

UNIT 8

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1898-1920

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Chapter 1

Cuba Libre!

Cuba libre [Spanish for 'free Cuba'] was the 1898 battle cry for Americans fighting against Spain in order to help this tiny colony win its independence. Although the U.S. succeeded, in the same war that it fought to free Cuba, the U.S. took control of the Philippines and Puerto Rico. In addition, while the U.S. helped Cuba recover from years of war damages, it also made Cuba promise to allow America to intervene in its affairs if they felt Cubans weren't governing their own country well enough. These actions helped to complicate Cuban-American relations for the next one hundred years. Many people believe that the U.S. did nothing for Cuba but help itself to Cuba's wealth. On the other hand, most Americans believe the U.S. policies regarding Cuba have been generous and helpful. In this chapter you will have the chance to look at the relationship from a Cuban as well as a North American perspective.

Tactics of a Revolution

The Cubans lived under Spanish rule from shortly after Columbus's first visit until 1898. During the last decades under colonial rule Cuba was Spain's only colony in Latin America. Cubans staged two major rebellions against the government of Spain. The first one lasted for ten years, from 1868-78. Over 200,000 Cubans lost their lives in a bitter struggle which ended with Spain's promise to give Cubans the right to rule themselves. But Spain failed to live up to its promises, and for freedom-loving Cubans all the fighting and dying had been in vain.

One of the Cuban patriots who had fought in this revolution was Jose Marti. Marti 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 fund-raising were all devoted toward 'Cuba Libre!.' After years of preparation, Jose Marti and a close companion, Maximo Gomez, secretly landed in Cuba, but Marti was killed soon afterwards and Gomez was left alone to carry out their plans.

Since Gomez did not have the military support needed to attack Spanish armies directly, he 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.

At first, the Spanish tried to negotiate with Gomez, but the guerrilla leader remembered what had happened in 1878 and refused. In response, the Spanish brought in General Weyler, known as 'the Butcher,' and gave him a command of 200,000 soldiers. Weyler forced Cuban peasants from their homes and put them in compounds called reconcentrados. Although they were more like concentration camps, Spain claimed the measures were merely a way of protecting the population from being forced to join the guerrilla army.

Reporting a Revolution

Events in Cuba were reported in US newspapers which were engaged in a war of their own for customers and subscribers. Many of the reports used in what was called 'Yellow Journalism,' were exaggerated; some, perhaps, not even true. True or not, these reports helped create a climate of opinion that led to a declaration of war against Spain. Read the following and decide what the US government should do in response to President McKinley's request (see end of chapter) for a declaration of war against Spain.

April 12, 1897

3 cents

NEW YORK WORLD

AMERICANS TORTURED AND SLAIN IN CUBA

April 15, 1897

3 cents

NEW YORK WORLD

GEN. WEYLER TRYING TO KILL OFF THE BREED

Havana, Cuba April 14

And he travels about the island not as a General at the head of his troops, but as a military despot visiting well fortified cities that he may gloating over the misery

misery he has brought. Mothers of Cubans and their daughters are his favorite victims

November 7, 1987

3 cents

NEW YORK WORLD

HORRORS OF INDIA'S PLAGUE NOW SURPASSED IN CUBA

Havana, Cuba, Nov. 6

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 USS *Maine* had not been sunk while on a good-will 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 his countrymen to remain calm while an investigation into the cause of the sinking was completed. The report concluded that the explosion had been triggered by an external force, possibly a torpedo or a mine. The major evidence for this conclusion was the "way the keel and bottom plating were

driven upward to form an inverted V." Another investigation, conducted by the Spanish, 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 cause of the explosion, the Spanish report claimed, was a spontaneous combustion of coal dust in the ship's coal bins, which in turn ignited its ammunition."

QuickTime™ and a
TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

¹ 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 in careful investigation. An editorial in the New York World reflected as well as informed what the public opinion was at that time.

A nation that will consent to have its ships blown up by submarine mines without demanding and enforcing instant reparation has no business with a navy. It should confine 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 occasion of ordering our fleet to Havana and demanding proper amends within forty-eight hours, under a threat of bombardment
²

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 on a fact-finding mission. Known for his honesty and objectivity, he gave the American people a report that had great influence on public opinion:

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

¹ <http://www.oz.net/~markhow/pre-dred/blowup.jpg>

²Quoted in Daniel M. Smith, ed., *Major Problems in American History* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1964), pp. 288-89

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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.³

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 or mitigate.

Second: We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity 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 •

Toward the end of his war message, the President informed Congress that Spain had proposed that the controversy over the Maine incident (whether it was a Spanish mine or an internal explosion that sunk the ship) be resolved by experts in an impartial investigation. 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. ⁴

The Teller Resolution

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

³ Quoted in Merrill Peterson and Leonard Levy, *Major Crisis in American History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1962), pp. 174-76

• 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

⁴ Quoted in Edmund Traverso, *The Spanish American War A Study in Policy Change*, Unpublished Amherst Project Unit, pp. 8-10.

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 relinquish 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 disposition or intention to exercise ... control over said island ... [and] to leave the government and control of the island to its people.⁵

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. Based on your reading, what are the concerns about events in Cuba that might lead a reasonable American citizen to want to go to war? Does this include the sinking of the *USS Maine*, the De Lome letter, the atrocities committed by both sides, the destruction of American property and interruption of US trade, or any other reason?
2. Carefully re-read McKinley's war message, the Proctor Report, and the Teller Resolution. Do you think the U.S. should have declared war on Spain in 1898 for the purpose of freeing Cuba even if it meant the US would leave control of the island to the Cuban people? Why or why not?

