U.S. History Readers

U.S. Foreign Policy, 1898–1920

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U.S. Foreign Policy, 1898–1920

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U.S. Foreign Policy, 1898–1920

This unit raises the fundamental question of whether the foreign policy decisions made during this period were generally in keeping with America's ideals and with its legitimate self-interests. Teachers may use this material to provide in-depth studies of important foreign policy decisions and to replace the basal text's traditional coverage of this period.

Each chapter in this unit raises a question of its own. For example, the first chapter asks whether the U.S. should have declared war against Spain to free Cuba and whether the newly freed nation should have been pressured to sign the Platt Amendment. The second chapter asks whether the U.S. should have kept the Philippines and describes the revolt against U.S.'s annexation. Chapter 3 questions the decision to inspire a revolt in Panama in order to obtain the land needed to build the Panama Canal, and Chapter 4 inquires into the motives for the Roosevelt Corollary and dollar diplomacy. The scene shifts to war in Europe in Chapters 5–9 with in-depth examinations of a neutrality policy as applied to the sinking of the *Lusitania*, arguments for and against declaring war on Germany, a simulation on negotiating the Versailles Treaty, and a debate on the U.S. committing itself to protecting members of the League of Nations against foreign attack.

Each chapter is also designed to accommodate a wide range of student abilities. The first part of every chapter is written at a lower reading and conceptual level than the second part. The two parts are separated by a series of student exercises, including a graphic organizer and several questions intended to help students master basic information and stimulate higher-order thinking skills. The second part of each chapter, "For Further Consideration," is written at a higher reading and conceptual level. It is followed by a question that requires students to write a strong paragraph and/or be prepared to present their opinions in class. In some cases, this section continues the story; in others, it challenges students to think deeply about issues related to the overarching question raised in the unit. In addition, I (Inquiry)-Charts help students optimize what they already know or think about a topic and integrate it with identifiable additional information they find in the text. Finally, each lesson includes vocabulary words and key terms in a flash-card format; these can be used either for review or reference.

This unit is also designed to stimulate informed discussions and higher-order thinking skills rather than focusing on recitation and rote learning. It provides students with the information they need to acquire and share factually supported opinions and to consider important philosophic issues. In the first part of this unit, students can decide whether the U.S. should have declared war on Cuba and kept the Philippines. They then evaluate America's Panama intrigues and Teddy Roosevelt's "big stick" diplomacy. The second part provides opportunities for students to debate how the U.S. should have responded to the sinking of the *Lusitania*, decide whether America should have declared war on Germany, question the need for legislation on the home front to limit civil liberties, simulate the Versailles Conference, and discuss joining the League of Nations.

Chapter 1. "Cuba Libre" and the Platt Amendment
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter covers both the decision to free Cuba from Spanish rule and to saddle Cubans with the Platt Amendment. It presents the background to the U.S.'s intervention in Cuba's second revolution against gross misrule by Spain. The chapter also covers the scorched-earth policies followed by Cuban revolutionaries, the atrocities committed by Spanish soldiers, the *reconcentrado* camps, the sinking of the *Maine* (by internal or external explosion), McKinley's indecisive war message, and the Teller Resolution. The graphic organizer asks students to place specific facts mentioned in the text under one of three headings: the case for declaring war on Spain, the case against declaring war on Spain, or not relevant to either case. Students are given the opportunity to decide whether Congress should have voted for a declaration of war against Spain for the sole purpose of freeing Cuba.

The "For Further Consideration" section briefly describes the successful war with Spain, the U.S.'s generous efforts to restore Cuba's infrastructure and economy, and the Platt Amendment. Advanced students are asked to assume the role of a Cuban or a U.S. patriot and write an argument for or against coercing Cubans to sign the controversial Platt Amendment.

Objectives:

Students will:

- understand that Spanish misrule and atrocities inflamed Cubans' desire for independence
- see that Spain made conciliatory gestures that might have led to a peaceful path toward Cuban independence
- know that the U.S. made noble efforts to restore Cuba's economy after years of warfare
- understand that the Platt Amendment severely limited Cuba's autonomy and violated the promise implied by the Teller Resolution
- be able to argue pro or con on the issues of declaring war against Spain and pressuring Cuba to sign the Platt Amendment

Strategies:

Before class: Since teaching this chapter could and should occupy two days, assign the readings accordingly. Note that the "For Further Consideration" section could be assigned for the second day of class.

In class: On day one, ask your class whether older students have the responsibility to protect a younger student from being bullied. Next, carry this analogy to the U.S.

helping a neighboring country being tyrannized and exploited by a foreign power. Ask students to share their answers to the student exercise questions and make sure they know and understand the correct answer to each question. Follow this exercise by reviewing their answers to the Graphic Organizer and encourage them to discuss their reasons for choosing from the three categories: supports the case for going to war, supports the case for not going, or irrelevant to either case. With this preparation, students will be ready to discuss the optional essay question: Should Congress have declared war on Spain in order to free Cuba?

On the second day of class, which is devoted to the Spanish American War, ask students to review the basic facts in this section—i.e., the U.S.'s easy victories in the war, its generous support for the Cuban economy, and the provisions of the Platt Amendment. Follow up by asking students who have assumed the roles of a Cuban or an American patriot to share their responses to the following question: Should the U.S. have pressured Cuba to accept the Platt Amendment as part of their constitution? A thought-provoking discussion on this issue should follow.

Chapter 1. "Cuba Libre" and the Platt Amendment
I-Chart

	How bad was Spain's rule of Cuba?	What was the Teller Resolution?	Was the Platt Amendment necessary or an unfair imposition?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 1, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 1, Part II			
What I would still like to learn			

Chapter 1—“Cuba Libre” and the Platt Amendment

restitution	despoiled	participants
guerilla warfare	imposition	reparations
investigation	yellow journalism	*reconcentrados*

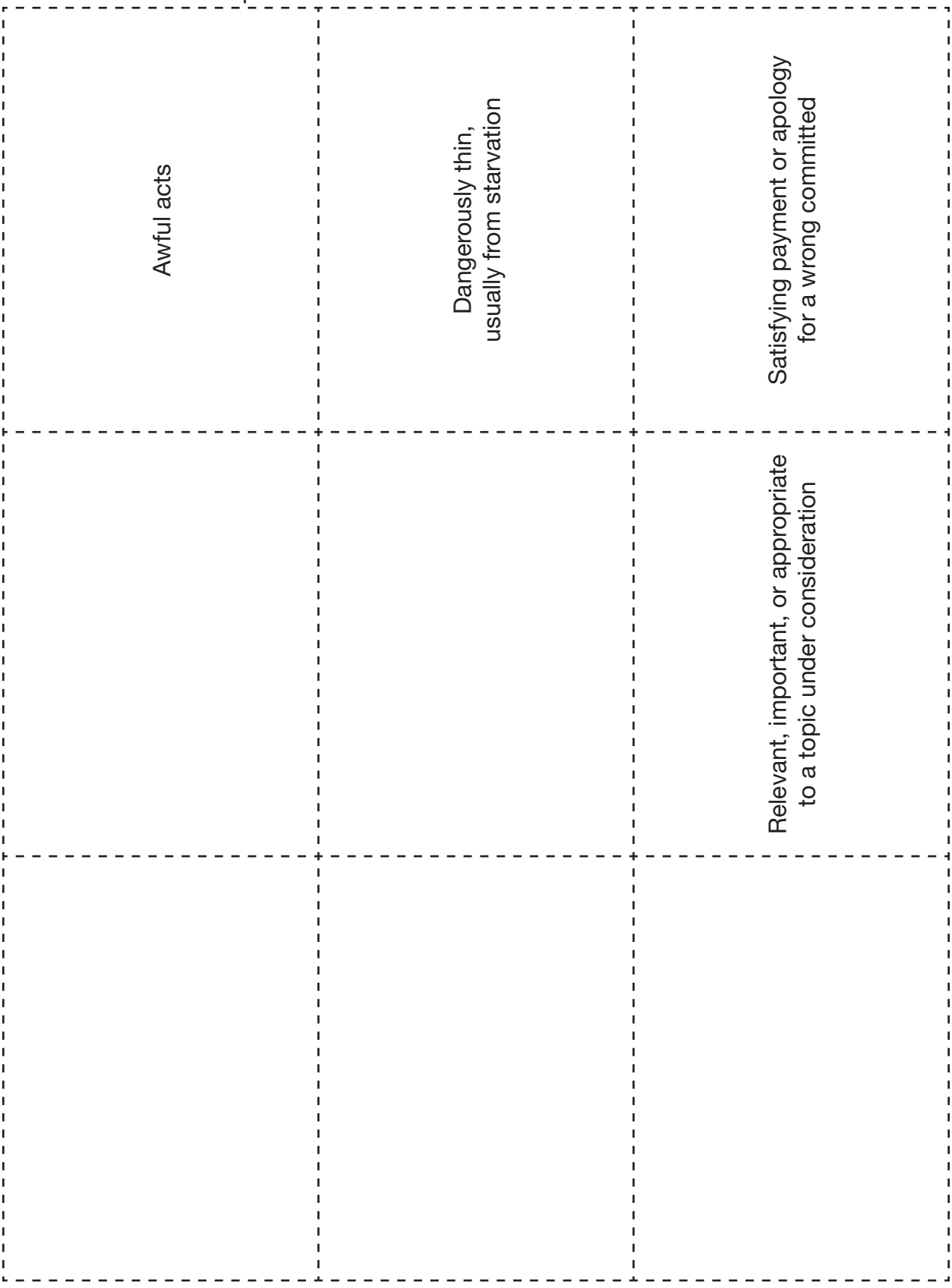
Chapter 1—“Cuba Libre” and the Platt Amendment

Payment for damages done	Damaged, ruined, or robbed; having the value of something destroyed, often by force	People who take part in something
War conducted by hit-and-run tactics	Something disagreeable someone is pressured to do	Repayment for injury caused
A careful and detailed examination to decide cause or who was at fault; usually done by an official	Sensational newspaper stories greatly exaggerating events for the purpose of selling papers or influencing public opinion	Spanish for “concentration camps”

Chapter 1—“Cuba Libre” and the Platt Amendment

barbarities	emaciated	proper amends
		pertinent

Chapter 1—“Cuba Libre” and the Platt Amendment



Chapter 1
"Cuba Libre" and the Platt Amendment

Introduction

"Cuba libre" (Spanish for "free Cuba") was the battle cry for Americans who fought against Spain in 1898 to help Cuba become a free and independent country. Cuba, an island only 90 miles from the United States, had been ruled by Spain for almost 400 years. When Cubans began to rebel against Spanish rule in 1895, it was their second major rebellion against Spain in fewer than 20 years. News of the first rebellion did not make headlines in the United States, but news of the second rebellion did. Stories of the terrible conditions suffered by the Cuban people, their desire for freedom, and the brutal means used to suppress their rebellion were printed in horrifying detail. These descriptions aroused the sympathy of many Americans. The question facing the American people was whether they should take military action to help free the people of Cuba. You will be asked to answer the same question at the end of this chapter.

Tactics of a Revolution

Cuba's desire for independence in the 19th century took the form of two major rebellions against Spain. The first one lasted from 1868 to 1878. Over 200,000 Cubans lost their lives in this ten-year bitter struggle, which ended with Spain promising to give Cubans the right to rule themselves. However, the Spanish failed to live up to this promise, and for freedom-loving Cubans all the fighting and death had been in vain.

Jose Martí

One of the Cuban patriots who fought in this revolution was Jose Martí. Martí came to the U.S. after the failed revolution and devoted the rest of his life to freeing his country. His poetry, his speeches, his talks, and his fundraising were all directed toward "Cuba Libre." After years of preparation, Martí and a close companion, Maximo Gomez, secretly landed in Cuba. However, Martí was killed soon afterwards and Gomez was left alone to carry out their plans.

Gomez did not have the military support needed to attack Spanish armies directly. He therefore decided to use the tactics of guerrilla warfare. His men would make lightning attacks on Spanish outposts and then retreat before reinforcements could arrive. In addition, Gomez ran a campaign of mass destruction. By burning fields, destroying sugar mills, and other private property, Gomez hoped to make Cuba so unprofitable that Spain would leave.

General Weyler

At first, the Spanish tried to negotiate with Gomez, but the guerrilla leader did not trust the Spanish because he remembered that Spain did not carry out the promise it made in 1878. Spain then sent an army of 200,000 soldiers to Cuba and placed them under the command of General Weyler. The cruel tactics Weyler used against Cuban rebels earned him the title "the Butcher." Weyler forced Cuban peasants from their homes and put them into concentration camps called *reconcentrados*. He claimed that he was merely preventing Spanish farmers from being forced to join the guerrilla army.

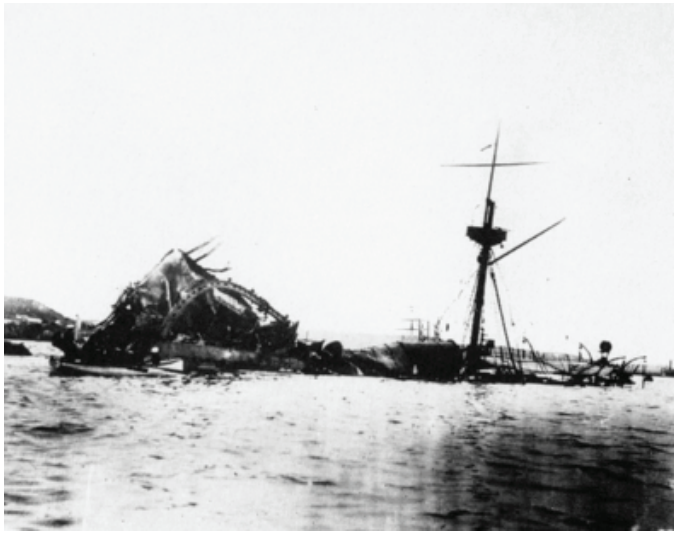
Reporting a Revolution

American newspapers engaged in a competition to sell papers reported extensively on the events in Cuba. Many of the reports, in what came to be known as "yellow journalism," were exaggerated, and in some cases, not even true. Whether true or not, these reports helped push U.S. public opinion toward declaring war against Spain in order to free Cuba:

November 7, 1897 **NEW YORK WORLD** ***3 cents***

Havana, Cuba, Nov. 6, 1897
30,000 non-combatants, chiefly women and children have perished within a few weeks, you would sicken at the sight of these innocents dying at the hands of Spanish butchers, well versed in the art of killing.

The Controversy Over the *Maine*



War with Spain might have been avoided if the American battleship, the USS Maine, had not been sunk while on a goodwill mission in Havana, Cuba. War might have been avoided also if the Spanish had not been suspected of sinking this battleship. The disaster cost the lives of 260 American officers and enlisted men. President McKinley urged Americans to remain calm while an investigation into the cause of the sinking was completed. The

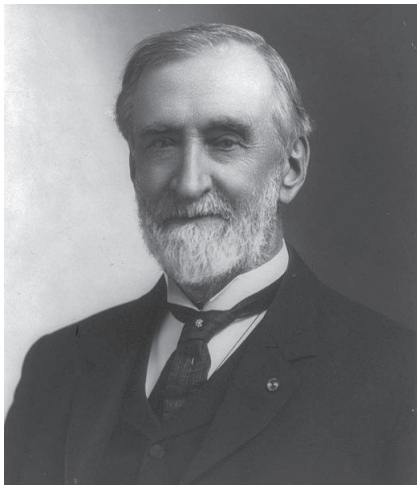
report concluded that an external force, possibly a torpedo or a mine, had caused the explosion. The major evidence for this conclusion was the "way the keel and bottom plating of the ship were driven upward to form an inverted V." An investigation conducted by the Spanish, however, concluded that the explosion came from within the ship. Their major supporting evidence stemmed from the lack of dead fish or a column of water usually associated with underwater explosions. The Spanish report claimed that the cause of the explosion "was a spontaneous combustion of coal dust in the ship's coal bins which in turn ignited its ammunition."

The Spanish report on the cause of the explosion was sent to President McKinley on April 2, 1898. By that time, Americans were too excited by events in Cuba to spend much time carefully considering the conflicting reports. An editorial in the *New York World* both reflected and informed the public opinion at that time:

> A nation that will consent to have its ships blown up by submarine mines without demanding and enforcing instant reparation (repayment) has no business with a navy. It should [limit] itself to growing crops, building railroads, gambling in stocks and running Sunday schools.
>
> The destruction of the Maine by foul play should be made the [reason] of ordering our fleet to Havana and demanding proper amends within forty-eight hours, under a threat of bombardment!

