

# Unit 8 Notes

## 1920s Culture

### Chapter 23

- 1920s = first decade in which more Americans work in factories than farms
  - African Americans migrating to cities from South
  - Women: city life = eased housework (appliances), store-bought clothes and food
  - Enjoying Appliances

#### Enjoying Appliances

- New consumer goods fed prosperity of 1920s
  - Provided massive economic stimulus

#### Advertising and Credit

- Strengthened the economy
  - Advertising created a “dream world” that aroused desires for new things
  - Credit > retailers began offering credit plans for big-ticket items (cars, furniture)
- Automobile changed everything
  - Traffic jams, parking problems, highway facilities
  - Family vacations
  - Eroded family cohesion and parental authority
  - Women gain sense of independence

#### Henry Ford and the Model T

- Assembly line techniques
  - Caused price of cars to decrease
    - Stimulated rubber, gasoline, motor oil, advertising, and highway construction
  - Lack of job satisfaction with routine labor

#### Mass Culture

- Mass-culture = unifying effect
  - Same amusements were available to all parts of country

#### Charles Lindbergh

- Solo flight across Atlantic
- Embodied American traditional values in new industrial society
- His success incorporated elements of technology and individualism

#### Flappers

- Challenged traditional American attitudes about women by supporting greater freedom in manner of dress and moral behavior

#### “lost generation”

- Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald,
- Term represents a sense of moral loss or aimlessness of the public since WWI
  - Disillusioned with course of American life

#### Harlem Renaissance

- Flourished in 1920s
- Consisted of period of dramatic African American intellectual and artistic creativity

## Marcus Garvey

- Universal Negro Improvement Association
  - Glorified all things African American
    - Encouraged solidarity
- “Back to Africa” movement
  - Return back to “motherland Africa”
    - NAACP’s middle class, church leaders = upset > saw future in America, not Africa

## Scopes Trial

- Cultural conflict between fundamentalism and modernism
  - Fundamentalism: insisting that Bible = literal truth, including Genesis account of Creation
    - Targeted Darwinism as threat to faith > wanted to bar it from public school
    - John T. Scopes (TN teacher) accepted ACLU offer to challenge law
  - Clarence Darrow = defense
  - W.J. Bryan = prosecution
    - Scopes = convicted (later overturned)

## **THE 1920’S** **Harding and Normalcy** **Chapter 23**

### ELECTION OF 1920

- Harding & Coolidge vs. Cox & FDR
- Wilson refers to election as “a solemn referendum on the League of Nations”
- Harding slogan “Return to Normalcy”
- Harding wins popular vote by 16 million & Electoral vote 404 to 127.

### THE 18TH AMENDMENT

- Prohibition - passed in 1919
- Goes into effect in 1920
- Hoover referred to it as the “noble experiment.”
- Volstead Act passed to provide enforcement - 3000 agents hired

### THE 19TH (ANTHONY) AMENDMENT

- Grants women right to vote
- Suffrage movement started in U.S. by Francis Wright -1828
- 1848 “Declaration of Sentiments” at Seneca Falls Convention
- Leader of movement - Susan B. Anthony
- Women’s movement took backseat to other issues (e.g. abolition)
- Women’s contributions during WWI help win success
- Anthony Amendment goes into effect in 1920 - Women help elect Harding

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- U.S. signed a separate peace treaty with Germany in 1921
- The U.S. never joined the League of Nations
  - Significant in years to come
- U.S. participation in WWI viewed as a mistake

#### WASHINGTON NAVAL CONFERENCE 1921

- U.S., Britain, Japan, France, & Italy
- Agree to 10-year freeze on capital ships
- Freeze current forces
  - At ratio of 5:5:3:1.5:1.5
- Intended to prevent naval arms race

#### FORDNEY-McCUMBER TARIFF 1922

- Harding looking to protect U.S. farmers
- Set high duties on farm goods & manufactured items
- Damaged international trade

#### IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS

- Emergency Quota Act - 1921
- Limits immigration from each European country to 3% of nationality in U.S.
  - Based on 1910 census
- Immigration Act -1924
  - Reduced quotas to 2% & shifted base date to 1890

#### NATIONAL ORIGINS IMMIGRATION ACT 1929

- Limits immigration to 150K/year
- Asians completely excluded
- Sharply reduced immigration
  - only 530K total between 1931-1940

#### THE KELLOGG- BRIAND PACT 1928

- During Coolidge admin.
- Sec. of State Frank Kellogg & French Foreign Min. Aristide Briand
- 62-nation pact to “outlaw offensive war”
- Defensive war permissible
- No provision for enforcement

#### DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF THE 1920'S

- Suspected radicals tied to bombings
  - including mail bombs
- Attorney Gen. Palmer ordered sweep
  - Numerous major violations of Civ. Rights
- Known as the Palmer Raids of 1920
- Suspected “Reds” deported
- The “Red Scare”

#### REVIVAL OF THE KKK

- Post WWI econ., political, & social problems brought renewed KKK activity
- Knights of the KKK
  - Only native-born White Protestants
- Against immigrants, blacks, Catholics, Jews, urban liberals, & trade unionists
- Movement now more urban & spread beyond South

## PRESIDENT HARDING - THE MAN

- Eager to please and hard working
- Popular with public until after death
- Loyal to a fault - protected friends as scandals emerged
- Very troubled by scandals- died mysteriously on trip to escape them