5. *ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

Chapter 2

The Philippines

It has been said that President McKinley did not know whether they were islands or canned goods. While this comment was probably not directed at the President's knowledge of geography, it illustrated just how little people knew about the Philippines when it suddenly grabbed America's attention.

Indeed, the Philippines was composed of islands located deep in the Pacific and inhabited by some nine million people. 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 12 century port. Most of the islanders, however, lived in rural isolation scratching a living from the soil of the many small and remote islands.

Even though the Philippines were not well known, Americans had been trading in the Far East even before the US had gained its independence. Since the 1840's, U.S. clipper ships in China had been guaranteed free access (an "Open Door") to this ancient kingdom. During the last few years of the 19th century, European interest in China had increased. Countries like England, France, Germany, Russia and Japan) created "spheres of influence" for themselves. In one case a country would get exclusive rights to use a port, another would get the right to build a railroad. Americans feared that these countries would deny the United States its traditional access to the China trade so the U.S. asked each of these countries to endorse the principle of the "Open Door," even while it contemplated keeping the Philippines islands for itself. In this chapter you will learn how the U.S. acquired the Philippines, and you will be asked whether we should have kept them

How the U.S. Acquired the Philippines⁶



On April 25, 1898, the U.S. declared war on Spain for the purpose of freeing Cuba. America's first hostile act, however, was to launch an attack on the Spanish fleet in the Philippines, about 13,000 miles from Cuba. Why, one might ask, would the US begin a war to free Cuba by attacking a country 13,000 miles away? The answer is that Assistant Secretary of the Navy and future President, Theodore Roosevelt, had telegraphed orders to Admiral George Dewey, who was stationed in Hong Kong on the China coast, instructing him to destroy the Spanish fleet in the Philippines as soon as war with Spain was declared. According to these orders, Dewey left Hong Kong and arrived in Manila on April 20, 1898. There he maneuvered with great skill through a bay seeded

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with mines, and prepared to do battle with the ten-ship Spanish fleet. Badly outgunned, the Spanish commander ordered his vessels away from Manila shore batteries to prevent stray shells from hitting the city, and 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 had given to start the battle. The Americans then proceeded at a leisurely pace, taking 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 170-degree temperature of his ship's boiler room.

The Conquest of the Philippines

Admiral Dewey had no army at his command in Manila. He therefore could not follow up on his decisive naval victory with an attack on Spanish forces in the capital. However, when he left Hong Kong for Manila he had brought Emilio Aguinaldo, a Philippine patriot, with him. Aguinaldo had tried to overthrow the Spanish government but he was caught and exiled. Dewey brought Aguinaldo back in the hopes that he could help the U.S. beat Spain. Aguinaldo organized an effective armed force that started to encircle Spanish forces in Manila. But when 11,000 American soldiers arrived six weeks later, they replaced the Filipino army commanded by Aguinaldo. Subsequently, the Americans and not the Filipinos accepted the surrender of the Spanish and proceeded to occupy Manila. The U.S. did not allow Filipino troops in the capital city of their own country thereby creating a serious problem between the Filipinos who were fighting for their own freedom and the Americans who supposedly 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 3.), and 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 even prayer, President McKinley decided the U.S. should keep the Philippines as well. He therefore bought the islands, along with Guam, from Spain for \$20,000,000. The treaty with Spain was completed in December 1899 and then sent to the U.S. Senate to be ratified. A debate in the US Senate soon followed on the issue of whether the US should keep the Philippines: Among the most important questions the Senate was asked to consider were:

Did/does the U.S. have a right and/or a duty to rule other countries, or does owning colonies violate the principles upon which the U.S. was founded?

Would the U.S. benefit economically from keeping the Philippines, or would these islands offer little chance for profit and cost a great deal to defend?

Would possessing the Philippines (some 8,000 miles from California) contribute to the defense of the United States, or just create a burden for taxpayers and increase the chance of the US going to war.

Senator Teller Sees a Moral Obligation:

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. We have put up our flag, There it is going to stay.

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*It is going to stay there, Mr. President, for their protection and our glory. 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. That does not mean that you make states of them. 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.*⁷

Senator McLaurin Does Not Want to Pursue a Career of Conquests

*It is not in obedience with God's will that we are allowing a career of conquest in the Philippines. Conquest has never been the handmaid of our civilization, or the Christian religion. The sword established the religion of Mohammed, but it 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. We shall not become entangled in the rivalries of European nations, but be content with the banishment of European tyranny from this hemisphere. I would not sell the principles upon which our Republic is founded for a mess of pottage in the Philippines. Why should we run after "strange gods?" Let this Government move along in the same orbit that changed a few scattered colonies, into a great nation. Let us continue to fan a feeble spark into a beacon of light among the nations of the earth.*⁸

Senator Lodge Sees Profits from Empire

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 and increase of commerce and business activity, 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, Kong, and Japan in 1899 over 1889 was 246%, and it almost all came in the last years of the decade.*⁹

⁷Quoted from, Edmund Traverso,. *The Spanish American War A Study in Policy Change*, Unpublished Amherst Project Unit, pp. 123 – 24

⁸ Quoted in op. cit. p., 126 – 27.

