as high as 63 percent at the top income levels. War-profits taxes, excise taxes on liquor and luxuries, and increased estate taxes also helped finance the war.

A progressive reformer and journalist named George Creel headed Washington's most effective wartime propaganda agency, the Committee on Public Information (CPI). Established in April 1917, ostensible to combat wartime rumors by providing authoritative information, the Creel committee in reality functioned as a propaganda agency, tirelessly proclaiming the government's version of reality and discrediting those who questioned that version.

11.6.5 Support to intellectuals, Cultural Leaders and Reformers to War:

The nation's teachers, writers, religious leaders and magazine editors overwhelmingly supported the war. These custodians of culture saw the conflict as a struggle to defend threatened values and standards. Historians composed learned essays contrasting Germany malignant power and glorification of brute force with the Allies' loftier, more civilized ideals.

Many progressive reformers who had applauded Wilson's domestic program now cheered his war. The wartime climate of heightened government activism and sacrifice for the common good, they believed, would encourage further reform activity.

11.6.6 Wartime Intolerance and Hysteria:

Responding to this drumfire of propaganda, some Americans became almost hysterical in their hatred of all things German, their hostility to aliens and dissenters, and their strident patriotism. Isolated actions by German saboteurs, including the blowing up of a New Jersey munitions dump, fanned the flames.

11.6.7 Opponents of the War:

Despite the overheated conformist climate, a few Americans refused to support the war. Some were German-Americans with ties of memory and ancestry to the land of their forebears. Others were religious pacifists, including Quakers, Mennonites, and members of other historic peace churches.

Socialist party leaders, including Eugene V. Debs and Victor Berger, opposed the war on political grounds. They regarded it simply as a capitalist contest for world markets, with the soldiers on both sides as

mere cannon fodder. The U.S. devaluation of war, they insisted, reflected mainly Wall Street's desire to protect its loans to England and France.

The war produced deep fissures within the American women's movement.

11.6.8 Suppressing Dissent by Law:

Wartime intolerance also found expression in federal laws and in the actions of top government officials. The Espionage Act of June 1917 prescribed fines of up to ten thousand dollars and prison sentences of up to twenty years for a variety of loosely defined antiwar activities. The even more severe sedition Amendment to the Espionage Act (May 1918) imposed heavy penalties on anyone convicted of using "disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language" about the government, the Constitution, the flag, or the military.

Wilson's reactionary attorney general, Thomas W. Gregory of Texas, employed these measures to stamp out dissent. Under this sweeping legislation and similar state laws, the authorities arrested some fifteen hundred pacifists, socialists, and others whose only crime was to speak or write against the war. Eugene V. Debs was arrested in Cleveland and sentenced to ten years in a federal penitentiary for a noninflammatory speech discussing the economic causes of war.

The Espionage Act also authorized the postmaster general to bar from the mail a wide variety of suspect material - a provision enthusiastically enforced by Wilson's postmaster general, Albert S. Burleson, a pompous, radical hating superpatriot. Burleson suppressed a number of socialist periodicals.

A few citizens protested these actions. Wilson did little to restrain either his postmaster general or his attorney general nor did the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1919, decisions, the Court upheld the Espionage Act convictions of persons who had spoken out against the war.

The wartime mood, originally one of idealism and high resolve, had degenerated into fearful suspicion, narrow ideological conformity, and persecution of those who failed to meet the zealots' notions of "100 percent Americanism". The effects of this ugly wartime climate would linger long after the armistice was signed.

11.7 PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

At the outset of the war it was assumed that the United States would remain neutral, but a considerable majority of American people quickly became committed to the cause of Britain and France. This was due not only to the strong ethnic and cultural ties between the United States and Britain but also due to considerations of national interest. On the other hand Germany's drive for colonies and her aggressive methods of diplomacy had aroused growing antagonism and alarm in the United States. Majority of Americans believed that a German victory would endanger their interests, institutions and ideals. Wilson assumed direct

control over the American foreign policy and his personal convictions were therefore of special importance. He had strong personal sympathy for the cause of the allies and believed that they were much less to blame than the Germans. As early as 1914 he had said privately that England was fighting our (the United States) war. A German victory would compel the United States to give up its present ideals and devote all its energies to defense, which would mean the end of its present system of government. Wilson thus put in nutshell the basic motivation of American policy. After he was re-elected in 1916 Wilson explored the possibility of a negotiated peace by asking both sides to state the terms for which they were fighting. Their replies showed clearly that neither side was willing to settle for anything less than total victory. He then formulated his own conception of a satisfactory peace. This was Wilson's last chance to act as a mediator. In January 1917 the German government announced unrestricted submarine warfare around Britain and France, and that neutral and belligerent ships would be sunk. On 12 March the first American ship was sunk and within the next three weeks five more ships were sunk. On 6th April 1917 the United States declared war against Germany.

On 18th January Wilson summarized his objectives in his Fourteen Points. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, freedom of seas, removal of economic barriers between nations, reduction in armaments, an impartial settlement of Colonial Claims and a general association of nations were some of the most important of the fourteen points. On 11th November 1918 Germany accepted an armistice and the war came to an end.

Wilson headed the American delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in January 1919. He did not invite any of the spokesmen or leaders of the Republican Party to join him. This was a serious error of judgment on his part. He was so convinced of the righteousness of his own ideals. Wilson's main victory was the establishment of the League of Nations. The Paris Peace Treaty was signed in June 1919 and submitted to the United States Senate in July. Eventually, the whole treaty, of which the Covenant of the League of Nations was a part, was defeated. In retrospect it does not seem likely that American membership of the League would have made it effective. The really underlying question was whether the United States would continue to act with Britain and France in defense of the settlement her armed forces had helped to win. By her refusal to assume commitments, the United States would continue to act with Britain and France in defense of the settlement her armed forces had helped to win. By her refusal to assume commitments, the United States helped to create a general sense of instability that led in the end to another division of the world into two hostile camps.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) What was the foreign policy America towards China?
- 2) Where was the Peace Conference held after World War-I?

11.8 SUMMARY

By the end of the 19th century many western countries needed the foreign markets for selling of manufactured goods as well as for getting the raw materials and hence they followed the expansionism policy. America being a developed nation also needed the colonies for raw materials and selling of goods and therefore followed expansionism. Theodore Roosevelt became President in 1901 and was inclined to use strong arm methods in foreign policy. There was the competition among these western dominant developed countries in Asian and African continents. This led to the aggressive imperialism and expansionism which resulted into the First World War. In the beginning of war America did not want to participate in the war but the circumstances compelled her to enter into it and she played an important role in post war Paris Peace Conference of 1919.

11.9 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss expansionism and imperialism of America.
2. Evaluate the role of Theodore Roosevelt during the World War –I.

11.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Parker, Henry Bamford. The United States of America a history, Scientific Book Agency. Calcutta.
2. Hill, C.P. A history of the United States. Arnold – Heinemann India.



AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (1920-1945)

Unit Structure:

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 The Versailles Peace Conference
- 12.3 The United States and Far East
- 12.4 The Washington Conference
- 12.5 The Japanese Immigration
- 12.6 The Failure of the Naval Limitations
- 12.7 The United States and Europe
- 12.8 The United States and Latin America
- 12.9 The Good Neighbor Policy
- 12.10 Rearmament
- 12.11 The Munich Crisis
- 12.12 Lend-Lease and Battle of the Atlantic
- 12.13 Japan Joins the Axis
- 12.14 Summary
- 12.15 Questions
- 12.16 Suggested Readings

12.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To study role of America in the Versailles Peace Conference.
- 2) To Understand the American Policy in Europe.
- 3) To examine the United States and her policy I Latin America.
- 4) To analyses the good neighbor policy of America.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout the 1920's and 1930's a majority of American people were unwilling to assume binding commitments to act against an aggressor or to give support in the event of war. But this did not mean that the United States refrained from seeking international agreements. In fact, the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations assumed world leadership in promotion of disarmament, peaceful settlement of disputes, and economic stabilization. This even included some cooperation with the League of Nations on non-political questions. Although the United States refused to become a member she sent delegates to more than forty League conferences between 1924 and 1930. Her concern with world affairs was due not only to a general interest in peace but also to a rapid expansion of her foreign trade and overseas capital investment. Unfortunately attempts made during the 1920's to bring about international harmony had only temporary results.

12.2 THE VERSAILLES PEACE CONFERENCE

Wilson's idealistic emphasis on self-determination and democracy influenced some of the treaty's provisions. Germany's former colonies (as well as those of Turkey in the Middle East) went to the various Allies under a "mandate" or trusteeship system by which they would eventually, at least in theory, become independent. The treaty also recognized the independence of Poland; the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (territories that Germany had seized in a harsh peace treaty with Bolshevik Russia in March 1918); and two new nations carved from the wreckage of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires; Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

On balance, however, the Versailles treaty proved a disaster. Not only did its provisions arouse festering resentment in Germany, but its framers made no effort to come to terms with revolutionary Russia. Indeed, even as the Versailles conference was going on, Allied troops took part in a campaign to overthrow Russia's new Bolshevik government. In August 1918 a fourteen nation Allied force had landed at various Russian ports on the Baltic and at Vladivostok in Siberia, ostensibly to protect Allied war material and secure the ports from German attack. But these troops were soon assisting a counter-revolutionary Russian force (including both tsarists and liberal democrats) seeking to overthrow Lenin.

U.S. troops, with Wilson's approval, participated in this intervention. By the end of 1918, seven thousand AEF members who had hoped to spend the holidays at home found themselves in Siberia, where they remained until April 1920. Like nearly every political leader of his day, Woodrow Wilson was strongly anti Bolshevik. Having welcomed the liberal Russian revolution of March 1917, he viewed Lenin's October coup, and Russia's subsequent withdrawal from the war, as a betrayal of the Allied cause and of his hopes for a liberal Russian future.

The Versailles treaty reflected this hostility. Its territorial settlements in Eastern Europe were designed to keep Russia as weak as possible. Before leaving Versailles, Wilson and the other Allied leaders agreed to support a Russian military leader, Admiral Aleksander Kolchak, who was waging what would prove to be an unsuccessful campaign against the Bolsheviks. Wilson, who had earlier refused to recognize Huerta and his government of “butchers” in Mexico, now refused to recognize Lenin’s communist government. (The United States did not recognize the Soviet Union until 1933)

12.3 THE UNITED STATES AND THE FAR EAST

Distrust of Japan occasioned an immediate change of direction. Wilson had refused to include in the League Covenant clause requested by the Japanese government declaring the equality of races, because in his view this was inappropriate to an organization of governments. To the Japanese, nationalism was identical with race-consciousness, and they were angered. Americans were disturbed by the massive Japanese intervention in Siberia, which continued after the withdrawal of American troops in 1920. Many theoretical isolationists urged a strong policy to counter Japanese imperialism. An “inevitable” war between the two countries was frequently discussed in both of them. The United States found itself strategically isolated from the Philippines by the former German islands now in Japanese hands under League mandate. Wilson had tried to save the island of Yap for a cable station, and the Department of State persistently urged Japan to concede this point. To offset Japanese influence in China, Wilson himself had revived Dollar Diplomacy after the United States entered the war. He induced hesitant American bankers to join a Four Power Consortium to prevent Japan from gaining exclusive leadership in Chinese economic development and the agreement was signed on October 15, 1920. But the Lansing-Ishii Agreement and Japan’s success in obtaining Shantung shifted the balance in her favour.

American-Japanese tension was chiefly expressed in a naval building race. This dangerous rivalry involved Great Britain as well. Warships require years to pass from drawing-board to shake-down cruise, and none of the three powers was disposed to halt construction when the Armistice suddenly came. The Japanese were convinced that the new American and British fleets were intended for use against their country; American superpatriots were convinced that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance would bring the British and Japanese navies into battle against the United States; Britain assumed that her traditional supremacy on the seas and her far-flung Empire justified naval superiority. Here was a situation that the League of Nations was intended to solve.

Some American isolationists, led by Senator Borah, decided that the United States must do something outside the League. His proposal of a disarmament conference won a great public response and overwhelming vote in Congress. Britain hurried to act, but Secretary Hughes sent out invitations on July 8, 1921. He included France, Italy, Belgium, China, The Netherlands, and Portugal, and proposed discussion of the whole range of

Pacific and Asian tensions. Reluctantly and with reservations, Japan accepted the invitation to convene in Washington, while the other powers came eagerly. The most important international conference to meet in America prior to the United Nations began less than a year after Wilson left the White house.

12.4 THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

In the United States only extreme chauvinist newspapers, led by the Hearst chain and a few isolationists, including Senator Borah, protested against the results of the Washington Conference. Early in 1922, the Senate approved by heavy votes the Five-Power Naval Treaty, the Four Power Consultation Treaty and the Nine-Power Open Door Treaty, besides a batch of lesser agreements. The achievement of Secretary Hughes seemed immense and most observers believed that the Conference turned the tide towards thoughts of peace instead of war in the Far East. In later perspective its value was written down. Time showed that economic exploitation of China was not affected. The United States seemed to have avoided the embarrassments of its unilateral support of China and the Open Door by unloading it onto other nations which were very unlikely to act in case of violations. For its right to fortify island possessions, the United States had exchanged promises by Japan which were not trustworthy. Most elusive was the naval-limitation agreement because light cruisers, destroyers, and submarines were not affected by it, and the naval race simply shifted to these weapons. When the test of the Washington Treaties came within a decade, they were no obstacle to the revival of Japanese imperialism. In the meantime, they gave the world a false sense of security.

It is more difficult to say what should have been done by Hughes in the pressing circumstances of 1921. Admittedly the Treaties required the continuing good faith of all the signatories to observe their letter and spirit or if one refused the determination of the others to act. It was not the Treaties of Washington that failed, but the peoples and governments who later violated their commitments or failed to act against the violators. The treaty structure created by the Washington conference amounted to a regional system of collective security for the Pacific Ocean and the Far East, and the most substantial efforts to carry out the disarmament program of the League Covenant. The strategic meaning of the 5-5-3 ratio was that none of the three leading naval powers could launch aggressive actions against the others. Considered in the context of the time, the work of Secretary Hughes contributed substantially to world peace, and the Washington Conference had little competition as the worthiest accomplishment of the Harding administration.

A good reason for optimism about the Washington Treaties during the mid-twenties was the evolution of Japanese internal politics away from militarism and imperialism and towards democracy. For the first time, a civilian became Premier of Japan. The franchise was universalized, trade unions grew stronger and the improvement of the lot of the home population promised to help provide a market for surplus Japanese

manufactures, the need for which Japanese imperialists used to justify conquests. But another American action in the midst of this encouraging development strengthened the imperialists in their bid for a return to power. The hypersensitivity of the Japanese about their racial prestige was once more needlessly offended, this time by the federal government itself.