## HARDING DIES IN 1923

- Calvin Coolidge becomes President
- Details of Harding Admin scandals emerge after his death
- Teapot Dome Oil Lease Scandal 1923
- Sec. of Interior Albert Fall illegally leased U.S. oil reserves in WY & CA
  - Given \$400K
  - Fall & others implicated - Fall jailed

## COOLIDGE RE-ELECTED IN 1924

- “Keep Cool With Coolidge!”
- “The Business of America is business.”
- “Silent Cal”
- Coolidge continued the laissez-faire approach - U.S. (seemingly) prospered

## 1927 MISSISSIPPI RIVER FLOOD

- Soil erosion caused by poor farming practices and bad engineering projects
- 27,000 acres flooded
- Coolidge would not help
  - Govt had no duty to protect citizens against hazards of elements

## THE ELECTION OF 1928

- Coolidge “does not choose to run”
- Republicans nominate Herbert Hoover
- Democrats nominate Al Smith (Gov. of NY) - an urban progressive
- 1st Catholic candidate in U.S. history

## KEY ISSUES

- Prohibition: Hoover “Dry” vs. Smith “Wet”
- Smith’s Catholicism
- Continuing prosperity
  - Republican slogan: “A chicken in every pot, 2 cars in every garage.”

## HOOVER WINS BY 6 MILLION POPULAR VOTES

- 444 To 87 in electoral vote
- Hoover nationally known
  - People remembered him as head of WWI food administration - “Hooverizing”
- Hoover promised an end to poverty

## The Coming of the Crash: How did it all go wrong? Chapter 24

All was calm on the surface

- Prosperity of 1920s seemed endless
  - Strong economy
  - Supportive government
  - Happy consumers
- Good standard of living
  - More families had electricity and appliances
  - More variety of products
  - Chain stores offered low prices and installment plans (credit)
  - Advertising more sophisticated
    - Market research, catchy images & slogans

Welfare Capitalism

- Companies started providing better pay and benefits
  - Paid vacations, health plans, etc.
- Set up company controlled “unions” for workers to voice concerns
- Strengthened company loyalty and morale
- Meant to avoid strikes and appease workers

But there was danger ahead...

- Several key industries were faltering
  - Railroads
    - strict controls, competition w/ cars, trucks, and busses
  - Textiles
    - Union wages drove mills South for cheaper labor
    - Foreign competition drove prices down
  - Coal
    - Alternatives (oil, natural gas, hydroelectric) available
  - Agriculture
    - Overproduction and overextension (in debt)
    - World market price and demand both down
    - Congressional assistance vetoed by Coolidge

Uneven distribution of wealth

- Most of wealth owned by 2% of the people
- Few could pay cash for new products being made – led to use of **CREDIT**
- Credit available in stock market
  - Known as buying on margin
  - Could invest in stock by paying only a % of cost of the stock – borrowing the rest from broker
  - Stockholder pays difference from profit on the stock
    - Only works if the market is good!

## Here Comes Hoover!

- Coolidge chose not to run for re-election
- Herbert Hoover (R) elected in 1928
- Pro-business - promised to maintain prosperity
  - Told Americans the U.S. was near “the final triumph over poverty”
  - America great because of “rugged individualism” and free enterprise
    - Govt. should stay out of people’s way
- Hoover foreign policy included “Good Neighbor Policy” in Latin America

## Economic Trouble

- Unfortunately for Hoover, economy tumbled
- Trouble in key industries (mentioned earlier)
- Economy slowly slipping for a few years
- Key indicators began showing weakness
  - New construction down – meant less biz for related industries
  - Consumer purchases dropped off
    - Left huge surpluses (incl. farming)
      - Surplus = low prices and less profit

## Wall Street Takes Notice

- A stock sell-off soon began
  - Stocks = certificates of partial ownership in a biz
- Investors looking to take what profits they could before stock prices went too low
- Many continued to buy until Oct. 21, 1929
  - A sharp dip in market – stock prices plummet
  - Those who bought on margin sold to cover debts
- Oct. 29 – 16 million shares of stock sold in one day

## The Crash

- The Market sell-off of Oct. 29 known as “Black Tuesday”
- Frantic effort to sell stocks before prices hit rock bottom
- Self-fulfilling – fear of low prices = sell-off = low prices
- Bottom fell out of the market & the prosperity of the 20s

# The Crash 1929

## Hoover and the Depression

### Chapter 24

#### Hoover's background

- Self-made man - a millionaire businessman
- WW I food administrator
- Chairman of American Relief Org.
- Member of Harding's cabinet
- Held no elective office until Presidency

#### Hoover on prosperity 1928

- "We live in a day when poverty will be banished from this nation."
  - Campaign speech, 1928
- "Capitalism has matured. We will never have another depression."
  - Hoover, 1928
- "A chicken in every pot & two cars in every garage"
  - Republican slogan, 1928 Campaign

#### The Hoover Bull Market-1929

- During 1st 6 mos. of Hoover admin.
- Height of stock prices
- Aug. 1929, 300 billion shares bought on margin
- "Get rich quick" gamble
- Money normally earned off dividends
- Margin buyers looking to buy low then sell high
- Only works if stock price goes up!

