



World War 1: The Progressive Crusade (1914-1920)



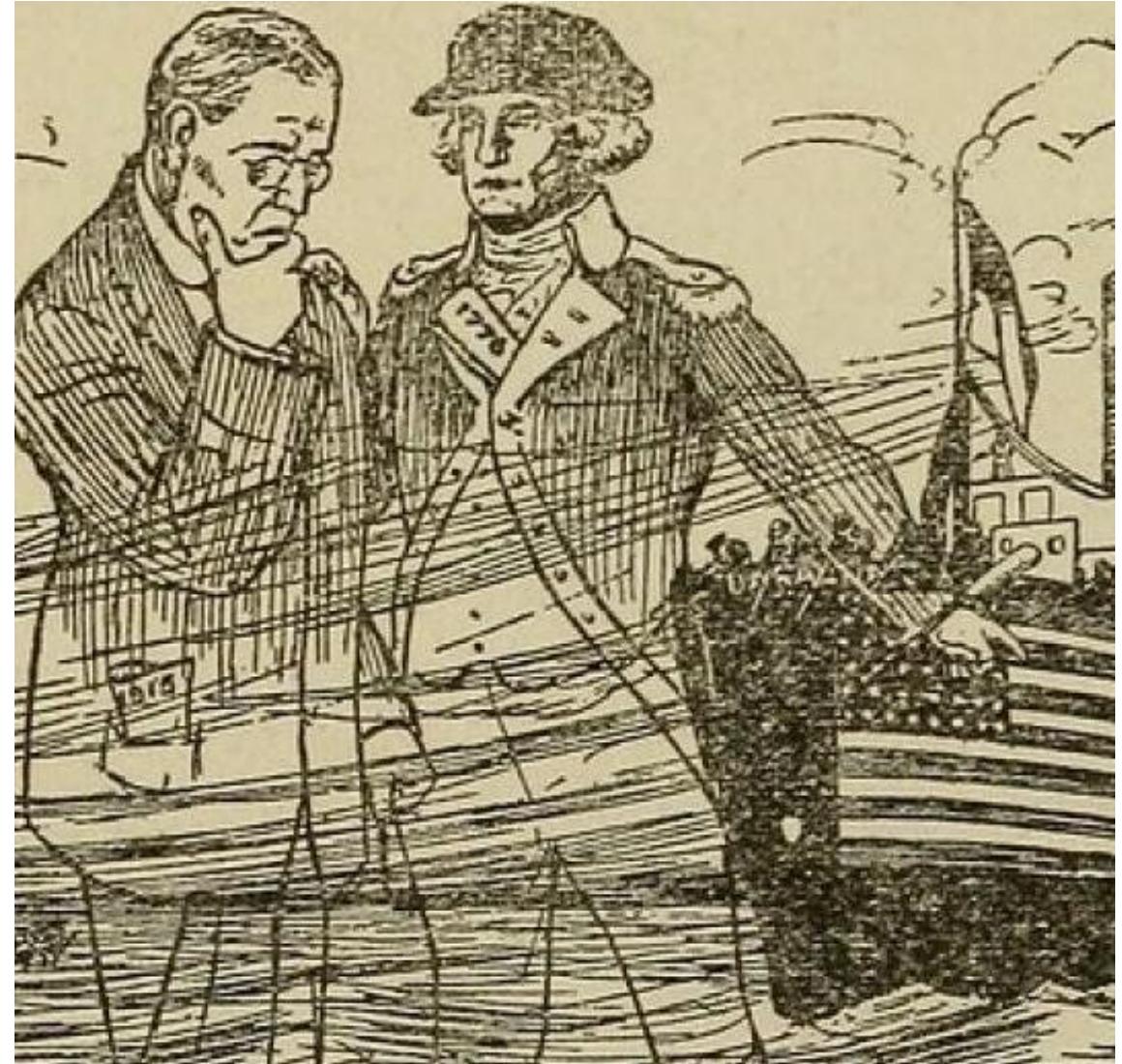
Central Themes

- Woodrow Wilson's Foreign Policy
- Role of the United States in the 'Great War'
- Impact of War on the Home Front
- Woodrow Wilson – Wins War but Loses Peace?
- America's Troublesome Transition from War to Peace
- Victory – but at What Cost?



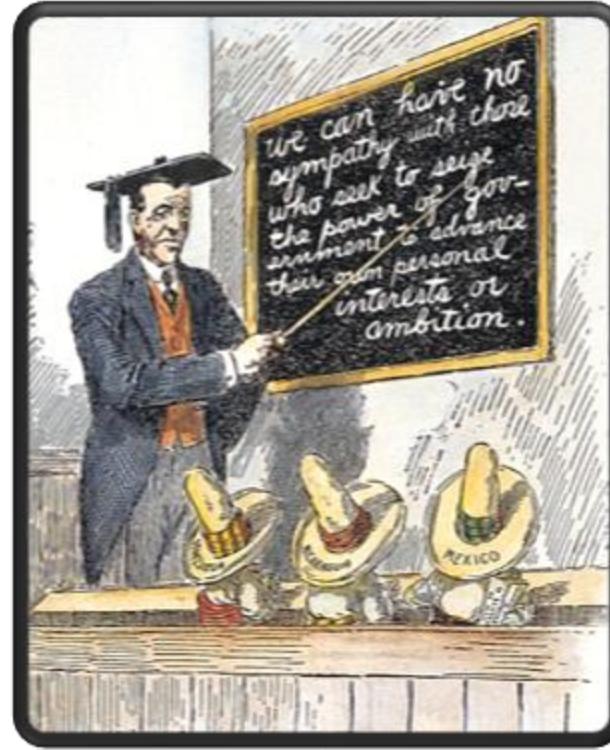
Wilson's Foreign Policy Agenda

- “It would be an irony of fate if my administration had to deal with foreign affairs.”
- He had None
- Could not Avoid the Outside
 - Rising Militarism
 - Rising Nationalism
- Economic Interests
- Progressive Principles as Well



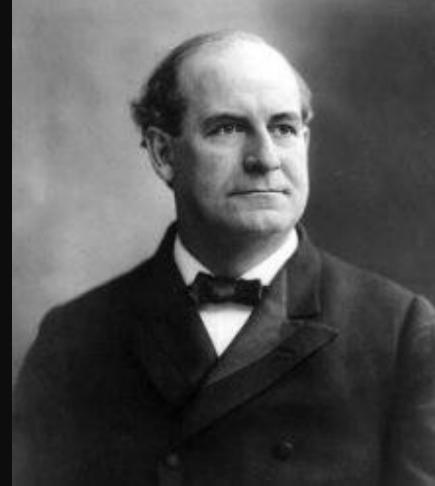
Progressive and Economic Push

- Peaceful Free Trade
- National Self-Determination
- Political Democracy
- “We desire no conquest, no dominion... we are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind.”
- Still Ready to Utilize Military

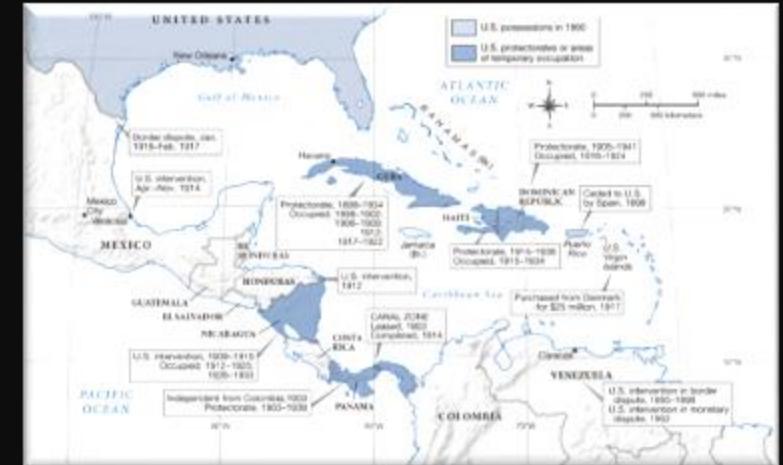


Foreign Policy

- Secretary of State: William Jennings Bryan (Pacifist)
- Monroe Doctrine
 - Nicaragua
 - Haiti
 - Dominican Republic
 - Mexico
- Banks & Corporation Control
- Promoting; Order & Democracy'



William Jennings Bryan
(1860-1925)



20th Century European Conflict

- New Rivalries
- German States
- Italian States
- Russia's Pan-Slavic Union
- Growth & Nationalism



German Aspirations



Kaiser Wilhelm II
(1859-1941)

Germany

- Kaiser Wilhelm II
 - Challenge Britain
 - Expand Empire Abroad
 - Industrial Might
 - Naval Power



Alliances in Europe

- 1914 Agreements:
- Triple Alliance
 - Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy
- The Allies (Triple Entente)
 - Great Britain, France, Russia
- Treaties Created



June 28, 1914, Domino Affect



- Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Princess Sophie
 - Heir to the Throne
- Nationalist Group 'Black Hand'
 - Bosnian Serb
- Russia Backed Serbia



European Domino Affect

- Germany (August 3, 1914)
 - Attacked Russia & France
 - Japan Joins Too

August 4

- Great Britain (French Ally)
 - Declared War on Germany
- Europe Engulfed in War
- World War



“The Great War” World War I (1914-1918)



- 4 Years
- Death Toll: 8,500,000
- New Age of Technology Designed for Mass Killing



Wilson & Neutrality

- No American Interest & No Significant Principle
- Neutrality:
 - Safe Trade with All Countries
- 1913 US Economic Recession
 - Avoid Wartime Disruption



**U. S. PROCLAIMS
ITS NEUTRALITY**

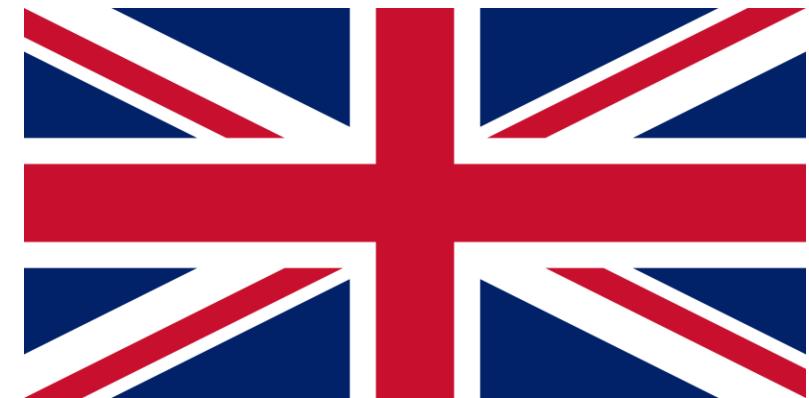
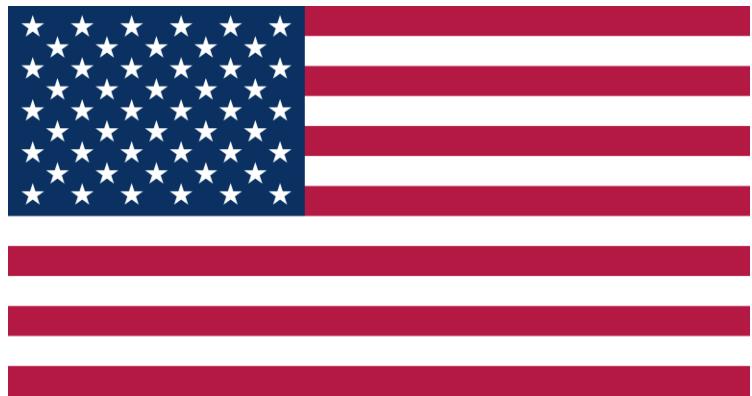
**Wilson Signs Proclamation
Defining Our Attitude.**

MANY ACTS ARE FORBIDDEN

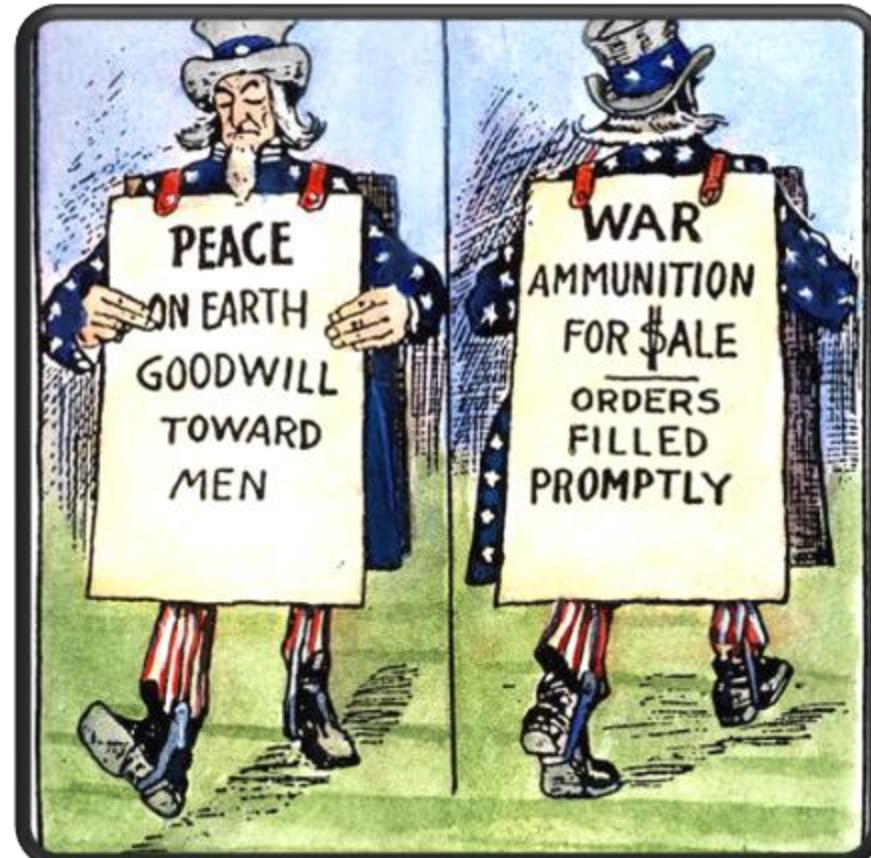
**President Warns Against Enlisting or
Entering into the Service of Either
Belligerent.**

Wilson & Neutrality?

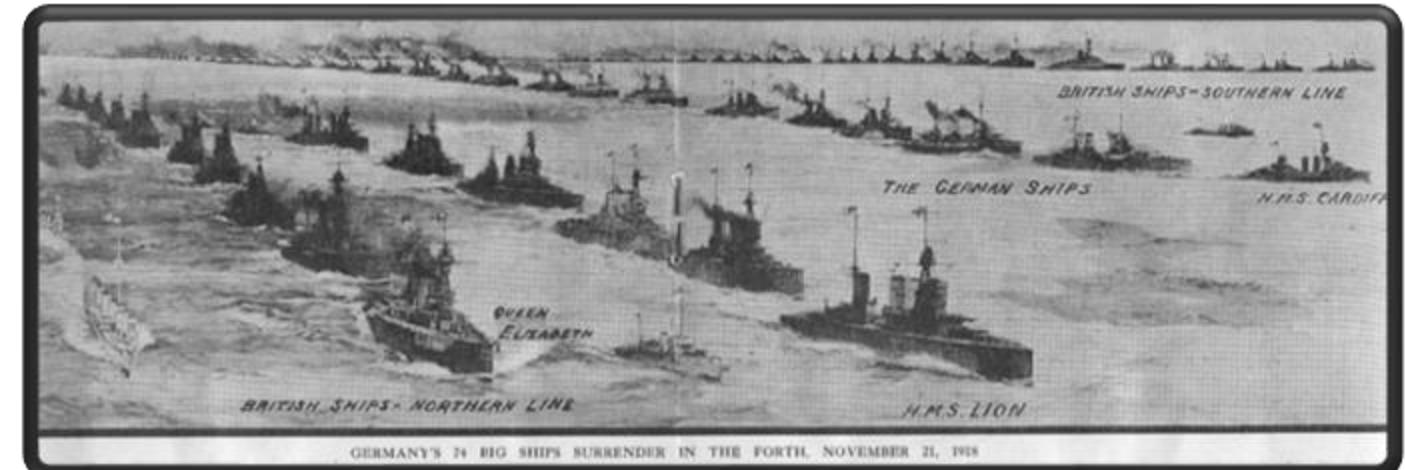
- Sympathetic to Great Britain & France
- French: Historical Allies
- Britain: Language, Culture, Commitment to Liberty
- Germany: Monarchy & Militaristic
- “We definitely have to be neutral, since otherwise our mixed populations would wage war on each other.”