12.5 JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

Some Californians and others were not satisfied with the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908. They complained that Japanese-Americans were bringing in "picture brides" and having too many children. When the Immigration Act of 1924 was debated in Congress, opponents of Japanese immigration were not content to rely on the quota system (annual admission of 2 percent of a country's nationals present in the United States in 1890), though this allowed Japan only 250 per year. Congress insisted on a total and special legislative ban. It inserted in the Act a clause prohibiting entrance to any "aliens intelligible to citizenship" - which meant Japanese because all other Asians were excluded by other laws. The enactment would abrogate the Gentlemen's Agreement. Secretary Hughes opposed this offense to Japanese pride, and invited the Japanese Ambassador to state the case of his country to Congress. But the Ambassador unwisely uttered the threat of "grave consequences" if the law passed. This inflamed American sentiment. Congress voted Japanese exclusion by large majorities and President Coolidge signed the Act. It brought on paroxysms of resentment in Japan. The Japanese paid no more attention to the triviality of the number of immigrants involved than Americans had; they took it as the worst of injuries, an insult to their race. Hatred of America provided a chief ingredient of the brew which Japanese imperialists and militarists stirred up to win their way back to power. The glow of good feeling that following the Washington Conference faded.

12.6 THE FAILURE OF NAVAL LIMITATIONS

President Coolidge in 1927 tried to extend to light cruisers, destroyers, and submarines the disarmament principal of 1922. The United States did not keep pace with the other powers in these classes, or even maintain its treaty strength in battleships and heavy cruisers. The president's motive was economy. but his Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, was not of Hughes' and stature, and necessary preparation for a conference was neglected. France and Italy declined to attend a meeting at Geneva called hastily by the President. Navalists among the delegates were not interested in disarmament. The crucial distinction was between heavy cruisers designed for offense and light cruisers for defense, but the delegates failed to agree on specific definition of the 5-5-3 ratio. The Conference was a complete failure.

The question of the renewal of the original Washington Naval Treaty fell into the lap of President Herbert Hoover. He, too, opposed expenditure for the Navy and was inclined towards pacifism. Preliminary discussions between the United States and Great Britain resulted in agreement that these two countries should avoid inequality in any class of warship. The

labour Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, was very agreeable to antiwar policies. After discussion with Hoover in Washington, he invited the naval powers to general disarmament conference in London. It met in January 1930 with Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson in charge of a bipartisan American delegation. France demanded military guaranties in exchange for naval agreement, but Hoover refused. Italy, growing bellicose under Mussolini, refused all but a few minor arrangements. Great Britain and the United States agreed on a maximum for each category of warship. Japan reluctantly agreed to renew the 5-5-3 ratio except for submarines, in which it obtained equality. These successes were vitiated by an “escalator” clause which allowed all the naval powers to exceed their limitations if any nation not bound by the treaty (meaning Germany and Russia) should build in way to threaten any one signatory. The treaty in any case would expire in 1936.

In these disappointing terms the London Naval Treaty was ratified by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan while something was saved of the spirit of the 1922 treaty the new one signified the rapid decline of the hopes for disarmament incorporated in the League Covenant, and the rise of new threats of war. Japan invaded Manchuria the next year.

Even more disappointing than the London Naval Treaty was the record of failure to carry out disarmament in land weapons. Here French fear of Germany was the chief obstacle. The failure of the League powers to instruments the program of the Covenant was a leading argument used by Adolf Hitler and German nationalists to overthrow the Treaty of Versailles. Finally, in 1932, the World Disarmament Conference met in Geneva. The United States had reduced its land forces to trifling size after the war, but it always stood ready to take part in negotiation for disarmament, whether in weapons of land or sea. In the naval sphere, where the country maintained powerful armaments, it took the lead, set a strong example, and brought about more actual reduction of armaments than any other such effort in history. In short, the United States did more than any League power to carry out the League program for disarmament, in domestic debate, the Washington Conference established the precedent that action for disarmament by international agreement was exempted from isolationist opposition.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) What is Mandate system?
- 2) Comment on Japanese immigration.

12.7 THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE

THE WAR DEBTS

Relations with Europe during the twenties were dominated and exacerbated by the war debts. To most Americans the matter seemed simple; European governments had borrowed money from the United States government; they should pay it back with interest as promised.

President Coolidge reduced the problem to the ultimate of simplicity in his characteristic remark: "They hired the money, didn't they" Many Europeans viewed the debts with equal simplicity: America was wealthy; she was fortunate in having been able to contribute mostly treasure to the common effort for victory, instead of dead and wounded on the French and British scale; to ask for literal repayment, and interest besides, was to turn Uncle Sam into "Uncle Shylock". But these inter governmental loans could not wisely be either likened to personal debts, or related to personal emotions of greed or generosity. They were best viewed in their relation to the common interest of the nations in economic reconstruction and political amelioration.

To treat the loans as if they were no different from private loans was the great mistake. In the first place, the transfer of money internationally on this scale was inseparably linked to other transfers, most obviously to reparations payments by Germany to the Allies, and most closely to year-to-year trade balances. In the second place, the United States had not loaned actual gold to the Allies, although the contracts were drawn in terms of gold. It had loaned goods-munitions, food and clothing and raw materials. The only practicable method of repayment was in goods, because gold in this quantity simply did not exist. But the United States in the Emergency Tariff Act of 1921, in the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act of 1922, and most drastically in the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930, raised higher and higher protective walls against imports and thereby made it impossible for foreign countries to build dollar balances in the United States which might be used to pay the war debts. Finally, the United States as the leading creditor nation of the world, now an exporter of surplus investment capital as well as of surplus farm and factory products, had an overriding interest in developing foreign markets and economies. Compared with this, the collection of the war debts was unimportant. But Americans in influential positions came too slowly to understand the true bearings of the problem. The angers aroused by efforts to collect the debts tended to divide the United States from its former associates and helped open the way for the revival of German aggression.

The United States loaned \$10.3 billion to the Allies and new states of Europe. Almost one-third of the total was contracted for reconstruction after the Armistice. Britain was the largest borrower (\$4.2 billion), France second (\$3.4 billion), and Italy third (\$1.6 billion). The original understanding was that interest would be 5 percent and repayments spread over a period of years. The Allies tried at the Paris Peace Conference to make payment of the war debts to the United States dependent on payment of reparations by Germany to themselves, but Wilson refused to recognize any connection. This refusal was maintained under Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, until the debts became uncollectable. Then Hoover indicated he might relent.

The Allies in 1921 set German reparations at the colossal figure of \$33 billion. Hopeless and defiant, the government of the German Republic inflated its currency and after a few installments gave up the effort to pay. The British government at a considerable sacrifice and without benefit of

German reparations returned to the gold standard. As part of the process it regularized its war debt to the United States in 1923 in an agreement to pay 3.3 percent interest and the whole within sixty-two years. France, however, refused to admit that Germany could not pay and also refused to pay her debt to the United States. In 1923, the French army was ordered into the Ruhr Valley to collect reparations by force. The Germans resisted by, means of strikes and sabotage, while their government ruined the German currency, until France gave up. The Allied Reparations Commission turned to an American banker, Charles Gates Dawes of Chicago, to help pull Europe out of economic chaos. Dawes had no official American position, but Secretary Hughes had quietly worked to secure his appointment. The Dawes Plan reduced the bill for German reparations to more reasonable proportions and provided Germany with private loans with which to establish a new and stable currency.

The key to this solution was the lending of private American capital to European governmental and private borrowers. This financed the recovery of German in particular and Europe in general, and facilitated for a few years' regular reparations payments, which in turn made possible payments by the Allies on their war debts to the United States. It was a bankers' system providing seemingly profitable foreign investment of surplus American capital, and creating European purchasing power for surplus American farm and factory products. Besides, few understood that American private capital was going out as long-term unfavorable trade balances and as payments on the war debts to the Treasury. This was the best method of reconstructing the world's economic life that businessmen could organize. The flaw in the system was that United States tariff policy forced Europeans to spend much of their newly borrowed American capital on consumers' goods which disappeared without leaving a trace of productivity to yield means of repayment. German municipalities were particularly lavish in this kind of expenditure. Within a few years payments on earlier American loans were made with money obtained by new borrowings in America.

The Dawes Plan initiated the only approximation of postwar recovery Europe was to know. A threat by the Department of State to discourage private American loans to European countries in default on their war debts finally brought Italy (November 1925) and France (April 1926) to agree on payments. The United States reduced the interest rate to 0.4 per cent for Italy and 1.6 per cent for France. The smaller debtor nations received similar concessions. The momentary political pacification of Europe in the later twenties was founded on this economic arrangement. But political resentments against the United States had been aroused, particularly in France. Americans generally including Treasury officials and the investment bankers who channeled American money into Europe to make the whole system work, failed to understand that the structure was unsound and certain to collapse if the United States persisted in its campaign to export virtually everything, including investment capital, and import virtually nothing it could produce, except gold.

No country ever before found itself in the new American position of producer of surpluses in all three main categories of manufactures, farm produce, and investment capital, so it is not strange that Americans failed to adjust their thinking and their government policy immediately to the need for a sound, long-range solution of the problem. Secretary Hughes, by his work for the Dawes Plan and for war debt settlements which seemed reasonable at the time, did as much as could be expected of a business-oriented administration to find solutions that worked for the short range. But this success generated over optimism. Foreign borrowers and American investment bankers in the late twenties became reckless.

German reparations were viewed as the key to international economic life, and a final effort was made to satisfy German complaints in January 1929, when Owen D. Young and J.P. Morgan were appointed to aid a new committee on German Reparations. Young became chairman, and the committee's report, designated the Young Plan, reduced the amount of reparations to 58 billion and allowed almost 60 years for payment. International transfer of money was to be facilitated by a Bank for international settlements whose profits would eventually be used to pay Germany's installments for her. German payments would be further reduced if the United States would reduce the war debt. Long before this Plan could show results, the speculative boom in American domestic investments drained capital away from the ever-growing structure of American investments abroad on which the whole system of inter-governmental payments depended. At the same time Congress became bitterly insistent that the Executive must not "play Uncle Sam for a sucker" by forgiving the war debts. In the hurricane of the Great Depression, the entire international financial structure collapsed while Congress continued to make it impossible for administrations to negotiate a solution. It accepted default of the war debts, at first thinly veiled as a "moratorium", rather than consider any adjustment by agreement. The only value rescue by the United States from the debacle was an inescapable example of how not to handle the problem of war debts and the related problems of reparations, private foreign investments, and tariff rates. The lesson boiled down to the conclusion that these questions cannot be viewed as purely business matters but must be considered from the point of view of integrated economic and political policy towards the world and the long-range national interest.

12.8 THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

Intervention by one nation in the affairs of other countries is aggression, no matter how lofty the purpose or how veiled the use of force. It was a weakness of President Wilson understands of collective security that he held to the traditional view that the United States had extralegal rights in the American hemisphere of the sort he would not admit when Japan tried to assert them in the Far East. At the end of his eight years as President the United States was engaged in more interventions in Latin America than at the beginning; and Secretary Hughes extended them, so that in 1925 the United States controlled the financial policies of half of the twenty republic and maintained United States marines in several.

But the opinion was growing among American internationalists that interventionism must be abolished. This was the view of an influential section of the press, led by the New York World and the New Republic, and of muckraking books like *Dollar Diplomacy* by Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman (1925) - exaggerated in its thesis but shocking in its factual details. Anti-imperialism was one of the few prewar reformist movements that survived into the twenties. United States officials were embarrassed by the growing insistence of representatives of the Latin American republics that Uncle Sam stop exercising his benevolence with bayonets. Among the career officers of the Department of State, Sumner Welles, on the basis of long experience in Latin America, took leadership in a drive to end interventionism. Late in the twenties, this new force of anti-imperialist opinion, with its important implication for collective security, met head-on the surviving doctrine of interventionism as a necessity for United States security. The anti-imperialists won this struggle, with the consequence that Republican administrations inaugurated what became known under President Roosevelt as the "Good Neighbor Policy".

12.8.1 Mexico and Nicaragua:

Once more Mexico and Nicaragua tested United States Policy in Latin America. Almost unnoticed by Americans in 1917, Mexico adopted a new constitution full of dynamite for future relations with the United States. It was anticlerical and led to struggles between Church and State which troubled American Catholics. It strongly favoured peasants and labourers but it was anticapitalistic only as it applied to foreign ownership of Mexican resources. Essentially it was nationalistic.

A clause of Article 27 of the Constitution restored the ancient Spanish rule that subsoil resources are inalienable property of the government. Americans who had obtained vast oil and mineral resources under the Porfirio Diaz regime feared that the rule would be applied retroactively to invalidate their titles. When President Obregon succeeded Carranza in 1920, the Wilson administration refused to recognize him because he would not give a guarantee against retroactive application of Article 27. Secretary Hughes, however, obtained assurances in the Bucareli Executive Agreement of 1923 that pre-1917 American titles to subsoil resources could be validated by some 'positive act', and the United States thereupon recognized the Obregon government. It seemed to nationalistic Latin Americans and to liberals in America that the United States had once more used diplomatic pressure to support dubious business interests. Plutarco Calles was elected President of Mexico in 1924 and he favoured the nationalists. His campaign to repudiate the Bucareli Agreement and enforce Article 27 resulted in the Petroleum Law of January 1927. It limited foreign concessions to 50 years and in the famous Calvo Clause, required foreign-owned corporations to waive the right to appeal to their own governments against Mexican law as a condition of their right to operate. A Land Law limited foreign land ownership and prepared for division of the great haciendas for the benefit of the peasants.

At the same time relations with Nicaragua reached the stage of acute crisis. United States Marines withdrew in 1925 and the country fell into civil war. The regime of Adolfo Diaz was supported by American bankers and received quick recognition by the Coolidge administration. Mexico recognized the opposing regime. The United States sent Marines back to Nicaragua to support Diaz. He was allowed to buy arms in the United States with money supplied by the bankers while his opponents were embargoed. In 1927, more than 5000 Marines conducted undeclared war in Nicaragua. President Coolidge justified this by reference to the canal rights of the United States, and Secretary of State Kellogg tried to gain popular support by raising a 'Red scare'. He told Congress, in January, 1927, that a Bolshevik conspiracy in Mexico and Central America was directed towards gaining control of the Isthmus for Russia. President Coolidge countered Calles' policy with an extreme version of the principle that American citizens and property in a foreign country are entitled to governmental protection as if they were at home. Some newspapers tried to stir up war fever against Mexico.

12.9 THE "GOOD NEIGHBOUR" POLICY

In his first Inaugural Address President Roosevelt devoted one short paragraph to foreign policy: "In the Field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor-the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and because he does so, respects the rights of others-the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors."

The germ of the foreign policy of the United States during the twelve cataclysmic years of the Roosevelt administration-and of the United States ever since - is in these words which received scant attention in the domestic crisis of 1933. Their full meaning was unfolded by responses to event rather than by any sudden or sweeping innovations. The "good neighbor" label meanwhile was attached not to the world policy which Roosevelt eventually developed but to his policy in Latin America where Congress and the public were ready for change when he was inaugurated.