#### The 1929 Stock Market Crash

##### The Causes

- Over-production in industry
  - Output > consumer purchases
- Uneven distribution of wealth
  - Trickle-Down theory failed
  - Mechanization in industry cut jobs
  - Farm income ↓ = supply > demand
- Unsound banking practices
  - Default → Closures → Lost Savings
- Over-speculation in real estate / margin buying in stock market
  - Prices driven to unrealistic levels
- Foreign Economic troubles
  - Poor Euro economies → reduced purchases of U.S. goods
  - U.S. tariffs reduce sale of Euro goods → default on loans
- International Debt Structure
  - Euros owed \$ to U.S. banks
  - Reparations supposed to help
  - U.S. refused to forgive debts
  - U.S. banks loaned \$ to Euros
    - Created more debt

- Tariffs made earning \$ harder
- Euros defaulted on loans

#### Black Tuesday - The Crash

- Fear of falling stock prices feeds a major sell-off
- Oct. 24, 1929 - Black Thursday
  - 13 million shares traded
    - bottom falls out of the market
- Oct. 29, 1929 - Black Tuesday
  - 16 million shares - market dies
  - \$30 billion in stock gone by 11/14

#### Consequences of the Crash

- Within 1 year - 1,300 banks failed
  - 5,000 more within 3 years
- 9 million savings accounts vanish
- 85K businesses & factories closed
- Unemployment (25%!)
  - 400K farms lost
- Collapse of foreign markets

### Hoover responds to the Depression: 1929-1933

- Like many in his day, Hoover believed in the **business cycle**
  - The classical theory of the business cycle
    - The market is a **self-regulating** system governed by natural laws of supply and demand
    - Beyond anyone's control (Hoover not fully sold on this)
    - 4 phases to the cycle – each contains seeds of the next
  - The characteristics of each phase
    - **Prosperity**: strong production, industrial expansion, high prices and profits, easy credit, full employment, good wages, optimism
    - **Recession**: reduced demand for goods, decreased production, falling prices & profits, calling in of bank loans, decreased employment, falling wages, caution & worry
    - **Depression**: low production, low prices, little to no profit, widespread biz failures, few bank loans, high unemployment, low wages, pessimism
    - **Recovery**: increasing production, rising prices & profits, extension of bank loans, increasing employment, rising wages, hopefulness
  - Interfering with phases causes more trouble
- Hoover favored neither laissez-faire nor govt. intervention in economy
  - Preached doctrine of **volunteerism**
    - Cooperative, socially responsible economic order to be achieved through voluntary action of capitalist leaders, not govt. coercion
      - Cooperation between private & public sector
        - Govt. supports but does not control private organizations
    - Overestimated altruism of biz
    - Opposition to govt. econ. intervention will cause him trouble later

- Hoover believed in **“rugged individualism”**
  - People should be free to succeed alone – limited govt. intervention
  - Finding solutions outside of govt. builds character & self-govt.
- When the Crash occurred, Hoover blamed it on **lack of confidence**
  - Characteristic of the Recession phase of biz cycle
- 1929 – Hoover met w/ biz leaders
  - Called on them to **voluntarily maintain wages and employment**
  - Also called on local & state govts. to **create public works jobs**
  - Oct. 1930 – set up Emergency Committee for Employment
    - To coordinated efforts of voluntary relief agencies
- **1930 – Hawley-Smoot Tariff** (highest in U.S. history) passed to protect domestic industry – 33 countries retaliated w/ tariffs
  - H-S Tariff was ruinous to struggling foreign economies
- Hoover’s strategies **failed miserably**
  - Mounting # of unemployed swamped private charities & local welfare agencies
  - Big corporations broke pledges to prez and cut wages and jobs
    - Why increase production with surpluses clogging warehouses?
  - By 1932, Hoover finally took steps to respond federally to the crisis
    - **Revenue Act** (1932)
      - Hoover believed a balanced federal budget would restore confidence
      - Sought to cut spending and raise taxes
        - Actually added to problems by impeding consumption & investment
    - **Reconstruction Finance Corporation [RFC]** (1932)
      - Provided govt. loans to banks, railroads, insurance co’s, & agricultural associations in effort to revive economy
      - Pumped \$1.2 billion into economy by July 1932
      - Critics called this and other efforts “too little, too late”
- Hoping to bolster public confidence, Hoover promised that **“prosperity was just around the corner”**
  - He insisted that the economy was “fundamentally sound”
    - News media hounded him over such pronouncements
    - Public mood was growing darker
      - 1931 – Midwestern farmers organized **Farmers’ Holiday Assoc.** to force prices up by withholding grain & livestock
        - Efforts were too localized to make a difference
      - June 1932 – **The Bonus March**
        - 20,000 unemployed army vets marched on Washington
          - Petitioned Congress to pay bonuses promised for WWI service - \$ was to be distributed in 1945
          - “Bonus Army” built **“Hoovervilles”** around the city
          - **Congress voted down early payment request**
            - **Hoover ordered army to disperse Bonus Army**
              - Gen. Douglas MacArthur & junior officers Eisenhower & Patton ordered armed troops to break up the camp
              - A **public relations debacle** for Hoover
              - Symbolized Hoover’s insensitivity to depression’s human dimension
  - Everywhere could be found examples of public anger toward Hoover
    - Statements such as “nobody is actually starving” drew public ire
      - Newspapers AKA **“Hoover blankets”**, broken-down cars pulled by mules AKA **“Hoover wagons”**, empty pockets pulled out AKA **“Hoover flags”**

## The New Deal: 1933 to 1938

### Chapter 24

#### President Hoover's Plan

- Initially called for voluntary action
  - and raised protective tariff duties
- Moratorium on the War debt - 1931
- Turned toward balancing budget
- By 1932 - expanded public works and credit to businesses
- Reconstruction Finance Corp
- Federal Home Loan Banks