Europe at War



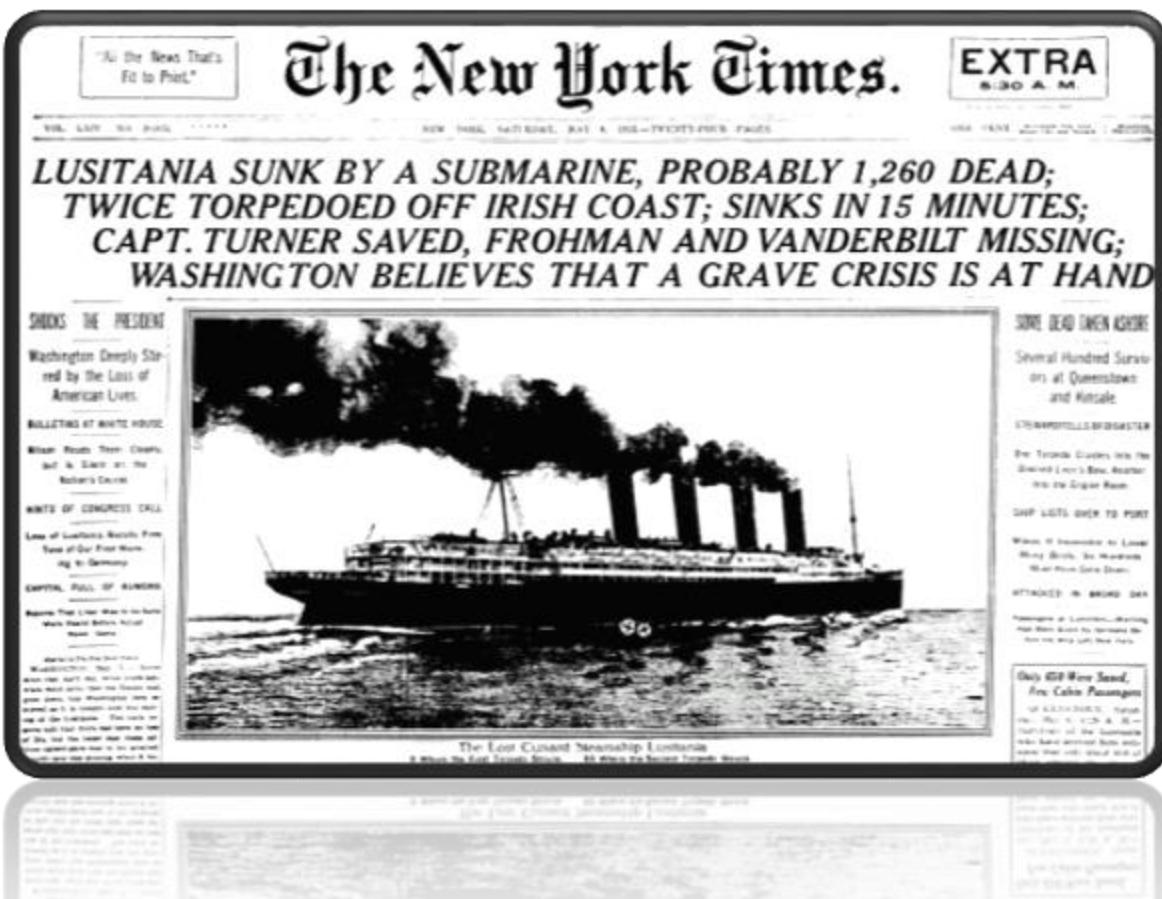
- British Naval Fleet
- Economic Blockade of Germany
 - Violated U.S. Neutrality
- 1914-1917
- Trade with Germany Dies (U.S.)
- Trade with Britain Does Not
 - Food, Clothing, Steel, Munitions
 - Up 400%
- Alienation with Germany Begins



GERMANY'S 24 BIG SHIPS SURRENDER IN THE FORTH, NOVEMBER 21, 1918

Strike Number 1: Lusitania

- Germany U-Boat Policy
 - Any Enemy Ship
 - Any to British Isles
- German U-Boat Torpedoed British Passenger Liner
- Deaths: 1,198; 128 U.S. Citizens



Public Response

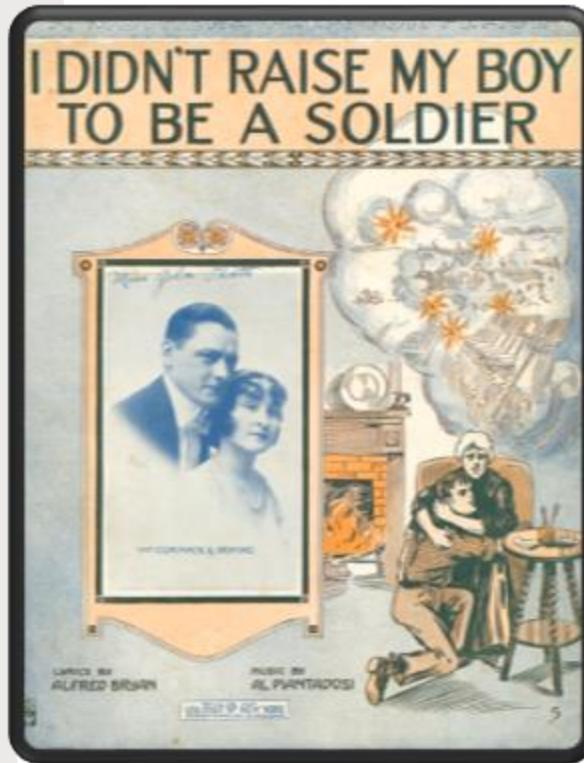


- American Newspapers
 - Drowning Children & Women
- Ammunition on Board?
- Secretary of State
 - A ship carrying war material, “should not rely on passengers to protect her from attack – it would be like putting women and children in front of an army.”

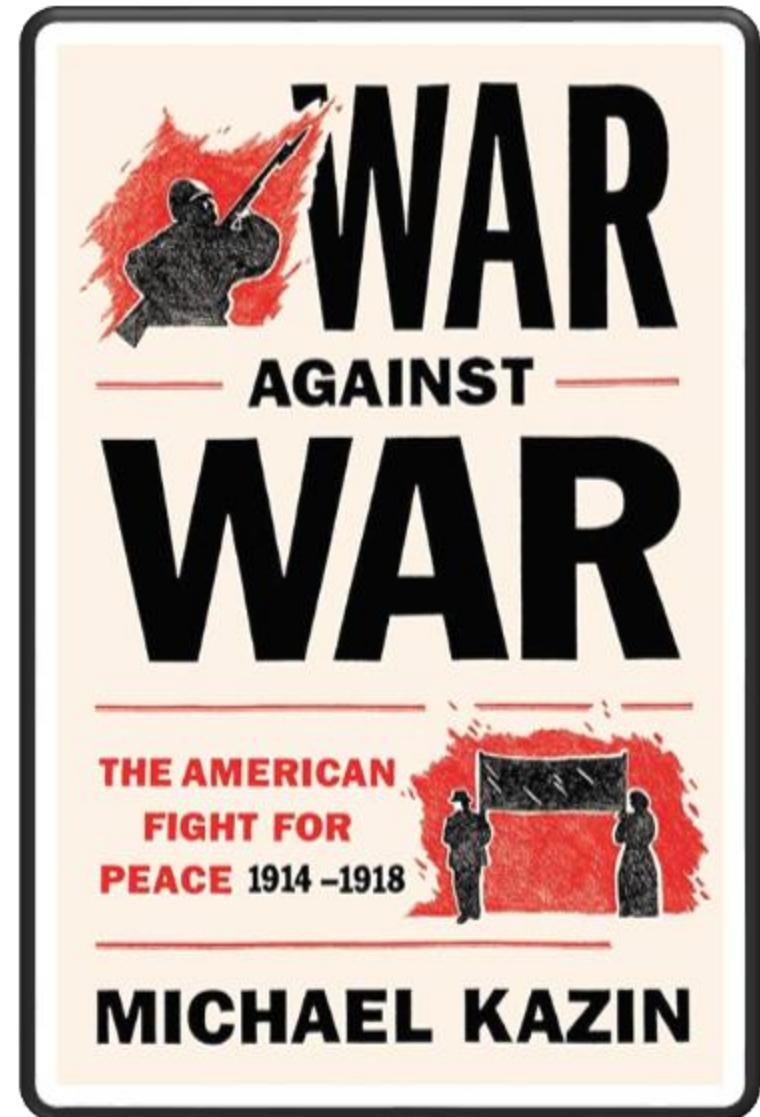


Public Response

- Peace Coalition – “War Against War”
 - Neutrality Must Continue
 - Germany: No Threat to Mainland
- 1915
- “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier”



[I Didn't Raise my Boy to be a Soldier - Peerless Quartet - 1914 - Anti War Song Lyrics - YouTube](#)



NICHAEL KAZIN



Wilson's Middle Ground (1915)



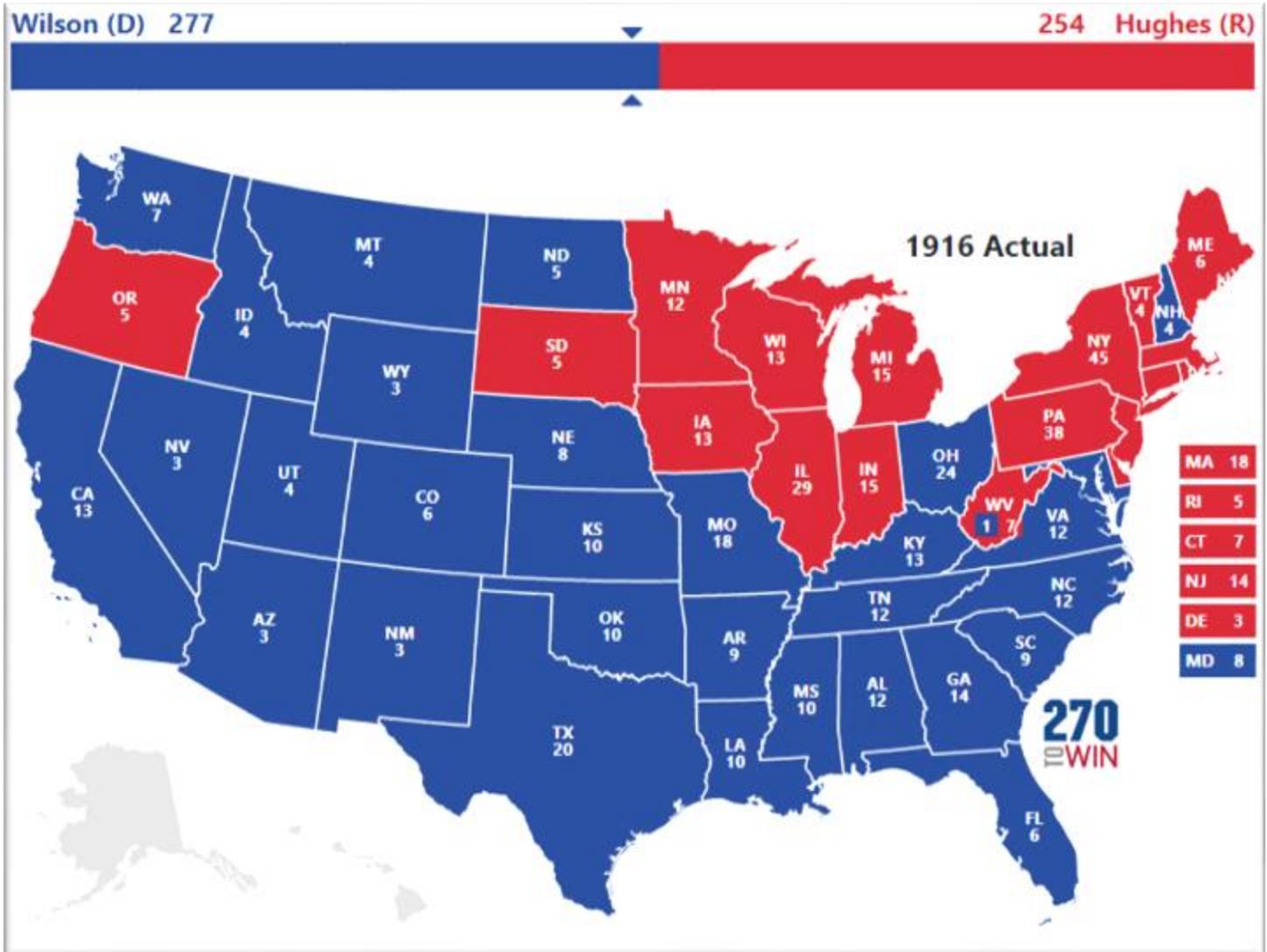
To Germany

- Do it Again and Face the Consequences
 - Threatened to Break Diplomatic Relations
 - Germany Apologized
- Tensions Ease (1916)
 - Promise no U-Boat Attacks Without Warning or Provisions for Civilians

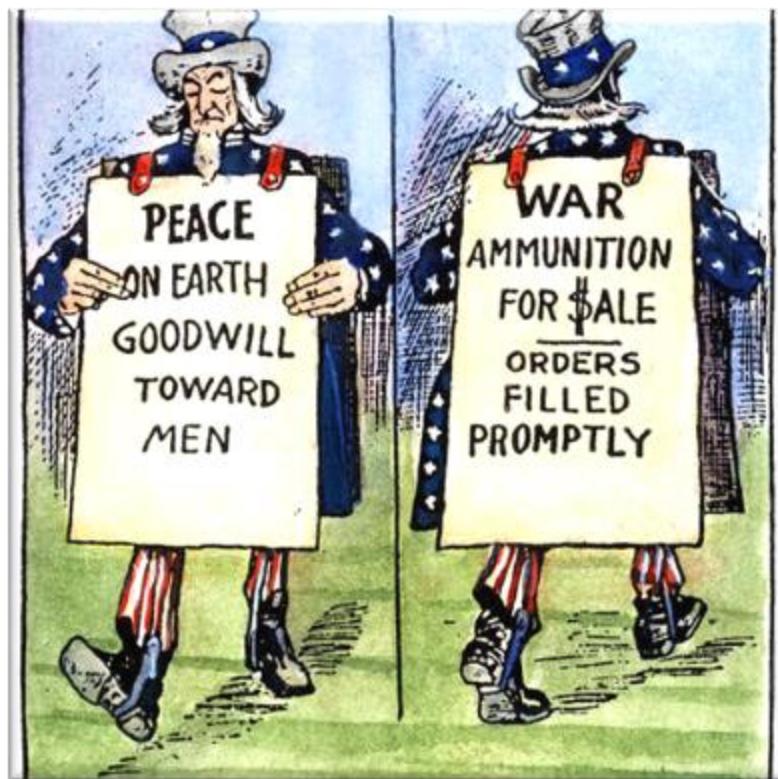


Election of 1916

"He kept us out of war."



U.S. Closer to War



By 1916:

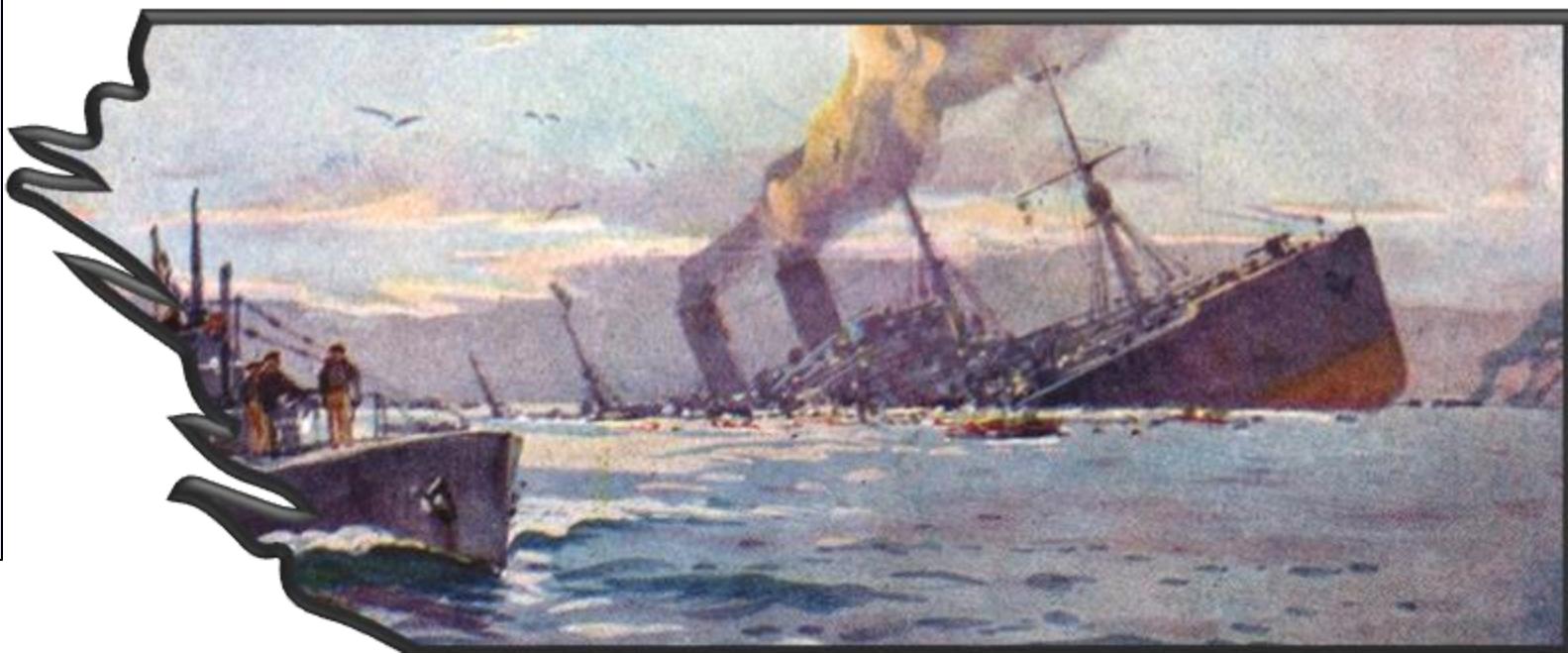
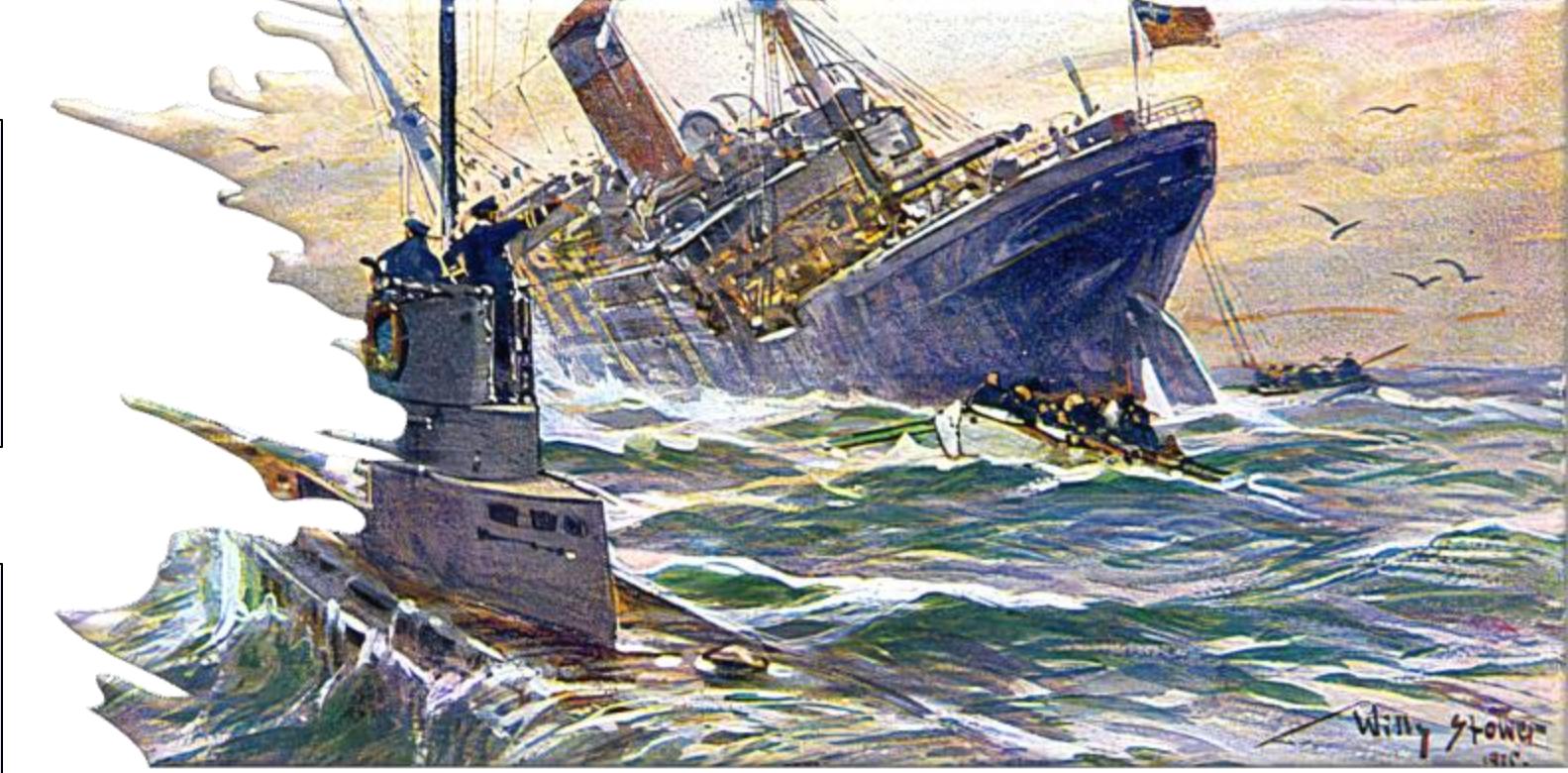
- Supplied Allies with 40% of War Material
- Billions of Dollars in Loans to Britain & France
 - Economic Prosperity for U.S.