12.9.1 The Liquidation of Imperialism:

Cuba was the scene of the first test of Roosevelt Latin-American policy. The island fell into civil war in August 1933. The United States had a treaty right under the Platt Amendment of 1903 to intervene with force to restore order. But Roosevelt refrained from intervention. The United States in consultation with other Latin-American governments agreed to recognize the new Mendieta government of Cuba. Following a trade-reciprocity agreement in 1934, the United States imported increased quotas of Cuban sugar. In the same year the United States in a new Treaty of Relations abrogated the Platt Amendment. All this fulfilled the spirit as well as the letter of a statement made by Roosevelt late in 1933, "The definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention." The Roosevelt administration also abolished the Quasi-protectorates over Haiti and Panama. In 1934, American troops were

withdrawn from Haiti and finances of that country were freed from the control of the National City Bank of New York. A New treaty with Panama signed in 1936 and ratified in 1939 abolished protectorate features of the Hay-BunauVarilla Treaty of 1903, including the right of the United States to intervene. A treaty of 1949 ended United States financial control over the Dominican Republic.

A plan of independence for the Philippine Island was incorporated in the Tiding Mc Duffie Act of 1934. A commonwealth was organized in 1935 to govern the Islands for a ten-year period until definitive independence should be established on July 4, 1946. Manuel Quezon was elected first president of the Philippine commonwealth. The prospects of putting the Islands outside United States tariff walls appealed to some interests in the United States but the Roosevelt administration worked to prevent hardship for the Island economy. The neglected and impoverished Virgin Island was afforded some economic relief by application of new deal measures. They gained improved political status by the Organic Act of 1936, under which a territorial legislature was established. A small but fanatical nationalist movement in Puerto Rico demanded independence. The majority hoped for statehood or at least an elected governor. Rexford G. Tugwell as Governor from 1941 to 1946 brought a reformist spirit to the Puerto Ricans. They were granted the right to elect their own governor and embarked in 1948 under Luis Munoz-Marin on a broad program of social and economic improvement. In 1952 Puerto Rico became a commonwealth. A bill to grant statehood in Hawaii was defeated in 1937 because Congressmen distrusted the large Japanese element in the population as a threat to the security of the great naval base at Pearl Harbor.

Strategic-defensive naval policy survived the liquidation of American Imperialism. Cuba granted the United States continued use of Guantanamo as a naval base in new treaty of 1934, and similar arrangements were made in the Philippines. Nevertheless, the United States led the Great Powers in the movement to unravel the colonial network of the nineteenth century. The program for Philippine independence was the first instance of liberation of nonwhite colonial peoples which came to fruition after the Second World War. In Latin American the problem was to allay distrust of the "Yankee Colossus" by abandoning interventionism and at the same time to build a mutual security system for the hemisphere to prevent intervention by other powers. Nazi and Communist activities in various republics spurred the adoption of a consultative pact by the Buenos Aires Conference of 1936 which President Roosevelt opened. In 1938, the republic adopted the Declaration of Lima promising to resist all threats to "the peace security, or territorial integrity of any American Republic." Thus, the foundation was laid for the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine by multilateral procedures which removed from it the suspicion that it veiled American designs upon Latin America.

12.9.2 Mexico:

The most severe test of the sincerity of the Good Neighbor Policy was posed by Mexico. The radical nationalist administration of President Lazaro Cardenas in 1938 climaxed his campaign against foreign ownership of Mexican resources by expropriating one-half billion dollars' worth of properties of United States and British oil companies. The date, March 18, became a national holiday in Mexico. The legal bases of the Mexican expropriation were the revived Spanish doctrine of inalienable governmental title to subsoil resources and the refusal of the oil companies to concede extreme demands of their Mexican employees which the Mexican government supported. A movement for forceful intervention arose in the United States among supporters of property right and some Roman Catholics who opposed the anticlericalism of the Cardenas administration. All the Latin America watched the struggle of the militant Mexican leaders against the country of the Good Neighbor.

Secretary Hull maneuvered carefully among these conflicting pressures. He recognized Mexico's right of expropriation, while insisting on compensation to the oil companies and suspending purchases of Mexican silver by the United States Treasury. A joint commission was established to determine the amount of compensation due the companies. Mexico refused to pay for anything except actual capital investments - a small fraction of the whole. In November 1938, just prior to the Lima conference. Hull by accepting Mexico's terms of payment in a lesser dispute over expropriated agricultural lands indicated that the United States would not support all the claims of the American companies. During the next three years the Mexican government raised its tariff rates against imports from the United States and made better agreements to deliver oil to Germany. In November 1941, a few weeks before the Pearl Harbor attack Hull without the oil companies consent, accepted the Mexican terms of settlement amounting to about \$35 million. Reprisals were dropped by both government and Mexico allied herself to the United States in the Second World War.

No small country in the neighborhood of a Great Power had ever won such a victory as this one by Mexico. It contradicted Marxist-Leninist dogma on the nature of financial imperialism. It reassured Latin-American countries that the Good Neighbor Policy presaged the end of economic exploitation as well as of political and military intervention. Indeed the United States began, in agreements with Brazil in March 1939, to make loan encouraging industrial development in Latin America, a striking result on which was the erection in Brazil of the first steel mill in the hemisphere outside the United States. Perhaps the most interesting consequence of Mexico's successful expropriation was a drastic shift in the policies of United States corporations operating in Latin-American countries they began to accept advanced local labor and social legislation and to develop enlightened programs for the benefit of their employees. Consequently, the Mexican example was not widely initiated and Mexico herself under President Avila Camacho turned moderation and co-operation with the United States.

12.9.3 Hemispheric Solidarity:

The Good Neighbor Policy was the first great success of the Roosevelt administration in foreign relations. Only Argentina which was influenced by Italian fascism and German Nazism and was ambitious to displace the United States and leader of the hemisphere, offered important opposition to the development of hemispheric unity. Canada welcomed application of the new security system to herself by the promise of President Roosevelt on August 18, 1938; "The people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened." When France fell to the German invaders in 1940 the American security system was instrumented in the Act of Havana. Under it the 21 republics established a committee to assume administration of any American colony threatened by aggression. In case of emergency, any one or more of the republics were authorized to act. In 1941, the United States and Brazil jointly protected Dutch Guiana when Nazis threatened to take it.

The Act of Havana and the subsequent growth of hemispheric solidarity demonstrated that the broadest meaning of the Good Neighbor Policy was collective security against aggression. As usual the United States instrumented a new foreign policy first in relations with Latin America. That region was exempt from restrictions which isolationists in and out of Congress placed upon relations with the rest of the World.

12.9.4 The World Disarmament Conference 1933:

Roosevelt at the time of his inauguration, wanted to move the United States towards a world policy of collective security and immediately to join a united front with peaceful nations to stop Hitler. This is shown by his initial response to the crisis of the World Disarmament Conference at Geneva. Disarmament Agreements like Latin-American policy were exempt from the rule of isolationism. The Geneva Conference was supposed to carry out the promise of the victors in the First World War to reduce their own land armaments as well as those of the Central Powers. President Hoover in June 1932 proposed that all the nations reduce their military establishments by one-third. France countered with demand for prior guarantees to secure herself from attack. In January 1933, President Hoover tried to satisfy France by asking Congress for authority to embargo on aggressor nation while sending arms to its victim. This would add economic sanctions to the diplomatic sanction of the Stimson Doctrine; President-elect Roosevelt publicly approved the proposal and retained Norman Davis as head of the United States delegation to the Conference.

The seizure of power in Germany by Adolf Hitler in January 1933 made disarmament urgent in order to frustrate his threat to rearm Germany. France demanded that the United States make a commitment that it would impose a discriminatory arms embargo if aggression occurred. This raised the issue on which the League had been defeated in the United States Senate. Roosevelt solved the dilemma in April 1933 by offering the powers in return for a disarmament agreement a consultative pact. He

hoped to allay isolationists' suspicions by promising no more than that the United States would confer with the nations if one of them claimed aggression had been committed, while reserving to the United States power to decide on its action. The House of Representatives on April 17 approved a resolution embodying the discriminatory arms embargo.

For a moment the vista opened of the United States helping to stop Hitler before he started on the course that led to the Second World War. When Hitler, cornered, threatened to withdraw Germany from the Conference, President Roosevelt on May 16 sent out an "Appeal to the nations," proposing universal abandonment of offensive weapons and warning that no nation should take responsibility for the failure of the Conference. Hitler turned conciliatory. But on May 27, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the stronghold of isolationism reported on amendment to the House resolution which required the President to embargo both the aggressor and the victim in any future war. This was the "new neutrality," the isolationist's prescription for preserving the peace of the United States.

Roosevelt dropped the issue rather than see the Senate vote on the amended resolution. In the midst of the domestic emergency, he was unwilling to risk revival of the bitterness of the debate on the League and distraction of attention from his crucial recovery measures. France consequently refused to disarm. The World Disarmament Conference dragged on until Hitler killed it by withdrawing in October 1933. But for the Senate, might not the United States under the plans devised by Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt have strengthened collective security against the foul dictator who plotted the Second World War? This is a poignant "if" of history.

The furor over arms manufacturers being responsible for America's entry in the war and similar exposes led the Senate in April 1934 to authorize an investigation of the munitions industry under the extreme isolationist Republican, Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota. Unquestionably the armaments industry tried to influence public opinion and governmental policy, and for this reason the Roosevelt administration supported the Nye Investigation in the hope that it would lead to legislation establishing governmental and international supervision of the industry. But this was a far cry from the use Nye made of his power. By tendentious procedures he convinced many that bankers and munitions makers had successfully conspired to push the United States into the war for their own profit. The conclusion followed that Uncle Sam, to avoid being duped again, ought to forbid sale of munitions and extension of loans to belligerents. The deep-seated American deal of peace was channeled into isolationism and produced an overwhelming demand for a nondiscriminatory arms embargo when Mussolini prepared in 1935 to invade Ethiopia.

12.9.5 The Neutrality Act of 1935:

The administration hoped that the League of Nations would impose sanctions against Italy and support Ethiopia, and that the United States would back the League by independent action, Hull prepared a bill which

conceded to isolationist on every point except the crucial one of the arms embargos. It asked for presidential authority to prohibit loans to belligerents to forbid American ships to carry munitions to belligerents, and to withdraw diplomatic protection from American who traveled on belligerent ships - all to prevent "incidents" of the sort which isolationists believed the Wilson administration had used as "excuses" for falling in with the conspiracy of bankers and munitions makers. But the bill also granted the President authority to determine which party or parties to a dispute should be placed under an arms embargo and this would leave room for him to impose a discriminatory embargo against Italy in conjunction with the League while permitting Ethiopia to buy American arms. The bill ran into adamant opposition from Senators who threatened to filibuster against the administration domestic reform bills. As Mussolini blustered that his legions were ready to attack. President Roosevelt on August 18 addressed to him a personal letter begging him to refrain from war. The dictator answered that it was too late because Italy had mobilized, and he cannily added a threat that fed isolationists fears, he said that any interference would lead to an extension of the war.

12.9.6 The Neutrality Act of 1936:

Sir Samuel Hoare, Foreign Minister in Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin's government and Premier Pierre Laval of France negotiated a pact with Mussolini to give him virtual control of Ethiopia. News of the project caused revulsion in British opinion which forced Hoare out of the government. Anthony Eden as supporter of the League took his place on December 22 1935. Roosevelt and Hull were encouraged to work in the next session of Congress for a legal embargo against aggressors on oil and other new materials. Still he subordinated this aim to the need for domestic reform the administration bill to change the Neutrality Act was never reported.

Instead the existing Act was extended to May 1, 1937. An amendment requiring extension of the arms embargo to any additional nations that became involved in a war was designed to frustrate the administration's plan for a united front of governments opposing aggression Another change dropped the requirement that the President apply the Act to nations at war and granted him discretionary power to apply it when and if he "shall find that there exists a state of war".

In this form the President signed the Neutrality Act of 1936 on February 29, Mussolini successfully carried out his conquest of Ethiopia.

12.10 REARMAMENT

The departure from the British government of its last supporter of collective security and Hitler's annexation of Austria on March 12, 1938, without opposition by Britain or France discouraged Roosevelt. Abandoning his hope that something might be done to implement quarantine against aggression; he turned to rearmament as the best remaining method to strengthen American security. In a special message

to Congress on January 28, 1938, he asked for a heavy naval building programme to permit simultaneous flex operation in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. He stated that it was needed "because of the piling up of additional land and sea armaments in other countries," in such manner as to involve a threat to world peace and security." In 1934 Japan had denounced the Washington Naval Treaty and in 1935 Great Britain had agreed to German naval rearmament including unlimited submarine construction. Now Roosevelt in private discussions with Britain and France brought pressure on them to rebuild their navies according to plans concerted with his own program. Some isolationists detected the internationalist purpose of the President and opposed the Two-Ocean Navy Bill even after they obtained an amendment forbidding the use of the new navy for "aggression"- which they identified with collective security. Holding to a different definition the President accepted the amendment and signed the Act on May 17. It authorized 24 new battleship and comparable numbers of lesser warship besides some increase in Army and Air programmes. Without these the United States would have been rendered defenseless at sea when the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor-and destroyed mostly old battleships.

12.11 THE MUNICH CRISIS

Hitler with Mussolini in tow proceeded during the summer of 1938 to wage against the Czechoslovakian Republic a "war of nerves" that threatened to engulf all Europe. Chamberlain amplified his dream of appeasement to embrace Hitler as well as Mussolini. When Hitler had whipped up the crisis to the breaking point by claiming the right to annex the German-speaking Sudeten areas of Czechoslovakia - which would give Germany the mountain defense perimeter of the country-Chamberlain September 22 flew to meet Hitler and beg him to take the Sudeten area peacefully. Hitler immediately raised his demands. Chamberlain apparently prepared to resist. He ordered air-raid shelters dug in London mobilized the Royal Navy and warned Hitler that Britain would stand by France and the chain of alliances linking the latter to the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia. This seemed to Roosevelt an opportunity to add the moral weight of the United States to the cause of resistance. On September 26, he addressed messages to the European leaders appealing for a peaceful solution. But when Chamberlain Premier Edouard Daladier, Mussolini, and Hitler met at Munich on September 29 the French and British leaders conceded not only the stepped up demands of Hitler, but new ones besides. The Czechoslovakian Republic was dismembered in the resulting Munich Agreement of September 30, in return for a pledge by Hitler to take his winnings peacefully and refrain from annexing the defenseless remainder of Czechoslovakia.

With the hysteria of relief much of the world hailed Chamberlain's boast that he had won "peace in our time." But there is much evidence that President Roosevelt believed the betrayal at Munich had brought war closer, that dictators could not be appeased. During the months after Munich he worked to reestablish the unity of the Democratic Party, which had most recently been torn by the primary's "purge" campaign. He

decided to abandon further major efforts to obtain domestic reforms for the sake of an all-out effort to repeal the arms embargo. He stepped up defense spending and initiated plans for vastly increased aircraft production in November Hitler lost his followers upon Jews, torturing them on public streets in broad daylight. His Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels called this proof of the “Healthy instincts” of Germans. Roosevelt publicly stated; “I myself could scarcely believe that such things could happen in a twentieth century civilization” and he recalled the United States Ambassador from Germany Americans now began to loathe the Nazi regime as they had probably lathed no other in their history.

