

OUTLINE

Chapter 19 Safe for Democracy: The United States & World War I, 1916-1920

This chapter examines the development of American foreign policy during the early part of the 20th century. The focus is on how the concept of “liberal internationalism” guided a growing commitment to interventionism, in the Western hemisphere, the Pacific, and finally in Europe during World War I. The chapter also examines the impact of World War I on the homefront.

INTRODUCTION

I. THE ERA OF INTERVENTION

II. AMERICAN AND THE GREAT WAR

III. THE WAR AT HOME

IV. WHO IS AN AMERICAN?

V. 1919

INTRODUCTION

STORY:

In 1902 the English editor W.T. Stead published a book predicting that the United States would soon become a major world power. That power, Stead suggested, would be based on economic and cultural influence rather than on acquisition of overseas territories. Stead was right, although he did not live to see his predictions come true—he died on the Titanic in 1911. The concept of “liberal internationalism” became the basis for American foreign policy. According to Eric Foner, this “represented a shift from the nineteenth-century tradition of promoting freedom primarily by example, to active intervention to remake the world in the American image.”



THEMES:

1. During the first two decades of the 20th century, the United States became an important player in international politics.
2. American prominence in the international setting was based upon economic rather than military power, although American military prowess was developed during World War I.
3. American foreign policy was based on the idea that the expansion of the concepts of freedom, including free trade, throughout the world was in America's national interest.
4. During this period, civil liberties expanded in some areas, such as women's suffrage, but declined in other areas, such as attitudes towards race.

I. THE ERA OF INTERVENTION

FOCUS QUESTION: In what ways did the Progressive presidents project American power abroad?

A. Panama Canal

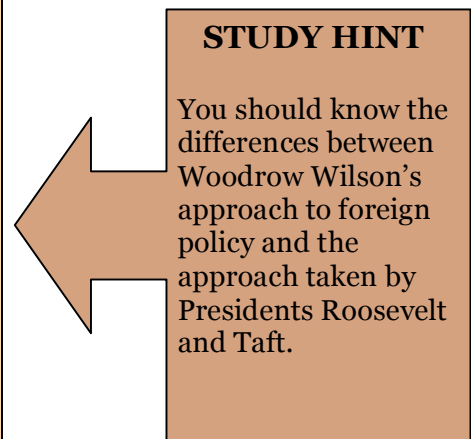
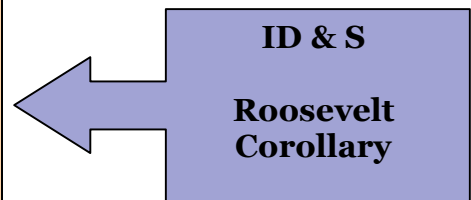
1. Roosevelt was more active in international diplomacy than most of his predecessors
2. Roosevelt pursued a policy of intervention in Central America

B. The Roosevelt Corollary

1. The United States had the right to exercise “an international police power” in the Western Hemisphere
 - a. Venezuela and the Dominican Republic
2. Taft emphasized economic investment and loans from American banks, rather than direct military intervention
 - a. Dollar Diplomacy

C. Moral Imperialism

1. Wilson repudiated Dollar Diplomacy and promised a new foreign policy that would respect Latin America’s independence
2. He believed that the export of American manufactured goods and investments went hand in hand with the spread of democratic ideals



3. Wilson's "moral imperialism" produced more military interventions in Latin America than any president before or since

D. Wilson and Mexico

1. The Mexican Revolution began in 1911

2. When civil war broke out in Mexico, Wilson ordered American troops to land at Vera Cruz

a. Mexicans greeted the marines as invaders rather than liberators

II. AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR

FOCUS QUESTION: How did the United States get involved in World War I?

A. War broke out in Europe in 1914

1. The war dealt a severe blow to the optimism and self-confidence of Western civilization



B. Neutrality and Preparedness

1. As war engulfed Europe, Americans found themselves sharply divided

2. Wilson proclaimed American neutrality, but American commerce and shipping were soon swept into the conflict

a. Lusitania

3. By the end of 1915 Wilson embarked on a policy of “preparedness”

C. The Road to War

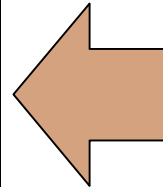
1. Wilson won reelection in 1916 on the slogan “He Kept Us Out of War”

2. Wilson called for a “peace without victory,” but Germany resumed submarine warfare

3. Zimmerman Note was intercepted in 1917

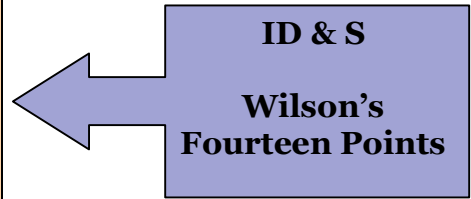
STUDY HINT

You should know how America reacted to the outbreak of war in Europe and how American came to be involved.