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Imports	138.6	237.8	291.8	376.3	515.4
Exports	64.6	56.5	64.5	60.1	27.8
Deficit	74.9	181.3	227.3	316.2	487.6

Great Britain's Economy

January 1917

- Germany Continues Unrestricted Submarine Warfare
- Gambled
 - Strangle British Economy
 - Lead to Victory Before U.S.' Troops Arrived in Europe





Strike Number 2: Zimmerman Telegraph

- Germany Diplomatic Relations Cut Off
- Zimmerman Telegraph (Feb 1917)
 - German Minister in Mexico
 - Tried Recruiting Mexico
 - Fight with U.S. (Distraction)
 - Germany will Join & Take back Land for Mexico
 - Texas, New Mexico, Arizona

Wilson's Response

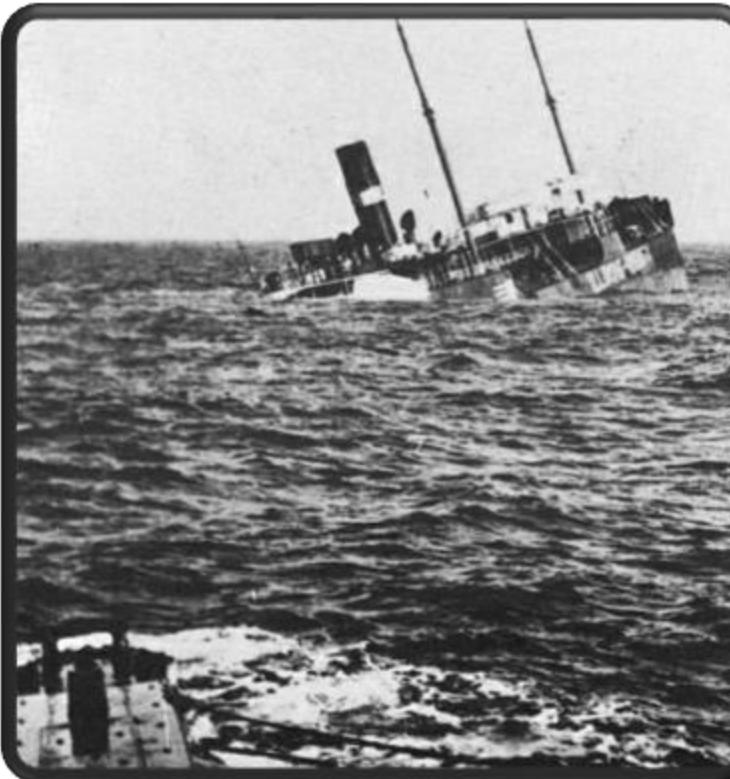
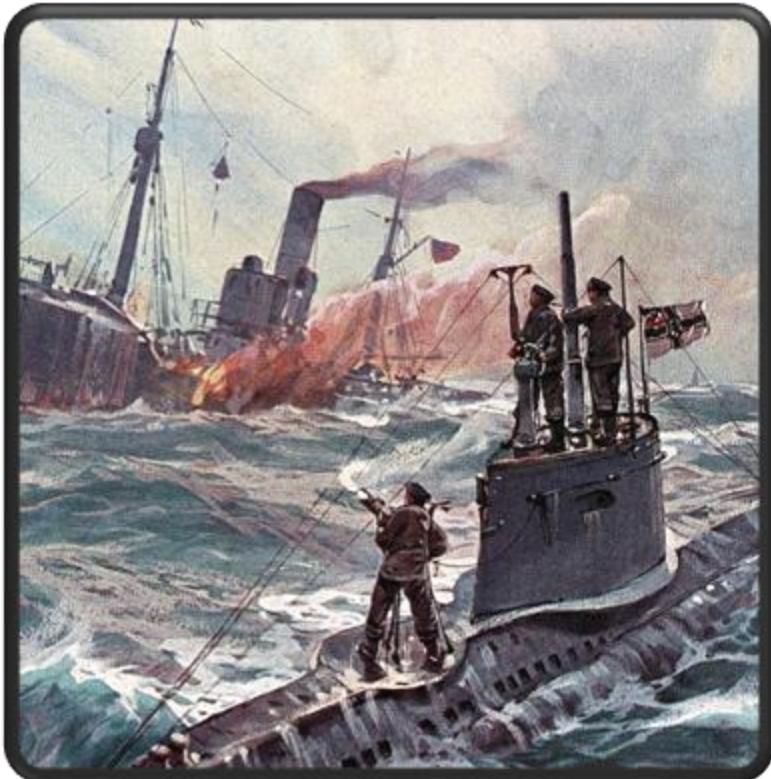


Merchant Ships to Fight back



Strike Number 3: U-Boat Warfare

March 1917
5 American Vessels Sunk
66 Americans Dead



To War

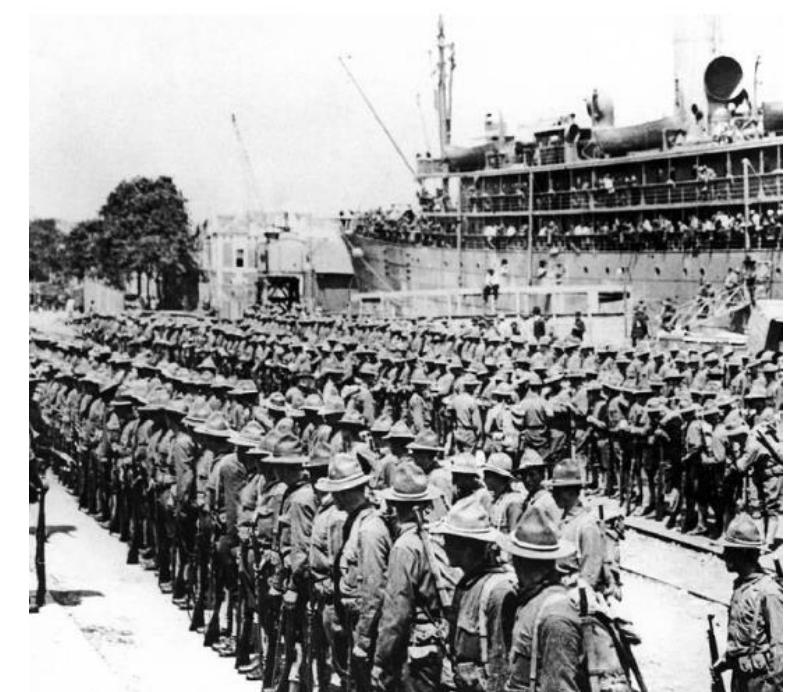


- April 2, 1917
Declaration of War
- “War without Hate”
- “Vindicate the principles of peace and justice.”
- “Safe for Democracy”
- April 6, 1917
 - House: 373 to 50
 - Senate: 82 to 6



U.S. in the Great War

- Sailed to France
- Black Soldiers
 - Respect under French
 - Discrimination from American Commanders
- Some Idealism
- Majority
 - Destruction and Death



Europe by 1917



- Britain & France
 - Millions Dead
 - Food & Morale Low
- Russia
 - Bolshevik Revolution
 - Czar Nicholas II (Romanovs)
- Bolshevik Government Withdraw from War
 - German Troops from Russia to France

Selective Service Act

- May 18, 1917
- Conscript (Draft)
 - Men 21-30 Years of Age
- Volunteer Army 80,000 became:
 - 2 million volunteers
 - 2 million drafted
- 370,000 African Americans
- 64,000 Conscientious Objectors
- 3 Million Evaded service



Protest at Home

- Emma Goldman
- No Conscription League (1917)
- “We oppose conscription because we are internationalists, antimilitarists, and opposed to all wars waged by capitalistic governments.”
- Arrested - \$25,000 bail



Emma Goldman
(1869-1940)

Americans in France

- American Expeditionary Force (AEF)
- Trench Warfare
 - Hundreds of Miles
 - Mud, Corpses, Rats, Human Feces, Trench Fever, Trench Foot, Lice, etc.
- “No Man’s Land”
 - Barbed Wire Poisonous Gas, Machine Guns



Battle of the Somme (1916)

- French & British Casualties:
 - 600,000 Killed or Wounded
 - German Casualties:
 - 500,000 Killed or Wounded
- Deadliest Battle of the War
 - Trench Advancement:
 - Few Miles



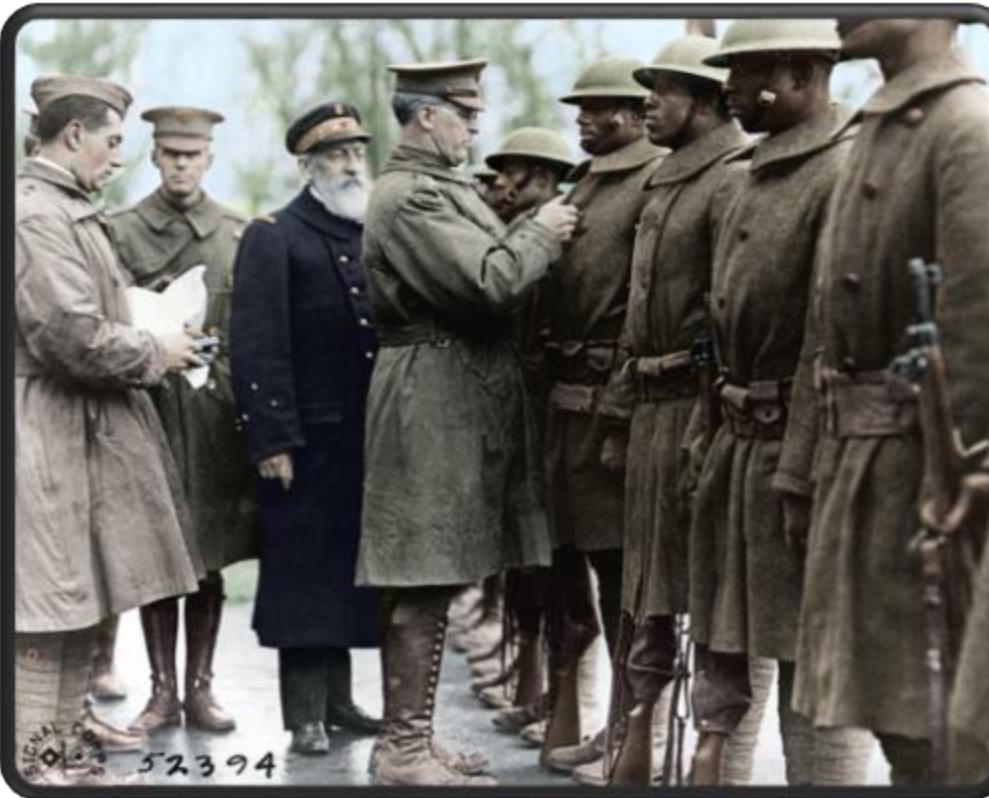
Americans in Combat



- Almost No Fighting in 1917
 - Trained & Explored
 - No Visits to Paris
 - No Licensed Prostitutes
- Wilson would have Stopped the War

Black Soldiers

- Segregated
- Labor Battalions
- Crude Abuse & Living Conditions
- Warned French
 - Don't, "Spoil the Negroes."
- 92 Division sent to the Front
- Black 369th Regiment z (Harlem Hellfighters)
 - 191 Days in Battle
 - More Medals than any other American Combat Unit





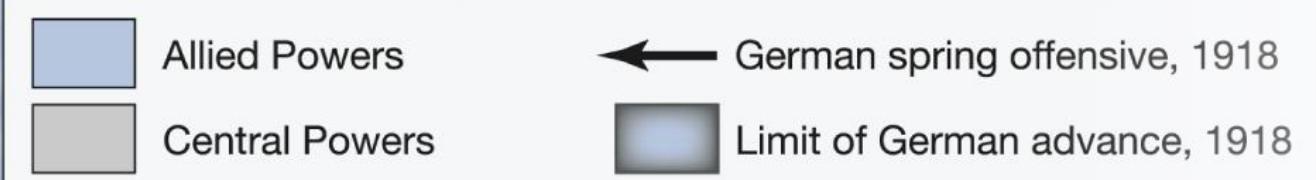
Combat Arrives

March 1918

- 1 Million Germans Break though Allied Lines
 - AEF Charges Against the German Line
- Untried but Victories American Line
- “the Americans’ nerves are not yet worn out.”

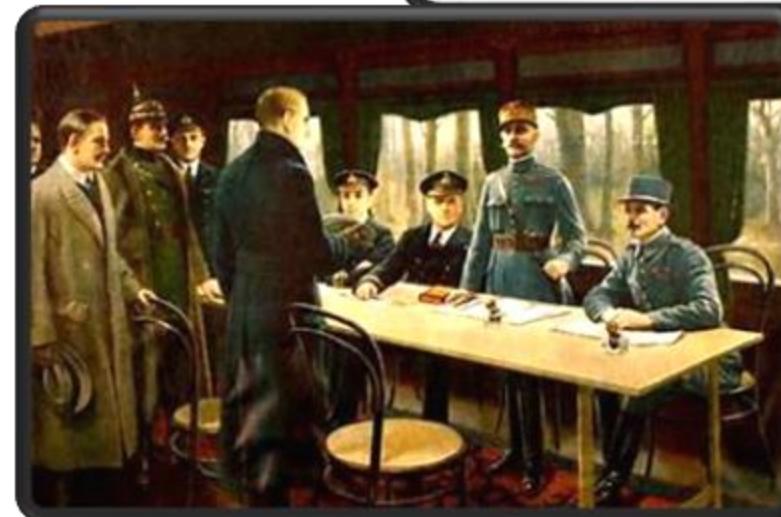
Combat Continues

- Summer 1918
 - Counteroffensive Launched
 - 250,000 Americans
 - 4 Days, AEF Casualties: 45,000
- November 11, 1918
 - Germans met with French for Armistice



Armistice

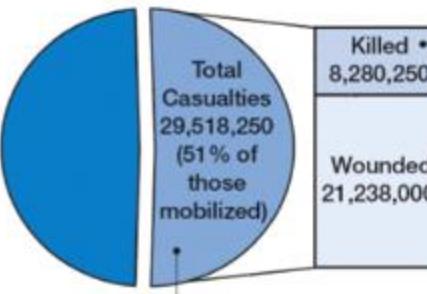
- AEF: brief, bloody & victorious
 - 120,000 Died (Wounds & Disease)
 - 230,000 Wounded by Survived
- British
 - 700,000 Dead
- French
 - 1,400,000 Dead
- Russians:
 - 1,700,000 Dead
- Germans
 - 1,700,000 Died



Casualties per country

Africa	Unknown
Australia	211,000 (64%)
Austria-Hungary	4,820,000 (74%)
Belgium	57,000 (28%)
Bulgaria	254,000 (64%)
Canada	241,000 (39%)
French empire	5,651,000 (75%)
Germany	5,952,000 (54%)
Great Britain	2,367,000 (44%)
Greece	26,000 (11%)
India	108,000 (7%)
Italy	1,407,000 (26%)
Japan	1,250 (0.2%)
Montenegro	13,000 (26%)
New Zealand	73,000 (66%)
Portugal	22,000 (22%)
Romania	320,000 (43%)
Russia	6,650,000 (55%)
Serbia	261,000 (37%)
South Africa	19,000 (13%)
Turkey	736,000 (46%)
United States	321,000 (8%)

Total Mobilized:
57,777,500

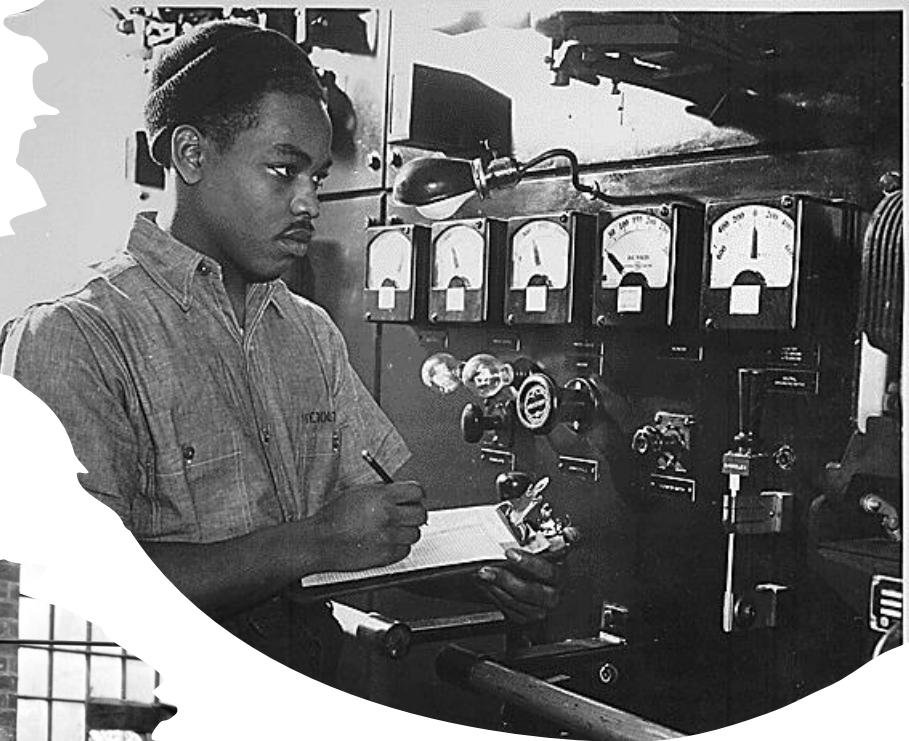


Killed per country

Africa	10,000
Australia	59,000
Austria-Hungary	1,200,000
Belgium	13,000
Bulgaria	101,000
Canada	67,000
French empire	1,385,000
Germany	1,718,000
Great Britain	703,000
Greece	5,000
India	43,000
Italy	460,000
Japan	250
Montenegro	3,000
New Zealand	18,000
Portugal	7,000
Romania	200,000
Russia	1,700,000
Serbia	128,000
South Africa	7,000
Turkey	336,000
United States	117,000

War on the Home Front

- Opportunities for
 - Women
 - Laborers
 - (Industrial & Agricultural)
 - African Americans
- Enforced Loyalty & Patriotism
 - Suppressing Dissent
 - Assault on Civil Liberties



What Progressives Wanted from the War

- War for National Improvement
- Emergence of New Industries
- War Industries Board
 - Stimulate & Direct Industrial Production
 - Boots to Bullets
 - Best Equipped Soldiers