#### The Election of 1932

- Republicans re-nominate Hoover
- Democrat platform brief and vague
  - “Wet” and “govt. responsibility for human welfare”
- Democrats nominate Franklin Roosevelt (FDR)
- He promised “Bold Action”
- A “New Deal”

#### Hoover vs. FDR

- Hoover continued to claim that prosperity was just around the bend
- FDR had no carefully formulated plan
  - But New Deal sounded like a plan of action
- Pragmatic, confident, & charismatic

#### FDR wins in a landslide

- Wins 42 out of 48 states
- Electoral vote 472 to 59
- Gets over 22 million popular votes (57% of vote)
- Public registers resentment toward Hoover at polls

#### Lame Duck Period

- Between Nov. 1932 & March 1933 Depression gets worse
- Hoover frustrated - FDR waits
- 20th Amendment (1933) changes inaugural date from March to January
  - But goes into effect after '33 inauguration

#### March 4, 1933: FDR's 1st Inaugural Address

- “The only thing we have to fear is fear itself...”
- Re-assures the American people & they respond
  - 1/2 million approving letters sent
- The New Deal begins

#### The Cabinet & the “Brain Trust”

- Cabinet includes some Republicans
- Frances Perkins Sec. Of Labor 1st women
- The “Brain Trust” experts paid \$1 per year

## The First 100 days

- The Bank Holiday to restore confidence.
- Congress: Give the President whatever he wants.
- The 3 R's of the New Deal
- Relief, Recovery, & Reform

## Keynesian Pump Priming

- John Maynard Keynes
  - British Economist
- Deficit spending in time of depression is good policy
- Expanded employment fosters purchasing & recovery
- FDR adopts idea but undermines the positive effect through taxation

## Initial impact of the New Deal

- Highly popular
  - Due to real achievements and FDR's political skill
- The economy saw some improvement
- New Deal drew fire from Left & Right
- Left complained that the New Deal did little to help the poor
- Right complained that it was anti-capitalist

## Relief Measures

- **FERA** (1933) Federal Emergency Relief Administration
- **CCC (1933)** Civilian Conservation Corp.
- **WPA** (1935) Works Progress Adm.

## Recovery Measures

- Farm Credit Adm. (FCA) 1933
- Agricultural Adjustment Adm. (AAA) 1933
- Reconstruction Finance Corp (RFC) 1932
- Home Owner's Loan Corp. (HOLC) 1933
- National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) 1933
  - Created NRA & PWA
- National Recovery Adm. (NRA)
- Public Works Adm. (PWA)

## Reform Measures:

- Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. (FDIC) 1933
- The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) 1933
- Security Exchange Commission (SEC) 1934
- Social Security Act 1935

## New Deal Programs

<b>Name of Program</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Date Enacted</b>	<b>Classify</b>	<b>Purpose of Program</b>
Bank Holiday		March 6, 1933	Relief	Closed all banks; government then investigated banks and only those that were sound were allowed to reopen.
Civilian Conservation Corps	<b>CCC</b>	March 31, 1933	Relief	Provided jobs and relocation for young men (18-25) in rural settings under direction of U.S. Army. CCC workers build public parks, cut fire trails, planted trees, built small dams, helped with flood control, reclaimed ruined land, drained swamps, and helped with conservation.
Agricultural Adjustment Act	<b>AAA</b>	May 12, 1933	Recovery	Limited farm production to help raise prices; paid for by taxing food processors. Declared unconstitutional by Supreme Court in 1936 {U.S. v. Butler}. 1938 – the AAA II created surplus controls, farm insurance, and soil conservation districts.
Federal Emergency Relief Administration	<b>FERA</b>	May 12, 1933	Relief	Gave direct relief in the form of money as aid to states and localities for distribution to the needy. Ultimately FERA distributed about \$3 billion to 8 million families (one-sixth of population)
Tennessee Valley Authority	<b>TVA</b>	May 18, 1933	Reform	Created the Tennessee Valley Authority to build dams on the Tennessee River system for power generation, flood and soil-erosion control, and recreation. Helped bring electricity to rural “pockets of poverty” that could not afford lines
Abandonment of Gold Standard		June 5, 1933	Recovery	Executive order by FDR making it easier for money to get into circulation. Reconstruction Finance Corporation set new value of gold
Home Owners Loan Corporation	<b>HOLC</b>	June 13, 1933	Relief	Home Owners’ Refinancing Act appropriated \$200 million to the HOLC to refinance mortgages for nonfarm homeowners (lowered mortgages to stop foreclosures)
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	<b>FDIC</b>	June 16, 1933	Reform	Banking Act of 1933: Created FDIC which insured all bank deposits up to \$5,000; extended powers of Federal Reserve Board to prevent stock speculation