D. The Fourteen Points

1. Russia pulled out of the war after the Lenin Revolution in 1917
2. Wilson issued the Fourteen Points in January 1918
 - a. They established the agenda for the peace conference that followed the war
3. When American troops finally arrived in Europe, they turned the tide of battle



III. THE WAR AT HOME

FOCUS QUESTION: How did the United States mobilize resources and opinion for the war effort?

A. The Progressives' War

1. Some Progressives viewed the war as an opportunity to disseminate Progressive values around the globe
2. The war created a national state with unprecedented powers and a sharply increased presence in Americans' everyday lives
 - a. Selective Service Act
 - b. War Industries Board
 - c. War Labor Board

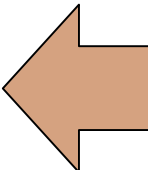
B. The Propaganda War

1. The Wilson administration decided that patriotism was too important to leave to the private sector
2. The Committee on Public Information (CPI) was created
 - a. The CPI's activities set a precedent for active governmental efforts to shape public opinion in later international conflicts

C. The Great Cause of Freedom

1. The CPI couched its appeal in the Progressive language of social cooperation and expanded democracy

STUDY HINT



You should know how American involvement in World War I fulfilled Progressive ideals.



2. Freedom took on new significance

D. The Coming of Women's Suffrage

1. America's entry into the war threatened to tear apart the suffrage movement

a. Jeannette Rankin opposed war

2. The National Woman's Party was militantly fighting for suffrage

a. Alice Paul

3. The combined efforts of women during the war won them suffrage

a. Nineteenth Amendment

E. Prohibition

1. Numerous impulses flowed into the renewed campaign to ban intoxicating liquor

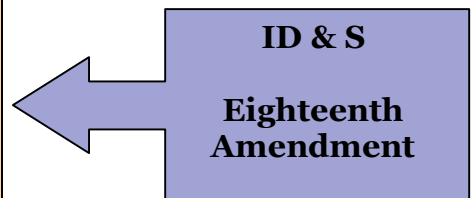
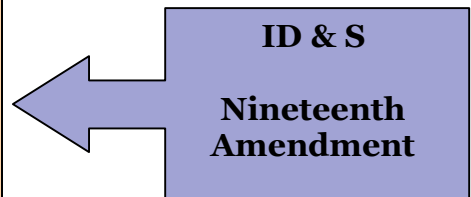
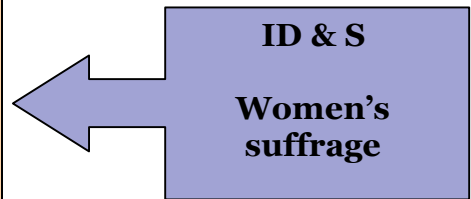
2. Like the suffrage movement, prohibitionists came to see national legislation as their best strategy

a. War gave them added ammunition
b. Eighteenth Amendment

F. Liberty in Wartime

1. Randolph Bourne predicted that the war would empower not reformers but the "least democratic forces in American life"

2. The Espionage Act of 1917 prohibited not only spying and interfering with the draft but also "false statements" that might impede



military success

3. Eugene V. Debs was convicted in 1918 under the Espionage Act for delivering an antiwar speech

a. Debs ran for president while still in prison in 1920

G. Coercive Patriotism

1. Attitudes toward the American flag became a test of patriotism

2. Patriotism now meant support for the government, the war, and the American economic system

3. The American Protective League (APL) helped the Justice department identify radicals and critics of the war

a. IWW

IV. WHO IS AN AMERICAN?

FOCUS QUESTION: How did the war accentuate Progressive attitudes toward race and ethnicity?

A. The “Race Problem”

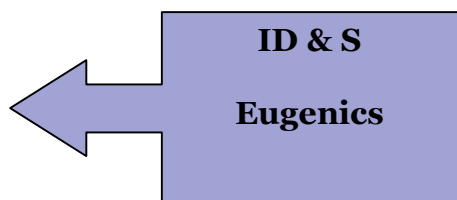
1. The “race problem” had become a major subject of public concern
2. Eugenics, which studied the alleged mental characteristics of different races, gave anti-immigrant sentiment an air of professional expertise

B. Americanization and Pluralism

1. “Americanization” meant the creation of a more homogenous national culture
 - a. Israel Zangwill’s *The Melting Pot*
 - b. Ford Motor Company’s Sociological department
2. A minority of Progressives questioned Americanization efforts and insisted on respect for immigrant subcultures
 - a. Jane Addams’s Hull House
 - b. Randolph Bourne

C. Wartime Americanization

1. Until the United States entered World War I, efforts at assimilation were largely conducted by private organizations
 - a. 100 percent Americanism