What Progressives Wanted from the War

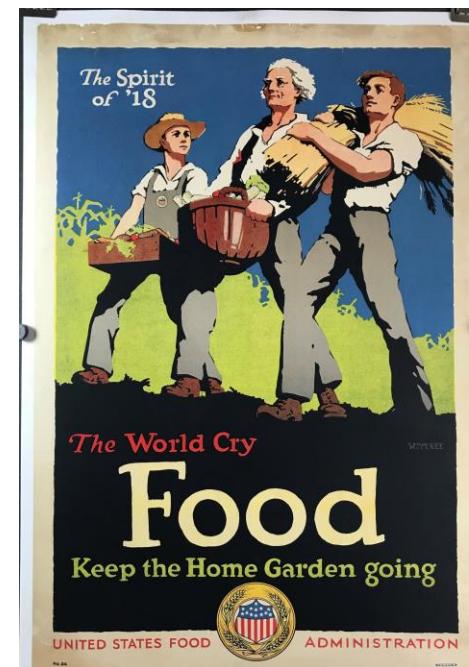
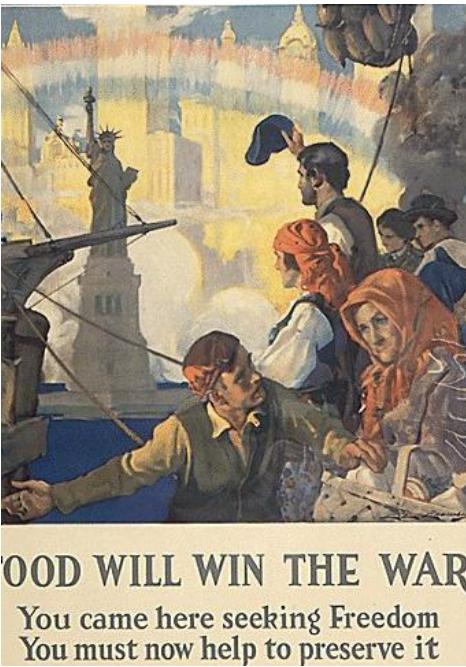


War for National Improvement

- Creation of the Food Administration
 - Herbert Hoover
 - “Meatless” Mondays
 - “Wheatless” Wednesdays
- Breadbasket for America’s Allies



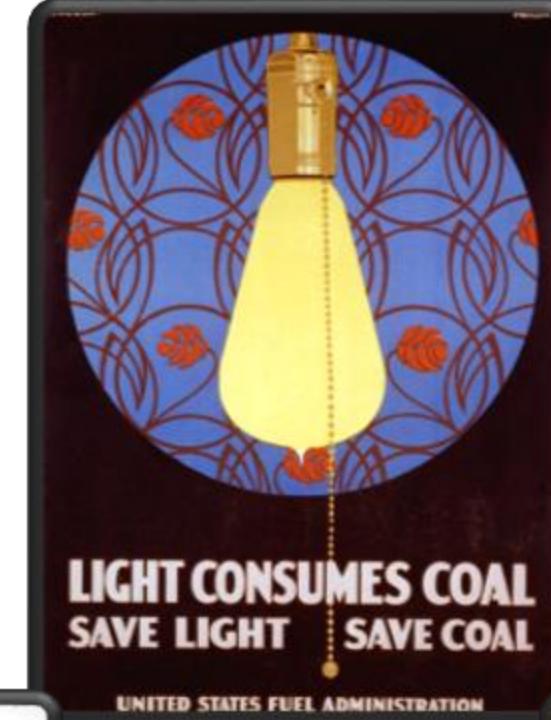
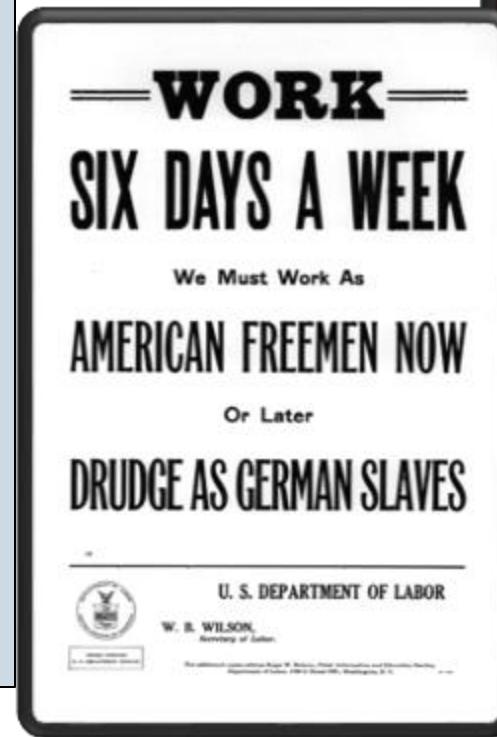
Herbert Hoover
(1874-1964)



Food Administration

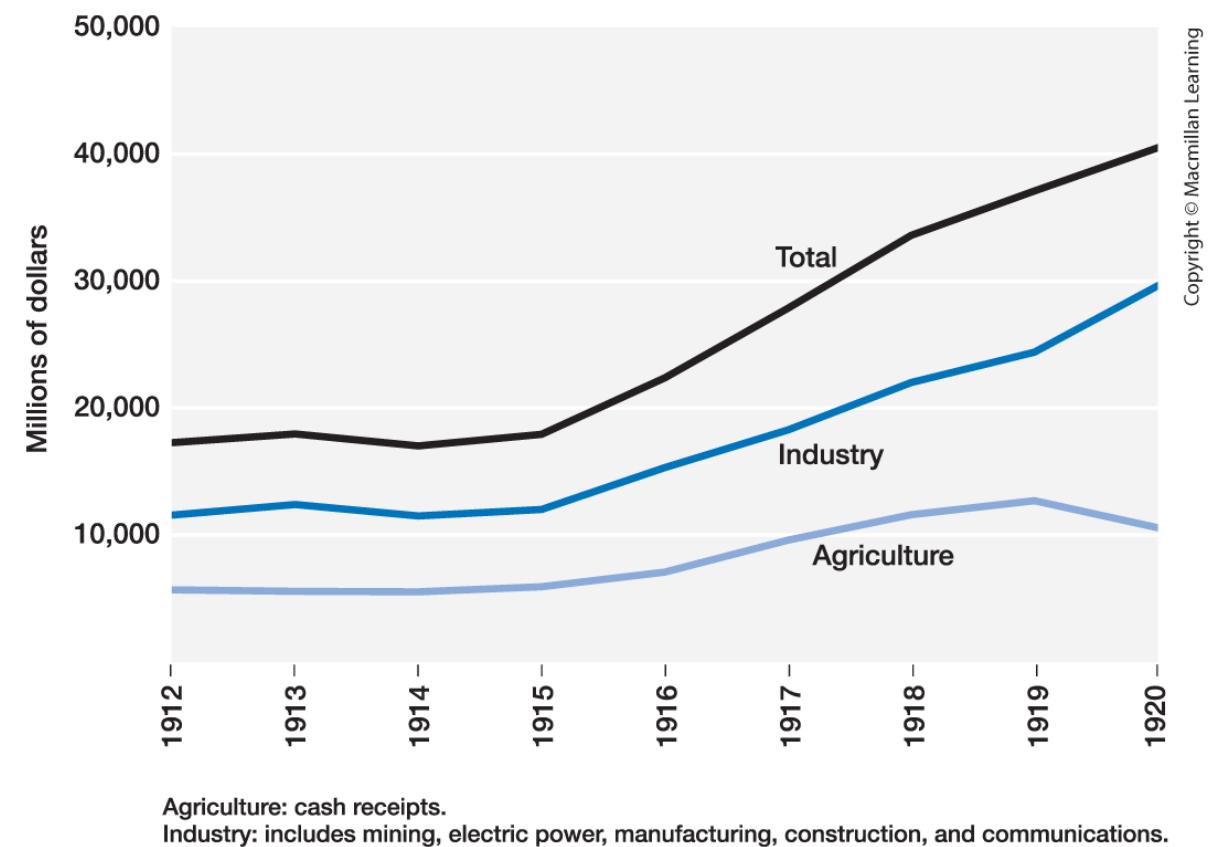
Industry for the War Effort

- Railroad Administration
 - Directed Railroad Traffic
- Fuel Administration
 - Coordinated Coal Industry & Others
- National War Labor Policies Board
 - Labor Disputes
- Skeptics: ‘Permanent Peace & Democracy’ under Wilson:
 - “the blind leading the blind”



Industrial Efforts Only for the War Effort?

- Wartime Efficiency = 3x Profit
 - Mobilization = Money for Farmers
 - Jobs with High Wages
- National War Labor Policies Board:
 - 8 Hour Workday
 - Living Minimum Wage
 - Collective Bargaining Rights (for some)
- AFL Membership:
 - 2.7 Million to +5 Million



War & Prohibition

- 1917 – 19 States Dry
- Banning Alcohol = Pure & Powerful Democracy
 - Save Grain
 - Breweries = German
- December 1917:
18th Amendment
 - Banned Sale,
Manufacturing &
Transportation of
Alcohol
 - Effective
January 1, 1920



Progress for Women: Service Abroad

- +25,000 Served in France
- ½ Nurses
- ½ Half: Drove Ambulances, Canteens for Salvation Army, Red Cross, YMCA, Telephone Operator, War Correspondents
- Realities of War



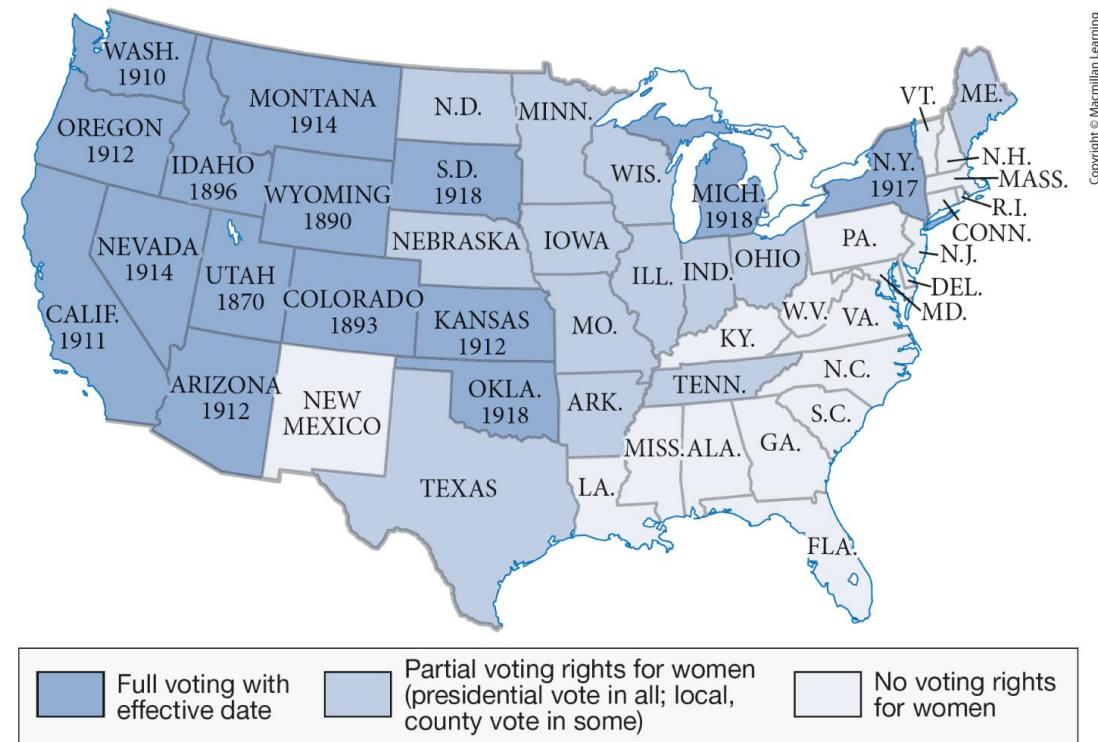


Gender Barriers: Work at Home

- Tens of Thousands of Women Entered ‘Man’s Work’
 - Metalworkers, Welders, Machine Operations
 - More White-Collar Jobs
 - 1910-1920: Grew x2 Female Clerks
- +1 Million Women in War Industry Jobs

Gender Barriers – Political Arena

- Pre-WWI
- State by State Approach
- Post 1910
- Federal Campaign for an Amendment
- Radical Suffragists Enter



Suffrage

- Alice Paul
 - “America is Not a Democracy. Twenty Million Women are Denied the Right to Vote.”
- Chained Themselves to Fences
 - Taken to Jail
 - Hunger Strike
- “They seem bent on making their cause as obnoxious as possible.”



Lucy Burns
(1879-1966)



Suffrage Support Grows

- National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)
 - Membership Soared to 2 Million
- Republican & Progressive Parties
 - Endorse Women Suffrage (1916)



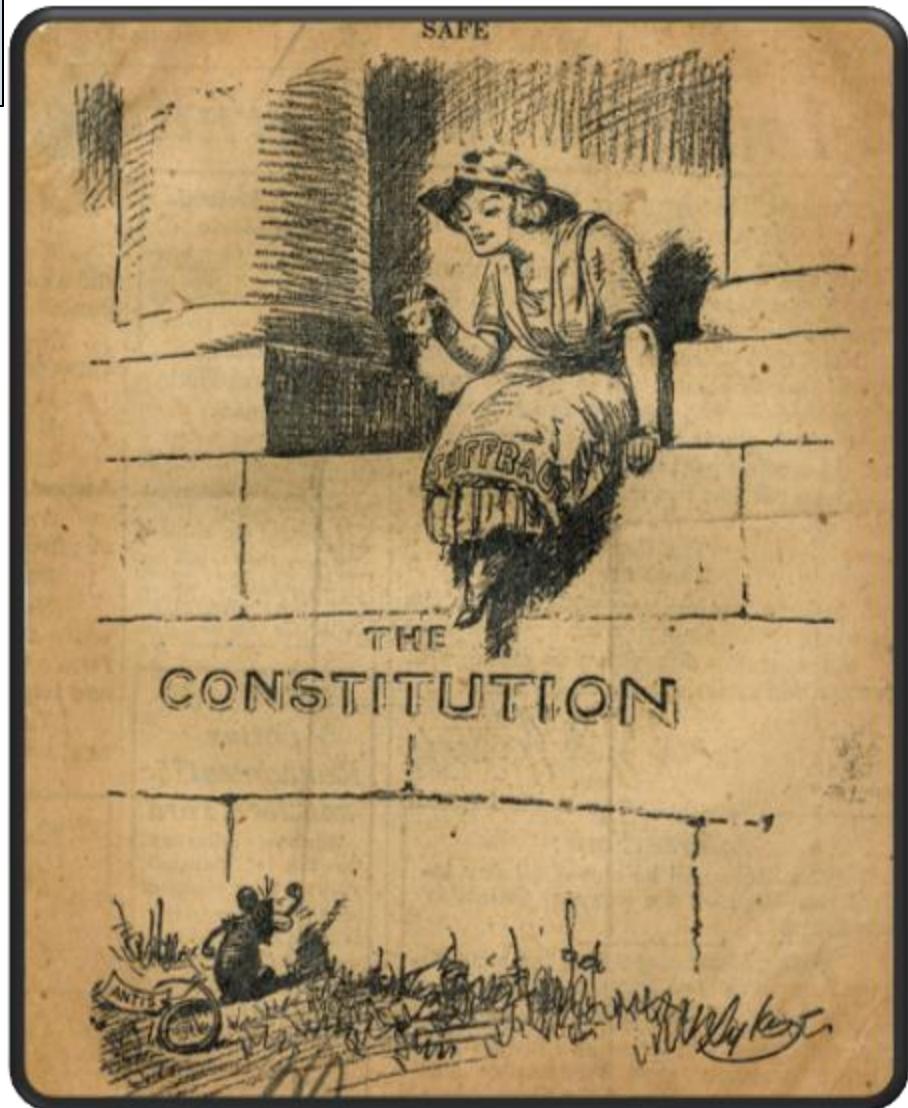


Suffrage for the War

- 1918 – Wilson
- Wrong to Not Reward Wartime, “Partnership of suffering and sacrifice” with “partnership of privilege and right.”
- Links Wartime & National Unity with Suffrage