⁹ Quoted in Theodore P. Greene, ed. *American Imperialism in 1898.*, (Boston: D.C. Heath Heath Company, 1955), pp. 70 – 77

Senator Caffery Believes Costs Will Outstrip Profits

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? Sir, the idea is combined. Nine-tenths of our exports go to our neighbors in western Europe. And sir, it is obvious, that if we want markets for our surplus absurd. 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 manufactures, our surplus cereals, all that we can not consume, we must send them to people who will consume them.

What do the dwellers near the equator consume? A half-civilized man wants little. Such people always export more than they import. Their wants are very few. It requires little to clothe them. They feed at home and the balance of trade is always in their favor.

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 open for the exploiter,

the promoter, and the soldiers of fortune! What an opening for piling up taxes to keep up bases, standing armies, and war vessels!¹⁰

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. Describe the events leading to the introduction of American troops in the Philippines.
2. Contrast the conflicting viewpoints over keeping the Philippines on at least two of the three issues raised in the chapter: ideals, profits, and/or defense.
3. Do you think the U.S. should keep the Philippines? Why or why not? Your answer should include the thinking of at least two of the Senators in the excerpts from their debates.

Epilogue

About the same time the Senate voted to keep the Philippines, Emilio Aguinaldo started a rebellion against US occupying forces in his country. Aguinaldo did not want simply to replace his Spanish rulers with American officials. 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, US 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 hostile and, if captured, could be tortured, killed or both. American officers competed among one another in the cruelties committed against Filipino civilians. Entire villages were burned to the ground, food was confiscated and destroyed, domestic animals were killed, and crops were uprooted. Though the official figure recognized by the U.S. government is far less, some have estimated that over 1/4 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

10. Quoted in Edmund Traverso, ed. op. cit. pp. 128–29.

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taxpayer of \$175,000,000. The fighting ended only after Aguinaldo was captured under a flag of truce and he urged his countrymen to give up their resistance.

QuickTime™ and a
TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Even while U.S. troops were pursuing Filipino nationalists in remote islands, the US showed a much different side of its relations with the Filipinos. The U.S. restored public buildings, repaired roads and bridges, built railroads, and strung telegraph lines. The US provided the Philippines with a government using the American constitution as a model. Filipinos were allowed to elect a House of Representatives, but the US appointed governors who could veto all acts by the Filipino Congress, and they appointed Senators whose powers were equal to the House of Representatives. Over the ensuing years the U.S. granted more power to the Filipinos, culminating with a grant of independence on July 4th, 1946, a year after the U.S. drove the Japanese occupying forces out of the islands. Thus, the Philippines received their independence 47 years after the US concluded its war with Spain for the sole purpose

Filipino dead

of freeing Cuba.

Student Exercises:

1. Does the information in the Epilogue change your thinking about the US deciding to keep the Philippines? Why or why not?

Chapter 3

The U.S, Cuba, and the Platt Amendment

When the United States declared war on Spain in April, 1898, it announced its intention to free Cuba. By the time the fighting ended in August of that year, the U.S. had occupied Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. For the next three years the U.S. maintained troops in Cuba while preparing it for self-government. Under American supervision, the Cuban people elected a convention to write a constitution that the U.S. insisted should be amended. The amendments forced on the Cubans included giving the U.S. a base on that island country as well as the right to intervene when the Cuban government could not protect life, liberty, and property. These provisions, embedded in the Cuban constitution, helped secure a major role for the U.S. in Cuban affairs, a role that lasted about sixty years. This chapter will ask whether the United States actually had the right to limit the freedom of the Cuban people, or whether its imposition on their freedom was uncalled-for.

A Splendid Little War

Since Admiral Cervera, commander of the Spanish fleet, did not think it was capable of beating the



Artists' version of US Marines landing

U.S., he pleaded with superiors in the war department not to be sent to Cuba. He was overruled and ordered to the New World. Upon arriving in the Caribbean, his ships were out of coal and they barely limped into Cuba's 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 Spain's cause during the Spanish-American War.

With no Spanish ships to harass American troop transports, the U.S. Army, under General Shafter, set sail for Cuba. They landed safely and completed unloading in 5 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. Using a for-runner of the machine gun known as the grating gun, U.S. soldiers continued their advance. The hills were taken by a cavalry regiment, personally recruited and led by Lt.

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and known as the Rough Riders. Roosevelt's famous charge was partially responsible for this colorful leader becoming President of the United States three years later. The daring attack was described by the well-known war correspondent Richard Harding Davis:

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*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.*¹¹

Heroic as it was, this cavalry charge would not have succeeded if the Spanish had placed their guns closer to the top of the hill. That would have allowed them to shoot directly down at the Rough Riders and not over the tops of their heads. The odds also would have been considerably against the future President if the 13,000 Spanish soldiers in Santiago had been on the top of the hill and not in the nearby city.

QuickTime™ and a
TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Even with his success 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 were killed by Spanish bullets) cut down the effectiveness of his soldiers. 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 Sampson in a battle that was as one-sided as Dewey's victory at Manila harbor.

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.'

Putting Cuba Back Together Again

With the fighting over, the major responsibility of American troops in Cuba was to restore local rule and re-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 brutal retaliation by 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.