National Industrial Recovery Act	<b>NIRA</b>	June 16, 1933	Recovery	Created the National Recovery Administration (NRA) , which administered process for devising industry-wide codes of fair business practices. NRA's symbol was a blue eagle, slogan – “We Do Our Part.” NIRA recognized the right of labor to bargain collectively for working hours, wages, and conditions. NRA was declared unconstitutional by Supreme Court in 1935 {Schechter Poultry Corp. v. U.S.} – but survived constitutional challenge.
Public Works Administration	<b>PWA</b>	June 16, 1933	Relief	National Industrial Recovery Act appropriated \$3.3 billion to PWA for major public-works projects to provide jobs and stimulate the economy. Loans given to private industry to build public works such as dams, ports, bridges, sewage plants, government buildings, power plants, airports, hospitals, and other useful projects.
Civilian Works Administration	<b>CWA</b>	November 1933	Relief	Short-term relief program – money given to states to create public-works employment for the jobless during the winter of 1933-34 (built roads, schools, playing fields and athletic grounds)
Securities and Exchange Act	<b>SEC</b>	1934	Reform	Created Securities and Exchange Commission to regulate stock and bond trading activities
Works Progress Administration	<b>WPA</b>	1935	Recovery	Established to put men to work on jobs of public usefulness (schools built or repaired; parks, playgrounds, pools built; roads, streets, and sewage plants built; airfields laid out, hospitals built in underserved areas. FEDERAL ARTS PROJECT to provide jobs to continue dramas, concerts, writing (guidebooks, local history books, oral histories), murals, and sculptures.
National Labor Relations Act	<b>Wagner Act</b>	1935	Reform	Created National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) which guaranteed unions' collective-bargaining rights for wages, hours, and working conditions, to strike, and to arbitration of grievances. It also outlawed anti-union practices.
Social Security Act	<b>Social Security</b>	1935	Reform	Launched a federal-state program of workers' pensions, unemployment insurance, and other welfare benefits for unemployed, aged, dependent, and handicapped. Financed by FICA taxes paid by employee, matched by employer and Federal government
Fair Labor Standards Act	<b>FLSA</b>	1938	Reform	Banned child labor and set a national minimum wage and maximum number of workweek hours

**New Deal under Fire**  
**FDR, the Supreme Court, and the end of the New Deal**  
**Chapter 24**

Critics & Demagogues

- American Liberty League
  - Industrialists opposed to dictatorial policies
- Dr. Francis E. Townsend
  - Townsend Plan - \$200/mo to retired 60+
- Father Charles Coughlin - “radio priest”
  - Natl. Union for Social Justice
  - Urban lower-middle class anti-New Dealers
- Huey Long - Share Our Wealth Plan
  - Tax rich & redistribute \$ (class warfare)
  - Long assassinated in 1935

The Supreme Court & the New Deal

- Conservative Court led by Charles Evans Hughes
- The Schechter Case 1935 strikes down the NRA
- Fed Govt. can't regulate intra state commerce
- NRA gave regulatory powers constitutionally reserved for legislative branch to executive branch

More on the Court...

- U.S. v Butler 1936 strikes down the AAA
- Processing tax used to fund subsidies found unconstitutional
- NRA & AAA are the heart of the New Deal

1936 Election

- FDR v Alfred Landon
- Both sides avoided real issues
- Republicans attacked New Deal as socialistic
  - But have no alternative plan
- FDR win 46 out of 48 states (523 to 8) - a mandate!

FDR and Court Reform

- 6 of 9 Justices are over 70 years old.
- Court is divided with Justice Owen Roberts as the swing vote

FDR's “court packing” plan

- For every justice 70 or older, President could appoint another justice
- Would expand Court to 15 members
- Change the balance of power
- Clearly politically motivated

Congress rejects the plan

- FDR's 1st Congressional defeat
- Would undermine “separation of powers” if permitted
- And independence of the Judicial branch

### Court Revolution of 1937

- Justice Roberts softens stand on ND & turns majority in favor
- Between 1937-39 retirements or deaths of 4 justices
  - enabled FDR to appoint New Dealers
- Ultimately appoints 8 Justices
- A reversal in philosophy of court

### The Second New Deal

- National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) 1935 replaces NRA
  - Created NLRB to protect labor
  - Guaranteed collective bargaining
- Congress re-adopts the AAA 1938
  - Did not rely on processing tax
- FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT 1938
  - set minimum wage (.25) & over time
  - Prohibited child labor

### The Roosevelt Recession

- After improving in 1936-37, economy crashed again
- FDR tried balancing budget by cutting some programs
  - Resulted in higher unemployment
  - Soc. Sec. tax also reduced pay
- FDR blames Fed for cutting \$ sup.
- Renews public works programs

### Congressional Elections of 1938

- Republicans won many seats in Congress
  - Also won 13 governorships
- Imminent war in Europe drew attention
- The New Deal ended quietly

### New Deal Record

- Restored hope
- Preserved capitalism
- Failed to end the Depression
- Expanded role of Federal government
  - Era of big government begins

## A Troublesome Path Leads Back to War

### Descent to War

#### Chapter 25

##### State of the world prior to the war

- Most of Asia & Africa was colonized
- Totalitarian governments controlled numerous nations, including Germany, Italy, Japan, and the USSR
- Most Western countries were suffering from Depression

##### Fascist Italy

- Post WWI – poor Italian economy = unrest
- Benito Mussolini & Fascist party control Italy by 1922
  - Fascism = dictatorship, aggressive nationalism
  - Black Shirts – Mussolini's enforcers
  - Fascists promised order & stability
- The March on Rome - 4/1922
  - Mussolini becomes leader (*Il Duce*)
  - Envisions new Roman Empire

##### Germany

- Post WWI Germany in chaos
- Many Germans blamed govt. (Weimar Rep.)
  - Political chaos, massive inflation, poverty
- German economy failing but US tried to help
  - Great Depression stopped US efforts
- Nazi Party increasingly popular
- Bad economy & political conditions favored Nazis
  - Nazis provided targets for blame (Jews, Communists)

##### Hitler

- Born in Austria – son of a civil servant
- Identified with German Nationalism
- Very close to mother who dies of cancer
- Hoped to be an artist but failed
- Fought for Germany in WWI
- Spied on but later joined the Nazis after war
- Became main recruiter for Nazis
- 1923 – staged ill-conceived Beer Hall Putsch to try to seize power
- Imprisoned for 5 years – turns to political efforts to bring Nazis to power