Japan, too became bolder after Munich. On November 3, she proclaimed a “New Order in East Asia” to include annexation of China. the Roosevelt administration rejected an offer to negotiate instead it arranged loan of \$25 million to China and private credits for the purchase of war materials. On November 17, important reciprocity trade agreements with Great Britain and Canada were hurried to conclusion. In December Hull strengthened hemispheric defenses in the Declaration of Lima.

12.11.1 The Fight to Repeal the Arms Embargo:

President Roosevelt in his Annual Message on January 4, 1939 subordinated all other issues to obtain repeal of the arms embargo. “There are,” he said, “many methods short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words of bringing home to aggressor governments the aggregate sentiments of our own people.” First among these methods short of war was repeal of arms embargo.

This speech was the most important turning point in the twelve-year history of the Roosevelt administration. It marked the end of the creative period of the New Deal and the beginning of a new period when strengthening foreign policy commanded the chief attention of Roosevelt and his subordinates. Again, Secretary Hull worked quietly with Senator Key Pittman, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and after Hitler marched into Prague on March 15, Roosevelt accepted a compromise resolution to extend “cash-and-carry” to arms and munitions as well as commodities. This would at least help Britain and France in their new policy of guaranteeing the independence of Poland and other countries east of Germany. But isolationists dug in for a fight against all compromises. Hitler now plainly marked Poland as his next victim and Mussolini grabbed Albania on April 7. The president decided that time was running out and something must be done to warn Hitler that the economic might of the United States would be available to his enemies. On May 1, cash-and -carry for commodities expired and the Neutrality Act became more unsatisfactory than ever to internationalists. On May 19, Roosevelt told House leaders that repeal of the arms embargo and application of cash-and -carry for all war materials and commodities might prevent war in Europe or if it did not would make less likely a victory by the powers unfriendly to the United States.

The State Department learned that a Nazi-Soviet pact opening the door to Poland for Hitler was in the making. On July 14, the President sent to Congress a special message in terms of the greatest urgency with a masterly argument by Hull that the best method to secure the peace and neutrality of the United States was to end the penalty the Neutrality Act placed upon Great Britain and France.

After this, Congressional leaders abandoned their original argument and simply denied that Roosevelt and Hull were correct in their warning that war was imminent in Europe. The Senators told Roosevelt they would postpone action on the Neutrality Act until the next session of Congress in January 1940. Roosevelt was defeated. Congress adjourned, but he made public the contention of the isolationists that there would be no war in Europe for the present. This helped to discredit them when the fearful events of August unfolded.

12.11.2 WAR: Repeal of the Arms Embargo:

On August 23, 1939, the Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed. It promised mutual nonaggression in its public terms and provided in secret protocols for a division of spoils in Eastern Europe. Safe from the threat of a two-front war, Hitler stormed against Poland and mobilized additional divisions. He rejected last-minute British efforts to negotiate his pretended grievances admitting finally that war and conquest was his object. On September 3, Great Britain and France declared war against Germany in fulfillment of their guarantee of assistance to Poland. That evening President Roosevelt addressed the nation. He said he hoped that now "Our neutrality can be made true neutrality," by repeal of the arms embargo. When peace has been broken anywhere the peace of all countries is in danger.

The President called Congress into special session on September 21. Last-ditch isolationists fought hard but the tide of opinion in and out of Congress had turned. Americans were frightened by the onrush of Nazi power and by new moves of Russia, aligning her with Japan as well as Germany. Their sympathy went out to France and Great Britain not only on moral grounds but because they began to realize what genuine isolation of the Western Hemisphere would mean if brutal dictatorships triumphed from the Atlantic shores of Europe to China. Roosevelt carefully avoided one of Wilson's mistakes by obtaining the co-operation of Alfred M. Landon and Frank Knox the leaders of the Republican Party as the nucleus of a bipartisan coalition to renovate American foreign policy. His assuagement of anti-New Deal rancor's began to show results. Almost the same proportion of the nation's newspapers that had opposed his reelection in 1936-80 per cent - now supported repeal of the arms embargo.

He told the special session of Congress that he regretted that he had signed the Neutrality Act - a rare instance of a President admitting he had been wrong in an important matter. Pleading that repeal of the arms embargo would restore traditional neutrality he made no secret of his hope that it would help Britain and France to win the war and argued that this was the

best assistance of American peace and security. He was willing that cash-and -carry should apply to all sales to belligerents and urged that American ships be forbidden to enter war Zones. Alfred E. Smith returned to support the President and former Secretary of state Stimson campaigned vigorously for repeal.

The Senate adopted the bill in the President's terms on October 27 by a vote of 63 to 80. It was the first no isolationist measure to pass that body since it defeated Wilson and the Leagues. A large majority of Representatives voted for the measure and the President signed it on November 4, 1939. At the moment Britain and France made very slight use of their opportunity to buy Americans and materials. Their leaders adopted a defensive strategy in the West. The War in its major phase had not yet begun. But in the United States the era of isolationism was drawing to a close. President Roosevelt henceforth was never defeated by Congress on a major issue of foreign policy.

12.11.3 The Axis Challenges 1940-41:

In April and May 1940, the American people forgot the confusions and distemper of the winter of "phony war" as they watched Hitler burst into Norway, Denmark and the Low countries. In June, they were transfixed by the apparition of savage and triumphant Nazi war machine on French shores opposite the United States. These were days when consoling fictions gave way to terror. Americans felt cut adrift from the world as they had known it. They suddenly demanded strong leadership and swift action to hold off the appalling danger of conquest of the world by Axis and Communist dictatorships. Only the coming to power to Prime Minister Winston Churchill on May 10, and the refusal of the British people under his galvanizing leadership to compromise, gave Americans a point of hope. "Aid to Britain!" superseded all other public demands in the United States.

The Nazi attack on Norway aroused Americans' emotions, but Germany's occupation of Denmark was more strategically important to the United States. Greenland and Iceland, which were Danish possessions, commanded the sea and air routes to North America and the possibility that Germany would occupy them created new apprehensions. On April 13, President Roosevelt publicly condemned Nazi aggression against Norway and Denmark. Hull encouraged the ancient Icelandic parliament, the Althing to form independent diplomatic relations with the United States. On April 18, the President announced that Greenland was part of the Western Hemisphere and under the protection of the Monroe Doctrine. The Coast Guard assisted the Greenlanders with food and with arms so that they were able to wipe out several Nazi expeditions to establish weather stations in the northern wastes of the great island.

Hitler on May 9 began his main assault against France. Destroying the defenses of The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg he outflanked the French Maginot Line. Churchill had told the Commons that this policy was war and victory. He now told Roosevelt privately that the situation of

Britain was desperate and that if she felt Americans would face the Nazified Europe alone. He asked Roosevelt to send him immediately a fleet of overage destroyers, hundreds of airplanes, anti-aircraft guns and ammunition and other materials. Britain would pay dollars as long as her resources lasted, he said but he would like to be “reasonably sure that when we can pay no more you will give us the stuff all the same.”

12.11.4 The End of Traditional Neutrality:

Churchill repeatedly warned Roosevelt that if Britain were defeated and his government overthrown the Royal Navy might be surrendered to Hitler. Roosevelt ordered the War and Navy Departments to “scrape the bottom of the barrel” for “surplus” weapons to send to the British. He hesitated to send the destroyers Churchill wanted, because old rules of international law forbidding a neutral to send warships to a belligerent had been strengthened by Congress, on June 28, in an amendment to a naval appropriations bill forbidding the President to send any war material abroad unless the Joint Chiefs-of-staff certified that it was not essential to the defense of the United States. This was a constitutional monstrosity as it gave the President’s subordinates a veto over him, but Roosevelt did not make an issue of it. On July 31, as Hitler prepared for invasion of the British Isles. Churchill pressed Roosevelt hard for destroyers with which to defend the Channel.

12.11.5 The Destroyers-Based Deal:

Roosevelt decided upon a “Deal.” He told Churchill early in August that he might exchange the destroyers for naval and air bases in British possessions from Newfoundland and found to the West Indies. Such bases would obviously be more “essential” to United States defense than the destroyers. Roosevelt asked, furthermore, that Churchill make a public declaration that the Royal Navy would go to America rather than surrender to the Germans. Churchill found both conditions humiliating. As a horse trade, the deal obviously gave the United States more than Britain would receive. He solved the problem by making the two most important bases at Newfoundland and Bermuda, free gifts to the United States. The other six, in the Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Antigua, and British Guiana, he traded for 50 destroyers. Churchill refused to make the public declaration about the Royal Navy for fear it would injure morale, but he gave Roosevelt private assurance that a statement of his in Parliament that Britain would never surrender or scuttle her fleet. Roosevelt was satisfied. On August 16, he made known to the public that negotiations were going forward. The response of the people was strongly favorable.

The Destroyers-Bases Deal was consummated on September 2, 1940, in an exchange of letters constituting an Executive Agreement. The destroyers reconditioned and with magazines and larders filled, were turned over to British crews in Canada. The War and Navy Department began to build a ring of bases on sites leased to the United States for 99 years. Criticism of the Deal was largely confined to the President’s failure

to send the agreement to the Senate for approval as a treaty. As made public in an opinion of Attorney General Robert Jackson, Roosevelt's position was that disposition of defense materials is within the President's authority as Commander-in-chief. In international law the Deal could be defended only under the new rules derived from doctrines of collective security. It destroyed the neutral status of this country and made it "nonbelligerent" supporting defenders against aggression.

This strengthened the morale of the British people as they stood alone under the blitz which Hitler bombers built up to a fearful climax in mid-September. Roosevelt and Churchill had now shown their remarkable capacity for diplomacy by personal correspondence.

12.12 LEND-LEASE AND THE BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC

The British people withstood the climax of the Blitz in September. The danger of German invasion receded. But two new dangers emerged. From May 1940 to the end of the year, Nazi submarines sank over 3 million tons of shipping, most of which was engaged in supplying Britain and the rate of sinking climbed steeply. After Churchill became Prime Minister his government took full advantage of cash-and-carry to purchase 84.5 billion of war materials in the United States. Now it was reaching the end of its cash dollar resources.

On December 8, Churchill wrote to Roosevelt that Americans had evidently determined that their safety was bound up with the survival of the British Commonwealth. Britain would hold off Hitler while the United States converted its industries to war production. The question of payment Churchill left to Roosevelt with confidence "that ways and means will be found."

He did not propose the Lend-lease idea. That had already become United States policy under the Pittman Resolution of June 15, 1940, extending military and economic aid to Latin-American countries threatened by aggression. The administration had also found that a law of 1892 authorized the Secretary of War to lease Army property for five years, "when in his discretion it will be for the public good." Churchill's letter precipitated in Roosevelt's mind the ultimate formula of the Lend-Lease Act.

It geared the war potential of the United States to national foreign policy instead of leaving the American market open to competition between American needs and foreign purchasers. It left the amount and form of payment to future agreement while the President might "sell, transfer, title to, exchange, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of" goods to countries whose defense he deemed essential to the defense of the United States.

12.12.1 The Atlantic Charter:

These were warnings to Roosevelt that isolationism was far from dead and that he must avoid any "irrevocable act" which would tip the scales

against his policy. On July 13, he sent Harry Hopkins to London to arrange with British leaders for a meeting to concert plans. In Hopkins' notes the limits of the President's policy were clear: "No talk about war", and, with respect to postwar settlements: "Economic or territorial deals - NO". Hopkins obtained permission from Roosevelt to go on to Moscow to consult with Stalin and obtain information on the quality of Russia's war effort. For several days British and American staff officers and Churchill and Roosevelt conferred on problems of the war.

There issued from the Atlantic Conference a joint declaration stressing accomplishments and agreements. The first four points of this Atlantic Charter amounted to the broadest statement of anti-imperialism ever supported by a British Prime Minister. The two leaders promised that their common purposes in the war would allow no territorial aggrandizement or changes which did not accord with the wishes of the people concerned. They affirmed the right of all peoples to choose their form of government and promised the restoration of self-government to those who had been forcibly deprived of them. They promised to further the access of all nations on equal terms to trade and raw materials. The fifth point promised international collaboration to improve labour standards, economic advancement, and social security. The sixth incorporated Roosevelt's goals of freedom from fear and freedom from want after destruction of the Nazi tyranny. The seventh affirmed freedom of the seas. The eighth, and from the American long-range viewpoint the most important point promised that after victory the aggressors would be disarmed and then "a wider and permanent system of general security" would be established. The essential meanings of the Atlantic Charter lay in the promise of Great Britain to abandon imperialism and the promise of the United States to join an international organization for collective security.

Diplomacy between Roosevelt and Churchill had become relatively easy by this time. Personal friendship cemented their mutual respect and understanding. The relation of Stalin to the growing anti-Axis coalition was troubled by doubts and suspicions. Stalin had informed Hopkins that the Red Army would begin a counter offensive during the winter and that he would welcome lend-lease aid. Convinced that it was desirable to bolster Russian resistance in order to preoccupy vast German forces, Roosevelt and Churchill authorized diplomatic discussions in Moscow in September 1941. These resulted in an agreement by the United States and Britain to send \$1 billion of aid to Russia by mid-1942. Roosevelt was encouraged by Stalin's willingness to subscribe to the Atlantic charter. When Congress defeated a prohibition of Russian aid in a new Lend-Lease appropriation of \$6 billion, Roosevelt on November 7 formally declared Russia eligible.

12.12.2 Undeclared Naval Warfare:

The fact that aid to Russia was shipped chiefly by the dangerous northern route to Murmansk made victory in the Battle of the Atlantic more essential than ever. The United States Merchantman Steel Seafarer was torpedoed and sunk in the Red Sea on September 6. Roosevelt called these

acts “piracy-legally and morally.” But he did not ask for a declaration of war. Instead he announced that henceforth the United States would counter Hitler’s plan to gain control of the Atlantic with a new policy of “active defense” The American Navy in its patrol and escort operations would shoot on sight against any Axis submarine or surface raider found in the waters up to and including Iceland. This amounted to a policy of limited undeclared naval warfare.

Roosevelt on October 9 asked Congress to repeal those sections of the Neutrality Act which prohibited the arming of American merchantmen and their entry into belligerent posts. Isolationists made a strong stand, but submarine sinking’s of two destroyers in October with a loss of 126 lives, besides the sinking of merchant ships weakened their cause. The logic of the situation demanded that the United States act to assure delivery of the massive shipments of Lend-Lease materials to which it was committed. On November 13, the pertinent clauses of the Neutrality Act were repealed.

The President and many of his supporters still hoped that the United State without engaging in full-fledge war could help Great Britain and Russia gain the victory over Hitler. But a growing number of interventionists believed that the United States was now committed so deeply to the anti-Hitler cause that it was futile and even ignoble to limit American participation to the Battle of the Atlantic Isolationists on the other hand, intensified their opposition as their numbers dwindled. All three groups considered the least likely outcome to be an overt Axis attack upon American soil.