The Proctor Report

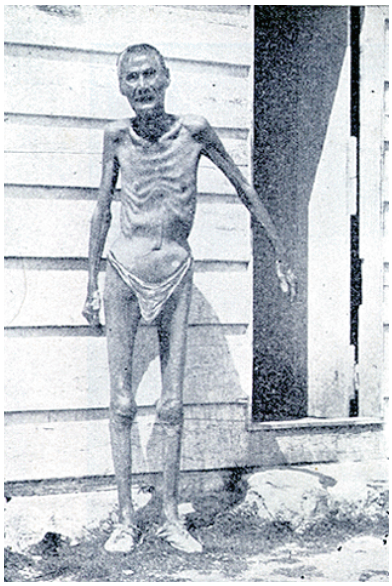
About the time news of the USS *Maine* had made headlines throughout the country, a respected Senator, Redfield Proctor, traveled to Cuba. He was not willing to believe the stories he read in the papers so he came to Cuba to see what was happening. Known for his honesty and impartiality, he gave the American people a report that had great influence on public opinion:



Senator Redfield Proctor

All the country people in the four western provinces, about 400,000 in number, remaining outside the fortified towns when Weyler's order was made, were driven into these towns and these are the *reconcentrados*.

Their huts are about 10 by 25 feet in size and are crowded together very closely. They have no floor but the ground, no furniture, and little clothing. The commonest sanitary provisions are impossible. Conditions are unmentionable in every respect. Torn from their homes, with foul earth, air, water, and food, no wonder that one-half have died, and that one-quarter of the living cannot be saved...Little children are still walking about with arms and chest terribly emaciated, eyes swollen, and stomach bloated to three times the natural size. The doctors say these cases are hopeless...



I went to Cuba believing that the newspapers had exaggerated the cases of starvation and suffering. I could not believe that out of a population of 1,600,000, two hundred thousand had died within these Spanish forts from actual starvation. To me the strongest appeal (for war) is the entire native population of Cuba is struggling for freedom and deliverance from the worst misgovernment of which I ever had knowledge.

A Call to Arms

On April 11, 1898, shortly after the Proctor Report, President McKinley asked Congress for the power to stop the bloodshed in Cuba. Among the grounds for such intervention, the President listed the following:

First: In the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are unable or unwilling to stop …

Second: We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection…for life and property which no government there can or will afford.

Third: The right to intervene may be justified by the serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of our people.[1]

1 McKinley was referring to the fact that $50 million of Americans' property had been destroyed, and that the U.S. lost $70 million in trade

Toward the end of his war message, the President told Congress that Spain was willing to let impartial experts decide who was responsible for destroying the USS *Maine*. The President also reported that the Queen of Spain had directed the Commander in Chief in Cuba "to stop the fighting" but had not told him how long this cease-fire would last. Having given reasons for the U.S. to go to war and reasons for not going, President McKinley let Congress decide what to do:

> This fact along with every other pertinent consideration will, I am sure, have your just and careful attention in the solemn deliberations upon which you are bound to enter.

The Teller Resolution

Eight days later, the U.S. House and Senate prepared to vote on a declaration of war on Spain. Senator Henry Teller drew up a resolution to accompany the declaration. It would commit the U.S. to freeing Cuba and pledged the United States not to keep or govern it:

> First: That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be free and independent.
>
> Second: That it is the duty of the United States to demand and the Government of the United States does hereby demand that the government of Spain at once [surrender] its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and navy forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.
>
> Third: That the President of the United States be, and hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and navy forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect.
>
> Fourth: That the United States hereby disclaims any…intention to exercise…control over said island…[and] to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

The question whether to declare war against Spain for the sole purpose of freeing Cuba was now up to Congress to decide.

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises

1. Why do you think the first Cuban rebellion against Spain didn't capture the attention of Americans but the second rebellion did?

2. Why did Gomez turn to guerrilla warfare tactics in his quest to free the Cuban people from Spanish rule?

3. What were the conditions like in the reconcentrados? Why might the Spanish have allowed such suffering to go on?

4. Summarize the main points of McKinley's war message and the Teller Amendment.

B. Graphic Organizer

Take the statements below and place them where they belong in the following chart. Since some statements can be interpreted in different ways, be certain you can state the reason for each of your decisions:

The case for going to war	The case against going to war
Irrelevant to either case	

Facts that May Support Either Case

Cubans were destroying their own country	Cuba's 10 year war with Spain	Teller Resolution
Yellow Journalism: newspapers could not always be trusted	*Maine* sinking probably caused by an internal explosion	Proctor Report
Spain offered a cease-fire	Cubans wanted to be free	*Reconcentrado* camps
War would cost U.S. money and lives	U.S. trade with Spain was being interrupted	260 Americans killed when Spain sank the *Maine*
Many people in the U.S. lived in poverty	McKinley asked for a declaration of war	Spain ordered a cease-fire
	Add your own information	

C. Extra Credit

Write a strong paragraph arguing that Congress should or should not have declared war on Spain in order to free Cuba.

For Further Consideration: The Platt Amendment

A Splendid Little War

Upon arriving in the Caribbean, Spanish fleet commander Admiral Pascual Cervera's ships were out of coal and barely managed to make it into Santiago harbor. Spotted by the U.S. fleet under Admiral Sampson, Cervera was quickly blockaded in the harbor and his ships were unable to help during the war.

Future President Teddy Roosevelt and the Rough Riders at the top of San Juan Hill

With no Spanish ships to harass American troop transports, the U.S. Army, under the command of General William Shafter, set sail for Cuba. They landed safely and completed unloading in five days. With help from Cuban forces, an army of some 17,000 Americans accompanied by 89 reporters advanced toward Santiago, 20 miles away. Two hills, El Caney and San Juan Hill, overlooked the road to Santiago. U.S. soldiers continued their advance. The hills were taken by a cavalry regiment, known as the Rough Riders, personally recruited and led by future president Theodore Roosevelt. The daring attack was described by the well-known war correspondent Richard Harding Davis:

> There were a few men in advance, bunched together, and creeping up a steep hill, the tops of which roared and flashed with flame. It was a miracle of self-sacrifice and a triumph of bull dog courage which one watches with breathless wonder.

Even with his successes on San Juan and El Caney, General Shafter's position was not good. An outbreak of yellow fever and food poisoning (which killed 13 times more soldiers than Spanish bullets did) reduced the effectiveness of his troops. Fortunately, the Spanish were in a worse position. Admiral Cervera was ordered to break out of Santiago harbor. He set sail on July 3, 1898 and was immediately hammered by a vastly superior American fleet under Admiral William T. Sampson.

With the destruction of Cervera's fleet, the Spanish forces in Cuba were left with no way of receiving either supplies or reinforcements. Thus, Spain felt it had no choice but to surrender its army of 200,000 men to a far smaller force of American and Cuban soldiers. The date of the surrender was July 16, 1898. Two weeks later, Puerto Rico

also fell into U.S. hands. For the United States, it had been, as Secretary of State John Hay bragged, "a splendid little war."


General Leonard Wood

When the fighting in Cuba ended with a dramatic victory over Spanish forces, the major responsibility of American troops in Cuba was to restore local rule and establish an orderly society. There was much that needed doing. The island's economy had been all but destroyed during three years of guerrilla attacks by Cubans and the brutal retaliation of the Spanish. Much of the damage was repaired under the able leadership of General Leonard Wood. His record of achievement deserves noting:

> …food and clothing were furnished to thousands of families. A rural police force was organized. The guerrilla army was disbanded, and its members shared a $3,000,000 bonus provided by the United States. Courts, city and town governments, and customs services were re-organized. Prisons were cleared and most political prisoners were released. Landholders received help cultivating their fields, and sugar production was quickly resumed. Cattle were imported and sold on easy terms to farmers. Harbors were dredged, and docks built. Highway and railway projects were begun. Public schools, almost non-existent under Spanish rule, were increased. The University of Havana was re-opened.
>
> The most noteworthy accomplishment was the eradication of yellow fever. For fifty years this dreaded disease caused an average of 751 deaths each year in Havana. Working together a U.S. doctor, Walter Reed, and a Cuban physician, Carlo Finley, identified a type of mosquito that carried the disease and cleared out is breeding places. Within three years, the disease was virtually eliminated.[2]

The Platt Amendment

The United States also helped the people of Cuba write their own constitution. Cubans who had fought against the Spanish elected delegates to a constitutional convention. They wrote a document similar to the U.S. Constitution. The Cuban constitution provided for an elected president, two houses of congress, and a supreme court, as well as a bill of rights.

Though generally pleased with the decisions made at this convention, many in the U.S. government didn't think that Cuba was ready for complete independence. Congress felt a guarantee was needed to ensure that Cuba would maintain a special relationship with the United States, and therefore they drew up a list of eight special provisions for the Cuban constitution. Several of these articles, known collectively as the Platt Amendment, are listed below:

2 Quoted in Hubert Herring, A History of Latin America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961) pp. 407–08

- The government of Cuba may never enter into a treaty [with any country but the United States] that will tend to reduce its independence
- The Cuban government shall not assume any public debt or debt to a foreign country that it cannot repay with ordinary revenues.
- U.S. may exercise the right to intervene [militarily] in Cuba for maintaining a government capable for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty.
- Cuba shall sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for a coaling or naval stations [today, Guantánamo].
- That all Acts and rights assumed by the United States during its military occupation of Cuba shall be maintained by the United States.
- Cuba will include the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the United States.

Members of the Cuban constitutional convention were told to incorporate the Platt Amendment into their constitution. American leaders thought that the amendment contained reasonable provisions for assuring Cuba's independence and stability while rewarding the United States for its efforts to free it. The convention initially rejected the amendment. Some thought it was the "equivalent to delivering up the key of our house so that [anyone] can enter it at all hours when the desire takes them." The convention was told that U.S. troops would remain in Cuba until the amendment was ratified. This threat and the promise of a favorable trade treaty convinced 16 of the 27 delegates to vote for the amendment.

Take the position of a Cuban or U.S. patriot and write a strong paragraph arguing either for or against the Platt Amendment. Come to class prepared to present your opinion, listen to the opinions of others, and to either defend yours or change your mind.

Chapter 2. Keep the Philippines?
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter asks students to decide whether the U.S. should have kept the Philippines. They first learn how Dewey's great victory at Manila Bay and Aguinaldo's insurrection all but dislodged Spanish forces from the islands' capital. Students read excerpts from the debate in the Senate over taking possession of this unexpected prize from the Spanish-American War. The excerpts cover economic and moral issues. Students are not first informed of the Filipino uprising in a desperate bid for full independence and the brutal tactics American forces used to suppress it. That story is saved for the "For Further Consideration" section of the reading. Afterwards, students are asked whether they wish to reconsider their decision on keeping the archipelago.

Objectives:

Students will:

- learn the circumstances under which the U.S. acquired the Philippines
- assess several economic and moral arguments for and against keeping the Philippines
- understand that American occupiers of the Philippines encountered stiff resistance and resorted to brutal methods to suppress it

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Begin by asking a student to find the Philippines on a wall map and show its proximity to China. Next, ask students why the U.S. fleet found itself in Manila harbor at the onset of a war to free Cuba. Review who Aguinaldo was, why Dewey brought him to the Philippines, and what this Filipino revolutionary accomplished there. After that, ask students to explain all of the arguments in their reading for keeping the Philippines or for letting the Filipinos have their independence, and which argument they found most convincing. You might indicate that the economic argument for keeping the Philippines more or less assumed that the wealth it would bring American businessmen would trickle down to workers and consumers in the U.S. There should be enough time left to have the students who read the "For Further Consideration" section to inform their classmates about what happened after the U.S. decided to keep the Philippines. They should also tell their classmates about the tactics used to suppress a rebellion by people who preferred having their independence to being ruled by the U.S.

Chapter 2. Keep the Philippines?
I-Chart

	Why the U.S. acquired the Philippines	Economic and moral arguments for and against keeping the Philippines	Whether the U.S. made the right decision and for the right reasons
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 2, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 2, Part II			
What I would still like to learn			

Chapter 2—Keep the Philippines?

effective	exhaustion	leisurely
commercial	principles	prey
encircle	civilized	enormous

Chapter 2—Keep the Philippines?

Able to efficiently accomplish something	State of being very physically or mentally tired, or both	Slowly and without hurrying
Having to do with trade	Values, ideals, and/or important beliefs	Usually an animal that is hunted and eaten, but can apply metaphorically to humans as well
To surround	On a high moral, intellectual, or cultural level, or living in a complex society	Very large

Chapter 2

Keep the Philippines?

Like Cuba, the Philippines had been under Spanish control for some 300 years. In addition to bringing their language and religion to the Philippines, Spain established its capital city, Manila, at the site of a pre-European 12th-century port. Most of the nine million islanders, however, lived in isolated villages much like the ones in which their ancestors had lived for hundreds of years.

It has been said that President McKinley did not know whether the Philippines were islands or canned goods. Whether or not this comment was true, it illustrated just how little people in the U.S. knew about the Philippines when this collection of islands in the Pacific Ocean suddenly fell into America's lap. This chapter explains how America came to possess the islands and asks you to decide whether the United States should have kept them.

How the U.S. Acquired the Philippines

On April 25, 1898, the U.S. declared war on Spain in order to free Cuba. Instead of targeting Spanish forces in Cuba, however, the U.S. began with an attack on the Spanish fleet in the Philippines, about 13,000 miles from Cuba. One might ask why the U.S. began a war to free Cuba with an attack on an island 13,000 miles away. The answer is that future President Theodore Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the Navy at the time, had telegraphed orders to Admiral George Dewey. Dewey, whose ships were stationed in Hong Kong on the China coast (see map), was told to destroy the Spanish fleet in the Philippines as soon as war with Spain was declared. Dewey arrived in Manila Bay in time to do battle with the ten-ship Spanish fleet on May 1, 1898. Badly

Admiral George Dewey

outgunned, the Spanish commander ordered his vessels away from Manila shore batteries to prevent stray shells from hitting the city. He stationed them in shallow water so his sailors could wade ashore after their ships were sunk.

"You may fire when ready, Gridley," was the famous command Dewey gave to his subordinate to start the battle. The Americans then proceeded at a leisurely pace and even took time off to eat breakfast. By late afternoon, 381 Spanish sailors had been killed. Dewey destroyed or disabled the entire Spanish fleet and their admiral surrendered. Only one American lost his life in this one-sided battle, and he died from heat exhaustion in the over-130-degree temperature of his ship's boiler room.

The Conquest of the Philippines

Admiral Dewey had no army at his command in Manila and could not follow up on his impressive naval victory with an attack on Spanish soldiers in the capital. However, he brought a Filipino patriot with him who had been exiled from the Philippines because he tried to overthrow the Spanish government. Dewey now offered this Filipino, Emilo Aguinaldo, an opportunity to free his country.

Emilio Aguinaldo

Once he returned to the Philippines, Aguinaldo organized an effective armed force that started to encircle Spanish troops in Manila. However, when 11,000 American soldiers arrived six weeks later they replaced the Filipino army. Eventually, the Americans, and not the Filipinos, accepted the surrender of the Spanish and occupied Manila. The U.S. did not allow Filipino troops into the capital city of their own country. This created a serious problem between the Filipinos, who were fighting for their own freedom, and the Americans, who claimed they had come to free them.

By this time, the U.S. had also succeeded in battles on land and sea to take control of Cuba and Puerto Rico. (See Chapter 1.) The U.S. needed to decide what to do with them. It was generally agreed that the U.S. would honor its promise under the Teller Resolution and free Cuba. America had already decided to keep Puerto Rico, and after much hesitation and prayer, President McKinley concluded that the U.S. should keep the Philippines as well. He decided to buy the Philippines and Guam from Spain for $20,000,000. The treaty with Spain was completed in December 1899 and sent to be ratified by the Senate. A debate in the Senate soon followed on the question of whether the U.S. should keep the Philippines. Some of the arguments made on both sides follow below:

Senator Teller

I do not want to give [the Philippines] up because to give them up would be to leave those people in a worse condition than they were when we took away the power of Spain. We may not leave them a prey to their own vices. We leave them to be a prey of all Europe. We must stand up for them.

…There can be no greater glory than taking eight or ten million men, and lifting them up and putting them on the plane of citizenship in a great nation…It does mean that you give them the protection of the flag. It means you shall stand between them and foreign powers; that you give them moral aid, and the moral encouragement, which will enable them to take care of themselves.

Senator McLaurin

It is not in obedience with God's will that we are allowing a career of conquest in the Philippines…The sword…will never spread the religion of Jesus Christ or Moses. I am in favor of the United States continuing as a peaceful country, not as a conquering empire. I would not sell the principles upon which our Republic is founded for a mess of [stew] in the Philippines. Why should we run after "strange gods?" Let this Government move along in the same [path] that changed a few scattered colonies, into a great nation. Let us continue to fan a feeble spark [of liberty] into a beacon of light among the nations of the earth.

Senator Lodge

I believe, we shall find arguments in favor of keeping the Philippines as valuable possessions, and the source of great profit.

First, as to the islands themselves. From them comes now the best hemp in the world, and there is no tropical product which cannot be raised there. Their forests are untouched and include numerous hard woods of great value. There are regions containing great and valuable deposits of copper. But the chief mineral of these islands is their undeveloped coal beds which are believed to exist everywhere. To a naval and commercial power the coal will be a source of great strength.