##### Economy Bad → Nazis Good

- Jan. 1933 – Hindenburg made Hitler Chancellor
  - An effort to try to control him
- Reichstag fire – Feb. 1933 –
- Enabling Act – March 1933 – Hitler granted emergency powers to deal with “crisis”
- Hindenburg dies – Hitler total leader in 1934

##### Japan & Hirohito

- Military leaders ruled in name of Emp. Hirohito
  - Envisioned vast Pacific empire to provide raw materials, etc.
- Japan invades Manchuria (1931)

- Seeking Oil, coal, iron
- League of Nations protested but did nothing
- 1937 – Japan invaded China
  - China torn by civil war, poorly matched w/ Japan
  - Japanese atrocities (Rape of Nanking)

#### U.S./Japanese friction over China

- 1937 – Japanese planes bomb U.S. gunboat in China - The *“Panay Incident”*
- Japan apologizes but U.S. demands that Japan leave China
- U.S. begins building Pacific fleet
  - Later will use economic warfare against JPN

#### The Path to War - Europe

- Spanish Civil War 1936-1939
  - Nationalist rebels led by Francisco Franco
    - Get help from Germany & Italy
  - Spanish govt. aided by USSR & U.S. volunteers
  - Guernica – city destroyed by German bombing
  - Spanish Civil War = a testing ground for troops before WWII

#### No Desire for War

- League of Nations weak because GB & FR were unwilling to fight
- Hitler observes Italy and Japan get away with aggression without L of N response
  - 1935 – expands army
  - 3/1936 – invades Rhineland
  - 8/1936 – Forms Axis with Italy
  - 3/1938 – Anschluss with Austria
  - Nothing more than condemnation from L of N

#### Munich Pact (1938)

- Sept. 1938, Hitler demands annexation of Sudetenland - ethnically German region of Czechoslovakia
- Czech allies (USSR & FR) unwilling to fight
- Munich Conference held to settle issue
  - Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain, Daladier
- Munich Pact gives Sudetenland to Hitler
  - promises to make "no further territorial demands"
- **Policy of giving in to dictators = Appeasement**
- Chamberlain returns to GB claiming "Peace in our time"

#### Hungry Lions

- April 1939, Hitler takes all of Czechoslovakia
  - Chamberlain looks like a fool
  - GB & FR abandon Czech but promise to defend Poland
- 1939 – Italy takes Albania – no action by L of N
- Aug. 1939 – Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact
  - Big surprise - both hated each other
  - Secretly plan to divide Poland & Baltic States
  - Deal provides Stalin time to build army
  - Allows Hitler to avoid 2 front war & gain Lebensraum
- Appeasement & Nazi-Soviet Pact seal Poland’s fate
  - Invaded by Germany Sept. 1, 1939

# The World at War

## Hitler Strikes at Europe

### Chapter 25

#### The Failed Policy of Appeasement

- “Honorable” Hitler violates Munich Pact - takes Czechoslovakia 3/39
- Nazi-Soviet Pact 8/39
- Nazis invade Poland 9/1/39
  - GB & FR declare war 9/3/39
  - Soviets invade Poland 9/17/39

#### FDR invokes Neutrality Acts

- No U.S. arms to countries at war
  - No U.S. ships allowed in war zones
- Belligerents could buy non-military supplies on cash-and-carry basis
- 11/39 - Neutrality Act 1939 allowed arms sales to GB & FR on cash and carry basis
  - helping Allies but staying out of fight

#### War in the West

- 6 month lull in fighting - “Sitzkrieg” or “Phony War”
- Broken by sudden attack on Norway and Denmark - 4/40
- Holland, Belgium & France - 5/40 (Blitzkrieg)
  - Dunkirk evacuation 5/26/40
  - Holland surrenders 5/15, Belgium 5/28, Norway 6/1
  - Italy declares war on GB & FR 6/10/40
- French armistice signed 6/22/40

#### The Battle of Britain 1940

- Operation Sea Lion
  - Planned German invasion of GB
- Luftwaffe first concentrated on aerodromes & shipping but turned to bombing cities
  - To demoralize populace
- RDF and “Ultra” help protect GB
- Some US volunteers participate

#### Campaign 1940

- Most favored supporting Britain
- Some isolationist
- Potential U.S. entry into war an issue in the 1940 election
  - FDR going for 3<sup>rd</sup> term vs. Wendell Willkie (R)
  - Candidates close on issue of war
- FDR approves 1st peacetime draft
- 9/40 - “Destroyers for Bases” w/ GB
  - U.S. ships in exchange for U.S. use of British air & naval bases
- Anti-war critics say FDR will entangle U.S. in war
  - America First Committee
    - spokesman Charles Lindbergh
    - U.S. could stand alone against Hitler

- FDR promises:
  - “I will never send an American boy to fight in a European war.”
- FDR wins unprecedented 3<sup>rd</sup> term
  - Now free to actively help Britain

“An arsenal for democracy”

- Lend-Lease Plan
  - Supplies for any nation deemed “vital to defense of the U.S.”
- Isolationists condemn it as economic war against Germany
- Approved in March 1941
  - Aid to GB began immediately
  - Extended to USSR after German invasion

Fighting the Undeclared War 1941

- U.S. Navy assists in tracking U-boats, escorting convoys
  - Navy ordered to fire on German vessels if necessary
- Aug. 1941 - FDR & Churchill meet for “Atlantic Conference”
- Atlantic Charter – proposes post-war guidelines (self-determination, a UN, etc.)