¹¹Quoted in Jack Cameron Dierks, *A Leap to Arms: The Cuban Campaign of 1898* (J.B. Lippincott Company: Philadelphia, 1970), p. 107

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 its breeding places. Within three years, the disease was virtually eliminated.¹²

The Platt Amendment

The United States also helped the people of Cuba write their own constitution. Delegates to a constitutional convention were elected by Cubans who had fought against the Spanish. 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, the U.S. Congress felt that Cuba was not completely ready for independence. Congress felt a guarantee was needed to ensure that Cuba would maintain a special relationship with the United States. A list of eight special provisions for the Cuban constitution was drawn up by the Congress of the United States. Several of these articles, known as the Platt Amendment, are listed below:

- *The government of Cuba may never enter into a treaty that will tend to reduce the independence of Cuba*
- *The said (Cuban) government shall not assume any public debt that it can not repay with ordinary revenues.*
- *U.S. may exercise the right to intervene for the maintenance of a government adequate 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 (now, Guantanamo).*
- *Cuba will include the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the United States.*¹³

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. Summarize the ways the U.S. helped Cuba
2. Take the position of a Cuban *or* U.S. patriot and explain why you feel the U.S. was right or wrong to insist that Cuba add the Platt Amendment to its constitution. Consider:
 - a. Whether the U.S. had come into Cuba in order to help the Cubans or to benefit themselves;
 - b. Whether Cubans were ready for self-government; and
 - c. Whether the U.S., as a consequence of the aid and assistance it had given Cuba, had the right to exercise control over the Cuban people.
3. After reading the epilogue on the following page, decide if the events described prove that the Cubans were right or wrong in their opposition to the Platt Amendment?

¹²quoted in Hubert Herring, *A History of Latin America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961) pp. 407–08

¹³ Quoted in James V. Gantenbein, ed., *The Evolution of our Latin American Policy* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), pp. 488–89.

Epilogue

Cubans opposed the provisions of the Platt Amendment. They claimed it gave far too much power to the United States and deprived Cubans of their independence. Cubans pointed out that the American colonists would not have accepted a treaty like the Platt Amendment had it given France the same power over the U.S. The U.S. countered that it was a better judge of what was good for the Cuban people than the Cubans and that, unlike the American colonies, Cuba had no experience in self-government before its revolution. But, the U.S. was not able to convince the Cubans that they needed guidance from the United States. So at the convention, the Cubans were told that the U.S. would not remove its troops until Cuba had agreed to the Platt Amendment. Faced with such logic, the delegates by a close vote agreed to make the Platt Amendment part of their constitution.

Once Cuba accepted the Platt Amendment and an independent government was elected, U.S. troops left. A friend and supporter of the United States, Estrada Palma, became Cuba's first president. Palma served from 1902-06 in a term marked by continued progress in recovering from war damage and a capable and honest administration. Palma negotiated a trade treaty with the U.S. providing that Cuba be granted a 20% tariff reduction for sugar exports. In exchange, goods from the United States would be granted a similar tariff reduction in Cuba. The mutual agreement tightened an economic link between the U.S. and Cuba with far-reaching consequences. American investments in Cuba increased vastly, and eventually 40% of the Cuban economy was controlled by US citizens, a fact deeply resented by many Cubans.

At the end of Palma's term, irregularities in the election proceedings brought on another revolution. American intervention was requested and supplied. This created a precedent for many more U.S. interventions into Cuban affairs, long after the U.S. agreed to repeal of the Platt Amendment in 1934.

Chapter 4

How the US Obtained the Panama Canal

This is the story of how the United States obtained the right to build a canal through what was once part of Colombia. With the help of the United States, a revolution occurred in Colombia that led to Panama's proclaiming its independence on November 4, 1903. A scant two weeks later Panama signed a treaty allowing the U.S. to build, own, and control the Panama Canal. Read this chapter to decide if the United States acted properly and if the need for the canal justified the means used to get it.

de Lessup's Folly

In 1513, a Spanish explorer by the name of Vasco Balboa gazed at the mighty waters of the Pacific Ocean. He was the first white man to cross the thin strip of land separating the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Ever since, men dreamed of building a canal to link these two bodies of water. But it wasn't until the California Gold Rush of 1849 that this dream began to become a reality. In six torturous years, Americans built a railroad across Colombia's isthmus of Panama to connect with two steamship lines — one on the Atlantic and the other on the Pacific. With several thousand railroad workers dying from their efforts to complete this connection, it was said to have been the most expensive railroad project of its day. Those who lived managed to survive an incredible number of dangers including malaria, yellow fever,



Major trade routes through the Panama Canal

poisonous snakes, seemingly bottomless swamps, and a river which rose a full 40 feet above its bed during the rainy season.

In the 1870's a brilliant French engineer by the name of Ferdinand de Lessups was put in charge of a project to replace the railroad link connecting the Atlantic to the Pacific with a sea level canal. De Lessups had won worldwide acclaim for completing the Suez Canal and he fervently believed that he was the best man to meet this new challenge. Paying scant attention to reports by the American Army engineers that the obstacles in the mountains and jungles of Panama were too numerous, the great engineer determined to build a sea-level canal like the one at Suez

De Lessups's attempt at canal building in Panama was a disaster from beginning to end. Malaria and yellow fever carried away the lives of French engineers, their families, and the hapless workers who took part in the project. Altogether 20,000 people died in the eight years including the best young engineers graduating from French universities. Nature itself conspired against the French canal builders. Within hours, slippery soil filled up holes, which had taken days to dig; machines rusted in the rains and broke under heavy loads. The river Chagres rose more than its normal 40 feet and even wiped out the railroad tracks built above it 30 years earlier.