With the development of these islands…the consumption of foreign imports (notably from the U.S.) would rapidly advance. We shall also find great profit in the work of developing the islands. They require railroads everywhere. Those railroads would be planned by American engineers, the rails and bridges would come from American mills, the locomotives and cars from American workshops. The same would hold true in regard to electric railways, electric lighting, telegraphs, telephones, and steamships for the local business. It will also be seen that our exports to China, Hong Kong, and Japan in 1899 [grew] over 1889 was 246%…

Senator Caffery

Do we want this territory as a means of power? It is a source of weakness. Do we want it as an avenue of trade?…Nine-tenths of our exports go to our neighbors in western Europe. And sir, it is obvious, that [they won't serve as markets for our surplus goods. We are capturing the markets of civilized man. Five-sixth of the enormous exports of the United States go to Great Britain. The statistics show that not one-tenth of the exports of the United States go to Asia, Africa, and South America. Our manufactures, our surplus cereals, all that we can not consume, we must send them to people who will consume them.

Sir, those distant possessions would cost more in ten years for bases than they could yield profit to the United States in a century. They would be the graveyard of our youth. What an avenue they would [be]…for piling up taxes to keep up bases, standing armies, and war vessels!

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises

1. Explain why the war to free Cuba started with an attack on the Philippines.

2. Who was Emilio Aguinaldo, and what role did he play in the defeat of Spain's forces in the Philippines?

B. Graphic Organizer

Complete the following charts with arguments from each of the four speeches favoring or opposing keeping the Philippines. Include a few facts from each argument.

Argument for Keeping the Philippines

Economic Argument by:	Moral Argument by:

Argument against Keeping the Philippines

Economic Argument by:	Defense Argument by:

C. Extra Credit

Write a speech of no fewer than 100 words on why the U.S. should or should not have kept the Philippines. Use ideas from two of the arguments contained in the unit, and, if you wish, any observations of your own.

For Further Consideration: Keeping the Philippines

Filipino dead

About the same time that the Senate voted to keep the Philippines, Emilo Aguinaldo started a rebellion against U.S. soldiers occupying his country. Aguinaldo did not want to replace Spanish rulers with American overseers. Officially, the fighting lasted for three years; unofficially, for six. The guerrillas conducted surprise attacks against the Americans and then disappeared into peaceful villages. Unable to capture their elusive enemy, U.S. soldiers began herding men, women, and children into camps similar to the *reconcentrados* in Cuba. Anyone outside these camps ten years and older was considered dangerous and ran the risk of being tortured and/or killed**.**

One soldier wrote home:

> We bombarded a place called Malabon, and then we went in and killed every native we met, men, women, and children. It was a dreadful sight, the killing of the poor creatures. The natives captured some of the Americans and literally hacked them to pieces, so we got orders to spare no one.

U.S. troops burned entire villages to the ground, seized and destroyed food, killed domestic animals, and uprooted crops. Though the official figure recognized by the U.S. government is far less, some have estimated that well over a quarter million Filipinos, including victims of starvation and disease, died in the fight for their independence. The U.S. used 70,000 American soldiers (mostly former Indian fighters) to put down the rebellion at the cost to the American taxpayer of $175 million. The fighting ended only after Aguinaldo (who was captured under a flag of truce) urged his compatriots to give up their resistance.

At the same time that American soldiers pursued Filipino nationalists in far-off islands, the U.S. showed a much different side of its relations with the Filipinos, restoring public buildings, repairing roads and bridges, building railroads, and stringing telegraph lines. The U.S. also instituted a Philippine government using the American constitution as a model. Filipinos were allowed to elect a House of Representatives, but the U.S. appointed governors who could veto all acts by the Filipino Congress and appointed senators whose powers were equal to members of the House of Representatives. Over

the next 45 years, the U.S. granted more and more autonomy to the Filipinos. After driving the Japanese occupying forces out of the islands at the end of World War II, the U.S. granted the Filipinos their independence on July 4th, 1946, 47 years after America had concluded its war with Spain for the sole purpose of freeing Cuba.

One American who took a lead in criticizing the U.S.'s actions in the Philippines was the famous novelist and humorist, Mark Twain:

> I thought we should act as their protector—not try to get them under our heel. We were to relieve them from Spanish tyranny to enable them to set up a government of their own, and we were to stand by and see that it got a fair trial. It was not to be a government according to our ideas, but a government that represented the feeling of the majority of the Filipinos, a government according to Filipino ideas. That would have been a worthy mission for the United States. But now—why, we have got into a mess, a quagmire from which each fresh step renders the difficulty of extrication immensely greater. I'm sure I wish I could see what we were getting out of it, and all it means to us as a nation.

Write a strong paragraph either supporting or criticizing the decisions the United States made in the Philippines. Be prepared to present your opinion, to listen to the opinions of others, and to either defend your own or change your mind.

Chapter 3.The Panama Canal and How the U.S. Obtained the Right to Build It Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter raises questions about means and ends as they apply to the U.S.'s right to build a canal through Panama. Students learn about the age-old desire to build a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and Ferdinand de Lesseps's ill-fated attempt to construct a sea-level passage through what then was Colombia. The narrative continues by focusing attention on Theodore Roosevelt's conspiring with the New Panama Canal Company's Philippe Bunau-Varilla to foment a revolution in Panama, a province of Colombia. Students find out that within two weeks of the revolution, the U.S. signed a treaty with the newly independent country of Panama, and shortly afterwards bought the rights to the excavations and buildings left by the French from the New Panama Company. The treaty gave the United States the right to build a canal and exercise sovereign power in perpetuity over the 10-by-53-mile zone reserved for this inland waterway. The Graphic Organizer asks students to sort arguments in a chart according to whether they justify or condemn U.S. actions. The "For Further Consideration" section describes the extraordinary achievement of American engineers and machinery in building a world-class lock canal over the same terrain that completely thwarted de Lesseps.

Objectives:

Students will:

- understand why a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans was needed
- realize the difficulties of the task of constructing the canal and the Americans' ingenuity in completing it
- know that the U.S. used high-handed but not necessarily unjustified methods to obtain the rights to build the canal

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Start by asking students if any of them have or know someone who has traveled through the Panama Canal Zone. Next, raise the issue of means and ends and ask how it might have applied to Theodore Roosevelt's efforts to obtain the right to build the canal. Follow up on this question by asking whether it's all right for a country to use any means necessary in order to achieve beneficial results. Halt discussion on this question after a few minutes and solicit students' help in answering the following:

- Explain why a canal through Central America, if not actually a necessity, provides a great convenience for the defense of the U.S. and for international trade.
- How large a part did the U.S. play in the revolt that secured Panama's independence from Colombia, and how did the U.S. and the new Panama Canal Company benefit from this action at Colombia's expense?
- With help from students who have read the "For Further Consideration" section, contrast the difficulties experienced by the French Canal Company with America's success in building the canal.

Finally, return to the means vs. ends conundrum by reviewing students' answers to the Graphic Organizer and letting the discussion flow from that framework.

Chapter 3.The Panama Canal and How the U.S. Obtained the Right to Build It I-Chart

	Why is the Panama Canal important to the U.S. and the world?	How did the U.S. get the right to build the canal?	Was the U.S. justified in the means it used to obtain the right to build the canal?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 3, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 3, Part II			
What I still would like to know			

Chapter 3—The Panama Canal and How the U.S. Obtained the Right to Build It

immense	international highway	isthmus
ratification	negotiate	eruption
ambassador	inquiring	secession

Chapter 3—The Panama Canal and How the U.S. Obtained the Right to Build It

Huge, very large	Waterway or road open to all countries	A narrow strip of land between two bodies of water
Officially agreeing to a deal that had been worked out by others; in the U.S., the Senate ratifies treaties	To try to come to an agreement through discussion and compromise	An explosion or outburst, often associated with volcanoes
Person who is appointed to represent his/her country in another nation for an extended period of time	Asking in a thoughtful way	When part of a country leaves the rest of the country. For example, the South seceded from the Union, leading to the Civil War

Chapter 3

The Panama Canal and How the U.S. Obtained the Right to Build It

Introduction

This chapter explains the complicated story of how the United States obtained the right to build a canal through what was once part of Colombia. You will be asked whether the United States did anything wrong in obtaining this right.

De Lesseps's Folly

In 1513, a Spanish explorer by the name of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa looked out at the vast Pacific Ocean. He was the first white man to cross the thin strip of land separating the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Ever since, people dreamed of building a canal to link these two bodies of water. However, it wasn't until the California Gold Rush of 1849 that this dream began its journey to reality. In six difficult years, Americans built a railroad across Colombia's Isthmus of Panama to connect two steamship lines — one on the Atlantic and the other on the Pacific. Several thousand workers died completing what was the most expensive railroad project of its day. Those who lived survived many dangers, including malaria, yellow fever, poisonous snakes, seemingly bottomless swamps, and a river that rose a full 40 feet above its bed during the rainy season.

In the 1870s, a famous French engineer by the name of Ferdinand de Lesseps was put in charge of a project to replace the railroad connecting the Atlantic to the Pacific with a canal. De Lesseps had won worldwide fame for completing the Suez Canal, which connected the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. However, his attempt at canal building in Panama was a disaster from the very beginning. Malaria and yellow fever took the lives of French engineers, their families, and the hapless men who did the hard work. Altogether, 20,000 people died over the course of eight years. Landslides of mud filled holes in hours that had taken weeks to dig. Machines rusted in the rains and broke under heavy loads. The river Chargres rose more than normal and wiped out the railroad tracks that had been built above it 30 years earlier.


Ferdinand de Lesseps

After eight difficult years, de Lesseps was forced to give up his dream of building a canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. By this time, it had already cost twice the original estimate of $131 million. The French *Campaigne du Canal* company declared bankruptcy, having finished less than one-third of the canal. Investigations of its financial dealings revealed that de Lesseps and the company's directors had lied about or covered up deaths, cave-ins, malaria, broken machinery, and pickled corpses sent to French medical schools to help pay the bills. The directors had bribed French politicians, reporters, editors, and businessmen to keep these dirty secrets from the public.

Reasons for Building a Path Connecting Two Oceans

America's interest in building an inter-ocean canal was voiced by some important U.S. leaders in the 1890s, including Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, naval strategist Alfred Mahan, and future President Theodore Roosevelt. They pointed out that a canal would shorten the ocean voyage between New York and San Francisco by 8000 miles, allow a single U.S. fleet to pass through it and defend both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, save millions of dollars every year transporting materials and passengers from one coast to another, and serve as an international highway for all countries to use.

Panama or Nicaragua?


Phillipe Bunau-Varilla

President Roosevelt was willing to allow Congress to decide whether the U.S. should build a canal through Colombia or through Nicaragua. Congress wanted to make the best possible choice for the United States, but it ended up listening to an agent for the New Panama Canal Company, a successor to the one ruined by de Lesseps's immense failure. The director of the company was Philippe Bunau-Varilla. By prior agreement, the New Panama Company had until December 31, 1903 before the areas improved by the old canal company—as well as the construction machinery, railroad track, locomotives and other equipment—would belong to Colombia. After that, Colombia and not the New Panama Canal Company could sell these rights for the $40 million that the New Panama Canal Company was demanding.

Congressmen serving on a committee to inspect the sites where the canal might be built were first invited to France. They were wined and dined for five weeks and presented with the French version of the value of the property in Colombia. A volcanic eruption in Nicaragua, the first in 68 years, also influenced Congress to choose the Panama route. President Roosevelt agreed with Congress and sent Secretary of State

John Hay to make a treaty with Colombia. He wanted the U.S. to get the right to build a canal through the northern part of the country known as Panama.

The Hay-Herran Treaty, Negotiated and Rejected by Colombia

When the talks between Hay and Colombia appeared to stall, the U.S. threatened to build a canal through Nicaragua. The threat worked, and a treaty was signed in the fall of 1902, which gave the U.S. the right to build a canal on a strip six miles wide and 53 miles long. The U.S. was granted complete control over the entire area, but would be left on its own to negotiate for property belonging to the New Panama Canal Company. In exchange for these privileges, the U.S. agreed to pay Colombia $10 million and an additional $250,000 a year until the year 2000. Afterwards, the canal would belong to Colombia.

President Roosevelt sent the treaty to the U.S. Senate, where it was quickly ratified. However, the Colombian Senate delayed ratification because the rights of the Panama Canal Company to the work it had completed were due to expire in a year. In the words of the *New York Times* on December 30, 1903, Colombia's failure to ratify this treaty was:

> "to…get the $40,000,000 for Colombia and themselves instead allowing it to be paid to the canal company"[1]

President Roosevelt Reacts and Panama Revolts

When Roosevelt heard that Colombia had delayed ratification, he exclaimed that the "jackrabbits" in Bogotá (Colombia's capital) should not be allowed to "bar one of the future highways of civilization," and predicted that "the state of Panama will secede if the Colombian Congress fails to ratify the canal treaty."

President Roosevelt was not making idle threats when he hinted at the possibility of secession. He spoke frequently to the man who had the most to gain by arranging for a revolution, Philippe Bunau-Varilla. Bunau-Varilla in turn often talked to Manuel Amador, the man he was hoping to make the president of an independent Panama.

In mid-October, Panama's future president sailed south to Panama (still part of Colombia) from New York City. Shortly afterwards, the *USS Nashville* headed for waters around Panama. Two weeks later, on November 3, 1903, a cable was sent from Washington to the *Nashville* inquiring whether the revolution had started. The answer was: not yet. Three hours later, however, the revolution did start. The main revolutionary force was a fire brigade paid by the New Panama Canal Company. The *Nashville*

1 In fact, the $40 million was transferred to J.P. Morgan for distribution among the New Panama Canal Company's stockholders.

quickly landed its troops to prevent Colombia from suppressing the revolt. The New Panama Canal Company bought off a Colombian admiral with $8000 and two cases of champagne, and paid a Colombian general $65,000 for not stopping the revolution.

The Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty

Before Manuel Amador left for Panama, Bunau-Varilla gave him what he thought the president would need to start a new country: a flag, a declaration of independence, a constitution, a secret code, and a promise of $100,000. He also appointed himself ambassador to the United States. Three days after the revolution, the U.S. recognized the new nation. Twelve days later, Ambassador Bunau-Varilla signed a treaty with the U.S. Although much like the original treaty with Colombia, the new one contained two important differences that favored the U.S.:

- It granted the U.S. a ten-mile path through Panama, as opposed to the six miles granted by Colombia.
- It also granted the U.S. permanent ownership of that path.

America's richest and most powerful banker, J.P. Morgan, was entrusted with 40 million dollars to transfer to the New Panama Canal Company as payment for the digging rights, improvements, and machinery that otherwise would have been turned over to Colombia. This satisfied the New Panama Canal Company, but Colombia was angry and claimed the U.S. had stolen the land by helping Bunau-Varilla plan and carry out the revolution which secured Panama's independence**.** Responding to criticism, President Roosevelt boasted:

> "...I took the isthmus, started the canal and then left Congress not to debate the canal, but to debate me."

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises

1. Why were the United States and the world better off with a canal connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans?

2. Describe the problems the French encountered in trying to build a sea-level canal through northern Colombia.

3. Why did the New Panama Canal Company and the U.S want to complete a treaty with Colombia before December 31, 1903? Why did Colombia want to wait until after December 31st?

4. How large a part did President Roosevelt play in helping Panama secure its independence from Colombia? Explain.

B. Graphic Organizer

Place the arguments under their proper heading in the chart. After placing the argument in its proper spot, put an "A" after the argument if you agree with it, and a "D" after the argument if you disagree with it.

Arguments for and against President Roosevelt's Methods for Getting the Right to Build the Canal

Arguments that Roosevelt Acted Properly	Arguments that Roosevelt Didn't Act Properly

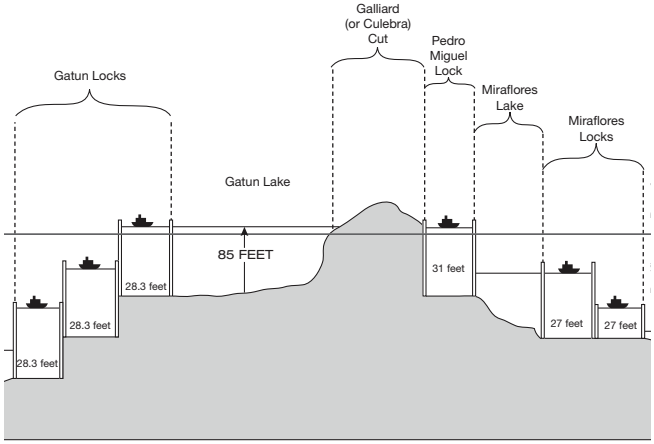
Arguments on both sides

The means used were justified by the ends obtained	Only the U.S. could have done the job well	Colombia had the right to reject the treaty
The U.S. practically stole Panama from Colombia	Panama belonged to Colombia	The means are often not justified by the ends
All the U.S. did was help Panama obtain its independence	The $40 million and the money for the right to build really belonged to Colombia	By not ratifying the treaty, Colombia was standing in the way of progress
	The canal would benefit both the U.S. and the world	

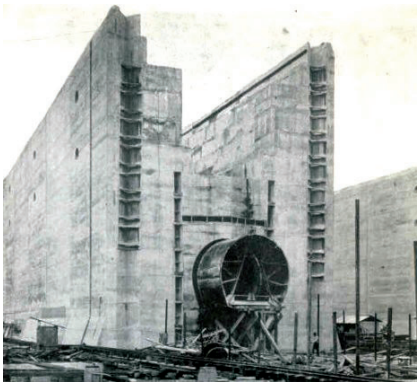
For Further Consideration: Building the Canal

Building the canal through 53 miles of mountains and treacherously rain-soaked soil required a brilliant feat of engineering and created one of the true wonders of the world. It required building six locks as wide as one football field and as long as three, constructing the world's largest artificial lake, removing more than 96 million cubic yards of dirt, rebuilding the French railroad, housing and feeding over 5200 men, and ridding the area of the scourges of yellow fever and malaria that had killed so many Frenchmen. All this was accomplished in ten years and cost $23 million less than had been budgeted.