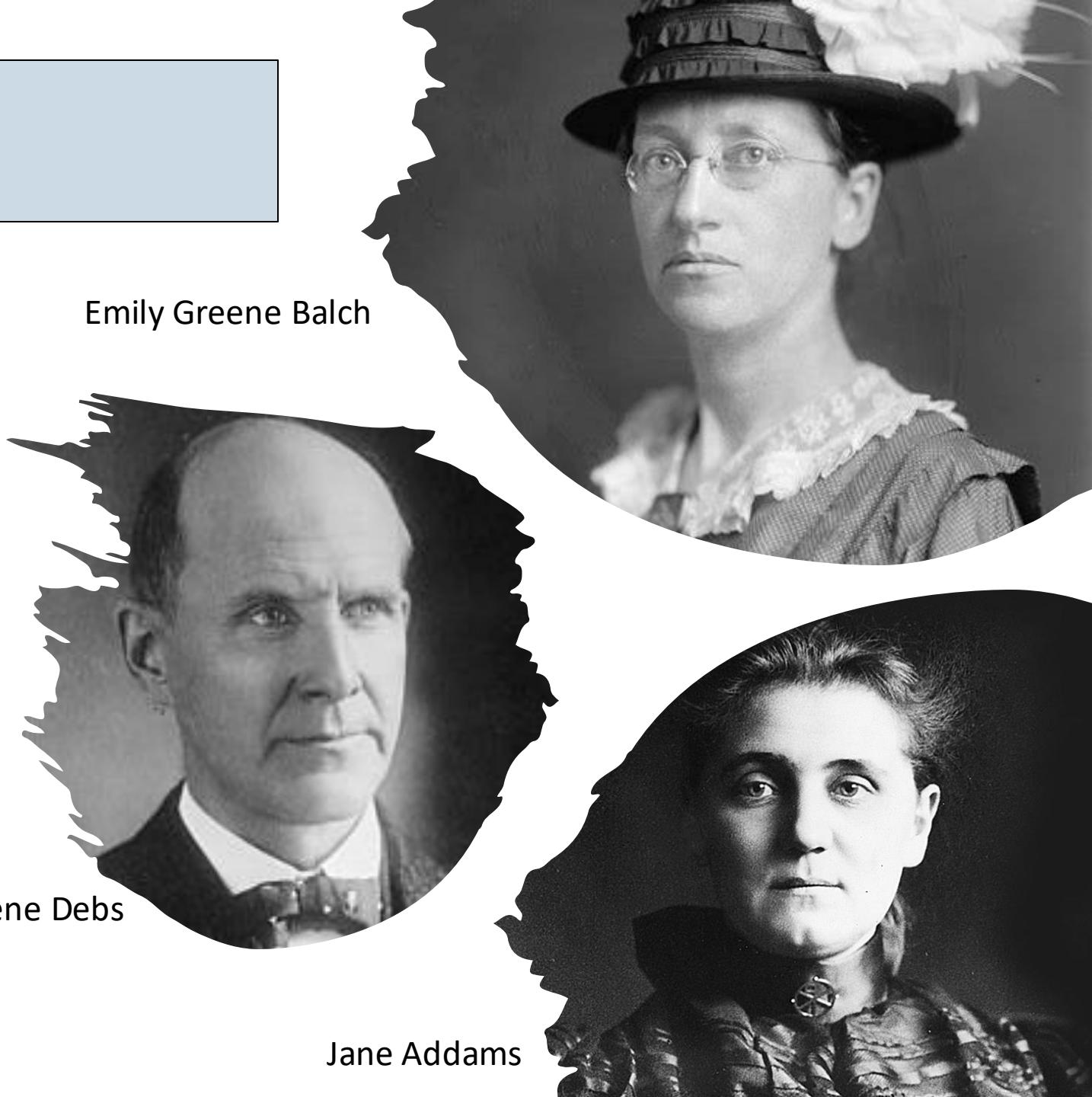
19th Amendment

- 1919: Congress Passed 19th Amendment
 - August 2020, Ratified by 2/3 of States



Wartime Dissent

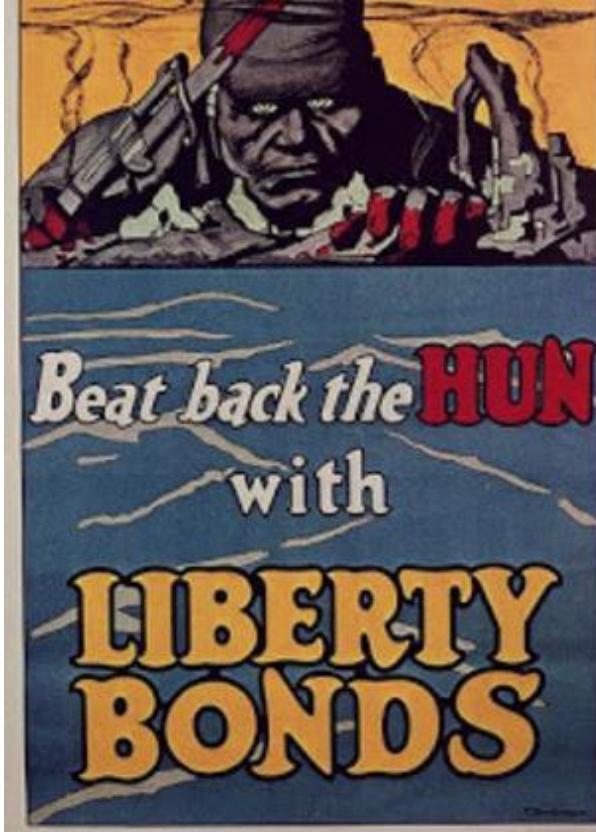
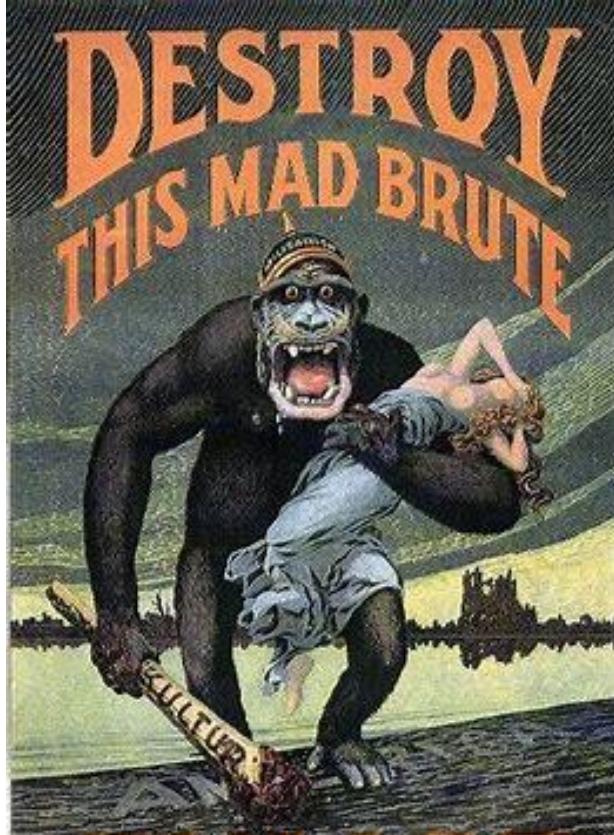
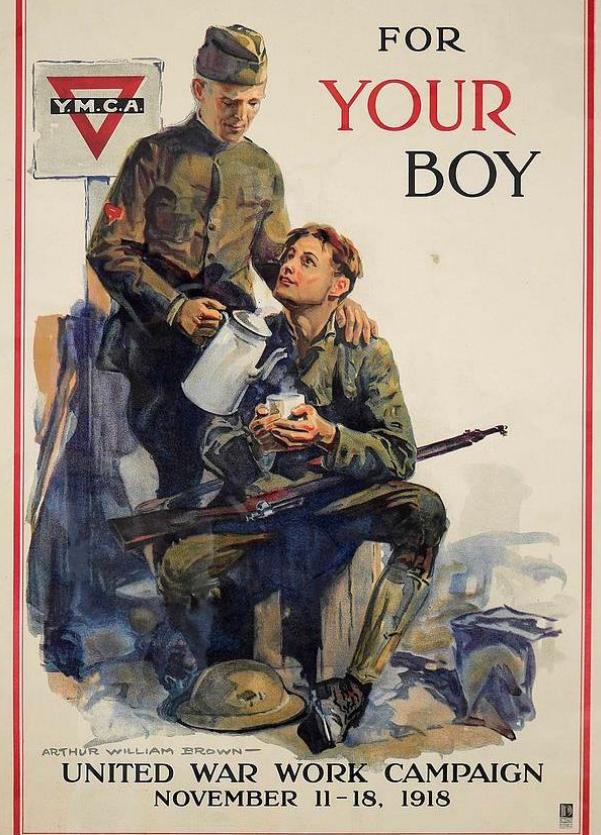
- Wartime Resistance (Scarce)
- Professional Women
 - Led by Jane Addams (Settlement Movement)
 - Emily Greene Balch
- Peace Advocates Quickly Labeled Traitors



Emily Greene Balch

Eugene Debs

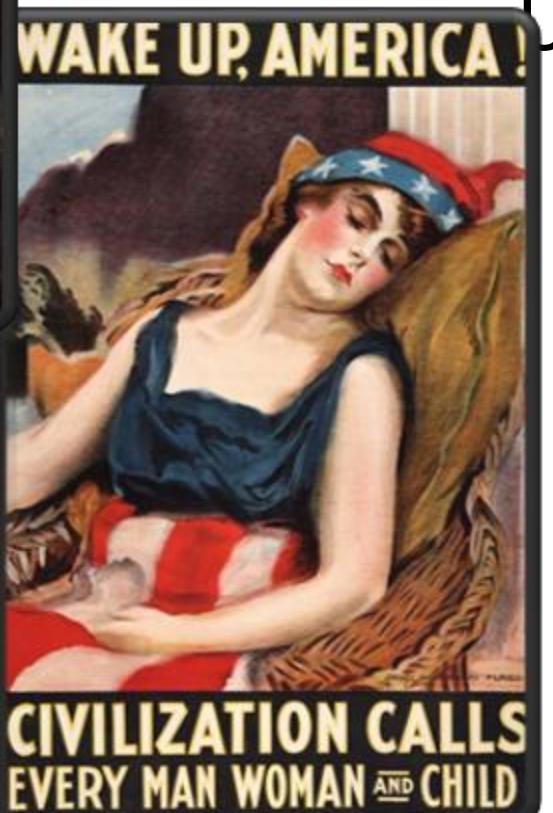
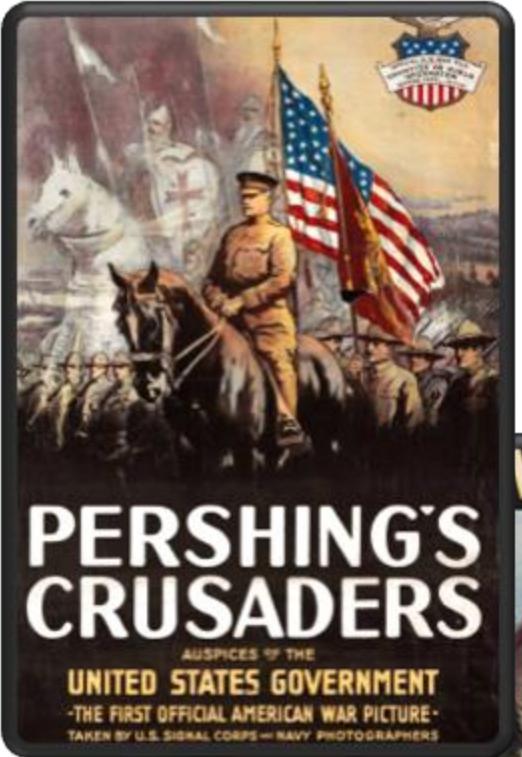
Jane Addams



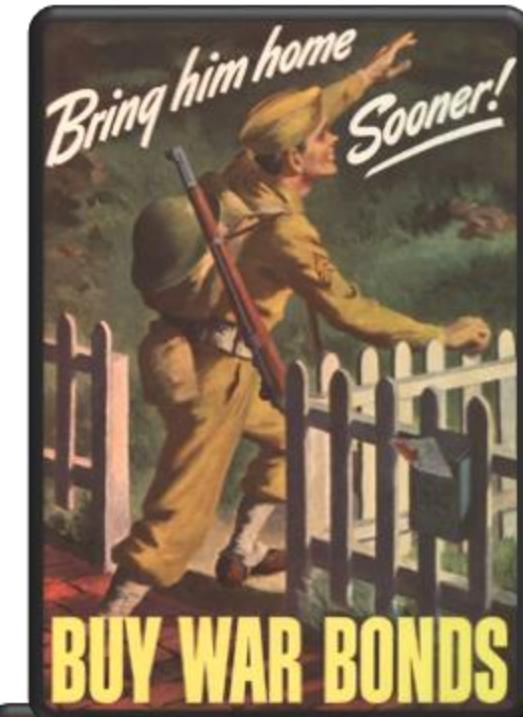
- Committee on Public Information (1917)
 - 75,000 Volunteers
 - “Pep Talks” & “Successes”
- Created:
 - Posters
 - Pamphlets
 - Cartoons
 - Evil “Huns” Depiction of Germans

Criticism Suppressed

Response to Committee on Public Information



- Americans Rallied
- Film Industry:
 - Prowar Melodramas
- Universities:
 - War Propaganda in Guise of Scholarship
 - Professor Cattell of Columbia University Fired for 'Treason'



Anti-German Campaign

- 1914: German Dropped from Schools as Language
- Rid the country of “scum of the melting pot.”
- Lynching of Robert Prager
 - Baker
 - “Patriotic Murder”



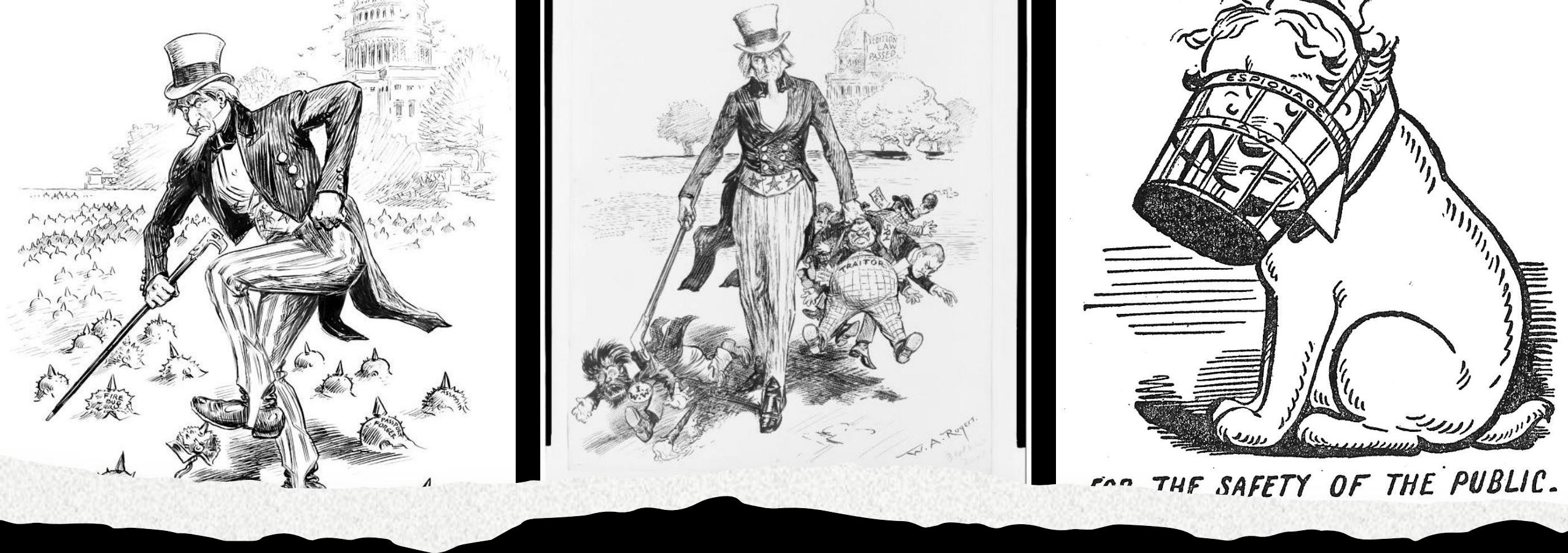
Anti-German Campaign

- Sauerkraut = Liberty Cabbage
- Symphonies - no Bach or Beethoven
- German Measles = Liberty Measles
- Hamburgers = Liberty Sandwiches
- Dachshunds = Liberty Pups



**SAUERKRAUT MAY BE
'LIBERTY CABBAGE'**

Dealers Think Camouflaged Name Is Better Suited to American Sensibility.

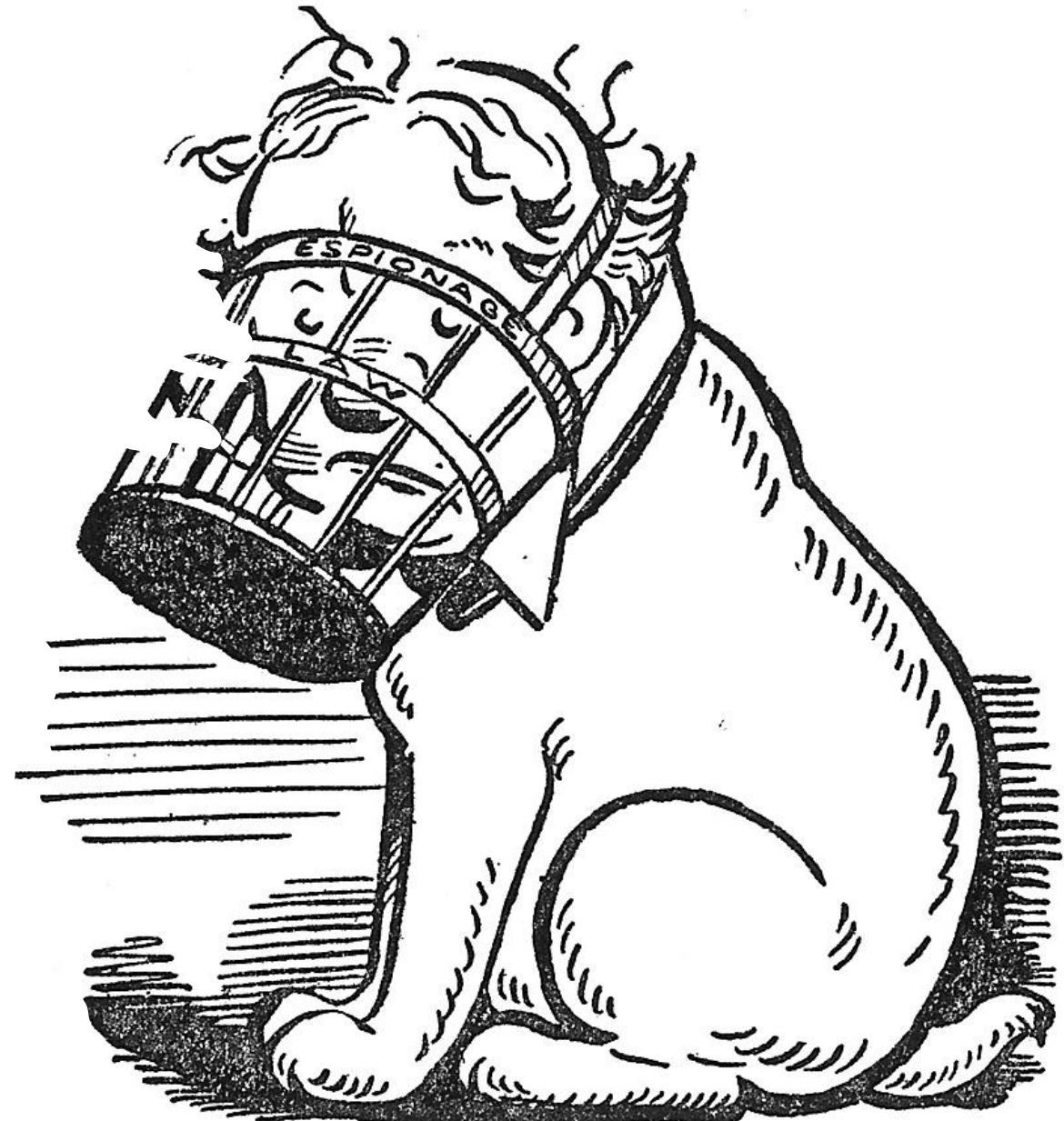


In the Name of Self-Defense

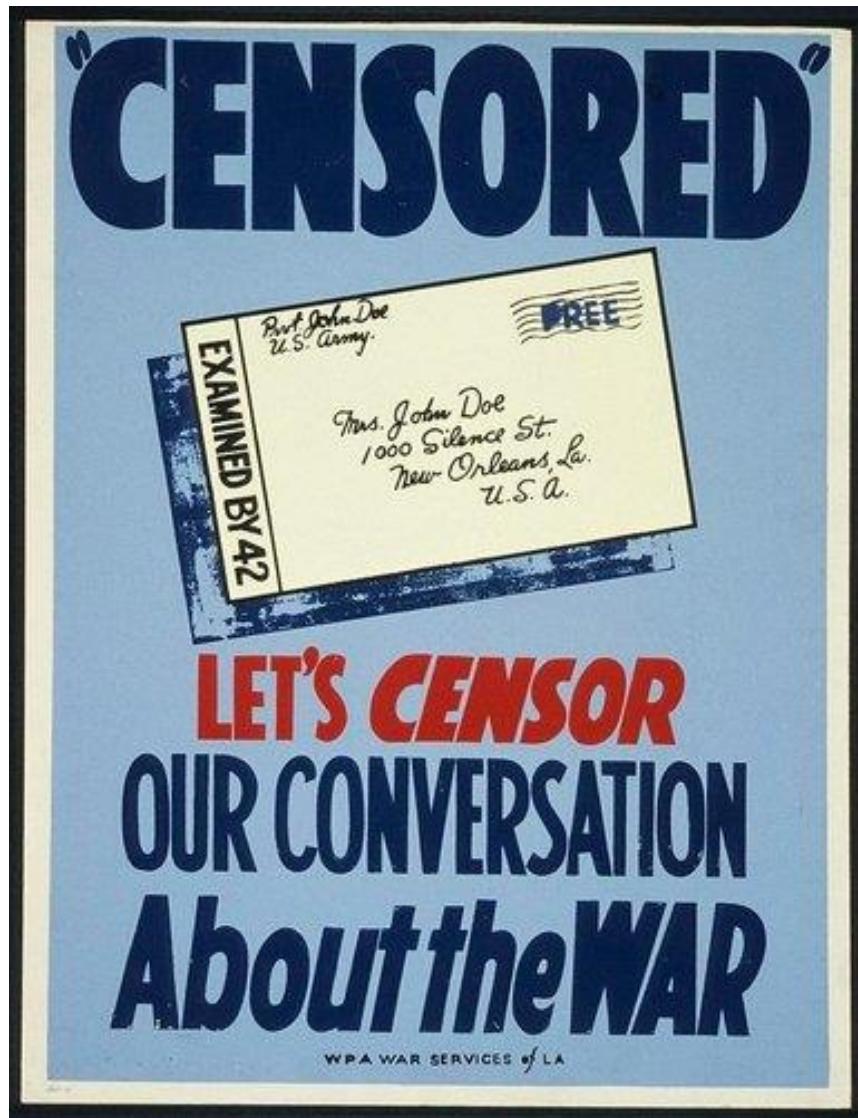
- Espionage Act (June 1917)
- Trading with Enemy Act (October 1917)
- Sedition Act (May 1918)