De Lessups was forced to give up his projected sea-level canal project after eight torturous years. By this time it had already cost twice the original estimate of \$131,000,000. With less than one-third of the canal completed, the famous *Campagne du Canal* declared bankruptcy. When its financial dealings were

finally investigated three years later, appalling truths were uncovered. De Lessups and the Company's directors had lied about or covered up the many factors that plagued the canal's progress: its costs, the deaths, cave-ins, malaria, broken machinery, and the pickled corpses sent to French medical schools to help pay the bills. The directors had also bribed French politicians, reporters, editors, and businessmen to keep the bitter secrets regarding cost overruns from the public. The resulting scandal left the reputations of few Frenchmen, political and financial leaders, untouched and shook the French government to its moral foundations.

Strategic Thinking of Canal Advocates

America's interest in building an inter-ocean canal was voiced by some important U.S. leaders in the 1890's, including naval strategist Alfred Mahan, Senator William Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt. They claimed it would speed trade to bind the East and West coasts while saving millions of dollars in shipping costs. Furthermore, a canal would allow a single US fleet to shuttle through it and defend both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts at great monetary savings. Included in this strategy was a plan for the U.S. to control the approaches to the canal. Thus, the U.S. would have a base in Cuba (assured by the Platt Amendment) and other islands in the region while denying European powers an opportunity to build coaling stations to refuel their war ships. In the Pacific, the U.S. needed Hawaii (which the U.S. had annexed in 1898) to prevent an attack from that direction. Control over either Colombia or Nicaragua was believed necessary depending on which of these countries was chosen for the canal.

Public interest in a projected canal peaked during the Spanish American War. The U.S. Battleship *Oregon* was stationed in San Francisco when the war broke out and its progress toward the war zone was duly reported in the newspapers as it sailed around the Straits of Magellan and north to Cuba. The absence of a canal increased a trip of 4,000 miles by an additional 8,000 and added an estimated twenty days at sea. The question was no longer whether the U.S. would have a canal, but where and when it would dig it.

Panama or Nicaragua

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 Lessups's immense miscalculations and blind self-confidence. The director of the New Company was Phillipe Bunau-Varrilla. 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 so forth would be deeded to Colombia. Then Colombia and not the New Panama Canal Company could sell these rights for which the New Canal Company was demanding \$40,000,000.

Congressmen serving on a committee to inspect the sites where the canal might be built were invited to talk with officials in France where they were entertained lavishly and presented with the French perspective on the doomed canal project for five weeks. Then their French hosts brought the Congressmen to Panama where Canal Company officials showed them only what the Company wanted them to see.

As luck would have it, a volcano in Nicaragua erupted in 1902 for the first time in 68 years. Bunau-Varrilla quickly made postage stamps as a reminder of the eruption, and sent them to members of Congress. Not surprisingly, Congress selected the Panama route. Influenced by reports of Army engineers, Roosevelt agreed with Congress. He sent Secretary of State John Hay to make a treaty with

Colombia giving the U.S. rights to build a canal through the northern tip of their 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. The Treaty gave the U.S. the right to build a canal on a strip six miles wide and 53 miles long. The U.S. would have complete control over the entire area. But, the U.S. 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 approved of the Treaty and sent it to the Senate where it was quickly ratified. But, the Colombian senate delayed ratification thinking it could wait a year for the rights of the Panama Canal Company to expire and these rights, worth \$40 million, could be sold to the United States.

President Roosevelt Reacts and Panama Revolts

When Roosevelt heard that Colombia had delayed ratification, he exclaimed that the “jackrabbits” in Bogota, Colombia should not be allowed to “bar one of the future highways of civilization,” and predicted that “the state of Panama (in Colombia) 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-Varrilla. And Bunau-Varrilla often talked to Guerreo Amador, the man he was plotting to make the President of an independent Panama.

In mid-October, Panama’s future President sailed south from New York City. Shortly afterwards, the *U.S. Nashville* sailed to waters around the Colombian State of Panama. Two weeks later, on November 3, 1903, a cable was sent from Washington to the *Nashville* inquiring as to whether the revolution had started. The answer was, not yet. But 3 hours later, the revolution did start. The main revolutionary force was a fire brigade paid by the New Panama Canal Company. The *Nashville* quickly landed its troops to prevent Colombia from suppressing the revolution. The New Panama Canal Company bought off a Colombian admiral with \$8,000 of gold and two cases of champagne, and a Colombian General was paid \$65,000 for not stopping the revolution.

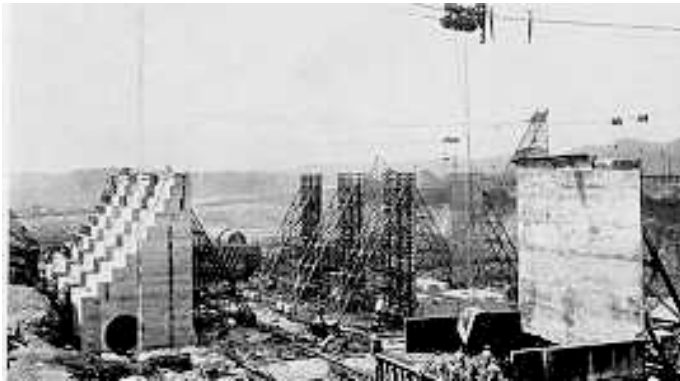
The Hay Bunau-Varrilla Treaty

Before Guerreo Amador left for Panama, Bunau-Varrilla had given him what he thought the new president would need to start a new country: a flag, a declaration of independence, a constitution, a secret code, and a promise for \$100,000. He also appointed himself ambassador to the United States. Three days after the revolution, the U.S. recognized the new nation, Panama. After another 12 days, on November 18th, ambassador Bunau-Varrilla signed a treaty with the U.S. Although much like the original Treaty with Colombia, the new one had several important differences, all of which favored the U.S.:

- This time the U.S. got a path through Panama 10 miles wide (the other was 6 miles);
- The rights to the area for the canal were ‘in perpetuity’ in the other they were to last until the year 2,000;

America's richest and most powerful banker, J.P. Morgan, was entrusted with forty 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.