2. The Committee on Public Information renamed the Fourth of July, 1918, Loyalty Day

D. The Anti-German Crusade

1. German-Americans bore the brunt of forced Americanization
2. The use of German and expressions of German culture became a target of pro-war organizations

E. Toward Immigration Restriction

1. The war strengthened the conviction that certain kinds of undesirable persons ought to be excluded altogether
 - a. IQ test introduced in 1916
2. In 1917, Congress required that immigrants be literate in English or another language

F. Groups Apart

1. The war led to further growth of the Southwest's Mexican population
2. On the eve of American entry into World War I, Congress terminated the status "citizen of Puerto Rico" and conferred American citizenship on residents of the island
3. Even more restrictive were policies toward Asian-Americans
 - a. Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907

G. The Color Line

1. Progressive Era freedoms did not apply to blacks
2. Progressive intellectuals, social scientists, labor reformers, and suffrage advocates displayed a remarkable indifference to the black condition

H. Roosevelt, Wilson, and Race

1. Although Roosevelt had invited Booker T. Washington to dine with him at the White House, he still felt blacks were “wholly unfit for the suffrage”
2. Wilson’s administration imposed racial segregation in federal departments in Washington, D.C., and numerous black federal employees

a. Birth of a Nation

I. W. E. B. Du Bois and the Revival of Black Protest

1. Du Bois tried to reconcile the contradiction between what he called “American freedom for whites and the continuing subjection of Negroes”
- a. The Souls of Black Folk (1903)
2. In some ways, Du Bois was a typical Progressive who believed that investigation, exposure, and education would lead to solutions for social problems
- a. The Niagara movement sought to

ID & S

W.E.B. DuBois

reinvigorate the abolitionist tradition

3. Du Bois was a cofounder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

a. Bailey v. Alabama

J. Closing Ranks

1. Most black leaders saw American participation in the war as an opportunity to make real the promise of freedom

2. During World War I, closing ranks did not bring significant gains

K. The Great Migration

1. The war opened thousands of industrial jobs to black laborers for the first time, inspiring a large-scale migration from South to North

a. 500,000 migrated north

2. Many motives sustained the Great Migration

L. In the Promised Land

1. Dozens of blacks were killed during a 1917 riot in East St. Louis, Missouri

2. Violence was not confined to the North

M. The Rise of Garveyism

1. Marcus Garvey launched a separatist movement

a. Freedom for Garveyites meant national self-determination	
---	--

V. 1919

FOCUS QUESTION: Why was 1919 such a watershed year for the United States and the World?

A. There was a worldwide revolutionary upsurge in 1919

B. Upheaval in America

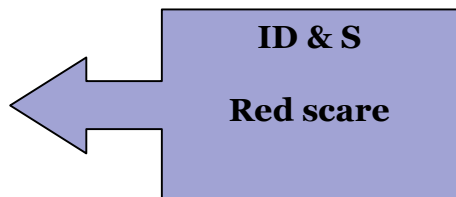
1. In the United States, 1919 also witnessed unprecedented turmoil
2. By the war's end, many Americans believed that the country stood on the verge of what Herbert Hoover called "a new industrial order"
3. The strike wave began in January 1919 in Seattle

C. The Great Steel Strike

1. The wartime rhetoric of economic democracy and freedom helped to inspire the era's greatest labor uprising
 - a. Struck for union recognition, higher wages, and an eight-hour day
2. Steel magnates launched a concerted counterattack associated the strikers with the IWW

D. The Red Scare

1. This was a short-lived but intense period of political intolerance inspired by the



postwar strike wave and the social tensions and fears generated by the Russian Revolution

2. Attorney General Palmer in November 1919 and January 1920 dispatched federal agents to raid the offices of radical and labor organizations throughout the country

a. J. Edgar Hoover

3. Secretary of Labor Louis Post began releasing imprisoned immigrants and the Red Scare collapsed

E. Wilson at Versailles

1. The Versailles Treaty did accomplish some of Wilson's goals

2. The Versailles Treaty was a harsh document that all but guaranteed future conflict in Europe

F. Impossible Demands

1. Wilson's language of "self-determination" raised false hopes for many peoples

2. The British and French had no intention of applying this principle to their own empires

a. Ottoman Empire and the League of Nations "mandates"

3. Du Bois concluded that Wilson had "never at any single moment meant to include in his democracy" black Americans or the colonial peoples of the world

STUDY HINTS

You should know the key factors that undermined Woodrow Wilson's approach to the World War I peace settlement.

G. The Treaty Debate

1. Wilson viewed the new League of Nations as the war's finest legacy
2. Opponents viewed the League as a threat to deprive the country of its freedom of action
3. On its own terms, the war to make the world safe for democracy failed