Coming from either ocean, a ship would enter each lock when the water level was low. Then water would be pumped into the lock until the ship was high enough to be floated into the next lock. Upon reaching the high point, the ship would be taken through a lake in the middle of Panama. It would then move to a full lock that would be gradually drained and in stages be taken back down to sea level on the other side of the isthmus (see diagram).



Cross section of the Panama Canal
Each lock is 74 feet tall and 110 feet wide (or 33.5 meters).



A lock in the process of being built

Americans have good reasons to be proud of the engineering that built the canal and to be confident that the canal has great practical value. An average of 40 ships a day (14,000 a year) pass through the canal, at the cost of $1.08 a ton. The canal is open to international shipping. Control of the canal and the isthmus surrounding it has returned to Panama, which was given the primary right to run and defend it in two treaties signed in the 1970s.

Come to class with notes that will help you share what you learned about the U.S.'s achievement in building the Panama Canal and a strong paragraph either supporting or criticizing the methods used to obtain the right to build it. Be prepared to present your opinion, to listen to the opinions of others, and to either defend your own or change your mind.

Chapter 4. The Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary

Overview:

This chapter on the Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary considers three contrasting views of American intervention in the Caribbean during the early part of the 20th century. It starts with a quote from the Doctrine and continues with a brief account of the reasons why it was proclaimed. The chapter then flashes forward to the debt crisis in Venezuela of 1902 that prompted Luis Drago to articulate a doctrine that bore his name and also prompted President Roosevelt to add his corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. Students learn that the U.S. intervention and customs house takeover in the Dominican Republic was justified by the corollary but condemned by those who agreed with Drago. A chart shows the multiple interventions in Latin America, including and subsequent to the Spanish-American War, and the graphic organizer asks students to list arguments lauding or questioning U.S. intentions regarding its Caribbean policies.

Objectives:

Students will:

- understand the reasons for and question the morality of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine
- learn that U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic (in addition to what they had already studied) was one of numerous interventions in the Caribbean
- assess the motives for U.S. foreign policy in Central and South America during the period 1898–1920

Strategies:

Start by emphasizing that the Monroe Doctrine has been a central tenet of U.S. foreign policy during the 20th century. Next, ask whether any country has the right to invade another except in self-defense (for example, invading to collect money owed to the government or private citizens). Follow up by asking what Teddy Roosevelt and Luis Drago said on this topic, and if invasion can be justified by the desire to bring good government to a country suffering under an oppressive dictatorship. Next, review the facts of the Venezuelan and Dominican incidents. Should the U.S. be faulted for its actions in either case? After a quick review of the list of U.S. interventions in the Caribbean, ask students who read the “For Further Consideration” section to explain whether and why they think U.S. interventions in Caribbean countries (and the Philippines) were for idealistic reasons and to protect legitimate self-interests, or if they were selfishly nationalistic and paid little attention to the rights and sensitivities of the affected countries.

The Graphic Organizer can be used to prepare students to write an extended essay on the “For Further Consideration” question. You may want to help students

write this essay by reviewing the first four chapters in this unit and assisting them while they formulate their theses and supporting arguments.

Chapter 4. The Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary
I-Chart

	What I know about the Monroe Doctrine	What I know about the Roosevelt Corollary and the Drago Doctrine	What I know about motives for U.S. interventions in the Caribbean
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 4, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 4, Part II			
What I would still like to learn			

proclamation	system	manifestation
chronic	hostile act	corollary
customs house	anarchy	flagrant

An official announcement	Can refer to a form of government, like a democracy or a monarchy	An example or sign showing something
Something that continues for a long time –i.e. a chronic illness	Something done to hurt someone or something	An addition to something that follows logically
Where taxes on imports (tariffs) are collected	A state of lawlessness where there is no government or control	Deliberate and obvious violation of moral standards

administration	intervention	

Chapter 4—The Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary

	An action to prevent something unwanted from happening	A group such as a business or government that manages things

Chapter 4
The Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary

Introduction

> We shall consider any attempt on their part to impose their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

The famous Monroe Doctrine, which was announced by President James Monroe in 1823, contained the words quoted above. At the time, Russia, France, Prussia, and Austria were trying to help Spain get back its American colonies. Furthermore, Russia claimed land on what is now America's west coast. The U.S. announced that it opposed any foreign power imposing its "system" in the Western Hemisphere: eventually, the other countries backed off, but in many cases for reasons that might have had nothing to do with the president's famous proclamation. With one exception (the ill-fated attempt by France to establish an empire in Mexico), the Monroe Doctrine was all but forgotten by the year 1900.

In the early 20th century, President Theodore Roosevelt not only invoked the doctrine but also broadened it by adding his own "corollary." Roosevelt stated that in the cases of flagrant wrongdoing, the U.S. would act as an international policeman by invading a neighboring country to set its house in order. He believed that, with the U.S. as the "cop on the beat," countries such as Germany, France, or England would not have an excuse to take over other countries in the Western Hemisphere.

However, many Americans—and certainly most Latin Americans—opposed having the U.S. play the role of international policeman. They thought the U.S. did not have the right to land troops, build canals in, or manage the finances of other countries without their permission. This chapter raises the question of whether the U.S. should have assumed these rights.

Venezuela and the Roosevelt Corollary

On December 13, 1902, ships from Germany, England, and Italy bombarded a Venezuelan city. This hostile act occurred because Venezuela had failed to repay a debt owed to these countries. News of the attack brought a prompt response from President Roosevelt. In a show of U.S. naval strength, he sent a fleet under Admiral Dewey (of Manila harbor fame) on a well-timed maneuver in the Caribbean. Shortly afterwards, the three European countries announced that they would resolve their problems with Venezuela through binding arbitration, as Roosevelt had suggested.

The Drago Doctrine

The Venezuelan incident was a cause of great concern in other Latin American countries. Luis Drago, Argentina Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote that using force to collect debts was wrong. It did not matter to Drago whether the money was owed to American or European governments, private citizens, businessmen, or bankers. He believed that investors who lent money to foreign citizens or governments did so at their own risk. If a country failed to pay what it owed, it would not be able to borrow any more money in the future. Drago believed that governments had no more right to invade or attack other countries to collect money owed them than a private citizen had the right to use force to collect debts:

The Roosevelt Corollary

The Venezuelan affair prompted President Roosevelt to formulate what became known as his "corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine. Roosevelt thought that incidents like the one in Venezuela would probably happen again unless the U.S. took a firm stand. Roosevelt reasoned that if the U.S. collected the debts owed European countries, these countries wouldn't have an excuse to take over nations in the Western Hemisphere. He stated:

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

The Caribbean

The Roosevelt Corollary in the Dominican Republic

In its short history since independence from Spain, the Dominican Republic had been unable to establish a successful democratic government. Dominican peasants seldom had enough to eat, they hardly ever had the chance to attend school, and owning land for them was almost as impossible as owning a palace. Like many Latin American countries, a small elite class of plantation owners, army officers, and businessmen ruled the Dominican Republic. More concerned with their own welfare than the country's, their rule was marked by long periods of oppressive dictatorship interrupted by frequent revolutions, assassinations, and anarchy. Government officials frequently stole money from the customs houses where the main source of the government's income from tariffs was collected.

In 1905, the Dominican Republic reached a crisis point in its finances. It could not pay either the principle owed to foreign bankers or the interest on its loans. The government owed $32 million, with interest amounting to $2 million per year; meanwhile, the government's yearly tax receipts amounted to just $1.7 million.

Cartoon showing Roosevelt carrying a 'big stick' while acting as an international policeman in the Caribbean

With ships from three foreign countries preparing to use force to collect money they were owed, Roosevelt thought the situation in the Dominican Republic called for the use of his corollary. As an "international policeman," President Roosevelt negotiated with Dominican officials. He convinced them to promise they would pay American investors by turning over their money from the customs house to the U.S. When payments stopped, a U.S. firm began collecting taxes on imports. The U.S. had made arrangements to have its own citizens' debts repaid, but neglected to get any help for friendly European nations; this omission caused widespread anger in Europe. Roosevelt decided to stop the international complaints by negotiating a new agreement with the Dominicans that reduced their debt. In exchange, the Dominicans allowed the U.S. to collect customs duties on incoming goods and divide the money equally between European and American creditors as well as the Dominican government.

As a result of the agreement Roosevelt negotiated, the Dominican Republic's customs house was administered honestly for the first time in its history. The Dominican Republic remained under financial supervision from 1905 to 1941, even though many Dominicans thought the U.S. should allow them to run their own country without interference. Marines landed in the Republic in 1913, again from 1916 to 1924, and once again in 1965. To this day, people still think the U.S. did the right thing in 1905, but many Dominicans resent the interventions in their country by the U.S.

Dollar Diplomacy and Other Interventions

President William Howard Taft, who succeeded Roosevelt, continued the practice of invading Caribbean countries. Taft's diplomatic objective was to have American bankers lend money to nations in Central America. He claimed this would prevent Latin Americans from running up debts that European countries would use as excuses to invade. He called attention to the need to protect the sea lanes leading to the Panama Canal as well as the canal itself. However, the British press labeled Taft's policy as "dollar diplomacy" and the term stuck.

As the following chart shows, right up to the end of the 20th century, American presidents continued the practice of invading or attempting to overthrow unfriendly governments, and/or to occupy Latin American countries.

Country	Years of Intervention	Country	Years of Intervention
Haiti	1905–1941 1995	Panama	1903–1999 1989
Nicaragua	1909–1910 1911–1924 1926–1933 1981–1989	Cuba	1898–1902 1906–1909 1917 and 1934 1961–present
Mexico	1914 1916–1917	Puerto Rico	1901–present
Guatemala	1954	Grenada	1983

[1]

1 This chart does not include diplomatic and financial pressures exerted on these countries; it also does not imply that intervention was necessarily either good or bad for the country or if it was done for self-serving or idealistic motives.

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises

1. Contrast the reasoning of the Drago Doctrine with the thinking behind the Roosevelt Corollary. With which do you agree? State your reasons.

2. What conditions in the Dominican Republic prompted Roosevelt to take control of its customs houses?

3. Comment on the above action from the perspectives of both Luis Drago and President Roosevelt.

B. Graphic Organizer

In the chart below, record your own arguments (no list is supplied) for and against U.S. policy in the Caribbean, 1898–2008. Make sure you have made at least three arguments on both sides that you could (if required) expand into an essay of 500 words or more.

The U.S. did a good job protecting its interests and not needlessly violating the rights of other countries	**The U.S. continually did what was best for itself without concern for the rights of the people or the countries in the area**

For Further Consideration: Three Different Interpretations for America's Latin America Policy

Historians hold sharply divided opinions about the motives for U.S. policies in the Caribbean. Some believe that the U.S. was merely trying to protect itself by keeping European countries from forcing Latin American countries to allow them to build military bases close to the U.S. Others claim the U.S. has been bent on helping big businessmen make money. A third school of thought holds that the U.S. was and still is really generous in helping other countries by protecting them against their own mistakes and foreign aggression.

Each of these positions is represented here in the words of men well qualified to speak on the subject. For some 40 years or more, Samuel Flagg Bemis has been a recognized expert in diplomatic history. Smedley Butler, the second author, was a U.S. Marine who participated in a number of the interventions mentioned in this unit. The third author, Elihu Root, served as Secretary of State under President Theodore Roosevelt and was directly involved in obtaining the customs receivership in the Dominican Republic.

Samuel Flagg Bemis

> Dollar diplomacy was not designated to profit private interests. It was intended rather to support the foreign policy of the United States; in the instance of Latin America to support the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, Taft was following *the instincts and traditions of continental security.* Nicaragua, like the Dominican Republic, like Panama, like Haiti was one of the states in the entire world where least American capital was invested. It is a well-known fact that it was only with difficulty that the Department of State was able to persuade bankers to invest their funds for political purposes.

Smedley Butler

> I spent thirty-three years and four months in active service as a member of the country's most agile military force — the Marine Corps. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street, and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism.
>
> Thus I helped make Mexico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras "right" for American fruit companies in 1903.

Elihu Root

> We believe the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest members of the human family of nations are entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest. We deem the observance of that respect the chief guarantee of the weak against the oppression by the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, nor privileges, nor powers that we do not freely give to every American Republic. We wish to help all friends in Latin America to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

After looking at a few places where the U.S. has used military force, you might be ready to decide what motivated U.S. conduct in its Caribbean policy. Was the United States a muscleman for Wall Street, motivated by a desire to help bankers and big business? Was America motivated mainly by a desire to help other countries, or was the government primarily concerned with national defense? You be the judge. Come to class with a written outline of how you would answer this question, and be prepared to share your ideas with others.

Chapter 5. Neutrality and the *Lusitania*
Teachers' Page

Overview:

This chapter begins a mini-unit on U.S. involvement in World War I that starts with the *Lusitania* crisis and ends with the debate over ratifying the Versailles Treaty. Chapter 5 begins by defining the term "war crime" and providing a brief summary of the early 20th-century consensus on what the term meant. The chapter mentions two blockades: the first imposed by England against Germany, and the second a retaliatory one by Germany when it made its declaration of submarine warfare. The chapter then proceeds with a long excerpt describing the ill-fated last voyage of the *Lusitania,* and asks several questions about whether the sinking was justified and how President Wilson should have responded. The "For Further Consideration" section requires students to complete a graphic organizer asking them to classify a variety of statements as either supporting England's or Germany's position on whether the sinking of the *Lusitania* was justified.

Objectives:

Students will:

- learn that nations have, over a long period, tried to limit the conduct of war by protecting neutral nations and non-combatants
- decide whether the sinking of the *Lusitania* should be classified as a war crime
- decide what the U.S. should have done in response to the *Lusitania* incident

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: You should start by asking students what they know about how World War I began. Next, ask your class to review the "rules of war" and ask them whether countries should be expected to obey them. Follow this up by asking your students to share their answers to the questions about the *Lusitania* sinking: Was it justified? Were the crew and passengers adequately warned? How should President Wilson have responded to this apparent violation of the rules of war?

The "For Further Consideration" section asks advanced students to complete the Graphic Organizer instead of doing extra reading. The organizer requires them to place arguments and statements of fact under the headings of justifying or not justifying the sinking of the *Lusitania* without explicit prior warning. Students who complete this section should share their answers with their classmates.

Chapter 5. Neutrality and the *Lusitania*
I-Chart

	What are the "rules of war"? Provide some examples.	Did Germany have the right to impose a submarine blockade on England?	Was sinking the Lusitania without an immediate warning a war crime?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 5			
What I would still like to learn			

international rules	unprovoked attack	regulation
restrictions	fragile	contraband
	blockade	inexcusable

Rules that apply to more than one nation	An attack that comes without a good reason	An official rule or law which states what can and can't be done
Rules that limit what may be done	Easily broken	In time of war, goods that a neutral country may not supply to either side; could also refer to goods that are brought in illegally
	An action taken to prevent goods from coming into another country; often a naval action	Unforgivable

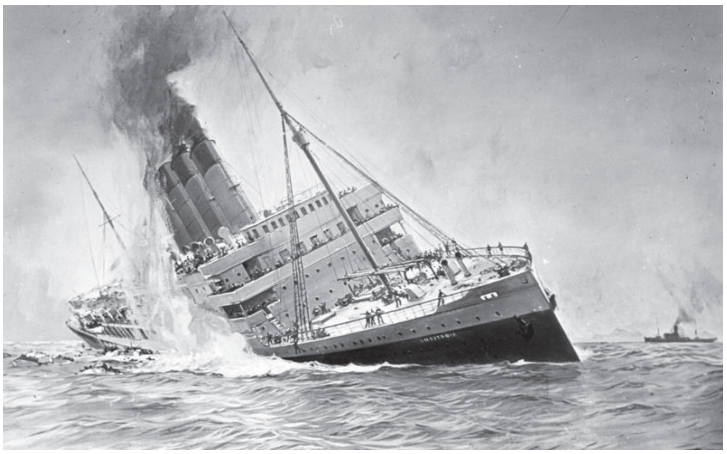
Chapter 5
Neutrality and the *Lusitania*

Introduction

Rules for war! Many wonder if it's possible to make workable rules that would help protect civilians and neutral nations in times of war. However, several countries have agreed on a number of regulations stating what nations are not allowed to do while at war. Among the most important points of agreement were the following:

- Neutral countries have the right to be free from unprovoked attacks.
- Neutral countries have the right to trade with countries at war.
- Unarmed and neutral ships carrying civilians have the right not to be attacked without enough warning to provide for their passengers' safety.