In the Name of Defense

- Espionage Act (1917) & Sedition Act (1918)
 - Censored the People
 - Arrested people who said or wrote profane, disloyal opinions about the government, military, constitution
- Broad Net Intentionally



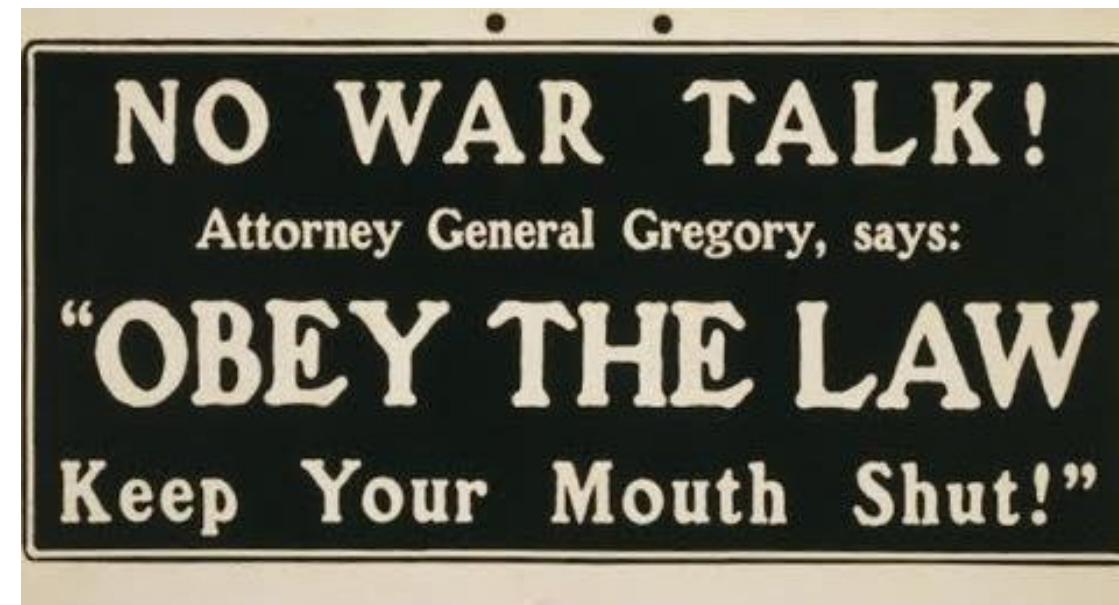
THE SAFETY OF THE PUBLIC.



In the Name of Defense

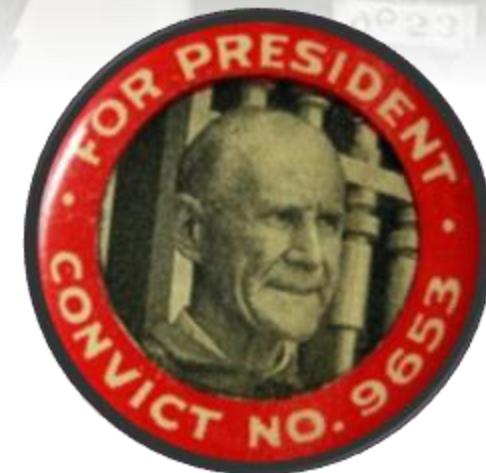
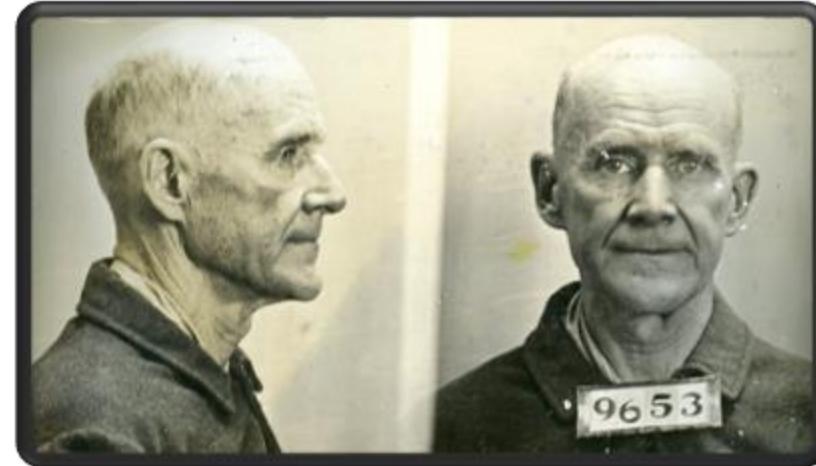
Espionage & Sedition Act

- Blocked Mail for Dissenting Publications
 - Dozens of Journals Forced to Close
- Charged: Spoken Words the Government Found 'Objectionable'



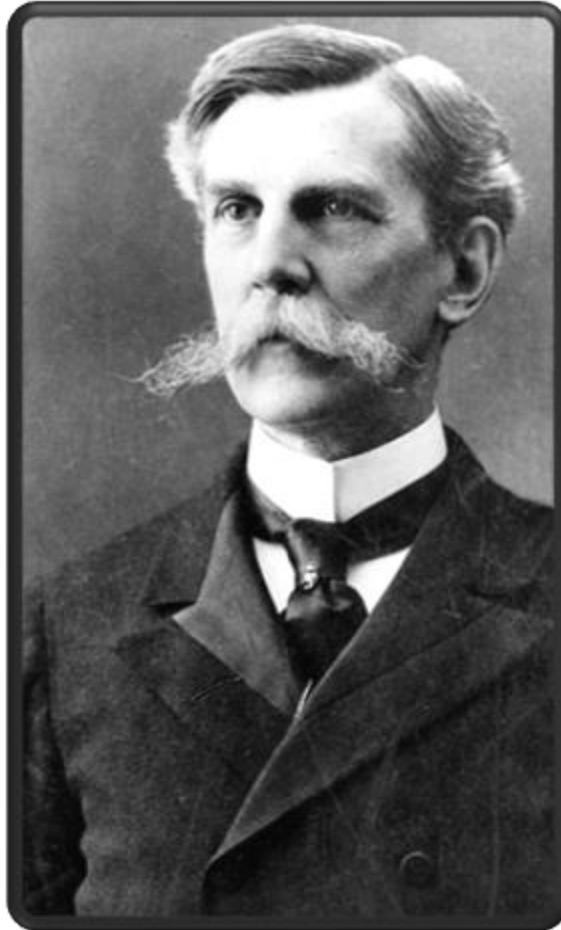
In the Name of Defense?

- Eugene Debs Arrested (Espionage Act)
 - 10 Years in Prison
- June 1918
 - US: Not Fighting a Noble War
 - US: War with Greedy European Imperialists
- Legitimate Dissent vs. Criminal Speech



Violation of Free Speech?

- Government Sued
- *Schenck v. United States* (1919)
- “the words used are in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent.”
- Unanimous Decision
- *Debs v. United States* (1919)
 - 1 Week Later



**LONG LIVE THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE UNITED STATES**

Wake Up, America! Your Liberties Are in Danger!

The 13th Amendment, Section 1, of the Constitution of the United States says: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

The Constitution of the United States is one of the greatest bulwarks of political liberty. It was born after a long, stubborn battle between king-rule and democracy. (We see little or no difference between arbitrary power under the name of a king and under a few misnamed "representatives".) In this battle the people of the United States established the principle that freedom of the individual and personal liberty are the most sacred things in life. Without them we become slaves.

For this principle the fathers fought and died. The establishment of this principle they sealed with their own blood. Do you want to see this principle abolished? Do you want to see despotism substituted in its stead? Shall we prove degenerate sons of illustrious sires?

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, quoted above, embodies this sacred idea. The Socialist Party says that this idea is violated by the Conscription Act. When you conscript a man and compel him to go abroad to fight against his will, you violate the most sacred right of personal liberty, and substitute for it what Daniel Webster called "despotism in its worst form."

A conscript is little better than a convict. He is deprived of his liberty and of his right to think and act as a free man. A conscripted citizen is forced to surrender his right as a citizen and become a subject. He is forced into involuntary servitude. He is deprived of the protection given him by the Constitution of the United States. He is deprived of all freedom of conscience in being forced to kill against his will.

Are you one who is opposed to war, and were you misled by the venal capitalist newspapers, or intimidated or deceived by gang politicians and registrars into believing that you would not be allowed to register your objection to conscription? Do you know that many citizens of Philadelphia insisted on their right to answer the famous question twelve, and went on record with their honest opinion of opposition to war, notwithstanding the deceitful efforts of our rulers and the newspaper press to prevent them from doing so? Shall it be said that the citizens of Philadelphia, the cradle of American liberty, are so lost to a sense of right and justice that they will let such monstrous wrongs against humanity go unchallenged?

In a democratic country each man must have the right to say whether he is willing to join the army. Only in countries where uncontrolled power rules can a despot force his subjects to fight. Such a man or men have no place in a democratic republic. This is tyrannical power in its worst form. It gives control over the life and death of the individual to a few men. There is no man good enough to be given such power.

Conscription laws belong to a bygone age. Even the people of Germany, long suffering under the yoke of militarism, are beginning to demand the abolition of conscription. Do you think it has a place in the United States? Do you want to see unlimited power handed over to Wall Street's chosen few in America? If you do not, join the Socialist Party in its campaign for the repeal of the Conscription Act. Write to your congressman and tell him you want the law repealed. Do not submit to intimidation. You have a right to demand the repeal of any law. Exercise your rights of free speech, peaceful assemblage and petitioning the government for a redress of grievances. Come to the headquarters of the Socialist Party, 1326 Arch street, and sign a petition to congress for the repeal of the Conscription Act. Help us wipe out this stain upon the Constitution!

Help us re-establish democracy in America.
Remember, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."
Down with autocracy!
Long live the Constitution of the United States! Long live the Republic!

Books on Socialism for Sale at
SOCIALIST PARTY BOOK STORE AND HEADQUARTERS
1326 ARCH ST. Phone, Filbert 3121
(OVER)



Wilson – Won the War but Lost Peace?

- Allies:
 - Plan would Ruin Acquisition of Enemy Territory
 - New Colonial Empires
 - Reparations
- Home Front:
 - International Cooperation might Undermine American Independence

Wilson's Fourteen Points

- Blueprint for New Democratic World Order (January 1918)
- First Five:
- End to Secret Treaties
- Freedom of Seas
- Removing Economic Barriers to Trade
- Reduce Weapons of War
- Recognize Rights of Colonized Peoples



Program for the Peace of the World

By PRESIDENT WILSON, January 8, 1918

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will reduce to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. Free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the law which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The people of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

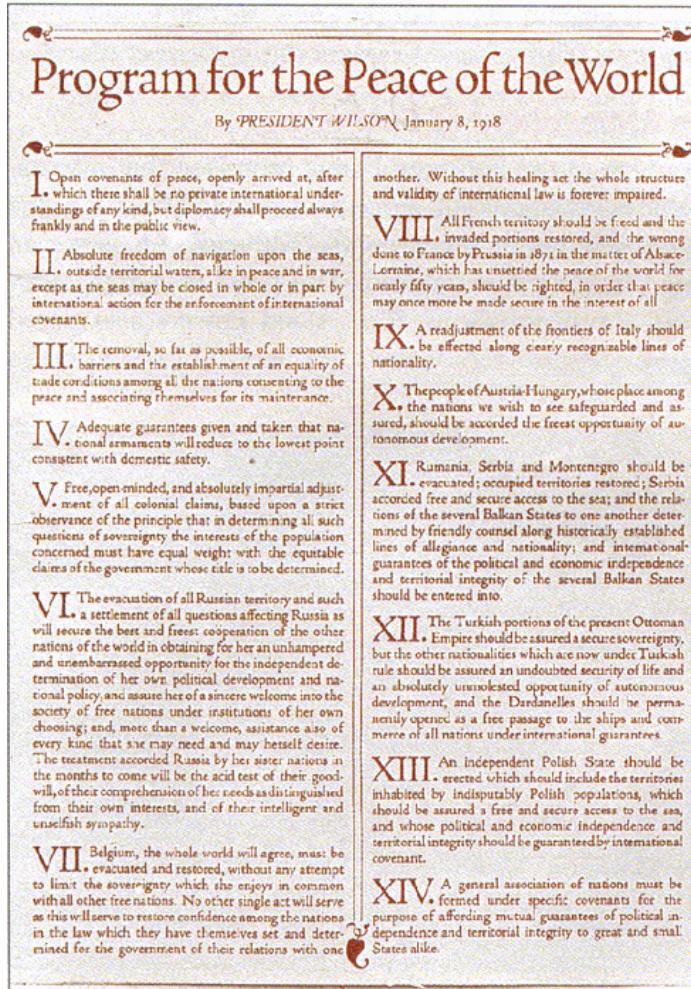
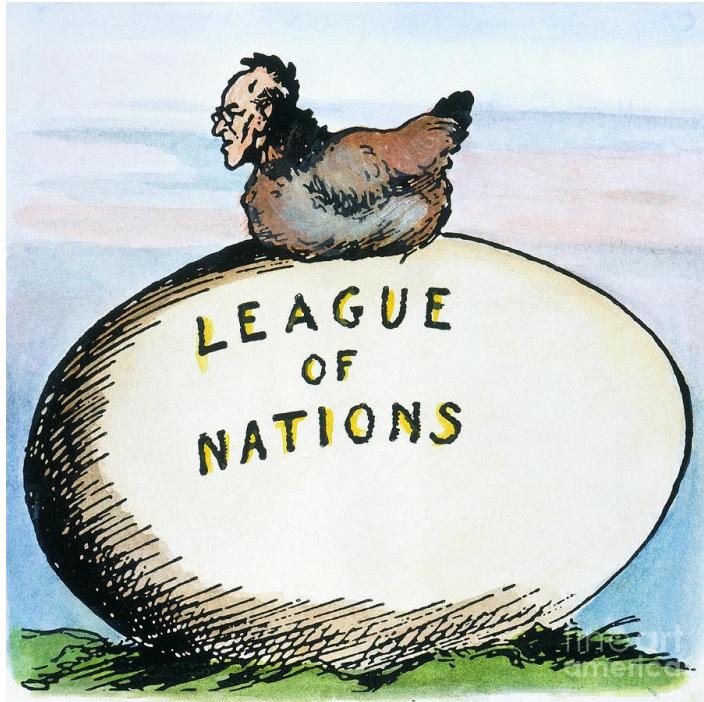
XI. Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

Wilson's Fourteen Points



- Next Eight Points:
 - Right to Self-Determination of European people Dominated by Germany & its Allies
- League of Nations
 - “Parliament of Man”
 - “Peace-Loving Nations”

Paris Peace Conference – Idealism vs. Reality



- Wilson:
 - Greeted as Hero (by the People)
 - European Leaders: Less so
 - Allied Leaders Saw Wilson:
 - Naïve & Impractical Moralist
 - Enemies to Allies
 - Little Understand of European Realities

Paris Peace Conference – Outcome

Outcome:

- Germany Takes the Blame
- Reparations from Germany
 - \$33 Billion
- 10% of Territory Divided by Allies
 - Including Rhineland
- Damages Germany Economy
- Germany: Humiliated



Paris Peace Conference

Results of Wilson's Principle of Self-Determination:

- Redrew Map of Continents & Countries
- Independent Republics Based on Ethnicity
- Ottoman Empire Redrawn
- Regions “Civilized” = Independent
- League of Nations Continued Imperialism, Except for Germany



Paris Peace Conference – Outcome

- Japan?
- Ignored
- Racial Equality Statement
 - Wilson's Prejudice
- Placate Them With:
 - Shantung Peninsula (North China)
 - Formally Germany Territory





Paris Peace Conference: League of Nations

- Creation of League of Nations (1919)
 - Collective Security
 - Balance of Power
 - International Rules of Conduct
 - Resolve Conflicts
- Goal: Avoid another World War

Treaty of Versailles (Paris Peace Conference)

A Compromise

Nobody Walks Away
100% Happy



League of Nations for the United States?



Ratified by the U.S.? NO.