12.13 JAPAN JOINS THE AXIS

Germany, Italy and Japan signed a military alliance on September 27, 1940. British, Australian and American leaders did not believe that the Japanese would be so foolhardy as to attack the United States directly. The British wanted President Roosevelt to commit himself to war in case Japan attacked non-American territories, but he refused. Without his authority, Admiral Harold R Stark, Chief of Naval Operations began staff talks in January 1941 between British and American military leaders. Again, the British tried but failed to obtain the commitment they wanted. In April, 1941, a new series of staff talks began at Singapore among United States, British, Australian and Dutch officers. Their Report, called “ABD” not only included plans contingent upon United states entry into the war but also named circumstances in which the United States would enter it, including Japanese attack upon certain non-American territories. For fear that this might constitute a commitment Admiral Stark and General George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, refused to sign the ADB report. Again, at the Atlantic Conference in August 1941, British leaders tried to obtain an American promise to go to war in circumstances short of direct attack upon American territory; again, they failed. These efforts continued until the very moment of the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor and are conclusive evidence that the Roosevelt administration never made any

commitment to war, although the staff talks of 1941 were later misinterpreted by critics and made the grounds for such a charge.

12.13.1 Diplomatic Negotiations with the Japanese:

Early in 1941, President Roosevelt and his chief advisers agreed that the world strategy of the United States would be to aid in the defeat of Germany and Italy first, and postpone crisis in the Pacific as long as possible. This decision was based upon the fact that Germany was by far the most powerful of the three aggressors, and the calculations that if Germany were defeated Japan would be isolated and relatively easy to defeat, whereas the converse would not be true if the United States concentrated first upon Japan. As a corollary, Roosevelt and Hull in February 1941 initiated diplomatic negotiations with Japan to explore every possibility of restraining her leaders short of appeasement at the expense of third countries.

12.13.2 American - Japanese Crisis- Pearl Harbor:

Hitler's invasion of Russia in June 1941 further improved Japan's position. The militarists prepared to take advantage of the increased preoccupation of the major powers by moving southward to carve out an empire. News of this in Magic intercepts reached the American leaders in Washington including a message of Matsoukis to Nomura that diplomatic negotiation should be carried on to prevent the United States from "joining the war", while Japan would decide "when and how force will be employed." In July, Japanese troops invaded southern Indo-China and built up bases which pointed towards the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore and the Netherlands East Indies. This new aggression made a force of Nomura's professions of his government's peaceful intentions. Hull broke off the conversations. On July 24, President Roosevelt explained to Nomura that by continuing to allow Japan to obtain oil in the United States he had hoped to avoid giving her an "incentive or pretext" for conquest of the Netherlands East Indies, but that now it appeared that American oil simply helped her carry-on aggression. He proposed as a way out that Japan and the United States agree to neutralize Indo-China. The next day the United States tightened economic restrictions by freezing Japanese assets in order to prevent their use in trade in ways "harmful to national defense and American interests".

Ambassador Joseph C. Grew in Japan warned Hull and Roosevelt that the "moderate" government of Konoye would fall if Roosevelt refused his terms for a meeting and that a policy of "constructive conciliation" of Japan should be found between the roads of appeasement and of economic sanctions which might lead to war. He advised Hull and Roosevelt that they should not expect specific commitments before a meeting with Konoye. But in fact, the Konoye government did make its terms quite clear, and Roosevelt and Hull rejected them because they would require the United States to support Japanese aggression. Hull told Nomura on October 2, that peace would not be served by a Roosevelt-Konoye meeting on the basis of Japan's terms but he assured him that President still hoped

that a meeting could be held. On October 16, the Konoye government fell and the “Pearl Harbor” government of Premier Hideki Tojo and Foreign Minister Togo took power.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) What is the neutrality act of 1937?
- 2) Comment on Atlantic Charter.

12.14 SUMMARY

So, the United States entered the Second World War defensively by the acts of the aggressor nations. The challenge to American survival was so clear and menacing that the people and their political parties closed ranks far more tightly than in the First World War and far more sternly than the Axis militarists; with their contempt for “degenerate democracy”, expected. The Pearl Harbor attack and the declarations of war by Hitler and Mussolini killed American isolationism. The hope that out of their new realization of national insecurity the American people and their government could develop a new world order of collective security was dependent first of all upon victory in the most dangerous war the United States had ever fought.

12.15 QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain American foreign policy with reference to Europe.
- 2) Evaluate the Good Neighbor policy of America.
- 3) Write Short Notes:
 - i) U.S.A. and Latin America
 - ii) Rearmament
 - iii) Atlantic charter
 - iv) U.S.A. and Japan Crisis

12.16 SUGGESTED READINGS

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AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: COLD WAR AND EFFECTS

Unit Structure:

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Europe and Containment Policy
- 13.3 Chartering the UNO
- 13.4 Pattern of Soviet Imperialism
- 13.5 Truman Doctrine
- 13.6 Atomic Arms Race
- 13.7 Marshall Plan
- 13.8 Berlin Blockade and NATO
- 13.9 Fall of China
- 13.10 American anti-Colonialism
- 13.11 Latin America
- 13.12 Korean War
- 13.13 Intervention under UNO
- 13.14 Reaction at Home and Recall of MacArthur
- 13.15 Strengthening the Lines in the Pacific
- 13.16 Vietnam War
- 13.17 Cuba Crisis, 1963
- 13.18 Summary
- 13.19 Questions
- 13.20 Suggested Readings

13.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the containment policy of America during Cold War.
- 2) To study 'Truman Doctrine'.
- 3) To evaluate Marshall Plan of America.
- 4) To examine America's anti-colonialism policy.
- 5) To analyze America's policy towards Pacific, Vietnam and Cuba.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

The wartime cooperation between the United States, the Soviet Russia and Britain did not last long after the war. Since it was a case of making a virtue out of necessity differences between them became clear. Stalin began to peruse his plan of spread of communism. Russian forces occupied Poland and Balkans and unilaterally established their government favorable to them. He also wanted to leave Germany permanently weak so that she would never pose a danger to Soviet Russia while the United States and Britain wanted a strong and stable Germany which would occupy her rightful position among nations. Thus, there emerged two rival blocks one led by Soviet Russia and the other led by the United States and Britain. They are generally referred to as communist and capitalist blocks. Relations between them were always very tense with each trying to score a point over the other. Both blocks began to re-arm themselves. In this situation there arose a series of crises leading to heightened tensions between the two any one of these crises could have led to a war. This atmosphere of tense relations between the two blocks is known as Cold War.

Wendell Willkie after a tour of wartime Russia, India and China wrote a book called One World (1943). Circulated in mammoth editions at home and abroad, this book voiced the hope of millions that out of the war world unity could emerge. Willkie had no trouble proving that the interests of all peoples and nations would be served by peaceful co-operation. His book helped the Republican Party to shed isolationism and created support for United States entry into the United Nations. Indeed, Roosevelt and many others believed that the magnificence of the One World dream justified concessions and compromises if necessary to establish a permanent organization that would guarantee peace.

13.2 EUROPE AND CONTAINMENT POLICY

Soon after the war Stalin came to control governments in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania. He was trying to do the same in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and encouraging a rebellion against the royalist government in Greece and making territorial demands on Turkey. Obviously, the United States could not allow most of Europe to be dominated by Stalin and communism. In March 1947 the first step in the development in the containment policy was taken when President Truman

asked Congress to appropriate 400 million dollars for military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. He declared that it must be the policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure. This statement quickly came to be known as the Truman Doctrine. The Communist rebellion in Greece was ended Turkey remained outside the Soviet Control.

This was just the beginning. In November Truman asked congress to appropriate money for Marshall Plan, officially known as the European Recovery Programme. Between 1948 and 1952 fourteen billion dollars were spent to implement this programme under the direction of an Economic Cooperation Administration. The logical sequence to economic cooperation was military alliance. In April 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization came into existence. An armed attack on any one of the members of the organization was to be considered an attack against all members. In December 1950 members of the organizers agreed to create a united army to defend Western Europe Gen. Eisenhower became the first Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. The Marshall Plan and the subsequent measures stopped the advance of communism in Europe, at least for the time being. There was a remarkable improvement in economic conditions in Western Europe.

13.3 CHARTERING THE UNO

President Truman, who shared this ideal and purpose set out immediately to instrument Roosevelt's plan to write the charter of the UN at a great conference of all governments fighting the Axis. After Yalta, Stalin showed little interest in the San Francisco Conference and proposed to send a minor official as the chief Soviet delegate instead of Foreign Minister Molotov. President Roosevelt had protested this and President Truman insisted that Molotov must come. He did so and the Conference opened on April 25, 1945. But once more the Russians argued that each of the permanent members of the Security Council should be entitled to veto not only the use of force against a country accused of aggression but even the discussion of such as accusation. Harry Hopkins had retired from government service because of illness but on Truman's request he undertook another trip to Moscow in May. Through him President Truman appealed directly to Stalin and obtained agreement to the American position. This was the largest of many disputes between the American and Soviet delegations and its settlement assured the success of the Conference.

At its close on June 26, the Charter of the United Nations was offered to 50 governments for ratification. Besides the Security Council of five permanent members (United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union, France and China) and six elected ones, the Charter provided for a General Assembly in which every member country has a vote. Its functions are to debate and to make recommendations to the Security Council. A Secretariat headed by the Secretary General is charged with administration. An International Court of Justice at the Hague is made up

of 15 judges elected by the Assembly and Council with jurisdiction limited to dispute which both parties refer to it. The Economic and Social Council of 18 members is elected by the Assembly and Council with jurisdiction limited to dispute which both parties refer to it. The Economic and Social Council of 18 members is elected by the Assembly to deal with a vast range of problems involving human rights and welfare. The Trusteeship Council supervises former League of Nations mandated territories taken from Japan and Italy at the end of the Second War. The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) encourage international exchanges conducive to friendship. The International Labour Organization, International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration were placed under the Economic and Social Council.

The Charter authorizes regional organizations for security such as the Inter-American Organization which has evolved from the Monroe Doctrine. Most ambitious is the provision that national contingents of armed forces may be placed under the authority of the Security Council. It has chief responsibility for enforcement of the basic provisions of the Charter; the mutual guarantee of the security of every member nation against aggression, the promise of every member to refrain from aggression in any form, and the provision for sanctions - diplomatic, economic and military - against any aggressor nation. Nevertheless the Charter did not create the "world government" which some opponents professed to see in it and some idealists believed to be essential for peace. This was because none of the Great Powers and probably few of the lesser ones was willing to surrender to the UN its sovereignty, most particular the power to commit it to war against its will. The substantive veto of the five Great Powers makes the UN charter weaker than the League of Nations Covenant. But the adherence to the charter of all the Great Powers makes it stronger than the League. After a public debate that revealed overwhelming and indeed overly-optimistic enthusiasm, the Senate approved United States membership in the United Nations on July 28, 1945, by a vote of 89 to 2. The Charter went into effect on October 24, 1945. The governments of the world were now committed to the code of collective security and it thereby became international law. The disillusionment of Americans with the results of the Second World War was more bitter than that which followed the First War, but it did not drive them into the same retreat from responsibility to prevent another war.

They poured out their wealth in private gifts, in governmental loans, and most of all in governmental contributions to feed the millions left destitute in the wreckage of war in Asia and Europe. This they did by means of private agencies, the Red Cross, the sale on credit of surplus Lend-Lease supplies, and UNRRA. Truman ended Lend-Lease aid very abruptly when the fighting stopped as the existing law required. He later admitted that this was a serious mistake. The purchase of American goods by devastated nations while they had little to sell to the United States ran up deficits of more than \$7 billion in 1946 and \$11 billion in 1947. These were paid by Export Import Bank loans. The British government received a special

United States Treasury loan of \$8.75 billion to prevent the collapse of its economy. The United States made generous settlements of the Lend-Lease accounts. It avoided withdrawal of Lend-Lease balances in foreign currencies by turning the money over to American students and researchers (Full bright scholars) who spent it in local currencies. All this was only the beginning of expensive programs to build up the welfare and the economies of foreign countries which stretched over the postwar years in long succession. American taxpayers bore the brunt with little complaint.

13.4 PATTERN OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM

Russia failed to obtain what Stalin believed the United States should provide. She did receive immense aid by UNRRA and private agencies. She refused even to negotiate a settlement of her Lend-Lease account and retained much, including merchant ships and entire factories, that was more useful in peace than in war. She looted the industries of Asia and of eastern European countries overrun by the Red Army besides obtaining heavy reparations from Germany. Stalin believed that in addition to all this United States government loan of \$10 billion was not only essential for reconstruction of his country but a test of American good faith in professing readiness to see the Soviet Union emerge from the war strong and secure. But he refused to meet the tests of good faith which the United States regarded as essential to prove that only security, and not imperialism, was his goal. Besides all his broken promises in Eastern Europe and Asia. Stalin violated his treaty engagement to remove Red troops on time from Iran.

Poland remained the main scene of conflict. The chief object of Hopkins' conversations with Stalin in Moscow in May 1945 was to solve the Polish problem. Stalin told him that he believed Churchill intended to form a cordon sanitaire against the Soviet Union in Poland and other East European countries. He insisted that the governments of these countries be "friendly" and "strong" as a guarantee that Russia could not again be invaded. Hopkins assured him that the United States understood and concurred in this. But it turned out that Stalin's definition of a "friendly government was one completely dominated by Communists subservient to the Kremlin, and that his definition of "free and unfettered elections" was incompatible with Western democratic ideas. After Communist political parties were denied equal rights in elections and soon were eliminated entirely. After that, "elections" on the Russian model, in which only a single slate of candidates was offered, became the rule.

In Finland national leaders collaborated with Stalin and paid reparations; their country was left relatively free in its internal political life. In Yugoslavia a strong Communist army and leader, Marshal Josip Broz Tito emerged victorious against local enemies and the Nazis. Tito organized a Communist dictatorship and for a few years accepted Moscow's leadership. In Czechoslovakia a government in which Communists held key post satisfied Stalin for a time. In Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Albania and Bulgaria Communist governments which could not possibly claim to represent their people were imposed by Russia and protected by the Red

Army. As the ominous meaning of this pattern became clear for all to see, the United States and Great Britain time and again tried to obtain Soviet obedience to the Yalta Agreement, all in vain. Clearly only war could dislodge Russia from her belt of satellites Secretary of State Byrnes in effect accepted Soviet control of this belt in December 1946 by joining Russia in signing peace treaties with the former enemy states of Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria as well as with Italy.