Provocations!

- Several U.S. Navy vessels torpedoed by German U-Boats
- FDR orders Axis vessels shot on sight
- Oct. 41 - sinking of the Reuben James - 115 U.S. sailors killed
- Nov. 41 - FDR orders merchant ships to be armed
  - Neutrality Acts all but null and void

# The U.S. Enters the War

## Pearl Harbor and the Home Front War Effort

### Chapter 25

#### Competing Interests in the Pacific

- Prior to U.S. entry - Germany seen as main threat
  - Policy was to deter Japan while building 2-ocean navy
- Neither U.S. nor Japan wanted war
  - but Japan could not afford US interference with plans
    - Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere
  - U.S. wanted Open Door & status quo

#### Heading For a Fight

- “Yellow Peril” propaganda & Japanese aggression in Asia hardened U.S. attitude
- 1939 - U.S. bans sale of petroleum and scrap metal to Japan
- Additional items banned after signing of Tripartite Pact (9/40) & more aggression
- 7/41 - Japanese assets in U.S. frozen
  - Total embargo on trade
  - Followed takeover of Indochina

#### Communication Breakdown

- New Japanese war minister Hideki Tojo
  - Opposed compromise w/ U.S.
  - Needed supplies for war machine
- By Nov. 41 - U.S. intelligence knew war was imminent
- All U.S. commands on alert

#### “A Date Which Will Live In Infamy”

- 12/7/41 surprise strike at Pearl Harbor
- Bold Japanese gamble paid off
  - Preemptive strike at U.S. Navy
- 188 aircraft destroyed, 8 Battleships + other ships sunk or crippled, 2400 dead
- Many vital U.S. ships out to sea
- 29 of 353 Japanese planes shot down
- Enables Japanese to expand unhindered

#### The Response

- War declared on 12/8
- Germany & Italy declare war on U.S. on 12/11
- German U-Boats began attacking U.S. shipping immediately
  - within sight of our shores

#### “It is all bad.”

- Nazis rolling across Europe, N. Africa
- Japanese capturing the Pacific islands and vast sections of continental Asia
- U.S. forces vanquished in Philippines
  - MacArthur - “I shall return!”
  - 11K U.S. prisoners of war
    - Bataan Death March
- Japan at peak of its territorial control

## Mobilizing the War Effort

- War Powers Act 1941 gives FDR authority to direct war effort
  - Control of trade, defense contracts, censorship
  - 1942 - additional powers
    - Requisition property, rationing, regulation of transportation
- Draft & enlistment raise millions of troops - 15 million men by end of war
- 350K women volunteers

## Propaganda

- Office of War Information
  - controlled info of war
  - used press, movies, radio to build public morale

## The Common American at War: Who were the heroes?

### African Americans

#### African Americans on Home Front

- Fair Employment Practices Commission
  - 1941 act to investigate labor discrimination
- Black migration to industrial north increased dramatically
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) formed in 1942
  - used sit-ins & demonstrations
- Beginnings of integration in military, though slow progress

#### African Americans at War

- Nearly 1 million served in military
  - Usually segregated
  - Many fought with distinction
- Some race riots on bases (& at home)
- Nazi racism made more Americans sensitive to our own conduct at home
- Black vets came home w/ high expectations
- Port Chicago
  - African-Americans who served at the Port Chicago Naval Magazine near Concord, CA worked at a furious pace to keep munitions ships stocked and at sea.
  - The dangerously fast pace at which they were ordered to work resulted in a terrible accident on July 17, 1944. 320 men were killed and 400 were wounded. 202 of the dead were African-Americans.
  - The accident at Port Chicago accounted for 15% of African-American casualties in WWII. Understandably, black laborers were reluctant to return to the docks. 258 initially refused to go back, but most returned. 50 men were tried and convicted for mutiny for their refusal to serve in the dangerous conditions of the loading docks.

### Hispanics

- Zoot Suit Riots 6/4-7/1943
  - *Young Latinos* in Los Angeles and other cities wore the distinctive Zoot Suit to demonstrate their sense of style. Racial tension between whites and Latinos exploded into the Zoot Suit Riots in L.A. Gangs of sailors ranged through the barrios of L.A. seeking out “Zoot-suiters” and attacking them. All of this occurred with the apparent blessing of the press and the city police.

## Women: Rosie

- Many women participated significantly in the workforce
  - Took over many men's jobs in the factories constructing war equipment
- Women Air force Service Pilots (WASPs)

## Native Americans

- Navajo and Comanche: The Code-Talkers

## Japanese Americans

- 17,000 Japanese Americans served in segregated combat units & intelligence
  - 442<sup>nd</sup> Regiment highest decorated unit in U.S. military history
  - Ironic – considering 120,000 Japanese Americans put in internment camps
    - FDR's Executive Order 9066 – JA's posed threat to natl. security
    - should be moved away from military areas
- Asians: Valor in Combat
  - Japanese American troops serving in the European Theater of War were among the most courageous soldiers in the war. The 442<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Combat Team received more medals than any other unit in U.S. military history.
- A threat to security?
  - Japanese Internment
    - Japanese families were held in concentration camps until the war's end
      - 2 camps = located in Arkansas

## The Production Miracle

- Civilian production converted to war production
- 33% of economy devoted to war
- U.S. made more weapons than all Axis powers combined
- Production times reduced from months to weeks (even days!)