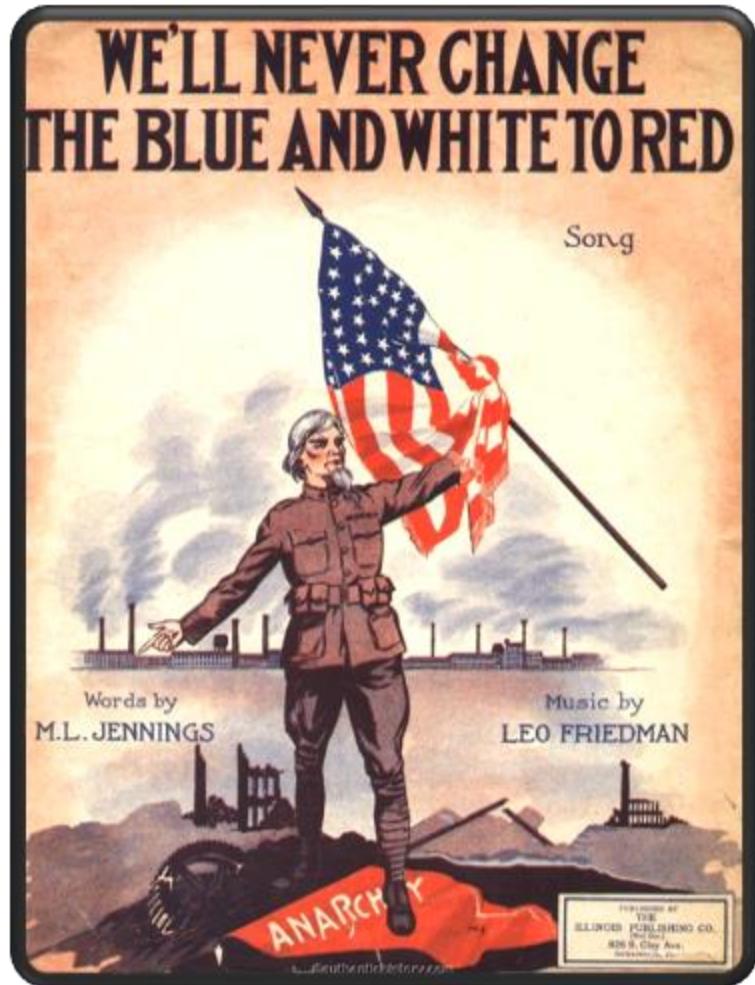
- “Irreconcilables”
 - Isolationists
- Republicans:
 - Strip U.S.’ Independent Decisions
 - Collective Action would Threaten U.S’ Freedom
 - (Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, MA)
 - Some Said: Germany, Ireland, Italy – Not Given Fair Treatment
 - Feared Europe’s Rebuilding Endangered

League of Nations for the United States?

- Ratified in the U.S.? NO.
- Wilson Appeals to the People
 - Suffers Stroke (Partly Paralyzed)
- Senate Vote (March 1920)
 - 6 Votes Shy of 2/3 Majority
- U.S. Never Joins League of Nations
 - Weakens Power of the League
 - Wilson Receives Nobel Peace Prize



Progressive Collapse at Home Post War



- War Over:
 - Fast Demobilization
 - War-Related Jobs – Gone
 - Anti-German Fears became Red Scare
 - Anti-Radical Campaign
 - Unionists, Socialists, Dissenters, African Americans, Mexicans Sought Escape from the South

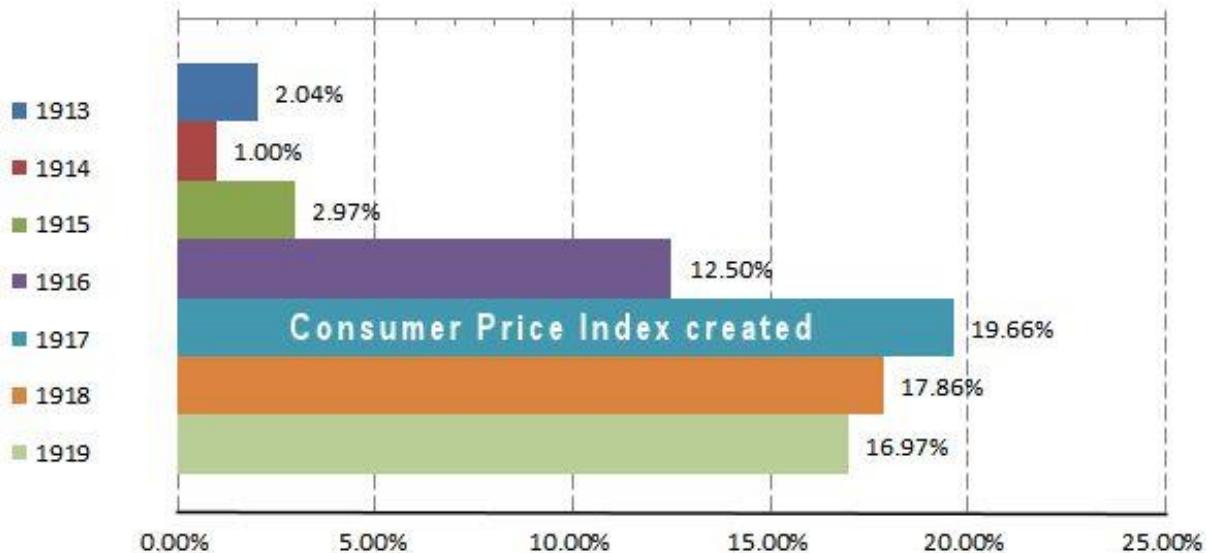
Return to Normalcy?

- 3 Million Men Return Home
- Unemployment Soared
- Consumer Spending Spree
 - Inflation Rose
- 1919:
 - Prices Rose 75% from Prewar Levels
- Workers Jobs Returned to Prewar Standards
 - 8 Hour Workday & Labor Unions Attacked

Annual Inflation Rate

1913-1919

© 2014 www.InflationData.com



Workers Respond



- 1919
 - 3,600 Strikes; 4 Million Workers
- February 1919, Seattle
 - AFL & IWW Created General Strike
- Shut Down Seattle
 - “Bolshevik effort to start a revolution”
 - Leads to Destruction of IWW



Steel Strike 1919

- 7 Days, 12 Hours,
~\$20/week
 - AFL Strikes
 - Sept – 350,000 Strikers in 15 States Walked out



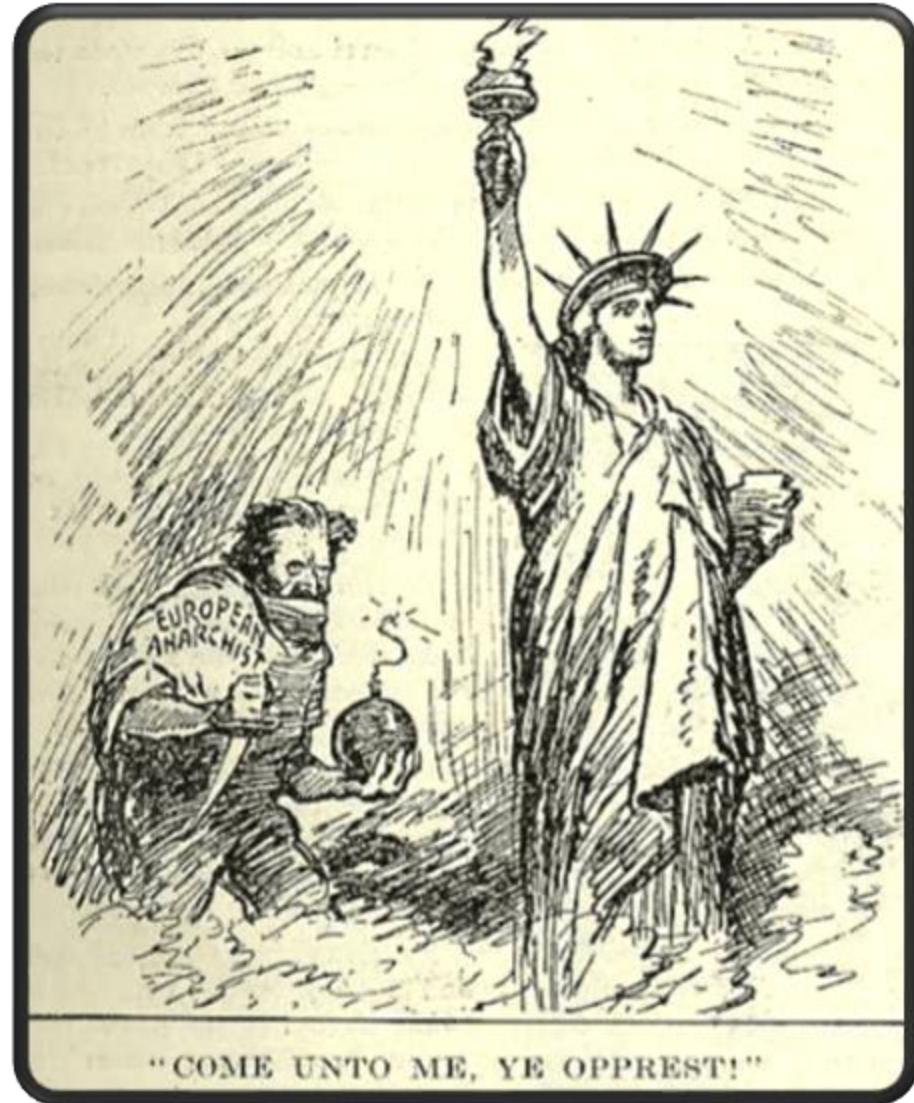
- Steel Industry
 - 30,000 Strike Breakers
 - “Radicals subverting democracy & capitalism”
- Strike Collapse (Jan 1920)
 - 18 Workers Killed
 - Labor Movement on the Decline

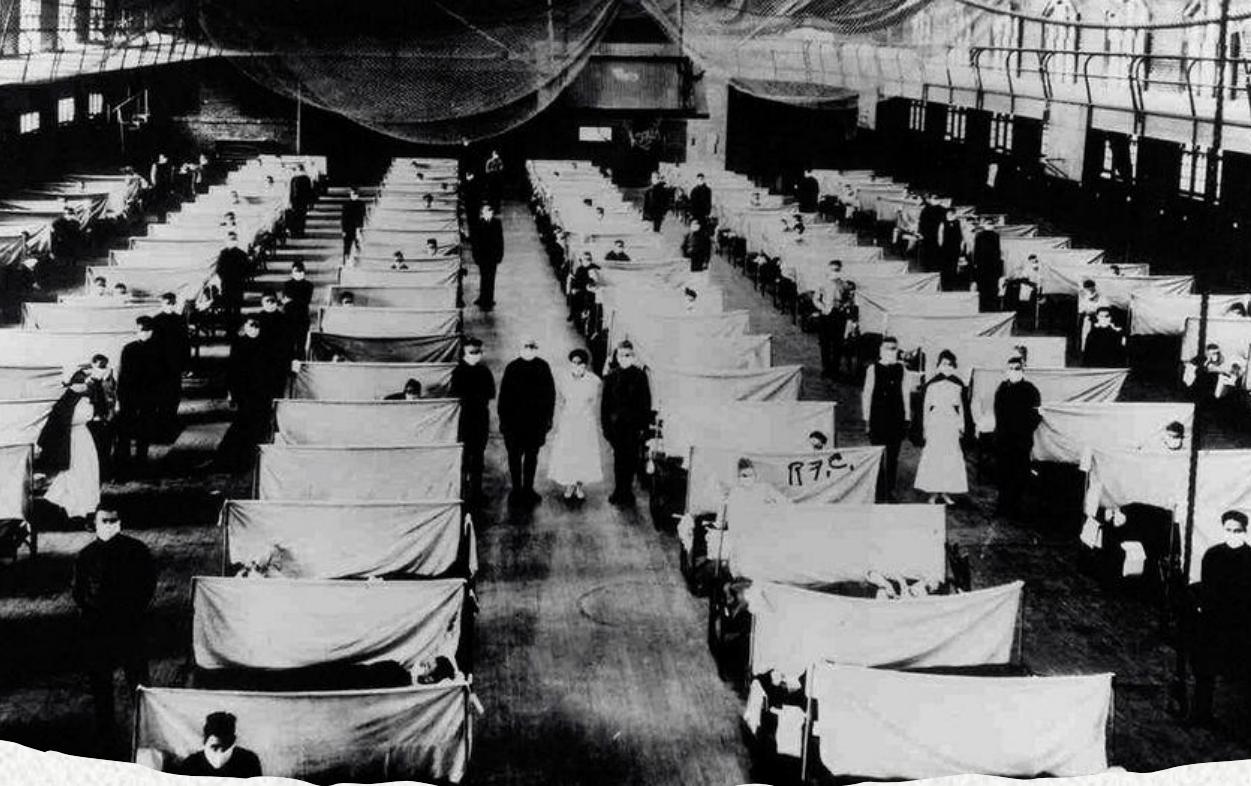
Labor Strife



Red Scare 1919

- Exceeded Assaults on Civil Liberties During the War
- Homegrown Cause:
 - Postwar Recession
 - Labor Unrest
 - Terrorist Acts
 - Reintegrating Returning Veterans
- Foreign Events

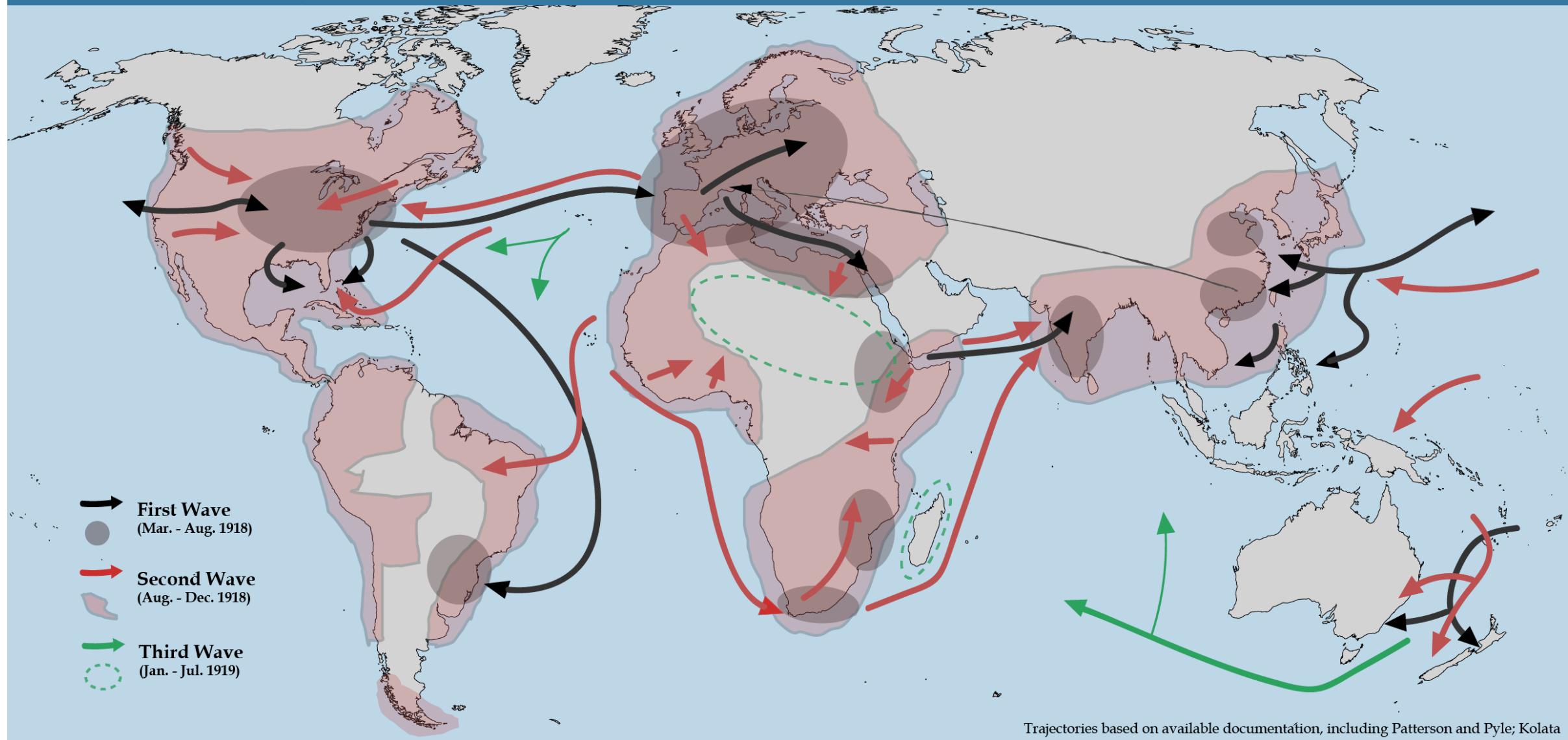




United States' Fear & Anxiety – Influenza

- 1918 – Influenza (“Spanish Flu”)
- Deadliest Disease since Black Death Wiped 1/3 of Europe Out
- Global Death: ~50 Million
- U.S. Deaths, 1918-1919: 675,000
- Infected, 1918-1919: 500,000,000

Global Trajectories of the Spanish Flu





United States' Fear & Anxiety – Communism (Red Scare)

- Bolsheviks Created Communism
 - Revolution Against Capitalism
- U.S. Reactions:
 - Dozens Received Bomb Threats
 - Sept 1920 – Dynamite Filled Wagon Explodes on Wall Street
 - 38 Dead, 143 Maimed
 - Nobody Caught

United States' Fear & Anxiety – Communism (Red Scare)

- Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer Targets for Ideology, Not Actions
- January 1920 – Palmer Raids
 - 6,000 Alleged Subversives Arrested
 - No Evidence
 - +500 Deported



A. Mitchell Palmer (1872-1936)



United States' Fear & Anxiety – Communism (Red Scare)

- Palmer Raids
- Targeted Emma Goldman & Co.
 - Anarchist, Labor Strike Supporter, Women's Rights, Birth Control = Radical
- J. Edgar Hoover (Justice Department's Racial Division)
 - Deports Emma Goldman
- “With Prohibition coming in and Emma Goldman goin’ out, ‘twill be a dull country.”