Beyond the belt of Soviet satellites lay the meeting around of East and West and the main battleground of the "Cold War." The military potential of Germany made her future political alignment crucial for both sides. That this, rather than intrinsic difficulties, was the reason for Soviet obstructionism is suggested by the relatively co-operative policy of Russia in Austria, where four-power occupation was equally in invitation to trouble. Moreover the Austrian treaty of peace and neutralization for which the Western powers finally in May 1955, obtained Russian approval followed by withdrawal of all four occupation forces, illustrated the policy the United States pursued for Germany from the beginning Roosevelt, after dropping the Morgenthau Plan had turned to a plan to demilitarize to de-Nazify and after withdrawal of occupation forces, to neutralize Germany. He believed he had obtained Stalin's agreements to this policy. After Roosevelt's death, Byrnes and his successor as Secretary of States, George C. Marshall, proposed to Russia a multilateral 25 years alliance to guarantee Germany's neutrality. Stalin refused. At the same time the Allied Control Council at Berlin, which was intended to agree on uniform policy in the four occupation zones, was frustrated by the Soviet member.

The four powers co-operated only in punishing leading Nazis. At Nuremburg they conducted war crimes trials which resulted in the sentencing to death of ten of Hitler's chief aides, prison sentences for seven more, and the acquittal of three. The removal of active Nazis from participation in German public life was presumably carried out according to a common procedure in each zone. Reparations payments by the Western Zones broke down when the Russians refused to co-operate in mutual inspection and drew an "iron curtain" around their zone, as they did around the entire Soviet block of nations. In the Russian zone of Germany the large Socialist Party was forced in April 1946 to merge with and accept the leadership of the German Communists in the Socialist Unity Party. This organized the local government and Sovietized East Germany under the protection of the Red Army.

The Western occupation authorities for a time worked to break up the large concentrations of Germany industry and to encourage small business. But the Soviet authorities refused to allow food from their zone to be exchanged for industrial products of western Germany. The western authorities were forced to feed the German people in their zones. They ended decartelization in order to increase industrial production and develop German exports to pay for food. These divergent economic policies resulted in a crisis over the German money system and a complete deadlock in the Allied Control Council. The essential reason was Soviet fear that a democratic and unified Germany would align herself with the West.

13.5 TRUMAN DOCTRINE

Contrary to Stalin's understanding with Churchill, communists now reached out for control of Greece. Greek Communists amounted to only a fraction of the antimonarchist parties which had refused to take part in elections in 1946. They obtained aid from the Communist governments of Yugoslavia and Albania and fomented civil war against the British supported monarchy. Britain in addition was supporting Turkey against Soviet demands for the Turkish provinces of Kars and Ardahan and for position in the Straits of the Dardanelles. The labour government of Prime Minister Attlee reduced Britain's commitments because the British economy could no longer sustain the burden. It informed the United States government that on March 31, 1947, it would terminate aid to Greece and Turkey. This faced President Truman with the alternative of allowing responsibility. On March 12, 1947, he told Congress that the United States could not allow changes in the governments of members of the United Nations by outside coercion or infiltration. Proposing "to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures", he asked for \$ 400 million to aid Greece and Turkey and for authority to send American military and civilian advisers to help their governments defend themselves. Congress agreed by strong majorities. With American aid Turkey stood fast against Soviet demands and the Greek government put down the Communist rebels.

The significance of the "Truman Doctrine" was manifold. It marked the willingness of the United States to act against Soviet imperialism outside the United Nations. For this it was widely criticized, but the unrestrained use of the veto in the Security Council by the Soviet delegate seemed to make unilateral action necessary, and the UN charter specifically authorized such action by any nation in self-defense. The new policy amounted to an extension of the Monroe Doctrine to a region of the Old World, and other regions would be added in the future. It proved the determination of the United States to deny Russia's greatest postwar hope the withdrawal of American power from Europe and a return to isolationism. Above all, the success of the policy showed that Soviet expansion could be stopped by vigorous counteraction, and this encouraged formulation of a policy of "containment" against the Soviet Union around its entire periphery. The President showed that he possessed great skill and courage in organizing bipartisan foreign policies even though his administration was generally frustrated in domestic affairs. Finally, Americans now discovered that with the decline of British Empire which they had scarcely noticed - the protection of the independence of small nations.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) What was the pattern of Soviet imperialism?
- 2) Comment on Truman Doctrine.

13.6 ATOMIC ARMS RACE

Perhaps the decisive blow to American hopes that UN would prove fully effective was the refusal of the Soviet Union to co-operate in measures for international control of atomic energy. AT the war's end the United States was far in advance of all other countries in nuclear research and weapons manufacture. It offered the world an extremely generous plan for sharing its secrets, in return for guarantees of peaceful use to which it would be subject along with all other nations. On June 14, 1946, Bernard M. Baruch, delegate to the UN Atomic Energy Commission, proposed an International Atomic Energy Commission, proposed an International Atomic Development Authority to which the United States would give its secrets for the benefit of all members of the UN provided that inspection and control be established free of any government's veto. Thereupon the United States would destroy its own bombs and the manufacturer of bombs by any nation would be forbidden. This opened vistas of freedom from the nightmare of humanity's self-destruction and of the devotion of the great new energy source to human welfare throughout the world. The proposal was welcomed by all governments except those of the Communist bloc. The Soviet delegate to the UN rejected the Baruch Plan and proposed instead a prohibition of atomic weapons without provision for international control or inspection. The fraudulent character of this proposal was apparent, for in the Iron Curtain countries total government control over the movements of citizens and foreigners could readily shield violations. For weary months and years this issue was debated with the Soviet government in every channel of negotiation, but that government did not budge from its refusal to allow inspection by the international authority.

This and the revelations in the Fuchs spy case that Russia had stolen American secrets proved that the Soviet dictator preferred an atomic arms race. In blatant imitation of Hitler's "big-lie" technique, the Soviet government covered up its policy by propagandizing for abstract "peace" and accusing the United States of "war-mongering". This was not very successful in advanced free countries but in the Iron Curtain countries and among illiterate populations it had extremely dangerous effects. Scientists believed that the Soviet Union could develop its own atomic weapons in less than a decade, but the revelation on September 24, 1949, that the Soviet government had already successfully exploded an atomic bomb produced deepest fears in the free world. In January, 1950, President Truman announced that the United States would develop an even more terrifying thermonuclear hydrogen bomb. In November, 1952, it successfully tested one. Nobody doubted that the Soviet Union soon would match this weapon, too.

13.7 MARSHALL PLAN

The Truman administration looked upon support of Greece and Turkey in the spring of 1947 as a "crash program" which could at best stop one prong of Russian expansion at the eleventh hour. To reduce the appeal of communism, especially in Italy and France where the Communist parties

were strong, a far-reaching program to mend the war-torn fabric of the free nations' economic life was needed. Even in Great Britain, where communism found almost no allies and the people endured privations after victory as severe as those of wartime. The government sought desperately to solve one economic crisis after another with no sign of sound recovery. The United States had poured out some \$11 billion in various forms of aid to western and southern Europe, but this merely provided day-to-day relief to hungry people without strengthening the ability of the free nations to build their own prosperity. Basically the question was whether the capitalist system, even when modified by democratic socialism as it was under the British Labour government and elsewhere, could develop new vitality to compete successfully for men's loyalty to free institutions against the blandishments of forced economic activity under communist dictatorship.

The United States was immensely prosperous and more loyal than ever to capitalism as an essential of its freedom. The political and military expediency of raising strong allies in the face of Stalin's utter rejection of co-operation with the Western powers, self-interest in the health of markets for American experts and faith in the democratic ideal all call for an unprecedented departure in American foreign policy. It was George F. Kennan, a member of the American Embassy staff in Moscow, who assessed most fully the meaning of such challenges as Stalin's declaration on February 9, 1946 that there could be no peace in the world so long as capitalism survived. The policy planning Staff prepared a solution, and Secretary Marshall in a speech at Harvard University on June 5, 1947, revealed it to the world.

This was nothing less than an offer of American financial and technical assistance to any government that formulated a suitable plan to rebuild its economy. The offer was not restricted to non-communist nations or it vulnerable to changes of American "finance imperialism". Marshall proposed that co-operating governments plan and administer their own recovery programs in entire economic and political independence. The role of the United States was to be that of an ally in a great war for social and economic victories for all. Marshall's offer totally contradicted the Marxist thesis by placing the strongest capitalist nation in a position the precise opposite of exploiter, imperialist, and warmonger.

The immediate response to Marshall's address was so enthusiastic the Stalin could not avoid sending Molotov later in June to meet with Foreign Ministers Ernest Bevin of Great Britain and Georges Bidault of France to frame a reply. But the Soviet leaders saw that the Marshall plan would not serve their imperialist ambitions and, failing to disrupt the Paris conference Molotov withdrew. When the leaders of Soviet satellite governments showed their eagerness to participate, they were brought to heel - in the case of Poland, for example, by a crude summons to the Kremlin and command to obey its orders. Subsequently Stalin tried to overcome the effects of his dictate by devising a substitute plan for propaganda purposes within the Soviet bloc; but this did not alter his program of milking satellite economics for the benefit of Russia. The non-

Communist governments of Europe, except those which had been neutral in the war, in an access of new hope and vigor, formed the committee of European Economic Co-operation in July, 1947, and by September they had drawn up a master recovery plan for capital investments requiring \$22 billion in loans and gifts by the United States.

The next step was to obtain approval and appropriations from Congress. Neo-isolationists protested that the United States should not indulge in “give-away” programs, but they were few and powerless against overwhelming public support that included the main organizations of labour, farmers and businessmen. As if to underline the necessity for action by opponents of expansion, Stalin revived the Communist International under the name of Cominform in October; and Communists in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 overthrew the coalition government and took that totally into the Soviet bloc. On March 1, 1948, Senator Vandenberg made a memorable speech in favour of the Marshall Plan as the means to stop the expansion of Russian power. The Senate passed the Economic Co-operation Bill with a first appropriation by a large bipartisan majority on March 13, and the House acted on March 31. This was the eve of the Soviet blockade of Berlin and two weeks before the crucial Italian elections, in which the Communist Party was narrowly defeated.

The European Recovery Program became law in the nick of time. It was amazingly successful. The \$12 billion which the United States invested in the Marshall Plan from 1948 to 1951 sparked solid economic reconstruction in all the members’ nations from Turkey and Greece to Great Britain and Scandinavia. Industrial and agricultural recovery in these countries surpassed prewar levels. It halted the spread of a Soviet power into southern, western and northern Europe and induced a decline of the Communist movements in Italy and France. It restored faith in the viability of free institutions and laid the foundation for military co-operation in defense of freedom.

13.8 BERLIN BLOCKADE AND NATO

Stalin during these years made his greatest bid for expansion in Germany. At meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers in 1947 Molotov made it plain that Russia would agree to no joint policy that included participation of Germany in economic recovery. In long and fruitless wrangles, it became clear that the Western Powers had no choice other than a divided Germany or a unified Germany dominated by Russia. In June 1948, the issue was tested by the Soviet Union in a manner verging upon war. Contrary to the zonal agreement, Russia blockaded the western sections of Berlin, which were under American, British and French occupation and dependent for food, coal and other necessities upon imports from western Germany. In an astonishing operation, the American Air Force transported supplies into the free zones of Berlin to support 2,500,000 people for almost a year. Not having believed this to be possible, the Russians finally gave up the Berlin Blockade in May 1949. The airlift was demonstration of American determination to resist Soviet assaults upon the West.

Moreover, it encouraged the free nations to join the United States in a permanent defensive military alliance against aggression from the East and to organize the American, British and French zones of Germany into a free republic which could contribute greatly to containment of Russian power. France and Great Britain had formed a military alliance in March 1947; a year later they had been joined by Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. These governments on April 4, 1949, signed the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington with the United States, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Canada. The heart of the treaty was a commitment by all twelve nations to regard an attack against any of its members as an attack against them all. Close military co-operation was obtained by the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which appointed General Dwight D Eisenhower Supreme Commander in December 1950. Though delayed by the doubts of the French, West German Federal Republic was organized to comprise the American, British and French zones of occupation. Free elections in August 1949 resulted in the formation of an effective government under Chancellor Konard Adenauer. In November, the commissioners of the three powers signed the Petersburg Agreement with the Federal Republic giving it virtually complete power of internal self-government. In the Russian zone an East German "Democratic Republic" was organized under Communist control without free elections. In 1955, the West German "Democratic Republic" was organized under communist control without free elections. In 1955, the West German Republic was admitted to NATO with limited authority to raise armed forces to contribute to the defense of free Europe.

Thus by 1950 a line had been drawn around the Soviet satellite states beyond which Russia dared expand only by provoking general war. The bleak prospect of permanent cold war between two blocs engaged in a deadly arms race was somewhat-lightened by the defection in 1948 of Tito's Yugoslavia from Stalin's control. This fed hopes that devotion to national independence might overcome the internationalism of the Communist movement, particularly as the latter was exploited by Stalin for the nationalistic aggrandizement of Russia. Some relaxation of the rigors of Toto's dictatorship followed his break with Stalin, and the United States extended military aid to Yugoslavia in 1951. Three years later Tito signed a defensive military alliance with the pro-western government of Turkey and Greece. The American people in these years abandoned their fears of foreign commitments and alliances in order to face the new aggressor with the kind of united front which had been lacking in 1914 and 1939. When the North Atlantic Treaty was voted in ten Senate on July 5, 1948, a bipartisan coalition approved it by 82 to 13. At the same time appropriations provided military assistance to other members of NATO. Even the expediency of enlisting in the anti-Soviet bloc the Communist government of Tito which American conservatives disliked, was faced as a matter of teh lesser evil. By 1950, the United States had taken the lead in organizing a system of containment of Soviet power in Europe. It resulted in uneasy stability.

13.9 FALL OF CHINA

Stalin in 1950 shifted his main offensive from Europe to the Far East. There the Communist orbit had been immensely enlarged by the failure of the Chinese Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek to suppress Communist rebels. The latter had gained prestige as more ardent fighters than the Nationalists against Japan and all imperialist nations. All the efforts of the Roosevelt administration to strengthen Chiang, including economic and military aid and the symbolically important abrogation in 1942 of America's century-old extra territorial treaty rights in China, had been in vain. When Japan surrendered, American forces helped Nationalist troops to return to eastern China and Manchurian ports. But Stalin, while concluding a treaty of alliance with Chiang and assuring the United States that he had no interest in the Chinese "agrarian" Communists, secretly conveyed immense stores of Japanese arms to the Chinese Communist armies in the West. Believing that the American people would not tolerate armed intervention in favour of the Nationalists, the Truman administration in the last days of 1945 sent General Marshall to China to work for a truce and some sort of compromise between them and Communists. For more than a year Marshall struggled to find a basis for Chinese peace and unity, but with both sides refusing to yield he gave up and publicly condemned the reactionaries around Chiang as well as the Communists. He stated that the only hope for China lay with a group of moderate liberals who had no influence in either camp. The Truman administration nevertheless supplied the Nationalists with \$2 billion worth of Lend-Lease equipment and economic aid.