## Costs of the War

- U.S. spent \$320 billion
  - 10x amount of all previous wars
- Ended the Great Depression
  - Govt. spending made 17 million jobs
- 293K killed in battle + 116K from other causes
  - 670K wounded in battle

## Turning Points: War in Europe & the Pacific

### The European Theater

- North Africa 1942-43
- Stalingrad 1942-43
- Sicily 1943
- Italy 9/43 to 5/45
- France 6/6/44 (D-Day)
- 12/44 - Battle of the Bulge
- Germany 3/45 - 5/45

### North Africa - Operation Torch

- 11/42 - Allied invasion of N. Africa at Morocco
- German Afrika Korps defeated after 6 mos. of heavy fighting
- Germans surrender at Tunisia 5/43
- Leads to Allied invasion of Sicily & Italy

### Stalingrad - 9/42 to 2/43

- Germany invaded USSR 6/41
- No 2nd front in West yet
- Hitler diverts troops to capture the “city of Stalin”
  - “Not one step back!”
- 300K German troops sent
  - 91K survive only to surrender
    - Red Army on offensive thereafter

### “Soft Underbelly of the Axis”

- Stalin continued calling for 2nd Front in Europe
- Casablanca Conference, Morocco (1/43) - FDR & Churchill meet
  - Decide to invade thru Sicily & Italy
  - Also vow to fight to until unconditional surrender of Axis

### Invasion of Italy 9/43

- Allies invade & take Sicily - Summer 1943
- Mussolini overthrown, jailed 9/43
  - later rescued but captured again
- Italy surrenders - Germans remain
- Tenacious German defenses
- Rome taken by Allies 6/5/44
- Germans not fully defeated in Italy until end of war

### Teheran Conference

- Invasion planned for 1944
- USSR to fight Japan after Germany defeated
- Continuous bombing gave Allies air superiority & destroyed production
- Soviets pushed toward Germany
- U-boat menace reduced enough for amphibious invasion

D-Day: June 6, 1944

- Allied invasion of Normandy, FR
  - Largest amphibious landing in history
    - 2 mos. to liberate Paris
- Beginning of drive to Germany
- Dec. 44 - Battle of the Bulge
  - Last German offensive to West
- March 1945 - Western Allies cross into Germany

Wartime Conferences

Yalta (Ukraine) 2/45

- FDR, Churchill, Stalin agree to occupation zones in Germany

USSR granted 1/2 of Poland, & other land in Asia & Europe

- Viewed as a giveaway to Stalin

Potsdam (Ger) 7/45

- Truman, Atlee, Stalin
- Planned rebuilding of Europe
- Demanded surrender of Japan

Victory in Europe (V.E. Day)

May 8, 1945

The Pacific Theater

- 4/18/42: the Doolittle Raid
- 5/7&8/42: Battle of Coral Sea
- 6/4&5/42: Battle of Midway
- 8/42 - 2/43: Guadalcanal
- 10/44: Battle of Leyte Gulf
- 2/45 - 6/45: Iwo Jima & Okinawa
- 8/6/45: Hiroshima

The Doolittle Raid 4/18/42

- By Spring 1942 – Japanese Empire at its height
  - Hopes raised by Doolittle Raid
    - Col. James Doolittle lead 16 B-25's on raid over Tokyo
    - Launched from carrier *Hornet* – little damage but showed Japan that they could be hit
- The Battle of the Coral Sea
- May 1942 – Battle of Coral Sea
  - U.S. & Australians vs. Japanese
  - 1st battle fought entirely by carrier-based planes
- Halted Japanese attempt to take Australia
- Midway - June 1942
- Turning point of the Pacific war
- Japanese wanted Midway Island in prep. for invasion of Hawaii
- Another carrier battle
  - Japanese carriers caught with planes on decks
    - Japanese lose 4 carriers vs. U.S. 1
    - Sea power now in favor of U.S.
    - Threat to Hawaii ended

### Guadalcanal 8/42 - 2/43

- U.S. couldn't take every one of 100s of islands held by Japanese
  - U.S. strategy - Island Hopping
    - attacking selected islands & isolating others
- Guadalcanal - 6 mos. of land & sea fighting to take island
- 1st island captured in island hopping strategy

### Battle of Leyte Gulf 10/44

#### Largest naval battle in history

- 26 Japanese vessels destroyed
- Kamikaze attacks
- Cripples Japanese fleet
- Enables U.S. to recapture Philippines
- Bombing of Japanese home islands now possible

### Iwo Jima & Okinawa

- Spring 1945 – Iwo Jima & Okinawa
  - 80K U.S. casualties at Okinawa
  - 30 ships sunk by Kamikaze missions
  - Savage Japanese defense of islands gives U.S. an idea of how bad invading Japan would be
  - Some estimates of 1 million American lives
- The Manhattan Project
- 4/12/45 – FDR died of stroke
- Truman inherits Manhattan Project – quest for atomic bomb
- 1st bomb test – 7/16/45 in NM
  - Built by a team of scientists – some refugees from the Nazis
    - Led by Dr. Robert J. Oppenheimer
- Destructive power of A-bomb incredible

### Hiroshima & Nagasaki

- 1st atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, Japan 8/6/45
  - 130K killed or wounded
  - 2 days later, USSR declared war on Japan & invaded Manchuria
- 8/9/45 - 2nd bomb dropped on Nagasaki
  - Leads to Japanese surrender

### The End of the War

- Victory in Japan (V.J.) Day!
- September 2, 1945