When a German submarine sank the *Lusitania*, the British luxury passenger liner, in May 1915, 124 Americans and more than 1000 other passengers and crew drowned. Many in the U.S. thought that Germany had committed a war crime. The German government claimed that the *Lusitania* was carrying 4000 cases of ammunition intended for British soldiers fighting Germany. If the sub had surfaced to warn the *Lusitania*, any heavy guns that might have been on board could have pierced the submarine's thin metal skin and sent it to the bottom of the ocean.



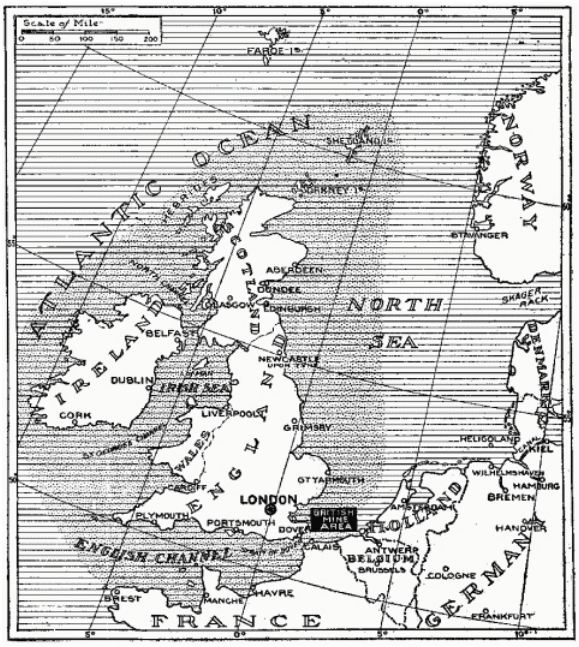
A painting showing the *Lusitania* minutes after the first torpedo struck

Was the German submarine commander guilty of a war crime? How should the United States have reacted to the untimely deaths of more than 100 of its citizens? These are some of the questions you will have to answer.

How the Rules of War Were Broken by Germany and England

The international rules of war were broken shortly after World War I started. In 1914, Germany's armies invaded neutral Belgium in order to attack France, and England announced a naval blockade of Germany. No neutral ship would be allowed to trade any contraband (war goods) with Germany without British officials first inspecting its cargo. England's definition of contraband expanded as the war continued. Originally the list covered only weapons, but as time wore on contraband included most food and clothing.

Submarine Warfare Announced and Debated



War zone declared by Germany

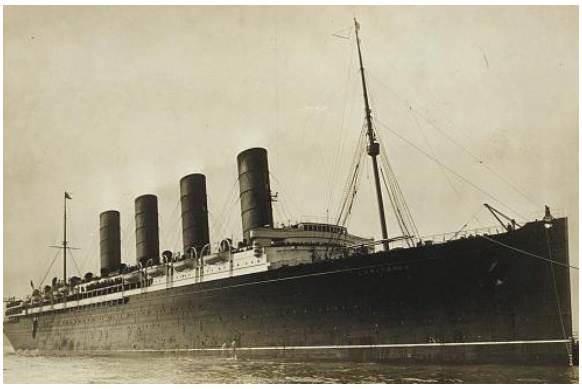
At first Germany answered Britain's blockade by planting mines along shipping routes in the North Sea. Germans hoped this would stop Britain's trade with Holland. However, in February 1915 Germany announced a new policy—unrestricted submarine warfare. Beginning on February 18th, German submarines would, without further warning, sink the ships of every enemy and neutral country within 300 miles of London. No exceptions would be made for passenger ships and no attempts would be made to give civilians time to board lifeboats.

The world was shocked by the news that Germany would sink passenger ships without regard for the lives of innocent civilians. Germany's new policy, many people believed, was a direct violation of the rules governing warfare that civilized countries had agreed to follow. However, Germany argued that its fragile submarines should not be treated like normal ships. If a submarine surfaced to warn of an oncoming attack, it could be sunk with a shell from a field gun mounted on the ship. Furthermore, German spokesmen pointed out that England's illegal food blockade could cause mass starvation and threatened Germany's survival as a nation. They claimed that the ammunition, rifles, explosives, and artillery that the U.S. was selling to England and its allies would be used to kill Germans. German officials also noted that the British often flew flags of neutral countries and transported ammunition on passenger ships. Finally, Germany reasoned, that since the U.S. had already allowed England to prevent food and clothing from reaching Germany, it would be unfair for the U.S. not to allow Germany to stop America's trade with England.

It is true that England had successfully blockaded Germany without serious objections from the United States. President Wilson allowed British officials to board U.S. ships bound for Germany and search for contraband. However, Wilson excused these restrictions because they involved only the loss of property and not of human lives. The president therefore told German leaders that he'd hold their country "strictly accountable" for the loss of American lives through submarine warfare.

The Last Voyage of the *Lusitania*

Like the *Titanic* three years earlier, the British passenger liner *Lusitania* was headed for an unexpected and tragic end after it had lifted anchor for a transatlantic voyage. As you read the following narrative, ask yourself if you think the passengers and the ship should have been allowed to sail; if the *Lusitania* and its passengers had enough warning; and whether sinking the ship should have caused the U.S. to declare war on Germany. The source of this intriguing account with its wealth of details is *Sports Illustrated*.



The *Lusitania*

Departure

The *Lusitania's* departure from New York had not been an ordinary sailing. Most papers carried a notice from the German embassy warning Americans of the risk they would run in traveling on a ship subject to U-boat (submarine) attack. The notice fell next to Cunard's [the shipping company's] advertisement that the queen of its fleet—the biggest, fastest, safest, and most luxurious liner in the trans-Atlantic trade—would leave New York on May 1, 1915. Mysterious messages were delivered that morning to the notables on board urging them to get off and stating the ship was to be sunk. Young Alfred Vanderbilt [one of the richest men in America] got one and tossed it away.

NOTICE!

Travelers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters [next] to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

Imperial German Embassy
Washington, D.C.
April 22, 1915

There was tension, but there were no cancellations. The new third mate remembers…"it was as if a cloud had passed over the sun and one felt a momentary chill."

Captain Turner was reassuring, pointing to the ship's 24-knot cruising speed. Cunard officials informed the press that the *Lusitania* was almost unsinkable, with her double bottom and her many compartments with their remotely controlled doors.

When the liner at last steamed down the Hudson River, she carried some 2000 people and a cargo of which half (including 4200 cases of ammunition) were for military use of the Allies.

Open Seas

There were no incidents during the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean. As the ship approached the war zone around the British Isles, Turner had the boats swung outboard for launching. There was one boat drill.

Whether or not Turner knew that 23 ships had been sunk in the war zone since he left New York no one can say. Certainly, he was aware there was submarine activity ahead. And he was aware of the navy's rules for passing through the danger area. These included, make landfall only at night, travel at full speed, and zigzag. Yet Turner made his landfall at midday, reduced speed sharply, and made no precautionary direction or speed changes.

The Attack

With the *Lusitania* committed to an [unchanging] speed and heading straight toward land, commander Schweiger was presented with a submariner's dream come true. He computed his shot and fired from 700 meters…"torpedo hits starboard side right behind the bridge... an unusually great explosion followed...a second must have taken place."

There was yammering, panic and frozen terror and occasional cold courage. Men forced their way ahead of women and children and were driven back by guns…Others refused to scramble for places on the boats and waited quietly for the waters to take them.

The starboard boats were lowered so frantically that one end often dropped below the other dumping the passengers into the sea. And during these last precious minutes, the 32,000-ton vessel rushed onward so that even properly launched boats often swamped as they struck water.

Eighteen minutes after taking a single torpedo, the "unsinkable" *Lusitania* sank. Many went down with the ship, many more splashed hopelessly in the calm, cold sea, holding onto anything that floated—including corpses. One lady sat in a wicker chair, undisturbed and unconscious. A few lifeboats circled, picking up swimmers. Others went away before they were half full.

Rescue vessels were a long time coming, particularly since a British Admiral delayed their warships, fearful that they might be sunk. At dusk, all the boats that had come out were gone again and there was nothing left alive in the darkening sea. A total of 1198 people had died, and 124 were Americans.

Were There Mounted Guns on the *Lusitania*?

No one could deny that the *Lusitania* was designed to double as an armed cruiser. But Robert Lansing, soon to replace William Jennings Bryan as Secretary of State said, "The absolute fact is that she had no guns, mounted or unmounted." Customs collector of the Port of New York so swore in court, as did Captain Turner. The top British naval brass, Cunard, and 109 survivors, all swore there were no guns. In New York, four witnesses came forward to contradict these statements. The chief of these, a German named Gustav Stahl, described in detail four hidden guns that he had seen aboard while visiting a friend before sailing. Stahl was believed to have been produced by German agents and his testimony was suspect. He was indicted for perjury by a federal grand jury in New York. On September 8, he pleaded guilty and was sent to prison where he remained for 18 months.

Reactions to the Sinking of the *Lusitania*

Americans were shocked by the news of the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the loss of so many innocent lives. Some people wanted to go to war; others demanded an immediate apology and cash payment for damages and lives lost. Still others said we should keep American passengers off ships sailing in the war zone and stop selling contraband to England and France. Two comments on opposite sides of the issue are provided below. As you read each comment, try to decide what should have been done to prevent similar incidents and whether the United States should have risked going to war in order to protect the rights of neutrals.

Ex-President Roosevelt is Outraged

This represents not merely piracy, but piracy on a vaster scale of murder than old-time pirates ever practiced...It is warfare against innocent men, women and children, traveling on the ocean, and our own fellow-countrymen and countrywomen, who are among the sufferers. It seems inconceivable that we can refrain from taking action in this matter, for we owe it not only to humanity but also to our own self-respect.

Germany's Position

The German Government believes that it acts in just self-defense when it seeks to protect the lives of its soldiers by destroying ammunition destined for the enemy...The English steamship company… quite deliberately tried to use the lives of American citizens as protection for the ammunition carried…[T]he rapid sinking of the *Lusitania* was primarily due to the explosion of the cargo of ammunition...

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises:

1. Do you think Germany was justified in imposing a submarine blockade on England and issuing a general warning rather than warning each ship immediately before attacking it? Why or why not?

2. To what extent was the sinking of the *Lusitania* the fault of the ship's captain and the United States government? Explain.

3. Was Germany guilty of committing a war crime by not giving adequate (enough) warning to the passengers, captain, and crew of the *Lusitania*? Explain.

B. Graphic Organizer

Place the arguments listed below under the proper heading in the following chart.

Was Sinking the *Lusitania* Justified?

Not Justified (England's Arguments)	**Justified (Germany's Arguments)**

The British were the first to use a blockade to weaken the enemy	Germany started World War I by invading neutral Belgium	The rules of war require allowing passengers to disembark before sinking their ship
If submarine surfaced to warn, it could be sunk	The British blockade resulted only in a loss of property—not human lives	The *Lusitania* was a passenger liner
You can't blame the captain for Germans sinking his ship	There was no way Schweiger could have known the *Lusitania* would sink in 18 minutes	Germany warned passengers before the *Lusitania* set sail
The *Lusitania* carried ammunition and other contraband		Captain Turner did not take necessary precautions during his voyage

For Further Consideration

Which of the following should President Wilson have done in response to a German submarine sinking the *Lusitania,* and why should he have done it?

a. asked Congress to declare war on Germany
b. prevented Americans from traveling to England and not allowed American ships to sail to England
c. threatened Germany with a declaration of war if no formal apology was made and submarine warfare continued

Write a strong paragraph supporting one of the three alternatives and come to class prepared to present your opinion, to listen to the opinions of others, and to either defend your own or change your mind.

Chapter 6. Reasons for and Against Going to War
Teacher Page

Overview:

Although this is a short chapter, it comes with a complex suggested teaching strategy. The chapter provides excerpts from speeches and writings on whether or not the U.S. should have declared war on Germany. The sources are Woodrow Wilson's famous appeal to "make the world safe for democracy," George Norris's rejoinder that the war would be for profits and not for ideals, and Walter Lippmann's post-World War I observation that U.S. security depends on "free, friendly, and trustworthy" powers controlling western Europe. Students are asked to break into three groups, with each group instructed to assume the role of one of these men and articulate his arguments in a debate.

Objectives:

Students will:

- assess compelling arguments for and against going to war based on ideals, economics, and defense
- think about the mixture of ideals, economics, and defense in explaining other U.S. foreign policy decisions

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: First, review all three arguments for and against going to war, and engage students in a discussion about the merits of each. Once you are sure that students understand all three of these arguments, divide the class into three groups and have each group prepare to show first which argument was the major reason for declaring war on Germany in 1917: to save the world for democracy; to continue profitable trade with England and help bankers recover the money lent to the allies; or to prevent one nation from dominating Europe. Next, ask each group to decide which argument should have been the major reason for the war. Have students expand their discussion to include the reasons for U.S. ventures in the Caribbean and the Philippines. It is possible that classes will conclude that economics, ideals, and defense all played a major role in shaping foreign policy.

Chapter 6. Reasons for and Against Going to War
I-Chart

	Whether the U.S. should have declared war on Germany	One strong reason the U.S. should not have declared war on Germany	Why the U.S. eventually declared war on Germany
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 6, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 6, Part II			
What I still want to learn			

compensation	indemnities	temporary
mangled	catastrophe	atrocities
	self-preservation	trustworthy

Chapter 6—Reasons for and Against Going to War

Payment for work done, damages, or losses	Repayment for losses or damage	For a short time
Terribly damaged	Something terrible that has happened, often involving a great loss of life	Very cruel acts, especially ones committed in time of war
	To save oneself or one's belongings	Can be counted on; dependable, reliable

Chapter 6
Reasons for and Against Going to War

Introduction

After the *Lusitania* incident, President Wilson won a diplomatic victory by putting heavy pressure on Germany. Germany not only promised to stop sinking ships coming to England from the U.S., but also paid money to the relatives of Americans who died as a result of the sinking. However, Wilson's victory for free trade during times of war was only temporary. On January 31, 1917, Germany announced a resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare beginning the very next day. Germany realized its actions would undoubtedly cause the U.S. to enter the war, but Germany was willing to take the chance that cutting off U.S. economic aid to England and France would bring victory before American troops could come to the aid of her allies. President Wilson broke off diplomatic relations with Germany, but still hoped war could be avoided. On March 18th, Germany sank three American ships. On April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war. At the end of this chapter, you will be asked what the real reason was for the United States to enter into this war.

Reasons for Going to War: Idealism

When President Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany, he mostly emphasized idealistic reasons for committing his nation to armed conflict. Stressing atrocities committed by Germany (such as its unprovoked attack on neutral Belgium, sinking of the *Lusitania*, and cruel treatment of the people in territories it occupied), the president urged the U.S. to fight for:

> **...**the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted on the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We seek no indemnities [rewards] for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Reasons for Not Going to War: Economics

President Wilson undoubtedly was sincere in calling upon his fellow citizens to wage war for idealistic and unselfish reasons. Others, however, suspected the real reason for the U.S. considering war was to continue its profitable trade with England and France and to assure the repayment of the billions of dollars lent to England and

its allies. The chart below provides a summary of the economic stake the U.S. had in the war.

Trade With England and Germany. 1914–16		
U.S. trade with England and Allies	**Year**	**Trade with Germany and Allies**
$824,000,000	1914	$169,000,000
$3,214,000,000	1916	$1,159,000
Loans to England and France		**Loans to Germany**
$2,300,000,000	1914–16	insignificant

The following excerpts from a speech by Senator George Norris present the argument that the U.S. was being called to go to war for profits and not for ideals:

> …Through the [acts of those] who have not only made millions out of the war in the manufacture of munitions, etc., and who would expect to make millions more if our country can be drawn into that catastrophe, a large number of the great newspapers…have been controlled and enlisted in the greatest propaganda that the world has ever known, to manufacture sentiment in favor of war. It is now demanded that the American citizens shall be used as insurance policies to guarantee the…enormous profits of munitions manufacturers, stockbrokers, and bond dealers must be still further created by our entrance into the war…
>
> To whom does the war bring prosperity? Not to the soldier who for…$16 per month shoulders his musket and goes into the trench, there to shed his blood and to die if necessary; not to the broken-hearted widow who waits for the return of the mangled body of her husband; not to the mother who weeps for the death of her brave boy...War brings no profit to the great mass of common and patriotic citizens. It increases the cost of living of those who work and those who already must strain every effort to keep soul and body together.