The Chinese struggle burst into full-scale civil war early in 1947. Chiang's war lords became channels for the diversion of American arms into Communist hands. Desperate for a solution, President Truman sent General Albert C. Wedemeyer to investigate. His report in September 1947 pointed out that Chiang's government had lost the support of the Chinese people. He advised that to prevent a triumph by Communists, which would give Moscow control of the Far East, the United Nations should take over, Manchuria and the United States embark on a large-scale program of assistance to China. The Truman administration did not publish the Wedemeyer Report, and this was later pointed to as proof of a "pro-communist conspiracy". It did ask Congress in April 1948 for more than \$500 million to aid China, but Marshall, now Secretary of State, clung to his belief that nothing the United States could do would assure complete victory by the Nationalist government. Congress appropriated \$400 million which disclaiming responsibility for the Nationalist regime. General American opinion held that aid to Chiang was money "down the rathole".

These provincial leaders made deal to surrender to the Communists, who by distributing landlords' holdings to the peasants won their support and swept rapidly into eastern China. They captured Nanking, the Nationalist Capital, in April 1949, and in October proclaimed the "People's Republic" under Mao Tse-tung as president and Chou En-lai as premier. Chiang by this time had withdrawn to Formosa (Taiwan). In August 1949, American

aid was cut off and the new Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, issued a “white paper” on China. In it he pointed out that the United States had provided aid to the Nationalist regime since V - J Day amounting to almost \$3 billion and argued that the futility of this aid made “full-scale intervention on behalf of a Government which had lost the confidence of its own troops and its own people “the only alternative. The new Communist regime in China was recognized by the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and some other countries, but not by the United States. Any illusions that Chinese communism was “different” were dispelled in February 1950 when Mao signed a mutual assistance pact with Stalin.

Americans after having neglected for years to face the issue in China were suddenly bewildered and angry. They would not believe that the United States could not have somehow influenced events - short of war - and obtained an outcome more favourable to Americans interests. The “illusion of omnipotence” which some critics found operating in the American soul worked against Acheson’s argument that the United States had in fact been helpless to prevent the Soviet orbit from almost doubling its size and multiplying its population. The country was eager for scapegoats, and demagogues led by McCarthy found them in minor officials of the Foreign service who had pointed out for years that the corruption and backwardness of the Chiang regime made it a poor risk, or had swallowed the line that Chinese communism was a heretical agrarian movement at odds with orthodox Stalinism. Emboldened by his success, McCarthy even lumped General Marshall with these “traitors”. The furor made a bad situation worse. The administrations’ success in limiting Communist expansion in Europe was ignored, and even criticized as a waste of resources, by neo-isolationists who believed in “Asia First”.

13.10 AMERICAN ANTICOLONIALISM AND POINT FOUR

As one people after another struck for independence, particularly in North Africa, Israel, India, Burma, Ceylon and Korea, the United States with varying degrees of militancy supported them even against its own allies. The British proved to be most skillful in dissolving their Empire by methods conducive to making friends out of rebels. The less skillful French allowed their political stability at home to be undermined while their military strength was dissipated in stubborn struggles in Indo-China and North Africa.

President Truman offered more than moral support to the awakening peoples of the world. The success of the Marshall Plan and other containment policies in Europe, coupled with Stalin’s turn to other parts of the world to promote expansion, and specifically the triumph of communism in China, led the President to devote most of his Inaugural Address on January 20, 1949, to a proposal for a “bold new program” of helping underdeveloped areas to help themselves. He hoped to refute with deeds Communist propaganda that Moscow was the friend of anti-imperialists, the United States the headquarters of imperialism,

exploitation, and warmongering. He founded his program on cogent distinct between communism and democracy:

Communism is based on the belief that man is so weak and inadequate he is unable to govern himself, and therefore requires the rule of masters

Democracy is based on the conviction that man has the moral intellectual capacity, as well as the inalienable right, to govern himself reason and justice.

Communism subjects the individual to arrest without lawful cause, punishment without trial, and forced labour as a chattel of the state. It decides what information he shall receive, what art he shall produce, what leader he shall follow and what thoughts he shall think.

Democracy maintains that government is established for the benefit of the individual, and is charged with the responsibility of protecting rights of the individual and his freedom in the exercise of those abilities of his.

The new program itself comprising the fourth point in his definition of American foreign policy has since been known as "point four". Determined to make the scientific advances and industrial progress of United States "available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped" Truman believed the plan to be realistic as well as idealistic. The United States government in collaboration with the UN shall finance a program - very inexpensive as compared with the Marshall plan - of technical assistance. American private capital, under safeguard against both exploitative methods and foreign expropriation, should be invested in economic enterprises to develop backward economies.

Point Four aroused great interest. The UN Economic and Social Council endorsed it on March 4, 1949. Once more the Soviet bloc refused to cooperate although it was not excluded from Truman's offer. On June 5, 1950, the President signed the Act for International development. Teams of technicians were deployed from Latin America to Africa. The Middle East and the Far East. Point four "missionaries" helped 35 countries to stamp out disease, to increase food supply and power and industrial facilities, and to improve social services. The effectiveness and popularity of the program led Congress to increase appropriations for the TCA. Training native technicians in the United States or in the field, to take the place of Americans, assured continuation of the work.

Point Four taught many suspicious peoples that the United States was not only eager for their progress but, unlike the Soviet caricature of American "finance imperialism" and the policy of the Soviet government itself, welcomed the growth of their economic as well as political independence and even the increase of their ability to compete against American exports of good and manufactures. The policy was based on the enlightened doctrine that the prosperity of the United States. Point Four was the most imaginatively constructive of the Truman foreign policies.

But ideas were at least as important as deeds in the struggle between democracy and communism, and the United States was remarkably ineffective in its efforts to win minds. On January 27, 1948, president Truman signed the Smith-Mundt Act, which had passed both Houses unanimously. It authorized a "barrage of truth" to blanket the world by radio, press, and motion pictures; the organization of information centres, including libraries, in leading cities abroad; and exchanges of teachers and students. But appropriations were skimpy and the policy of the United States Information service was cautious and unimaginative, particularly as Congressional hunters for Communists made it a favourite target. Americans scarcely knew how to propagandize for the "American Way" in the absence of wartime simplification of issues.

13.11 LATIN AMERICA

In Latin America the United States worked successfully to strengthen unity despite some lapses from the spirit of the Good Neighbour. Twelve of the republics declared war against Japan immediately after Pearl Harbour, and Brazil made a sizable contribution to the war. She co-operated against German submarines, provided the United States with air bases, and sent troops to the Italian front.

Argentina remained antagonistic to inter-American co-operation. An Army group that took power under President Edelmir Farrell in February 1944 was frankly antidemocratic and pro-Axis. At first the United States refused recognition to the Farrell government and it froze Argentinean assets in this country. But with the approach of victory the Roosevelt administration turned magnanimous. At a Conference of American States in Mexico City in February 1945, Argentina was invited to declare war against the Axis and thereby gain the opportunity to join the United Nations. On March 3, the conference adopted the Act of Chapultepec establishing a regional system of collective security for the Hemisphere. Argentina declares war against Germany and Japan on March 27, and at the San Francisco Conference the United States insisted upon the admission of Argentina to the United Nations over the opposition of Russia.

After the war, however, it seemed to many Americans and to the Truman administration intolerable that the victory of democracy should be sullied by the totalitarian tendencies of the Argentinean government. Ambassador Spruille Braden with the support of Secretary Byrnes encouraged the overthrow of the Farrell government. This only provoked the Argentineans to support more extreme nationalistic, anti-American leaders. Their strong man, Colonel Juan D. Peron, stood for election as President. The Department of state in a "Blue Book" called for his defeat as a totalitarian. Instead, the Argentineans rallied to Peron's demagoguery in favour of the descamiados ("shirtless ones") and against the Colossus of the North. He was elected President on February 24, 1946. Once more interventionism, no matter how noble in motives, proved worse than futile. The Truman administration awkwardly retreated. Braden was recalled, and the quarrel with Peron was patched up despite his continuing violation of democratic standards.

Argentina was invited to join with the other republics in a Conference at Rio do Janeiro on August 15, 1947, to establish permanent machinery for the enforcement of the Act of Chapultepec, and on September 2, signed the treaty which resulted. This required all the republics to apply diplomatic and economic sanctions against an aggressor, whether American or non-American, whenever two-thirds of them voted that aggression had occurred. Military sanctions could be applied by individual governments. A security zone was drawn around the entire Hemisphere so that Canada and Greenland were protected without being signatories. At the Bogota Conference of March 1948, the patchwork of inter-American bodies which had accumulated since the 1880's was systematized in the Organization of American States and formally designated a regional system of security under the United Nations Charter. The Pact of Rio and the OAS became a model for United States policy in other regions of the world to strengthen containment against communism. The Bogota Conference condemned violation of political and civil rights "and in particular the action of international communism or any totalitarian doctrine". To the great relief of the United States, the Peron regime was overthrown by Argentineans in 1955. Traditional dictatorships could not be interfered with by the United States without undertaking endless interventions, and Fascist or Nazi totalitarianism ended in Latin America with the Peron regime, but the United States supported Guatemalans who frustrated a Communist coup in 1954.

By that time Latin-American grievances against the United States were mostly economic and psychological. As the main efforts of the United States to contain communism were exerted in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, Latin, America was neglected. Along with Canadians, the Latin Americans complained that the United States took them and their support in the UN too much for granted. Moreover, the United States failed to import enough Latin American materials to pay for the manufactures Latin Americans bought from it. Canada's great industrial development, assisted by private United States investment permitted that country to close the dollar gap. The Latin Americans were unable to match Canada's achievement. It seemed to be an unanswerable question what the United States could do to help the Latin American peoples without arousing their nationalistic resentments against interference with governments which were often based on military cliques, neglectful of the progress of their own people, and favourable to small privileged groups which battered on antiquated, caste-ridden societies. Yet the United States had restored and developed the political Good Neighbour Policy, and this was a cornerstone of American anti colonialism in relation with the world at large.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) Write in brief on Marshall Plan.
- 2) What was the Pict Four policy of America?

13.12 KOREAN WAR

The Korean War from July 1950 to July 1953 strained almost to the breaking point the fabric which the United States had woven to prevent another world war. It tested the willingness of Americans to fight against aggression in a distant country of apparently small interest to the United States. It precipitated a struggle for the fundamental American principle of civilian control of the armed forces. It generated discontent with the Truman administration which paved the way for the election of President Eisenhower in 1952. Most important of all this "police action" which cost 140,000 American casualties subjected to the ultimate test of force the viability of the United Nations as a world organization for collective security.

Korea before 1950 reproduces in miniature all the problems of the Cold War. At Yalta the Big Three had agreed that Korea should regain her independence upon the defeat of Japan, which had ruled the country since 1910. At Potsdam it was decided to divide the peninsula temporarily for the purpose of military occupation at the 38th parallel, so that Russian troops could go in from Manchuria and American troops land from the sea. The Red army sponsored a communist regime in North Korea which appealed to the peasants by distributing land. In South Korea in the absence of effective moderate elements to support the United States worked with conservative political group whose leader was the American-educated fiercely nationalistic Dr. Syngman Rhee. After a UN trusteeship plan failed the United States favoured country-wide elections. The Russian authorities insisted that conservative parties be excluded and the United States accused the Russians of suppressing all non-communist parties. In 1947, the United States referred the issue to the General Assembly of the UN. It resolved in favour of free election to create an independent government and appointed a commission to observe this. The Russians refused to allow the Commission to enter North Korea. Elections were nevertheless held in South Korea a liberal republican constitution was adopted and Rhee was elected president. In North Korea Communists organized a "People's Democratic Republic" which held one-party elections. To its government the Russians turned over well-trained and heavily equipped local armed forces; then the Red Army withdrew in December 1948. In June 1949, the United States withdrew its troops from the Republic of Korea, leaving behind no more than lightly-equipped internal security forces. The United Nations Commission attempted to mediate between North and South Korea without result.

The Truman administration displayed considerable confusion in its efforts to formulate a policy towards Korea. So also did Republicans in Congress. By large majorities they voted against presidential requests for military aid to South Korea, but at the same time Senators McCarthy, Taft, and others attacked the administration-Secretary Acheson most virulently of all for "surrenders" to Russia. Administration leaders failed to make it clear just where the "line of containment" against Communist expansion would be drawn. The President was advised that South Korea was in danger of invasion, but similar reports came from many points on the periphery of

the Soviet bloc. On January 5, 1950 the President announced that the United States would not intervene in the Chinese Civil War even if Formosa fell to the Communists. A week later, Secretary Acheson declared that the Far Eastern “defense perimeter” of the United States was a line from the Aleutian Islands running through Japan and the Philippines. This excluded Korea and all Southeast Asia as well as Formosa.

The statement was severely criticized afterwards as an invitation to Communists to invade South Korea. Actually, the Secretary defined the “defense perimeter” as a purely national American sphere of military responsibility. Beyond the perimeter he said in the same speech, local people and the United Nations, including the United States, must take responsibility to act against attack. That the United States did not wash its hands of South Korea was clear in a defense agreement with the Rhee government which President Truman signed on January 26. Nevertheless, the meaning of Acheson’s “defense perimeter” was widely misunderstood perhaps most completely in Moscow.

13.13 INTERVENTION UNDER THE UNO

On Saturday evening, June 24, 1950, President Truman was at his home in Independence Missouri when Secretary Acheson telephoned from his country home in Maryland that reports had arrived of a North Korean invasion across the 38th parallel. They decided a meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations should be called at once. On Sunday morning Acheson telephoned again with confirmations that an all-out invasion spearheaded by Russian-made tanks was under way. He expected the Security Council to order a cease-fire, but did not expect the North Korean or their “big friends” in China and Russia to obey this any more than former orders of the UN.

Early that evening the UN Security Council voted 9 to 0 in favour of a resolution declaring that peace had been violated by North Korea and ordering it to withdraw its forces. This vote was possible only because the Soviet Union was boycotting the Security Council over the issue of seating a delegate of Communist China. Later that evening the President with his military and diplomatic advisers decided to order General MacArthur to supply the South Koreans with ammunition and to defend their airports. The United States Seventh Fleet was ordered into the Formosa Strait to prevent the Chinese Nationalists and Communists from extending the war. On Monday the news indicated immediate collapse of South Korean defenses. In the evening General MacArthur was ordered by radio telephone to support the South Korean Republic with all the air and naval forces at his command. The Security Council with the Russian delegate still absent, on Tuesday, June 27, unanimously agreed to an American resolution calling upon all members of the United Nations to give armed support to South Korea. On June 30, the President agreed to MacArthur’s request for permission to send two divisions of United States ground troops to bolster the demoralized South Koreans.

For the first time in world history aggression was immediately countered with force according to the code of collective security. Congress, including Republican leaders, the people at large and the free world generally welcomed this decision to prove their determination that communist aggressions must stop. President Truman believed that the Communists were repeating more forcefully the “probing for weaknesses in our armor” which they had attempted in Berlin. Now while he set out to meet the thrust he also worked to prevent the Korean War from spreading into a world war. He rejected troops offered by Chiang Kai-shek because their use might provoke intervention by the Chinese Communists. He opposed Chiang’s demand that Russia be charged with direct responsibility for the aggression in Korea. He increased military aid to the Philippines and to the French in Indo-China, but he forbade the United States Air Force to make even photo-reconnaissance flights over Soviet ports in the Far East, for fear of incidents which would bring Russia directly into the war. In confining United States action strictly to repulsion of the aggressors, the President imposed political limits upon military policy which General MacArthur found intolerable and which confused many Americans who saw war in simple military terms of fighting for the quickest possible absolute defeat of the enemy. But the President was strongly supported both by his military advisers in Washington and by other governments that rallied to the Secretary Council’s call of June 27.