Aftermath



Construction of upper lock, February, 1915

Responding to criticism for the methods that he used to get the canal, President Roosevelt boasted that he took it, and he left Congress to debate him and not the canal. While that debate was proceeding, Roosevelt bragged, so was work on the canal. Completed just in time for World War I, the Canal took 10 years to build. Construction was a remarkable triumph of American ingenuity and it is counted as the world's most astonishing building project. Following the advice that de Lesseps had refused to heed, the U.S. built a 'lock' canal. Coming from either ocean, a ship would enter each lock when its 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. Then it would move to a full lock that would be gradually drained and in three stages get back down to sea level on the other side of the isthmus.

Americans may justifiably be proud of the engineering feat that built this canal and be confident that the canal had great practical value. Whether the U.S. should be equally proud of the way they obtained the canal is subject to debate.

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. Explain the advantages to the United States of having a canal that connected the Atlantic and Pacific oceans under US control and the reasons the US was in a far better position than any other country to build one.
2. Explain the role the U.S. played in the revolution against Colombia engineered by the New Panama Canal Company.
3. As your teacher directs, come to class prepared to debate the issue, whether the US in effect stole the canal from Colombia or merely behaved rationally in its own best interests. Students involved in the debate may wish to look at the issue from the perspective of either a Colombian or an American patriot.
4. Do you think the U.S. was wise to return the complete operation of the Panama Canal and the control of the canal zone to Panama by the end of 1999? Why or why not?

Chapter 5

The Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary

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 first proclaimed in 1823, contained the words quoted above. At the time, Russia, France, Prussia, and Austria were trying to help Spain get back the American colonies that had overthrown her rule, and Russia wanted land on what is now our west coast. The U.S. announced that it was against any foreign power imposing its 'system' in the western hemisphere, and the other countries backed off 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 before the year 1900.

In the early 20th century, President Theodore Roosevelt not only invoked the Doctrine but he broadened it by adding his own corollary. Roosevelt said the U.S. had a right to act as an international police force, invading neighboring countries and setting their house in order. His excuse was that, with the U.S. as the cop on the beat, other countries (such as Germany, France, or England) would not have an excuse to cruise around the neighborhood.

But many Americans, and certainly most (though not all) Latin Americans opposed the U.S. playing the role of international policeman. They thought the U.S. did not have a right to land troops and build canals in, or manage the finances of, other countries without their permission. This chapter raises the question about whether the U.S. should have these rights.

Venezuela and the Roosevelt Corollary

On December 13, 1902, a Venezuelan city was attacked by ships from Germany, England, and Italy. The reason for this hostile act was that Venezuela had failed to repay a debt owed to these three countries. News of the attack brought a prompt response from the US President Theodore Roosevelt who sent 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 Venezuelan affair prompted President Roosevelt to formulate what is now known as his 'corollary' to the Monroe Doctrine. Roosevelt thought that incidents like the one in Venezuela would be likely to happen again unless the U.S. took a firm stand. Roosevelt reasoned that if the U.S. collected the debts owed European countries they wouldn't have an excuse to take over nations in the Western Hemisphere.

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 wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power

The Drago Doctrine

Not surprisingly most Latin American countries disagreed with the Roosevelt Corollary. Use of force to collect debts, Luis Drago of Argentina wrote, is wrong. It did not matter to Drago whether the money was owed to American or European governments, private citizens, businessmen, or bankers. Private investors lending money to foreign citizens or governments do so at their own risk. If a country fails to pay what it owes, then it would not be able to borrow any more money. Drago believed that governments have no more right to invade or attack other countries to collect money owed them than a private citizen has the right to use force to collect debts.

The Roosevelt Corollary in the Dominican Republic

In its short history since independence from Spain, the Dominican Republic was 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 their own land was almost as impossible as owning a palace. Like many Latin American countries, the Dominican Republic was ruled by a small elite class of plantation owners, army officers, and businessmen. But they disagreed with one another, and they often stole money from the customs houses where tariffs on imports, the main source of the government's income, were 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 their loans. The government owed \$32,000,000, with interest at \$2,000,000 per annum, and the government's yearly tax receipts amounted to \$1,700,000.

Roosevelt thought the situation in the Dominican Republic an excellent opportunity to use his corollary. As an 'international policeman,' President Roosevelt negotiated with Dominican officials. He convinced them to promise they would pay American investors and turn 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, 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 1905-41 even though many Dominicans thought the U.S. should allow them to run their own country without interference. Marines were landed in the Republic in 1913, again from 1916-24, and once again in 1965. To this day people still disagree as to whether the U.S. did the right thing in 1905, and many Dominicans resent the long occupation of their country by the U.S.