Reasons for Going to War: To Protect America

One reason for going to war that had little to do with either ideals or economics was provided 20 years after the war by Walter Lippmann, a well-known newspaper columnist:

> The great majority of Americans know by instinct and by reason that the control of the Atlantic Ocean is vital to the defense of the United States and of the whole Western Hemisphere. They know that for their physical security, that for the continuation of the free way of life, it is necessary that the other shore of the Atlantic Ocean should be held by free, friendly and trustworthy powers.
>
> The knowledge that the survival of Britain is necessary to the sure defense of America is as old as the American Republic itself…Alexander Hamilton knew it in 1797 when Napoleon began his conquest of Europe…Thomas Jefferson knew it in 1803 when Napoleon was threatening to invade England.

Thus two reasons existed for going to war: 1) idealism, to "save the world for democracy," and 2) self-preservation, by assuring "the survival of Britain." Only one reason existed for not going to war: that it would be fought to "guarantee profits." Which reasons were worth fighting for or staying out of the war? Why did the U.S. actually fight this war? Those are the questions you will be asked to answer.

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises

1. Make the case that Germany in 1917 was an "evil empire."

2. In two or more sentences for each, summarize:
   a. the reason Wilson gave for the U.S. declaring war on Germany

   b. the reason George Norris gave against declaring war on Germany

   c. the reason Walter Lippmann gave for the U.S. having declared war on Germany

B. Arguments for or Against Going to War

Be prepared to make an argument supporting one of the three reasons for or against declaring war on Germany. After being assigned to a group representing Wilson, Norris, or Lippmann, work to expand upon his arguments by referring to what you learned in this unit or other information that you already knew. Some examples of topics you might use are listed below:

1. **Wilson and idealism:** In addition to what Wilson said, refer to: how idealistic U.S. was in giving Cuba its freedom and helping it get on its feet; freeing the Philippines from rule by Spain; protecting countries in the Caribbean from intervention by foreign countries; America's great democratic traditions.

2. **Norris and economics:** In addition to what Norris said, refer to: the U.S. forcing the Platt Amendment on Cuba; imposing American rule on the Philippines; the Roosevelt Corollary; Dollar Diplomacy; stealing Panama from Colombia.

3. **Lippmann and Defense:** In addition to what Lippmann wrote, refer to: the Monroe Doctrine; the Panama Canal; the Roosevelt Corollary.

For Further Consideration

Prepare a written statement arguing that U.S. foreign policy in the late 19th and early 20th century was influenced primarily by economic self-interest, ideals, or legitimate considerations of defense. Include facts covering the U.S. entry into World War I and its policy decisions in the Philippines and in the Caribbean.

Chapter 7. The War at Home
Teacher Page

Overview:

As implied by the title, this chapter reviews activities on the domestic front during World War I. It covers sacrifices made by civilians, including higher taxes, the draft, as well as heatless and meatless days. The intent of this chapter, however, is to raise the following issue: When do considerations of national security justify abridging freedoms protected by the Bill of Rights? The chapter quotes relevant parts of the Sedition Act of 1918, the writings of Charles Schenck, and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes's "clear and present danger" decision. The chapter also summarizes the reasons for the hysteria that led Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer to authorize his infamous roundup of 6000 suspected radicals. The Graphic Organizer asks students to distinguish between real "clear and present dangers" to America's security and hysterical overreaction. The "For Further Consideration" section has advanced students examine some of the measures taken in response to 9/11 that threatened civil liberties.

Objectives:

Students will:

- investigate how the U.S. mobilized the home front to fight World War I
- learn that the Sedition Act of 1918 threatened Americans' freedom of expression
- understand the particulars of the *Schenck* case and the "clear and present danger" standard regarding free speech
- discuss whether criticism of the U.S. government during times of war presented a greater "clear and present danger" to civil liberties than to national security
- learn that wartime propaganda and activities of radicals contributed to the hysteria which motivated the Palmer raids

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Ask your class whether the school newspaper should be allowed to criticize decisions made by the school's principal, or ask why Americans should be allowed to criticize decisions made by the president concerning a war. At some point, you need to interrupt this discussion and make sure that students know the intent and provisions of the Sedition Act, the wording of the First Amendment, and the contents of Schenck's leaflet. Next, ask students whether they believe this document really presented a "clear and present danger" to the United States. When discussion dies down, ask whether the current Congress should pass a law similar to the Sedition Act. Students who read the "For Further Consideration" section could point to the ways current laws and

executive actions curtail basic freedoms theoretically guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

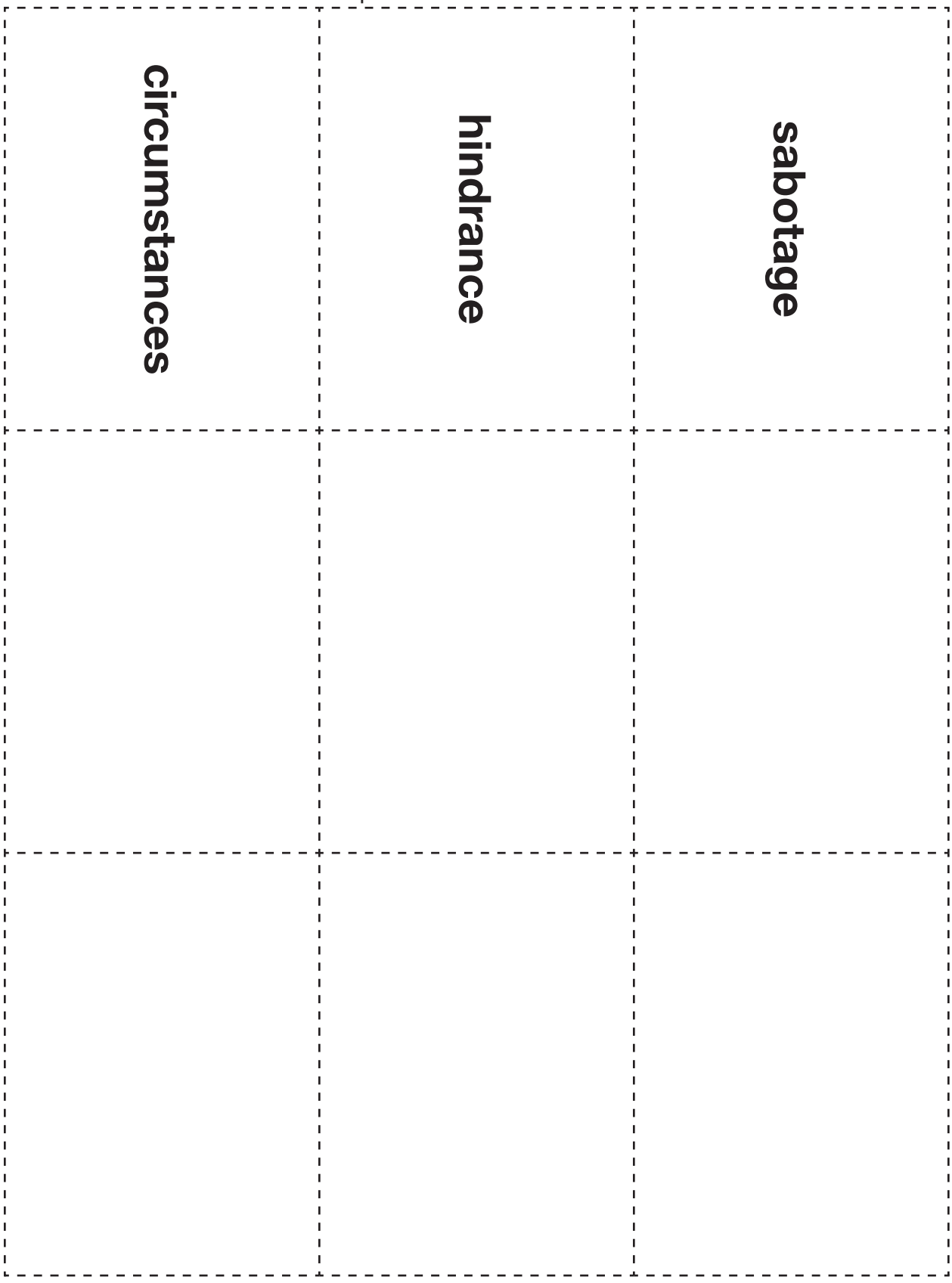
Covering the questions posed by the Graphic Organizer might help students realize that the suppression of basic freedoms coupled with heavy doses of propaganda can have dire consequences.

Chapter 7. The War at Home
I-Chart

	The danger of limiting free speech	When limits may be placed on free speech	The extent of criticism of government and hysteria during and after WWI
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 7, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 7, Part II			
What I would still like to learn			

Unwilling to do something	Ordering, usually done by a person in charge	Biased information put out to influence public opinion
Loss or lack of respect	Intentionally, deliberately, done on purpose	Rule by a body such as a government that denies people their basic rights
Strict or strictly enforced	Agreed upon by all, as with a decision or course of action	The act of forcing someone to serve, usually in the armed services—i.e., a draft

Chapter 7—The War at Home



Chapter 7—The War at Home

To purposely damage something or prevent something from being done	Obstacle; something that prevents something from being done	The situation or condition that exists

Chapter 7
The War at Home

Introduction

This chapter describes the demands made on the U.S. civilian population during World War I, the propaganda the government used to urge people to support the war effort, and the government's attempts to suppress opposition to the war. As you will see, the American people met the challenge of World War I. They submitted to the draft and geared the economy to produce and transport goods needed to win the war. However, wartime propaganda and repressive laws prompted by fear, ignorance, and misdirected patriotism caused the government to violate the rights of some Americans—the same rights it supposedly was fighting in Europe to protect.

Taxes, the Draft, Wartime Production, and Meatless Tuesdays

Fighting to defend Great Britain, France and their allies cost a great deal of money. Believing that current revenues had to pay for at least one-third of the expense of the war left the government with no choice but to raise taxes. The federal income tax in time of peace was only 4 percent for those earning in excess of $4000. During the war, Congress raised the tax to 65 percent of incomes over $1 million, and to 25 percent for inheritances over $10 million.

To supply the manpower needed to win the war, the U.S. government began to draft Americans to serve in its armed services. More than 24 million men were registered for the draft, but only one-fourth of that number was eligible, and only one half of them actually served. Of those who served, almost 117,000 died—a relatively small number when compared to the 1.7 million Russians and 1.385 million French killed in combat.

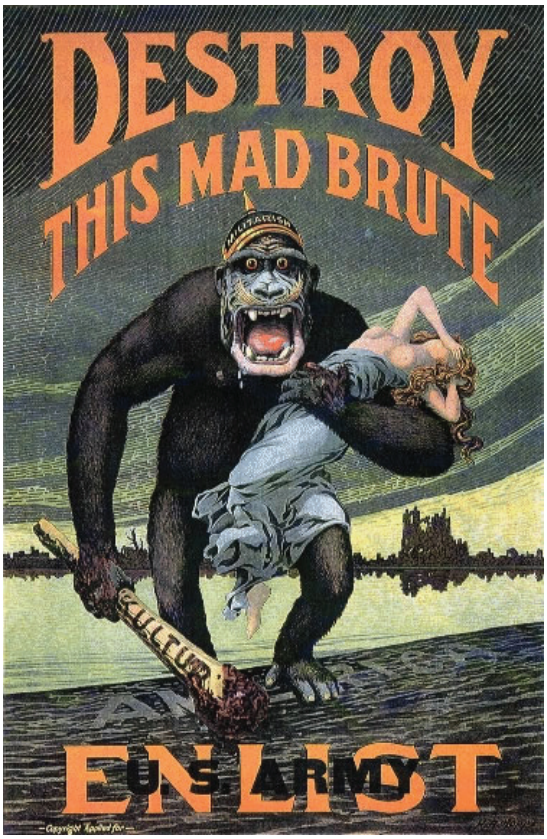
Producing and transporting the rifles, artillery, tanks, ammunition, and other material needed to fight the war was a major task. The U.S. not only armed itself but also helped equip its allies. The government created the War Industries Board (WIB) and gave it total control of all industries producing the 30,000 different items needed for the war. In addition, the WIB was given power to create entirely new industries. Congress established the U.S. Railroad Administration to assure efficient transport of military supplies and troops while meeting civilian needs. Legislation established the Shipping Board, and it successfully transported ships carrying men and material to Europe past, around, and over the submarines determined to sink them.

Finally, Congress organized the Food Administration and President Wilson put future president Herbert Hoover in charge. Decreeing heatless, meatless, and wheatless days and encouraging production increased food exports to needy allies by 300 percent.

Encouraging Enthusiasm and Stifling Dissent

Getting support for the war effort required inspiring the great number of reluctant Americans who were unhappy about going to war. Among the less than enthusiastic groups were socialist organizations and others who thought the war was fought mainly to enrich the war industries and save the banks that lent money to England. German Americans did not want to fight against their country of origin, and Irish Americans were not happy about helping England, a country with a long and bloody history of oppressive rule over Ireland.

President Wilson asked Congress to create the Committee of Public Information and appointed George Creel to lead it. Creel employed 15,000 lecturers, artists, and writers to produce 75 million pieces of propaganda designed to sell the war effort by appealing to Americans' patriotism and inspiring them to hate Germany.



Examples of World War I propaganda created by the Committee of Public Information

The Sedition Act

To discourage any unpatriotic statements against the U.S., Congress passed the Sedition Act in 1918:

SEC. 3. Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully … promote the success of its enemies, or shall willfully obstruct . . . the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous [mean], or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States … intended to bring [them] into … scorn, … or disrepute … shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both.

Charles Schenck Opposes the War and the Draft

Charles Schenck, a leader of the Socialist Party, actively opposed World War I. As part of his anti-war activities, he mailed 15,000 leaflets to potential draftees and to soldiers, urging them to assert their rights:

The Socialist Party says that any individual or officers of the law entrusted with the administration of conscription regulations violate the provisions of the United States Constitution, the supreme law of the land, when they refuse to recognize your right to assert your opposition to the draft…

No power was delegated to send our citizens away to foreign shores to shoot up the people of other lands, no matter what may be their internal or international disputes…

To draw this country into the horrors of the present war in Europe, to force the youth of our land into the shambles and bloody trenches of war crazy nations, would be a crime the magnitude of which defies description. Words could not express the condemnation such cold-blooded ruthlessness deserves…

To advocate the persecution of other peoples through the prosecution of war is an insult to every good and wholesome American tradition.

In this world crisis where do you stand? Are you with the forces of liberty and light or war and darkness?

Schenck was one of more than 1500 people arrested for violating the Sedition Act. He was given a formal trial and found guilty as charged. Schenck claimed the Sedition Act violated the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of expression:

Congress shall make no law…abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government…

Schenck appealed his conviction to the Supreme Court of the United States. In a unanimous decision written by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, the Supreme Court upheld Scheck's conviction:

> We admit that in many places and in ordinary times the defendants in saying all that was said in the circular [leaflet] would have been within their constitutional rights. But the character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done...The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic...The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the...evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.

Oliver Wendell Holmes

Vigilante Justice, the Red Scare, and the Palmer Raids

The federal government was not the only entity that persecuted people suspected of disloyalty. Vigilantes took the law in their own hands and opened the mail, tapped the phones, and listened in on the conversations of those who they thought opposed the government. Some suspects were dragged out of bed and lynched. Because of their dislike of England, hostility toward Irish Americans increased. German Americans however, were singled out in particular. Schools dropped the German language from their curriculum, and some places prohibited playing German music publicly. Because of its association with things German, sauerkraut was renamed "liberty cabbage," and hamburgers became "liberty burgers." Worse yet, thousands of Germans—particularly those working in defense industries—were fired because of the fear of sabotage.

The end of the war did not stop vigilante and government actions against suspected enemies of America. Communists had succeeded in overthrowing the government of Russia and announced their intent to spread their revolutionary form of government all over the world. Socialists had briefly taken control of European governments. Anarchists also agitated for change. Organized communist and socialist parties existed in the United States. While in prison for violating the Sedition Act, socialist Eugene Debs received a million votes for president in 1920.

In 1919, a series of packages containing explosives addressed to prominent businessmen and politicians were discovered in the U.S. mail. Anarchists detonated eight bombs in eight cities on the same day. These incidents led many Americans to believe that enemies of the United States were planning a violent overthrow of its government. Another bomb exploded on Wall Street and confirmed their suspicions. Spurred by fears of a revolution, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer organized a simultaneous raid of suspected radical centers in hopes of uncovering a cache of weapons, dynamite, and other explosives. FBI agents arrested 6000 men and women on New Year's Day of 1920, but found only three pistols. Most of the American citizens swept up in this dragnet were released without being charged. However, more than 500 aliens among the imprisoned were quickly deported.