Emma Goldman
(1869-1940)



J. Edgar Hoover
(1895-1972)

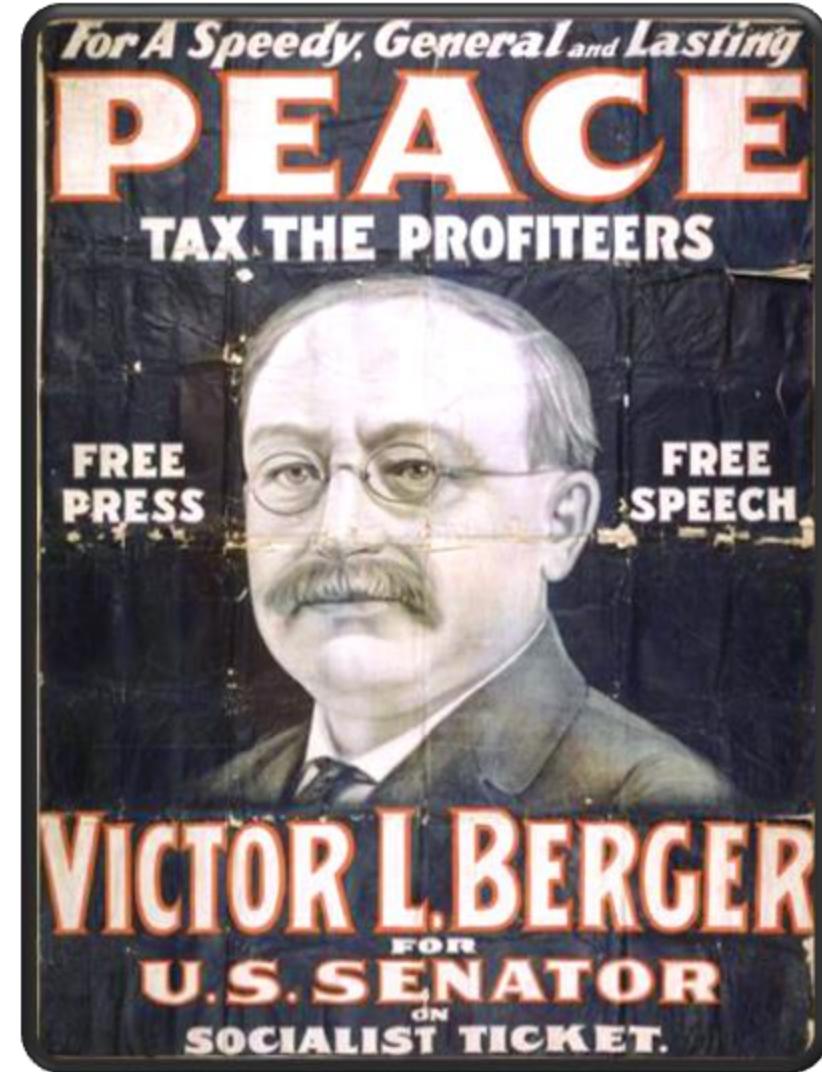
Escalation of the Red Scare



- Alien Radicals & ‘Troublesome’ Citizens
- Law Enforcement + Vigilantes Against the ‘Reds’
- Nov 1919 (Centralia, Washington)
 - Wobblies Mobbed
 - Accidentally Fire (Kill 3)
 - Convicted of Murder
 - Wesley Everett

Civil Liberties Attacked

- Libraries – Books Removed
- Schools – Fired Teachers
- Police – Shut Newspapers
- State Legislatures – Refused to Seat Elected Representatives
- 1919:
 - Congress Removes its 1 Socialist Representative, Victor Berger
 - Pretext of National Safety



17

COME TO HEAR
“The Truth About the
**CENTRALIA
MURDER TRIAL”**

The Lumber Trust vs. the I. W. W.
Lumberjacks now on trial for their lives as a result of the
Armistice Day fight at Centralia

Monday, February 9
AT 8 P.M.
People's House, 7 E. 15th Street

SPEAKERS:

PROF. HARRY F. WARD, Chairman American Civil Liberties Union
MRS. CARLETON H. PARKER, of Seattle
EDWARD I. HANNAH, President Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity
J. T. "Red" DORAN, of Seattle, Lumberjack

Admission
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
(Successor to National Civil Liberties Bureau)
138 West 13th Street
ADMISSION 10c

Creation of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) 1920



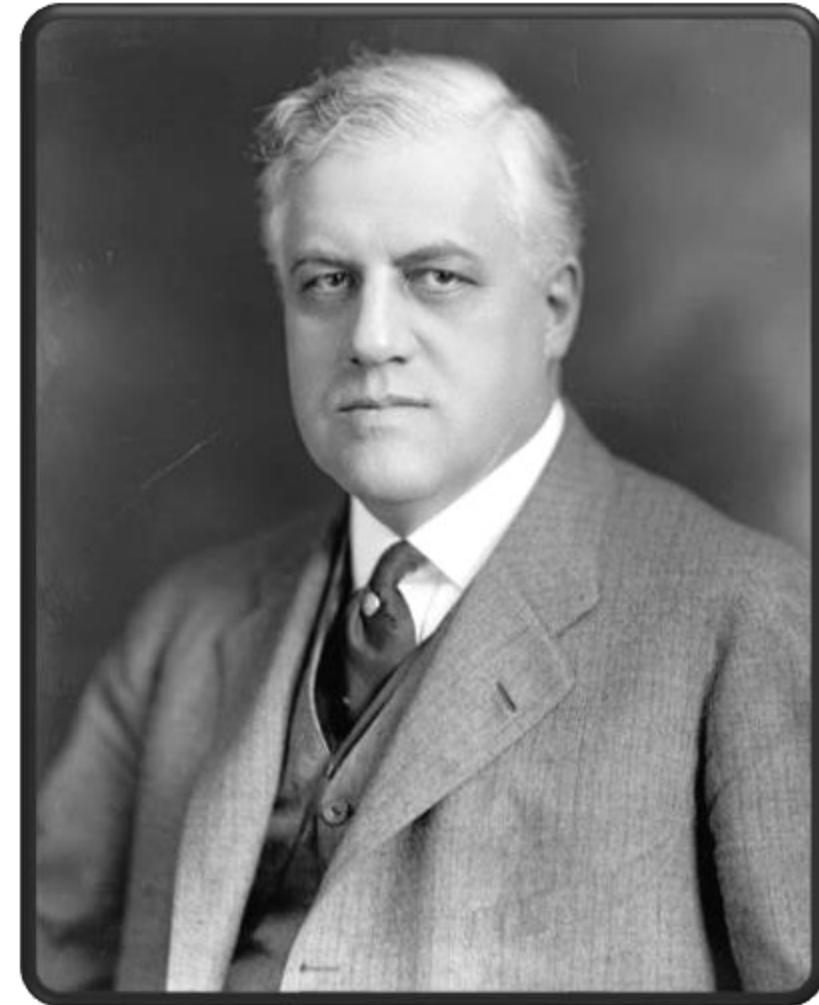
Norman Thomas (1884-1968)
Early ACLU Leader



- Defended Constitutional Rights
- “So long as we have enough people in this country willing to fight for their rights, we'll be called a democracy.”
- ACLU Represented:
 - Politically Radical Immigrants
 - Trade Unionists
 - Socialists & Communists
 - Antiwar Activists

Red Scare Collapses

- Palmer – Radicals Planning Nationwide Violence
 - May 1, 1920
 - Celebrate Bolshevik Revolution
- Nation Prepares
 - Bomb Squads, State Militias
- May 1, 1920?



Red Scare Collapses

- Palmer – Radicals Planning Nationwide Violence
 - May 1, 1920
 - Celebrate Bolshevik Revolution
- Nation Prepares
 - Bomb Squads, State Militias
- May 1, 1920?
 - Nothing
 - Public Mood Turns Sour Towards Palmer & Red Scare





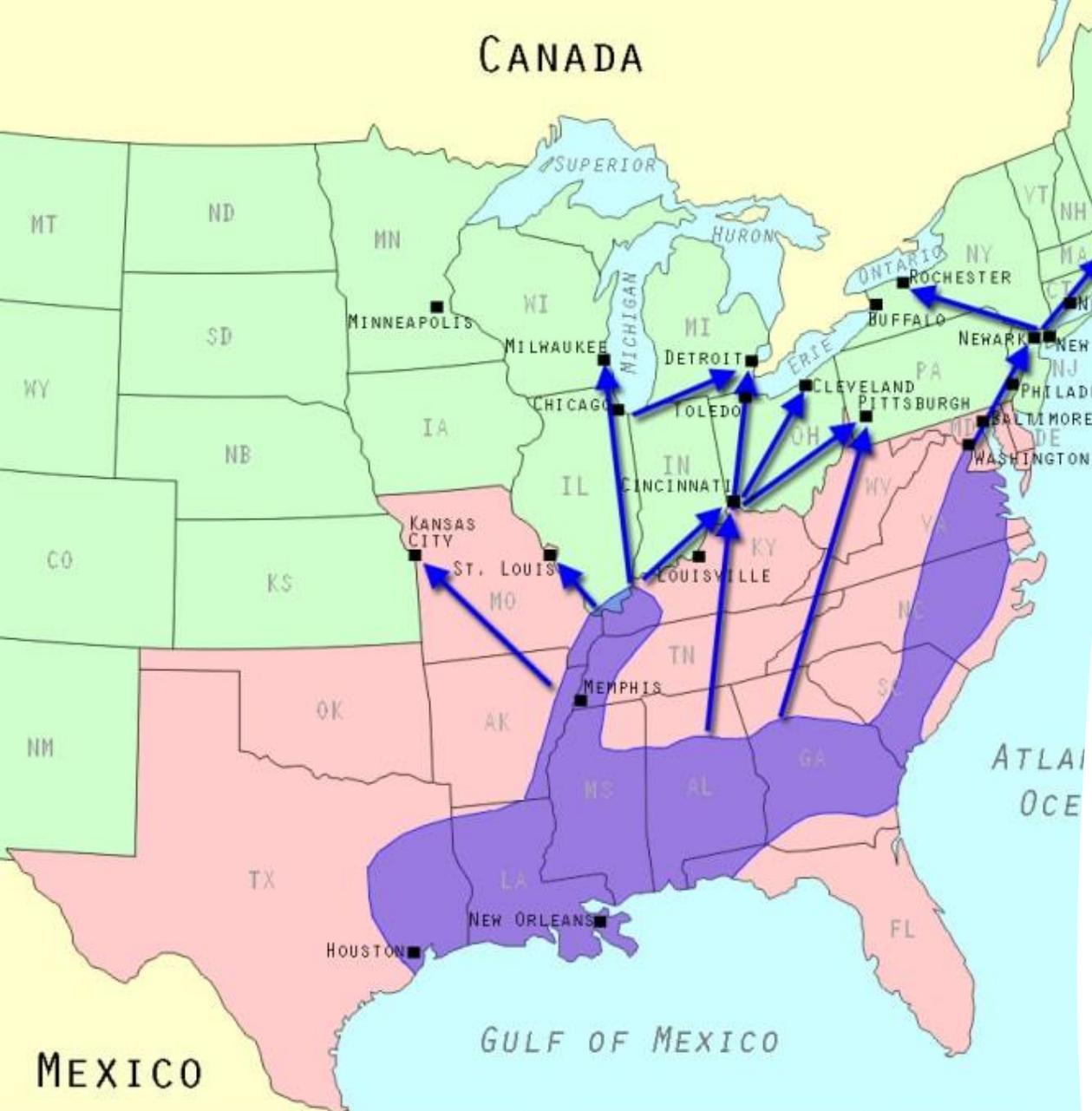
Migration & Change: African Americans

- Government
 - Warned Against African Americans
- Black Veterans Come Home to Segregation
 - Determined to bring Democracy Home
- Justice Department
 - Racial Unrest (Blamed Bolsheviks)

The Great Migration

- 1900: 9/10 Black Americans in the South
 - Poverty, Disenfranchisement, Segregation, Violence
 - Black Men: Tenant Farmers or Sharecroppers
 - Women: Domestics



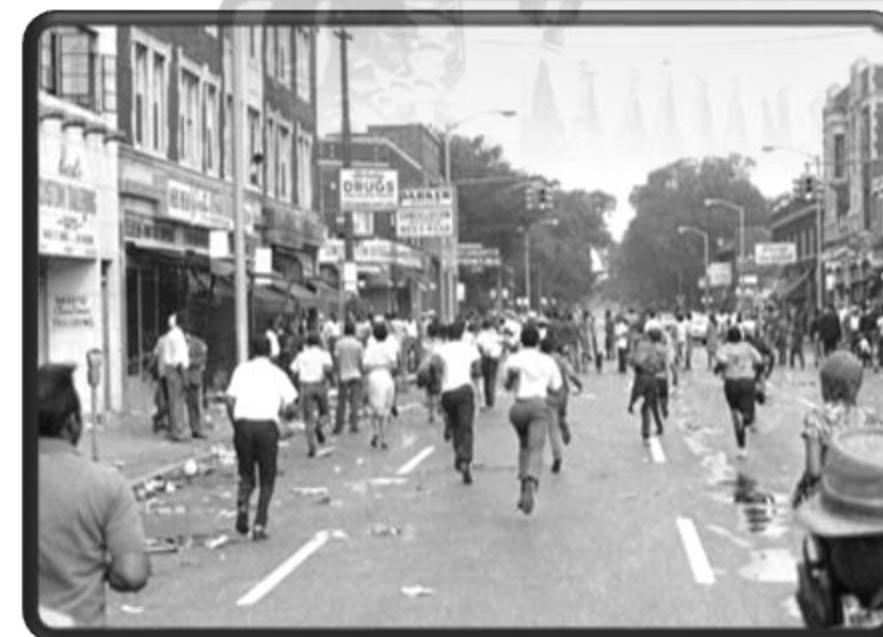


World War I Impact on African Americans

- World War I: 5 Million into Military Service
 - Fewer Immigrants, Turned to Black Labor
 - Steel Mills, Shipyards, Munitions, Railroads, Automobile Factories, Mines
- 1915-1920
- $\frac{1}{2}$ Million (10% of Southern Black Population) to Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, etc.

Opportunities North?

- Opportunities
 - Promotion
 - Education
 - Voting
- Not the Promised Land
 - Lowest on the Job Ladder
 - Scar Jobs for Women
 - Black Middle Class Shunned Rural Southerners
- White People Retaliated
 - Race Riots in Two Dozen Cities
- July 1917 Mob in East St. Louis, Illinois
 - 39 Murdered
- 1918
 - 96 Lynchings
(Some Veterans Still in Uniform)



The Great Migration

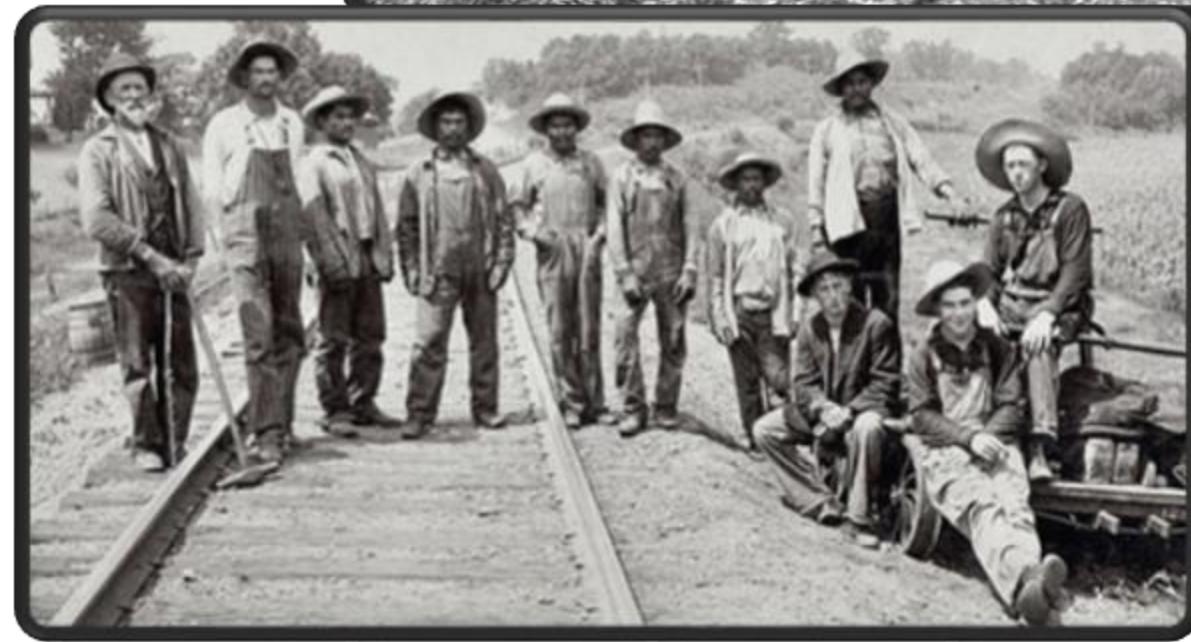


- Still Encouraged North
- By 1940: +1 Million Black People Left the South
 - Emergence of Harlem, NY
 - Emergence of Southside, Chicago
 - “Cities within Cities”
- Would become Bedrock of Protect & Political Organization



Migration for Mexicans

- 1910-1920: 222,000 → 478,000
- Dictator in Mexico
 - Migrants Flee North
- Chinese Exclusion Act & World War I Disrupts Labor
 - Rail, Mines, Construction, Agriculture
 - Source of Cheap Labor





Migration for Mexicans

Opportunity & Disappointment

- Better Wages
- Working Conditions – Dismal
 - “No Mexicans Allowed” Signs Increased
 - Good for Labor; Bad for Citizenship
- 1920: Mexicans = 75% California’s Farm Laborers



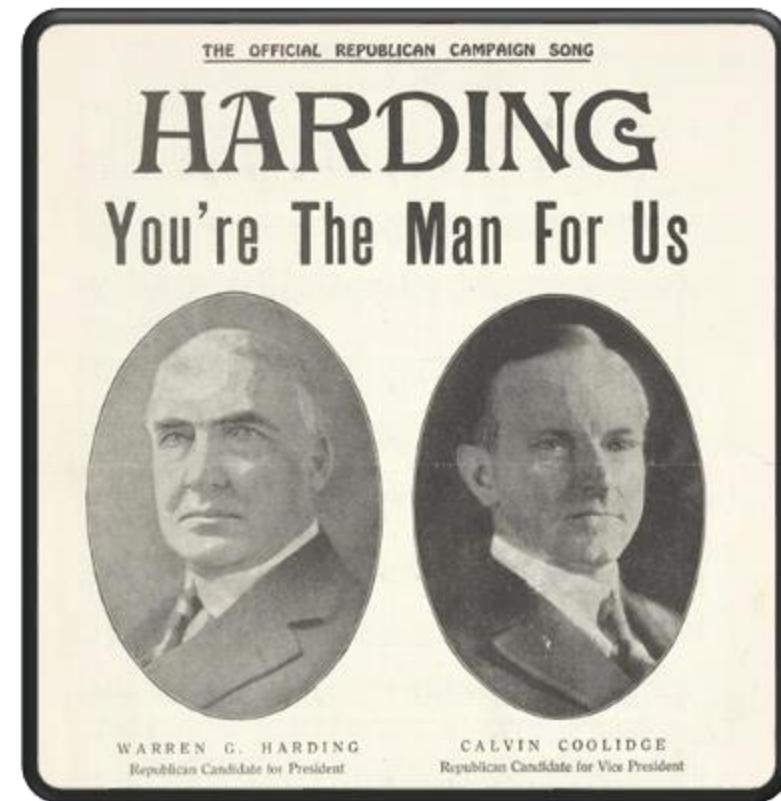
Reactions to Mexican Migration

- Mexican Americans Reactions:
 - “We are all Mexicans...the gueros [Anglos]... treat all of us alike.”
 - Called for Quotas
 - Drove Wages Down
 - Incited White Prejudice
- Large Scale Immigration = Cultural Presence, Greater Solitary & Political Action
- Texas, 1929
 - League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)



Presidential Election of 1920

- Woodrow Wilson – Paralyzed, Bedridden
- Democratic Candidates
 - James Cox (Ohio);
 - VP Franklin Delano Roosevelt (New York)
 - Campaign on Wilson's International Ideals
- Republican Candidates
 - Warren Gamaliel Harding (Ohio)



Presidential Election of 1920



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Warren G. Harding (Republican)	404	16,143,407	60.5
James M. Cox (Democrat)	127	9,130,328	34.2
Eugene V. Debs (Socialist)	0	919,799	3.4

- Harding – A Return to Normalcy
- Wartime Crusade is Over
 - Voters Want Return to Normalcy
- Election Results
 - Voters Want Harding
 - Results:
 - Harding: 60.5% of Popular Vote; 404 Electoral College (Out of 531)
- Signified?
 - People Want an Easygoing Era Post War

Central Themes

- Woodrow Wilson's Foreign Policy
- Role of the United States in the 'Great War'
- Impact of War on the Home Front
- Woodrow Wilson – Wins War but Loses Peace?
- America's Troublesome Transition from War to Peace
- Victory – but at What Cost?