Dollar Diplomacy and Other Interventions

The practice of invading Caribbean countries was continued from 1909 to 1913 by President Robert Taft, Roosevelt's handpicked successor. Taft's diplomatic objective in the region around the Panama Canal was to get American bankers to lend money to these countries. He claimed this would save Latin

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American's from running up a debt 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. But the British press pinned the label, "dollar diplomacy" to President Taft's invasions and the term has stuck.

The practice of the U.S. invading or attempting to overthrow unfriendly governments, and/or to occupy Latin American countries was continued by American presidents right up to the present day, as summarized in the chart below:

Country	Years of Intervention	Country	Years of Intervention
Haiti	1905-41 1995	Panama	1903-1999 1989
Nicaragua	1909-10, 1911-24, 1926-33, 1981-89	Cuba	1898-1902 1906-1909 1917 & 34 1961- present
Mexico	1914 1916-17	Puerto Rico	1901-present
Guatemala	1954	Grenada	1983 •

Three Different Interpretations for America's Latin America Policy

Historians' opinions about the motives for U.S. policies in the Caribbean have been sharply divided. Some believe that the U.S. was merely trying to protect itself from European countries that might build 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 the dean of diplomatic historians. 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, Eli Root, served as Secretary of State under President Theodore Roosevelt and was directly involved in obtaining the customs receivership in the Dominican Republic.

• Chart does not include diplomatic and financial pressures exerted on these countries; also does not imply that intervention was necessarily either good or bad for the country or was done for self-serving or idealistic motives

Samuel Flagg Bemis Justifies Dollar Diplomacy as Hemisphere Defense

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 Claims He was a Racketeer for Capitalism

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.

Eli Root Claims U.S. Motivated by Idealism

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. 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? Were we motivated mainly by a desire to help other countries, or were we primarily concerned with our own defense? You be the judge.

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. Contrast the reasoning of the Drago Doctrine with the thinking that supports the Roosevelt Corollary. With which do you agree? State your reasons.
2. Summarize the circumstances relating to the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the Dominican Republic and decide whether this action was justified.
3. Which of the three theories, *defense*, *economics*, or *idealism* best explain the U.S. actions presented in this chapter as well as in the others? Support your conclusions.

Chapter 6

Three Theories Explaining Imperialism

Imperialism is a term used to describe a situation in which one country controls another. The stronger nation is usually industrial and Western (meaning European, U.S. and Canada). The country being subjugated is generally a non-industrial and non-white country such as Cuba, India, or Indonesia. In the 18th century, the word mercantilism was used to describe what is now called imperialism, and it was the American colonies that were dominated by England until they fought for their independence.

Beginning in the 1870's, Western nations began another round of imperialistic expansion. Africa was more or less divided up and taken over by England, France, Belgium, and Germany. France strengthened its hold on Indochina (Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos); and France, Germany, Russia, England, and Japan obtained 'spheres of influence' for themselves in China and Korea. Late to the game, the United States entered the scramble for non-industrial countries by obtaining the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico; the right to build a canal through Panama and a base in Cuba; as well as the right to intervene in other Caribbean countries. There was hardly a spot on the map not contested or already ruled by some western nation.

Theories of Imperialism

The age of imperialistic expansion had more or less ended by World War II. Since that time, almost all of the nations that once were colonies have become free and independent countries. But this is not to say that the resentment against industrialized, imperialist powers has completely ended. Nor has their influence over the countries they once ruled. Unfortunately, everyone is to some extent a prisoner of the past. This is all the more reason for Americans to look at the relatively small part their country played in this Age of Imperialism and to try to learn why it acted the way it did.

Read the three explanations for imperialism, *humanitarian idealism*, *defense*, and *economic exploitation*, which appear in this chapter: As you read, think whether any one offers a good explanation for the US's actions described in previous chapters.

Idealism and Humanitarian Motives

One of the major reasons for Western nations such as the United States to engage in colonial wars has been provided by organized religion. The church has often sent missionaries into undeveloped countries to convert and help the people. An example of an argument on the basis of religion and humanity is presented here in the words of Reverend Robert E. Spear. Spear spoke for a genuinely non-materialistic argument for U.S. expansion. Many religious and good-hearted individuals agreed with him.

In pressing out over the world, the Western nations are discharging a great duty. When the world is unused by its owners and is needed by the good of all, the civilized nations but obey a law which controls them and ought to control them when they attempt to introduce improvement. The tropics must be developed, and such development can only take place under the influence of the white man. We are governed by a larger issue than any question of commercial policy or in national selfishness. The tropics in such circumstances can only be governed as a trust for civilization and with a full sense of what such trust involves. The civilized nations have a right to

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go back to the mere forms of procedure of non-civilized lands and secure the rights denied in those lands. Indeed, it is their duty to do so.

Defense as Motive

According to Samuel Flagg Bemis, the U.S. was not really an imperialistic power. But the U.S. was forced to take some seemingly imperialistic acts to protect its security in the Western Hemisphere from powers that would use any excuse such as debt collection to establish bases or coaling stations• in Latin America.

The Latin American policy of the United States has reflected constantly the vital necessities of national security of the Continental Republic, next to the security of the entire New World, against intervention by the imperialistic powers of the Old World. It was, if you will, an imperialism against imperialism. It did not last long and it was not really bad.