At the request of the Security Council, the United States government named MacArthur Commander-in-chief of all UN forces in Korea. Eventually armed forces were contributed by Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Turkey, the Philippines and Thailand, while many other countries contributed medical services and other forms of aid. The bulk of the forces were South Korean and American. MacArthur with the greatest confidence prepared a plan to repel the North Koreans. In two weeks, by October 1, 1950, the UN forces had destroyed half of the Communist forces and reached the 38th parallel. There they halted while war objectives were debated throughout the free world.

Just as the President drew a line between defeat of aggression and action which might provoke world war, so he organized a mobilization at home which should amply support the requirements of the Korean War and strengthen defenses throughout the free world but not convert the American economy for all-out war? In August 1950, Congress in the Defense Production Act authorized the President to use a full array of powers, including priorities and price and credit controls. It appropriated \$12.6 billion for new military expenditures, authorized a doubling of the armed forces to 8 million men in 1951, increased taxes by \$4.5 billion and provided \$5 billion in military assistance to the allies of the United States. The President, however, expected the Korean War to end soon and refrained from organizing special war agencies or using his authority to control prices. The result was a sharp inflation. Fearing Soviet aggression in Europe the United States and its NATO allies hurriedly strengthened the defense of Western Europe under General Eisenhower. But it was

unexpectedly in Korea and the Far East that the focal danger of world war remained for three years.

It was natural for supporters of South Korea to hope that MacArthur's victory could be extended beyond the 38th parallel and lead to unification of Korea under UN auspices. The General Assembly of the UN on October 7, 1950, adopted a resolution declaring a "unified independent democratic Korea" to be its program and authorizing General MacArthur to carry it out. Only the delegates of Communist governments voted against this resolution, while Yugoslavia, India and the Five Arab governments abstained. The Communist governments of the world did not hesitate to proclaim that the war had been started by South Korean aggression, instigated by united States "IMPERIALIST ARMONGERS." The Chinese Communist government warned that it would not tolerate invasion of its North Korean neighbour by the imperialists : President Truman took this threat seriously enough to fly to Wake Island for a conference with Mackthur on October 14. He also wished to make sure that Mac Arthur's public criticisms of administration policy in rejecting Chinese Nationalist troops for Korea would not be repeated. The General reassured that President that there was very little chance the Chinese Communists would send troops to strengthen the North Koreans and that if they did, they would be wiped out. He firmly believed the North Koreans would be defeated by Thanks giving Day. Furthermore, MacArthur told Truman that he was sorry if his statement about Formosa had caused any embarrassment because he was "not in politics in any way."

Satisfied, the President returned. The UN forces pushed north almost to the Yalu River separating Korea from Manchuria. There they met the first contingents of Chinese volunteers. Britain, India and other countries appealed to the Chinese Communist government not to move south of the 38th parallel, but it rejected their plea and for a time seemed about to conquer the entire peninsula. By heroic effort the reinforced UN troops stopped the Chinese offensive, recaptured some territory, and stabilized a line in January 1951 near the 38th parallel. There the two sides dug in for two and a half years while the war was in effect transferred to struggles between factions in the United States, between the United States and its allies and between the governments supporting the UN and the communist governments.

13.14 REACTION AT HOME AND RECALL OF MACARTHUR

The Chinese intervention at first caused revulsion of American opinion against the Truman administration and a revival of isolationism. Former President Hoover and former Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy led the cry to abandon allies and concentration of defense of the Western Hemisphere. Others demanded that the United States strike directly at Communist China even with the atomic bomb. Prime Minister Attlee flew to Washington to obtain assurances that the United States would not use the atomic bomb without prior consultation with its allies. The Soviet

delegate on November 30, 1950, vetoed a resolution in the Security Council calling for the withdrawal of Chinese troops. But Congress unanimously called upon the UN to act, and in February 1951 the General Assembly declared Communist China guilty of aggression. The British government had refused to sponsor this resolution but the British delegate voted for it. India joined the Communist government in voting against it. A deep wave of fear that world war was imminent disturbed America's friends as well as neutralists.

The Truman administration strove to set up mobilization and to strengthen America's European as well as Asian allies while clinging tightly to the line against any overt military move outside the Korean Peninsula. On December 16, 1950, the President declared a state of national emergency, established the office of Defense Mobilization under Charles E. Wilson, and imposed production and price controls. Congress during the next two years annually appropriated about \$50 billion for national defense and \$ 7 billion for Mutual Security aid to allies. NATO forces in Europe were built up to withstand any Soviet move. These measures intensified attacks by neo-isolationists and gave new opportunity to Senator McCarthy for investigations to prove that the administration harbored a gigantic conspiracy of communists which accounted for all the nation's troubles.

Neo-isolationists fought to win control of foreign policy. They believed that the NATO countries there should be left to fend for themselves. With respect to the other side of the globe they tended to be more aggressive than the administration and acclaimed new outbursts by General MacArthur against the administration's limited objectives in Korea. These, he declared, created a "privileged sanctuary" north of the Yalu River for the Communists, prevented the Nationalist Chinese on Formosa from attacking mainland China, and made victory for the UN forces in Korea impossible. All the frustrations of American efforts to build a peaceful world welled up in suspicion and bitterness against the administration. General MacArthur joined the revolt in Congress. He committed a series of violations of a presidential order forbidding any public statement of foreign policy without prior approval of the Department of State.

The climax came when the President and Joint Chiefs of staff informed General MacArthur that reestablishment of the independence of South Korea was United States policy and that he should accordingly hold a defensive line near the 38th parallel while negotiations for peace took place. The General seized the opportunity of an invitation by the House Republican leader, Joseph W. Martin, Jr. of Massachusetts, to oppose this policy.

General MacArthur's insubordination could not be ignored if the constitutional frame work of the American government was to be preserved. Supported by his Chiefs of staff, on April 11, 1951, he removed MacArthur from his commands in Japan and Korea, appointed General Matthew B. Ridgway in his place, and ordered MacArthur to come home in retirement.

On May 3, the Senate Armed Services Committee began an intensive investigation of MacArthur's removal and of administration foreign policy. The Chiefs of staff, Secretary of Defense Marshall, Secretary of State Acheson, and many other officials grounded home two points the necessity to preserve presidential authority over the armed forces; and the invitation to world war inherent in MacArthur's position. The General himself was given full opportunity to state his case. It did not stand up against those two overriding considerations. By June public excitement subsided. Reluctant admiration for the courage and soundness of President Truman's decision took its place. The Senate committee unanimously opposed any change in his war policy.

Meanwhile, General Ridgway threw back two major Chinese offensives in April and May. The recall of MacArthur evidently convinced Stalin and Mao that the United States contemplated no extension of the war and Chinese defeats indicated that their gamble in Korea was lost. On June 23, 1951, the Russian delegate to the UN proposed that the Korean War could be ended by negotiation. The President instructed General Ridgway to open truce negotiations while maintaining a strong defensive position and by air action preventing the Communists from using the hull to assemble reinforcements.

The negotiations were probably the most difficult and protracted in the modern history of diplomacy. The ideological charter of the conflict left no room for agreement. The difficulties were aggravated by gross propaganda lies of the Chinese Communist government - for example, that the UN air forces spread disease germs in china. In November 1951, the Chinese and North Korean negotiators conceded that the armistice line should be the existing military line. This meant that the UN forces would retain strong geographic positions somewhat south of the 38th parallel in the west, but well north of it in the east. Then the question of enforcement of the armistice occupied many sessions in the negotiation tents at Panmunjom. The UN authorities insisted upon an international commission with access to North as well as South Korea. The great majority - about 83,000 - of the North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war held by the UN forces did not want to return to Communist territory, and the UN negotiators, insisting on their right of political asylum, refused to force them to do so. Only a handful of UN prisoners held by the Communists had succumbed to "brain-washing" techniques and declared themselves to be "progressives" willing to remain under communism. The Communist leaders demanded forcible exchange of all prisoners and broke off negotiations in October 1952 on this point.

Still no major fighting broke out. The death of Stalin created a new situation in which the Communists finally conceded to the American position on every major issue.

13.15 STRENGTHENING THE LINES IN THE PACIFIC

During the Korean War the United States not only contributed liberally to the strengthening of its NATO allies but also organized a complementary

system of alliances of the other side of the world. The success of Point Four and the dangers exposed by the Korean War led Congress to increase appropriations for the Far East from \$2 million in 1950 to \$237 million in 1952. In addition, India, in the latter year, was granted a good loan of \$190 million to help meet a crop failure. The investment of private American capital amounted to little however, because the free countries of Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific were organizing mixed socialist capitalist economies which were not conducive to a "healthy investment climate." Congress was most generous to the Nationalist Chinese regime in Formosa, to the Philippines Republic and to Japan.

The potential power of Japan and the popularity among Americans and Japanese alike of General MacArthur's occupation regime produced a revolution in United States Japanese relations. In two strokes of September 8, 1951 a peace treaty signed by 48 governments with Japan and a separate United States - Japanese Security Treaty converted a former enemy into an ally. These treaties had been negotiated by John Foster Dulles as republican adviser to the State Department. His sponsorship helped to gain bipartisan support for them in the Senate, and the opposition of the Russian Government clinched it.

The peace treaty was generous to a defeated foe so much as so that some countries which had suffered under Japanese occupations complained. To satisfy them the treaty permitted later bilateral negotiations for reparations, but the treaty itself imposed no reparation whatever upon Japan. She was stripped of her Empire and all right in China. Japan recognized United States jurisdiction over the Ryukyu Islands with the great base at Okinawa, and over the Bonin Islands, agreeing to a future American trusteeship over these Island according to UN Charter provisions. The peace treaty placed no restrictions upon the economic, military or political independence of Japan. Under MacArthur's influence the Japanese Constitution had forbidden all armaments but this was now in effect superseded.

The United States-Japanese Security Treaty formed an alliance under which Japan agreed to permit the United States to station armed forces in Japan to maintain international peace. These might also be used if the Japanese government requested it to help suppress internal disturbance inspired by a foreign government which meant communism. This "peace of reconciliation" left many problems for the future-among others trade relations and the vitality of the democratic reforms which MacArthur had instituted in government civil liberties land ownership decartelization of industry and education. As in West Germany the United States undertook a calculated risk believing that enlightened self interest dictated a policy of generosity in order to turn foes into friends a militarized society into a democracy and the strongest power in the Far East into an ally against communism

With Japan as the anchor in the North the United States built a chain of alliances along the perimeter of Communist China. Australia and New Zealand formed its southern anchor and the Philippines Republic its

central link. Mutual defense treaties were signed with the latter of August 30, 1951, and with Australia and New Zealand on September 1. These served to reassure the peoples concerned not only against Communist dangers but against a revival of Japanese imperialism. Along the southern perimeter of Russia and China, although Tibet fell without resistance to Chinese Communist invasion, the British Commonwealth governments worked to strengthen India, Pakistan, Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak by organizing the "Colombo Plan" of November 1950 to provide \$5.2 billion for technical aid and capital investment. This was an application of the Point Four idea that the best way to prevent the spread of communism was to prove in action that the peoples of underdeveloped countries could prosper in freedom.

The demonstration in Korea that the UN would use force to repel aggression was the great turning point in the history of the world after the Second World War. Americans were momentarily enraged by the dismissal of MacArthur. They suffered agonies of spirit over the seeming futility of the negotiations at Panmunjon. But in the end the Truman policies were carried out even after the Republican Party won power.

13.16 VIETNAM WAR :-

Meanwhile another was continuing in the French colony of Indo-China. The Vietminh Communist forces came to control most of Northern Vietnam. In July 1954 the French forces were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, the Geneva Agreement set up two Vietnams. Free elections, to be held in 1956, were to reunite the country. Unfortunately the new President Ngo Dinn Diem, with American approval, refused to hold the promised election, which would have been won by H.Chi.Minn, the North Vietnamese leader. Thus, the way was prepared for the tragic events of the Johnson administration.

The Eisenhower administration announced that the United States was abandoning the policy of preventing the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai Shek from attacking the Chinese mainland. There were repeated threats of a Communist invasion of Formosa (Taiwan). Congress then authorized Eisenhower administration to protect it by force if necessary. Meanwhile the United States also continued to deny diplomatic recognition of Communist China and oppose her admission into the United Nations. To prevent any further communist advance in Asia the American government hoped to build a defence system comparable to NAJO in Europe. In September 1954 the government sponsored the formation of the South East Asia Treaty organization. But only three Asiatic countries Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines were willing to become members of the SEATO, which remained largely a paper organization, its members were Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Iraq. The other Arab countries remained aloof. In March 1957, at Eisenhower's request, Congress declared that the United States was prepared to use force to protect Middle East peoples against armed aggression by international communism and appropriated 200 million dollars military and economic aid to all Middle Eastern States. This extension of American leadership

was known as the Eisenhower Doctrine. In July 1958, American and British forces were sent to give support to friendly governments in Lebanon and Jordan.

13.17 CRISIS IN CUBA, 1963

In July 1963, the United States government came to know that Soviet missiles were being sent to Cuba and placed sites where they could threaten the United States. If this continued, it would change the world balance of power and would enable the Soviet Union to dominate Latin America. United States and the Soviet Union had allowed each other to control a sphere of influence. But Russia's Cuba Policy was an attempt to extend her power in the American sphere of influence. President Kennedy took a firm stand by insisting that the Russian missiles must be taken back to Russia and implying that the alternative would be atomic warfare. President Kennedy was careful to leave Russians a dignified way of retreat. Thus, the Russians agreed to take back their missiles in Cuba and the United States would give up its missiles sites in Turkey and pledge itself not to invade Cuba.

This settlement of the dispute marked the beginning of a slow improvement in Russo – American relations, each of the two powers realized that neither of them was actually planning to destroy the other.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) Comment on the Korean War
- 2) How was the crisis in Cuba?

13.18 SUMMARY

To sum up the atmosphere of heightened tension continued for a long time and world peace seemed to depend upon the moves and countermoves of the two power blocks. Meanwhile situation in Soviet Union had to make way for common wealth of Independent state. By that time Cold War was over.

13.19 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the containment policy of America after Second World War.
2. Evaluate the American anticolonialism policy.
3. Examine the Latin American policy of U.S.A.
4. What is Cold War? Enumerate the various crises that arose in the course of Cold War.

13.20 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Parker, Henry Bamford. The United States of America a History. Scientific Book Depot. Calcutta 1.
2. Beard's New Basic History of the United States; New York, 1960.
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4. Bayly, The Oxford Companion to United States History, New York, 2001.



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