"COME UNTO ME, YE OPPREST!"
—Alley in the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*

A cartoon from the height of the Red Scare

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises:

1. Name four of the tasks that needed to be accomplished at the home front and explain the steps the U.S. government took to complete them.

2. What were the reasons for the establishment of the Committee of Public Information and passage of the Sedition Act?

3. Do you think that Charles Schenck's leaflet presented a "clear and present danger" to the United States sufficient to deny its author his First Amendment rights? Support your opinion.

B. Graphic Organizer

Complete the following chart to indicate which of the following acts by Americans in and out of government you think were the result of irrational fear and which you think were sensible precautions. Explain the reasons for your decisions.

Act by Americans	Irrational/ sensible/ no opinion	Reason(s) for your decision
The Palmer raids		
Arrest of Schenck		
Schools that stopped teaching German		
Firing German American workers in ammunition factories		
The decision that Schenck's pamphlet presented a clear and present danger to the U.S.		
Lynching a very radical member of the Socialist Party		
What Schenck said in his leaflet on the draft		
Anything else described in this chapter		

C. (Optional) Do you believe it would be wise for the current Congress to pass a law similar to the Sedition Act today? Why or why not?

For Further Consideration: Overreaction to 9/11?

Not that long ago, after the September 11, 2001 attack on the Twin Towers in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., Congress passed the Patriot Act. Since its passage, many have expressed severe reservations about what they saw as an assault on Americans' civil liberties. The following article criticizes parts of the Patriot Act and subsequent actions by the George W. Bush administration. Read the article and prepare to answer the question at the end.

Civil Liberties Become a Casualty of War

By Ron Fournier, AP political writer WASHINGTON, Dec. 17, 2005

(AP) Given a free hand after the Sept. 11 attacks, President Bush followed the uncertain footsteps of Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt, John Adams, [Woodrow Wilson] and other past presidents who made civil liberties the first casualty of war.

Eavesdropping without warrants, redefining torture, building loopholes into the Geneva Conventions and the USA Patriot Act will be parts of Bush's legacy—and a cautionary tale for the next president who struggles with the balance between safety and civil liberties.

Congress is raising its voice. Emboldened by Bush's political woes, lawmakers seem determined after four years of acquiescence to play their role as a check on presidential powers.

On Friday [December, 2005] alone:

Senate Judiciary Committee chairman Arlen Specter, R-Pa., said it was inappropriate for the super-secret National Security Agency to eavesdrop without warrants on people inside the United States. He promised hearings on Bush's NSA directive.

Senate Democrats blocked extension of the Patriot Act, which expanded legal eavesdropping and allowed secret warrants for books, records and other items from businesses and libraries.

The House called on the administration to give Congress details of secret detention facilities overseas.

On Thursday, Bush reversed course and accepted Sen. John McCain's call for a law banning cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of foreign suspects in the war on terror…

In a related debate, the president has long insisted that hundreds of prisoners held in the war on terrorism are enemy combatants, not prisoners of war, and are not entitled to the same rights afforded under the Geneva Conventions.[1]

1 by Ron Fournier, Ap ©AP 2005, www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary_0286-12076881_ITM - 23

Do you think the Bush administration went too far in the direction of protecting the U.S. at the expense of Americans' civil liberties? Be prepared to present your opinion, to listen to the opinions of others, and to either defend your own or change your mind.

Chapter 8. Negotiating the Treaty of Versailles
Teacher Page

Overview:

Although this chapter was written with an eye towards facilitating a simulation of the Versailles Conference, teachers can use it without employing that option. The first part of the chapter provides the necessary background to the conference: the Fourteen Points, the issues to be resolved, and the views of other participants, including Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Germany, the Soviet Union, and the host of small nations that were once part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The "For Further Consideration" section provides students with precise instructions on how to prepare for and play their roles as conference delegates. Finally, an epilogue explains how the major issues discussed at Versailles (including war guilt and reparation, disarmament, colonies, a new map of Europe, and a league of nations) were resolved.

Objectives:

Students will:

- investigate the major issues at the Versailles Conference
- discuss each issue and learn how it was resolved
- assess whether the Treaty of Versailles was unnecessarily harsh
- take part in a simulation in which each student assumes the role of a delegate from one of the nations participating in the conference

Strategies:

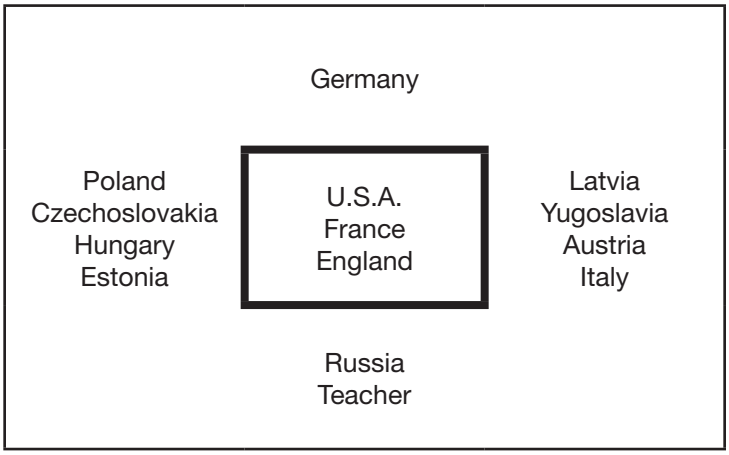
Simulation Day 1:

Before Class: Assign students to read the chapter up to but not including the "For Further Consideration" section and write answers to each of the Student Exercises.

In Class: Assign students to play the parts of delegates from each of the countries participating in the Conference. No more than two students should be assigned to play Wilson, Clemenceau, or Lloyd George, but more than two could be Germany, the USSR, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, and Serbia. Next, ask students to share their answers to the questions raised in the Student Exercises section and make sure they know and understand Wilson's Fourteen Points, the six issues to be resolved, and the views of each country on these issues. Once this has been accomplished, make sure that all students will be well prepared for assuming their roles in the simulation. Their instructions are contained in the "For Further Consideration" section. Finally, ask students to come to class with placards that can be attached to their desks with the names of the country and, if possible, the delegates they are representing, as well as a replica of the country's flag.

Simulation Day 2:

Before Class: Prepare the room with seats for the Big Three in the center, and seats for the other countries around them in a circle. (See diagram to the right and in student reading.) Write the six major issues on the board. Also, assign advanced students to read and answer the "For Further Consideration" question.



In Class: Have students tape placards to their chairs. Students in the center should be allowed to speak whenever they have something relevant to say. Students outside the center should be required to raise their hands and be recognized before speaking.

Start with the issue of war guilt and reparations. Allow the Big Three to state their positions on that issue before listening to any of the other nations. After 7–10 minutes, vote on the issue, but don't allow the outer circle nations to vote. Next, discuss the question of redrawing the map of Europe. Emphasize France's desire for the Rhineland. Allow the smaller nations to speak up for ethnic self-determination, but not to vote on the issue. After 7–10 minutes, move on to discuss the League of Nations with the mandate that member nations come to the defense of members subjected to an unprovoked attack by another country, even if this means taking military action. You can make an analogy by using NATO's mutual defense policy by pointing out that over the past 60 years no country has attacked a member of this alliance. If time permits, discuss other issues, such as worldwide disarmament and the disposition of Germany's colonies.

Chapter 8. Negotiating the Treaty of Versailles
I-Chart

	What were Wilson's Fourteen Points?	What did England and France want from the Versailles Conference?	What major decisions were made at the conference?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 8, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 8, Epilogue			
What I would still like to learn			

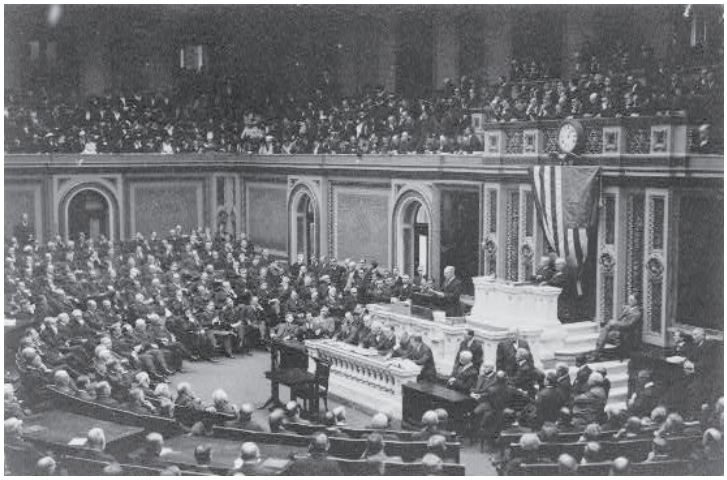
zealous	reluctantly	Versailles
demilitarized	despoiled	League of Nations
	reparations	restitution

Chapter 8—Negotiating the Treaty of Versailles

Overly enthusiastic	Not willingly	Very ornate palace; once the home of French kings
Having all weapons of war removed and banned	Robbed, usually by force, of everything that's valuable	Organization of countries formed after World War I; forerunner of United Nations
	Compensation for a wrong or harmful act(s)	Payment for damages done, often during a war

Chapter 8
Negotiating the Treaty of Versailles

Introduction



President Wilson asking Congress for a declaration of war, 1917

As you will recall, President Woodrow Wilson reluctantly asked American citizens to support a declaration of war against Germany in April 1917. The main point of his war message was that the "world must be made safe for democracy." The president called on his country to begin a crusade for "the rights of nations great and small." His Fourteen Points, announced on January 19, 1918, provided the blueprint to build the peace that he hoped would last for all time. He called for a peace treaty that would make the world a "fit and safe place to live in."

The collapse of Russia's armies during the autumn of 1917 and the communist revolution in November of that year ended Russia's participation in World War I. The following spring, Germany's armies launched a major offensive in France. The German advance was stopped in July 1918 because American soldiers arrived just in time to save the French and their British allies. In August and September of that year, the Allies forced Germany to retreat. When defeat seemed certain, many Germans became convinced that a peace agreement based on Wilson's Fourteen Points was preferable to further losses. A revolution in November of 1918 overthrew the Kaiser, and the new German government called for a peace agreement based on Wilson's program. While the United States was committed to the Fourteen Points, neither England nor France was equally enthusiastic. "Wilson bores me with his Fourteen Points," France's Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau is said to have exclaimed, "God himself only had ten." Meanwhile, England's Lloyd George ran for reelection in 1918 with a promise to hang the Emperor and "squeeze the [German] lemon."'

The final shape of the peace treaty that ended World War I was determined by the allies' different war aims. Some criticized this peace for being too hard on Germany, while others claimed it was too easy. This chapter challenges you to renegotiate solutions to the problems faced by the victorious nations by acting out the roles of the actual participants in the peace conference. The information and instructions needed to meet this challenge are provided in this chapter.

The Setting

World War I ended on November 11, 1918 with Germany's surrender. That November, the world was very different from the world of August 1914. In that earlier time, cheering crowds in the capitals of European cities proudly sent their young men off to battle. Four years later, dejected soldiers wearily sought their way home. In 1914, citizens who had known only peace looked optimistically toward a quick and glorious victory. Four years later, the same people confronted a world that could remember only war. Ten million men, women, and children lay dead. Revolutions swept the Tsar of Russia from his throne and replaced him with a communist government under Vladimir Lenin. The German Kaiser gave up his throne and was replaced by a socialist government. The proud Austro-Hungarian Empire split into ethnic groups it had once ruled. Former subjects included Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Croats, Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, and many more.

More than falling dynasties and emerging nations marked the new Europe. The economic life and social ties which once held Europe together were torn apart. Cities lay in smoldering ruins, railroad ties were mangled beyond repair, bridges no longer spanned rivers, and people everywhere were weak from hunger. The world was shaken to its roots. Its only hope lay in Woodrow Wilson's promise that this war was "the war to end all wars." The peace he promised would be permanent.

The Peace Conference, Leaders and Issues

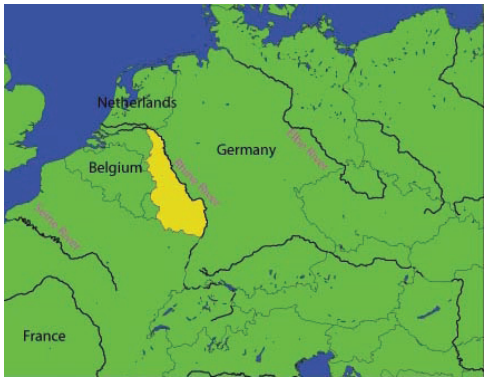
Altogether 32 nations attended the Versailles Conference that lasted from January to May of 1919. However, the majority of the decisions were made by three men: Woodrow Wilson, the idealistic president of the United States; Lloyd George, the fiery prime minister of Great Britain; and Georges Clemenceau, the grim and zealous French leader and patriot.

Wilson, Lloyd George of England, Orlando of Italy, and Clemenceau of France at the peace conference

The key issues facing these 32 nations included:

1. Should Germany be held solely responsible for starting World War I? Should it be forced to pay the estimated $16 billion damages done to civilian property in the lands it occupied, and should it be made to pay an additional $17 billion for soldiers' pensions? (Note: that amount of money would be equal to over $10 trillion in current U.S. dollars.) How much, if anything, should Germany pay?

2. Should Germany alone be permanently disarmed to the point that it would have fewer than 100,000 soldiers and no battleships, submarines, military airplanes, or tanks? Should all nations be similarly limited in armaments, or should nothing be done about disarmament and future arms races?



The Rhineland is a lighter shade

3. Should the land west of the Rhine River (known as the Rhineland) be given to France as a buffer against future German attacks, even though Germans lived there? (see map below)

4. Should the conference recognize the following as independent countries: Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, (consisting of Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, and Montenegro), Czechoslovakia (consisting of ethnic Germans, Slovaks and Czechs), Poland (consisting of Poles, Russians, and Germans)? Should Germany and Austria be allowed to form one country? (see map below)

5. Should all of Germany's colonies (including South Africa, Cameroons, and the Caroline Islands in the Pacific) be given to Great Britain and France? If not, what should be done with them?

6. Should a League of Nations be formed in which every country is pledged to come to the diplomatic, financial, and—if needed—military aid of every other member in response to an unprovoked enemy attack? If so, should Germany and communist Russia be allowed to join?

U.S. Objectives: The Fourteen Points

We have already noted that Wilson's Fourteen Points were intended to make the world safe for democracy and to prevent future wars. This objective can be broken down into three parts:

- Points 1–5. Root out the causes of wars. Wilson believed these causes included secret treaties, violation of freedom of the seas, the existence of trade barriers, arms races, and competition for colonies. By banning secret treaties, guaranteeing freedom of the seas, eliminating trade barriers, beginning world wide disarmament, and making a fair settlement of all claims to colonies, Wilson hoped to realize his goal for world peace.

- Points 6–13. Adjust national boundaries in Europe to allow all major ethnic groups a country of their own, free of foreign rule. According to this plan, Germany would leave Belgium, Russia, and the Alsace-Lorraine region bordering France and Germany. The Serbs, Czechs, Bosnians, Austrians, Poles, Hungarians, Finns, Latvians, and all major ethnic groups in Europe would get their own countries and realize their age-old dreams of governing themselves.

- Point 14. Form a League of Nations. This general association would work to keep the peace and protect the independence and territory of its members.

France's Objectives

While Woodrow Wilson inspired Americans to make the world safe for democracy, his major allies had less high-minded goals. They did not feel that they could afford the luxury of a fair and just peace. For four difficult years, German troops had occupied French soil, and Germany's retreating armies at the war's end had deliberately destroyed roads and railroads, and even flooded French coal mines. France wanted to destroy Germany's ability to wage war: "We have been attacked; we want security; we have been despoiled; we want restitution; we have been devastated; we want reparation," as Clemenceau's foreign minister put it. To achieve its goals, the French would insist on three things:

1. That Germany give up not only Alsace-Lorraine, which it had taken in 1871, but also the Saar, which contained Germany's rich coal mines. In addition, to make a defensible buffer to protect it from future attacks by Germany, France sought to possess the Rhineland, which was then inhabited by ethnic Germans.

2. That Germany admit that it was solely responsible for starting World War I and that it pay for the damages it had caused to civilian property and economic losses—an estimated cost of at least $33 billion.

3. That Germany be totally and permanently disarmed in order to prevent future attacks and that it be denied a regular army, battleships, submarines, tanks, and warplanes.

Great Britain's Objectives

The British were not as hard on Germany as the French. They wanted Germany as a trading partner at some time in the future, and they also wanted Germany to act as a counterweight to France's military power. In short, the British wanted:

1. Enough money from Germany to pay for military pensions, as well as for property

2. Germany's colonies, which England claimed Germany was incapable of governing well

3. Germany stripped of its navy, which it regarded as a threat to the British colonial empire

Objectives of Other Nations

Even though Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, and Georges Clemenceau ran the Versailles Conference, the rest of the 32 countries who did not participate directly in the negotiations had the opportunity to express some of their opinions and interests.

Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bosnia, and Poland (formerly Austria-Hungary)

Since the people of this area (Austrians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and Bosnians) had just broken away from Austria-Hungary and each wanted a country of their own, they wholeheartedly supported Wilson's principle of ethnic self-determination. They also favored a League of Nations that could protect weak nations against strong countries and future aggressors. Poland had broken away from Austria-Hungary and from Russia and had become an independent country for the first time since 1795.

Yugoslavia (formerly Serbia)

By the time of the Conference, Serbia had incorporated Croats, Bosnians, and Montenegrins into a country called Yugoslavia. Their leader argued that Yugoslavia should be recognized as a whole country even though it ruled over other minorities.

Yugoslavia sided with Great Britain and France on issues such as reparations, disarmament, colonies, and the League of Nations.

Germany

Germany was not allowed to participate in the peace conference but could let others know how it felt. Germany had been led to believe that the peace treaty would be based on the promises contained in Wilson's Fourteen Points.

The Soviet Union (formerly Russia)

Following the revolution of 1917 that overthrew the tsar, Russia had become a communist country called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and was not allowed to participate in the Versailles Conference. Nevertheless, for purposes of this simulation, the USSR will be allowed to voice its opinion. While the conference was in progress, British, French, and U.S. troops were in the USSR trying to put down the communist revolution.

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises

Day 1:

1. In what ways did the Europe of 1918 differ from the Europe of 1914?

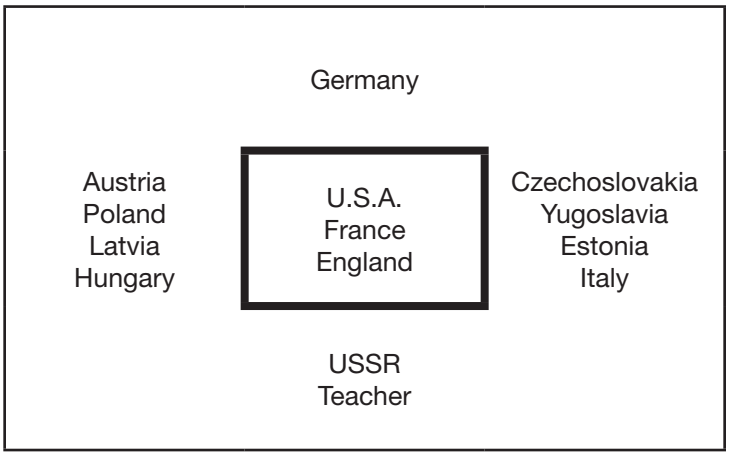
2. How were the Fourteen Points related to President Wilson's desire to save the world for democracy and establish a peace that would prevent future wars?

3. How did Woodrow Wilson's objectives for a peace agreement differ from those of France's Georges Clemenceau and Britain's Lloyd George?

4. Whose peace program—America's, or Great Britain's and Frances's—might Yugoslavia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Germany, Poland, and the USSR have been more likely to favor? Give reasons to support your answer.

Day 2: Negotiating the Versailles Treaty

Prepare to play the role you were assigned.



Activity: Negotiating a Peace Conference

Come to class with signs bearing the name of your assigned country, its leader, and a picture of its flag, and sit with your respective group. France, Great Britain, and the United States will sit in the center of the room. Representatives from other countries should sit around the outer edges of the circle and can speak only if recognized by the teacher. (See diagram above.)

If you are representing the U.S., England, or France, you may listen to the views of other nations and peoples but need only to agree with one another. Be prepared to discuss war guilt and reparations, disarmament, independent countries, the Rhineland, colonies, and a League of Nations, and come to an agreement among yourselves.

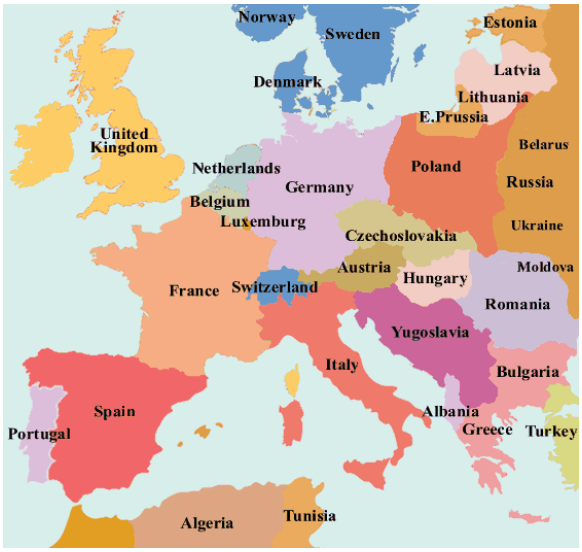
For Further Consideration: The Versailles Treaty

A brief summary of the decisions made at the conference follows:

1. The treaty charged Germany with the primary responsibility for starting World War I and for "causing all the loss and damages" to the Allies, including the loss of property and lives, for a grand total of $33 billion. In current dollars, this amount would roughly total more than $10 trillion.

2. The treaty permanently disarmed Germany. The Germans were not allowed to rebuild their navy or own submarines, tanks, or military aircraft. The Treaty limited Germany's army to 100,000 men. No other nation was similarly disarmed or restricted.

3. Following Wilson's principle of ethnic self-determination, the treaty recognized the creation of many new countries in Europe, including Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Finland. However, this principle was violated when ethnic Germans were made part of Czechoslovakia to give this new country defensible borders. Often, several minority groups were forced into one nation, as when the Serbs, Bosnians, and Albanians were incorporated into the new nation of Yugoslavia.



Europe after national boundaries had been adjusted at the Paris Peace Conference

4. The treaty denied France the buffer zone it wanted on the left bank of the Rhine River because Germans lived there. However, the treaty did demilitarize this territory for 15 years and thereafter allowed the residents to decide whether they wanted to become part of Germany again. The U.S. and Great Britain promised to come to France's defense in case of an attack by Germany.

5. The treaty split Germany's colonies among the victorious allies, who were to rule them in the name of the League of Nations.

6. The treaty established the League of Nations, but prevented Germany and Russia from joining. Article X of the League's charter committed all members to aid any League nation under attack. The U.S. never joined the League.

Do you think the Versailles Treaty was too hard on Germany, or do you think it was in keeping with the spirit of the Fourteen Points? Write a strong paragraph supporting your answer with factual information and be prepared to present your opinion, to listen to the opinions of others, and to either defend your own or change your mind.

Chapter 9. Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter on ratifying the Versailles Treaty, in which the League covenant was embedded, focuses on the issue of whether the U.S. Senate should have ratified the treaty. Students learn that numerous objections arose to the U.S. joining the League, but the deal breaker was the provision in Article X that called for all member nations to "preserve against external aggression the territorial and existing political independence of all members." The chapter points out that President Wilson would not agree to the League covenant with any modifications to this provision, and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge would not agree to the League covenant without modifications. Students are provided with excerpts from speeches from both of these protagonists and are asked whether the U.S. should have joined the League without reservations.

Objective:

Students will:

- learn how the League of Nations was organized
- understand that accepting Article X without reservations was the key issue in the debate over ratifying the League covenant
- assess whether the U.S. needed to remain an active member of the international community

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In Class: Start class by asking students to name the three branches of the League of Nations. Next, ask them whether there is strength in unity. After that, ask the following: If all members of the class were pledged to come to the defense of every other member, would this reduce the possibility that anyone in the class would be attacked? Mention also that the U.S., through treaties such as NATO, has committed itself to defending its allies. After students understand the concept of mutual defense, ask them whether they agree with Henry Cabot Lodge on the question of joining the League of Nations. End class by leading a discussion on the effect of the U.S.'s refusal to join.

Chapter 9. Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations
I-Chart

	What were the functions of each of the major branches of the League of Nations?	What issue was central to the debate over joining the League?	What were the major arguments on both sides of this issue?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 9, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 9, Part II			
What I would still like to learn			

obliged	ethnic self-determination	provision
controversial	isolationist	embedded
	arbitration	maintaining

Morally or legally required to do something	Principle that every ethnic group would have a state or nation of its own	Often, a clause in a legal document
Arousing a great deal of disagreement	A person who believes a country is better off if it does not make alliances with other nations	To be so deeply implanted within something that it can only be removed through great effort
	The process of settling disputes by agreeing to allow a neutral person to make a binding decision	Making sure something stays or continues the way it is

Chapter 9
Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations


Woodrow Wilson

Surrounded by statesmen who did not agree with him, President Woodrow Wilson lost many of the arguments for his Fourteen Points at the peace conference at Versailles. Rather than winning a fair and just peace for all countries, Wilson was forced to settle for one that punished Germany for its role in the Great War. Germany faced a debt it could never hope to repay, surrendered colonies to England and France to rule under the auspices of the League, lost 10 percent of its land, and had its army limited to fewer than 100,000 soldiers. However, the treaty recognized the creation of numerous new countries based on Wilson's principal of ethnic self-determination. It also included Wilson's plan for a League of Nations, with a provision that he hoped would end all future wars. Throughout the conference, Wilson never stopped believing that the League of Nations would right the wrongs embedded in the other parts of this treaty.

When Woodrow Wilson returned home from Versailles, crowds welcomed him as a conquering hero. With the cheers of his fellow citizens ringing in his ears, it was hard for Wilson to imagine that the U.S. Senate would or could reject the treaty. However, the president did not know how much the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, and a small band of his followers disliked his ideals and his treaty. The battle to ratify the Versailles Treaty, with its provisions for the League of Nations, eventually became a contest of wills between two headstrong and powerful politicians with two conflicting views of America's role in the world.


Henry Cabot Lodge

Although Henry Cabot Lodge found many things wrong with the Versailles Treaty, his opposition focused on Article X of the League's charter, which seemingly obliged members of the League to defend other member nations from an unprovoked attack. Without it, Wilson believed, the League would be nothing more than a debating society. With it, Lodge argued the U.S. would be drawn into a series of futile wars in the four corners of the world.

This chapter presents the arguments for and against the U.S. joining the League without modifying the controversial Article X. You will be asked to decide whether you agree with President Wilson or with Senator Lodge by answering the following question: Should the United States have joined the League of Nations?

The League of Nations

The idea of establishing an international agency for maintaining world peace has had a long history. No such organization had been created in the past. However, when he drew up his famous Fourteen Points as the basis for a fair, just, and lasting peace, President Wilson made the League his most important goal.

A charter for the League of Nations was drawn up at Versailles, with Wilson's enthusiastic participation. It would consist of the world's peace-loving nations and would not allow the participation of Germany (blamed for starting World War I) and Russia (a communist country with designs to overthrow capitalism). The League was to have three branches:

1. A Council and an Assembly to act as a legislative branch

The Council would consist of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, as well as representatives of nine of the smaller nations. All nations in the League would have a single vote in the Assembly, where they could discuss such topics as the "international conditions" that "might endanger the peace of the world."

2. A Secretariat that, in some ways, would act as an executive branch by carrying out day-to-day functions of the League.

The Secretariat, however, would command no army or navy, and thus could not carry out the wishes or decrees of the Assembly and Council. Its power would lie in the willingness of member nations to act in its name. Boycotts were the first line of defense. If these measures failed, member nations could be asked to mount an armed defense of the country that had been attacked.

3. A Permanent Court of International Justice that, in some ways, would act as a judicial branch.

All members of the League would be pledged to refer disputes to this Court or to the League's Council. In the sense that the Council would also be empowered to call for actions from member nations, it too could be considered part of the League's judicial branch.

Article X of the League Charter

According to President Wilson Article X was the most important part of the League. This key provision stated:

> The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial and existing political independence of all members of the League—the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

The Fight for Ratification

The fight to ratify the League of Nations boiled down to a battle of principles and personalities between President Woodrow Wilson and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. Lodge began the fight by holding unnecessarily long hearings on the treaty. He used delaying tactics, such as spending two weeks reading the treaty's entire contents aloud before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Realizing he was losing support for the treaty, President Wilson disregarded the advice of his doctors and proceeded on an 8000-mile tour of the country in which he gave 37 speeches in 21 days. Toward the end of the tour, the exhausted president suffered a stroke that left him partially paralyzed. For two weeks, doctors were afraid Wilson would die.

Although he lived, President Wilson never regained his driving energy, his mastery of the details of government, or his ability to thrill and stir an audience. For the remainder of the fight over ratifying the treaty, Wilson was confined to his sickroom under the care of his wife and his doctors. They limited his visitors to those who had their approval.

The drama over ratifying the treaty revolved around the controversial Article X. Wilson thought any changes would make the treaty too weak to be effective. He believed world peace depended on a U.S. prepared to help victims of unprovoked aggression. Henry Cabot Lodge opposed Article X because he thought it would take away Congress's power to declare war and give it to the League of Nations. Read the following excerpts from speeches by Wilson and Lodge. Then decide for yourself if the U.S. should have ratified the treaty with Article X as Wilson insisted, or refused to join the League unless Article X was seriously modified:

Wilson Defends the League	**Lodge attacks the League**
The bulk of the League, contrary to what you have heard, is an agreement that members never will go to war without first having submitted to discussion by the Council of the League of Nations for binding arbitration, or to discussion by the Council. In the case of the latter, each nation agrees to wait six months for a	Under Article I, if King Hussein [as an example] appealed to us for aid and protection against external aggression affecting his independence we should be bound to give that aid and protection and to send American soldiers to Arabia. It is not relevant to say this is unlikely to occur. The fact that we shall not be called upon does

decision, and another three months before they go to war. They agree to cool off for nine months before they yield to the heat of passion which otherwise might have hurried them into war.

If they do not do that, it is not war that, follows; it is an absolute boycott of the nation that disregards the agreement. It is the most complete isolation and boycott, and there is not a nation in Europe that can live for six months without importing goods out of other countries. All you have been told about the League is there is Article X in which every member of the League promises to respect and preserve the existing political independence of every other member of the League. If it is necessary to enforce this promise then the Council of the League shall advise what action is necessary. The Council can not give that advice without the vote of the United States, unless it is a party to the dispute.

That is the guarantee of the land titles of the world which have been established by this treaty. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia—all nations which never had a vision of independent liberty until now.

not alter the right, which the King possesses, to demand the sending of American troops to Arabia in order to preserve his independence against the assaults of the Wahasbis or Bedouins [tribes in Africa].

This illustrates the point which is to me the most objectionable in the League as it stands; the right of other powers to call out American troops and American ships to go to any part of the world, an obligation we are bound to fulfill under the terms of this treaty. I know the answer full well—that of course they could not be sent without action by Congress. Congress would have no choice of acting in good faith, and if under Article X any member of the League summoned us, there would be no escape except by a breach of faith. Is it too much to ask that provision should be made that American troops and American ships should never be sent anywhere or ordered to take part in any conflict except after the deliberate (careful) action of the American people expressed through their chosen representatives in Congress? The United States is the world's best hope, but if you fetter her in the interests and quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe.

Student Activities

A. Student Exercises:

1. Explain the functions of each of the League of Nations' major branches.

2. Why was including the League of Nations with Article X intact so important to President Wilson? Why was removing Article X so important to Lodge?

3. Do you think the U.S. should have joined the League of Nations with no restrictions to its obligations under Article X? Why or why not?

For Further Consideration: Epilogue

Even though the majority of Americans wanted their country to join the League of Nations, the U.S. Senate did not ratify the treaty. Lodge and his close associates would not accept the treaty without reservations; Wilson advised Democrats in the Senate to vote against the treaty with reservations that would have weakened Article X. The result was that the treaty never commanded the two-thirds vote required to ratify any treaty.

President Wilson hoped that the 1920 presidential election would be a referendum on the League. By November 1920, however, voters had rejected the Wilsonian ideal of "making the 'world safe for democracy'." They elected an anti-League Republican by an overwhelming majority. The president, Warren Harding, for some time would not even answer the mail received from League officials. The election ushered in a period of nearly 20 years during which the United States withdrew from world leadership and returned to its traditional foreign policy of avoiding "entangling alliances." Before Americans became fully aware of the danger looming in Europe, Nazis seized power in Germany in 1933. Six years later, Adolph Hitler invaded Poland; in1940, he conquered France and bombed England in preparation for a cross-channel invasion. It was not until Japan attacked the U.S. at Pearl Harbor in 1941 that Americans awoke from their isolationist dreams and realized that they could no longer rely on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans as their best line of defense. Over the next four years, the U.S. rolled back German and Japanese aggressors. Reflecting on this experience, Americans never again doubted that their security depended on having reliable allies who would come to the aid of victims of unprovoked aggression.

Is it possible that World War II might have been avoided had the U.S. committed itself to joining the League without modifying Article X? Write a strong paragraph answering this question and be prepared to present your opinion, to listen to the opinions of others, and to either defend your own or change your mind.