American leaders realized that it was necessary that in order to defend the continental homeland a large navy was necessary and that it must be able to fight in either ocean. It was also evident that to use the navy in either ocean there would have to be an Isthmian canal to pass it back and forth.

When all is said and done, this explains the war with Spain, to secure control of the Caribbean approaches of the future canal. This, as well as the protection they afforded for naval communications to operations in the Philippines, was also reason to annex the Hawaiian Islands. [Acquired in 1898]

The interventions of the United States in the Caribbean and in Central America was to foster their political and economic stability so there would be no justification, or pretext, for European intervention in such a vitally strategic area of the world.

Economics as a Motive

The economic theory of imperialism was introduced by J.A. Hobson, a socialist economist. In his influential book written at the beginning of the 20th century, Hobson argued that capitalist societies produce an excess of goods and capital because they underpay their workers. To find outlets for these surpluses, capitalist powers sought undeveloped nations where they could sell their goods and invest their money, and obtain raw materials for their factories. In order to make sure these countries protected their property and repaid their loans, bankers and business men put pressure on their own governments to intervene in the affairs of the undeveloped countries. According to Hobson, imperialism was not in the economic interests of the imperial power, but bankers and businessmen won the support of their countrymen by appealing to idealism and patriotism of the people in their country.

Whereas pride, prestige, aggressiveness, and humanitarian claims to a civilizing mission, figure in imperial expansion, the most important motive was the demand for markets and profitable investment, by the exporting and financial classes within each imperialistic country. The reasons

• The importance of these coaling stations was that modern ships of the early 20th century had a limited range before they needed refueling. Without coaling stations, they could not operate in the Caribbean, anywhere near the Panama Canal, or in the Pacific between Hawaii and the western terminal of the Panama Canal.

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for looking outward to find markets for nation's products and profits is that factory owners underpay their workers who therefore do not have the money to buy what they have produced. Capitalists therefore must find outlets for surplus products and profits earned due to their exploitive labor policies. The people in a capitalistic country are seduced into supporting imperialistic expansion by appeals to their patriotism, humanitarian impulses and aggressive nature. These appeals, however, are merely cloaks to shield the real reason for such ventures from the public eye.

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. Define the term "imperialism", and explain why you think it applies to US actions studied in this unit.
2. Explain each theory of imperialism.
3. Which theory do you think best explains the actions of the US studied in this unit? Find facts to support your position:

Chapter 7

Alliances in Europe: 1914

Sunday, June 28, 1914: the street on all sides were lined with cheering people as the limousine bearing the royal couple made a wrong turn into Rudolph Street. It stopped to change directions, and at that moment Gavrilo Princip sprang out from behind the shadows. From point blank range, he fired two shots into the open touring car. The first bullet struck Francis Ferdinand, the Archduke and heir apparent to the Austrian throne, in the neck; the second bullet lodged in his wife's stomach. "Sophie, Sophie, do not die," the Archduke called to his beloved wife as blood spurted from his mouth, "live for our children." Minutes later, Francis Ferdinand and the woman he loved so dearly were both dead, victims of an assassin's plot in Sarajevo, the capital of the Austrian province of what is known today as Bosnia Herzegovina.

The two bullets that ended the lives of the royal couple started a war in Europe, which to this day is known as the 'Great War.' Before the fighting ended, 10 million men and women were to die in a great revolution that would help to sweep communism into Russia. The Hapsburg Empire, which Ferdinand was to rule, would be splintered into five different nation states; parts of France would be under German rule for four years; and all the great nations of Europe would be bankrupt, bled dry, demoralized, and devastated. The United States, too, would be among the thirty-two different nations pulled into this world war much against its long standing policy of standing aloof from Europe's conflicts.

How did this single act of an assassin bring the entire world to the brink of destruction? An answer to this crucial question is not provided in this text, but a series of roles are presented that will allow your class to re-enact the decisions that divided Europe into two opposing armed camps by 1911. By taking on these roles each nation-team in your class will have the opportunity to reflect on the assassination itself and either make or avoid the crucial decisions that led Europe into World War I.

How to Select an Alliance Partner

Nations enter into pacts with one another because they seek some mutual advantage that they cannot obtain separately. Each nation's alliances reflect its aspirations in addition to its need to protect itself from other nations and their alliances. No nation will make an alliance with a country that in turn is allied with its enemy. As you read the following descriptions of the interests and potential threats facing the seven major nations involved in European diplomacy before and during World War I, decide with whom each of these countries might wish to form an alliances. Keep in mind the principles that govern alliances: interests and aspirations; protection, and the avoidance of conflicting alliances.

Interests, Common Enemies, and Aspirations

Germany:

1. Wanted overseas colonies, but the most desirable were already taken by Great Britain and France.
2. Wanted a strong navy to compete with Great Britain's. Already had the second strongest navy in the world, ahead of France and behind England.
3. Had the largest army in the world and was the most powerful country in Europe.
4. Interested in expanding eastward through the Balkan states to Turkey.
5. Defeated France in Franco-Prussian War in 1870-71 and took French province of Alsace-Lorraine. Believed France would use force to take it back.

Great Britain:

- 1.1. Depended on largest navy in world to defend its colonial empire as well as to prevent any other country from crossing the English channel.
- 2.2. Had a long tradition of forming alliances with the second most powerful country in Europe to counterbalance the strength of the most powerful country, which was Germany.

France:

- 1.1. Wanted revenge against Germany for defeat in Franco-Prussian War in 1870-71, and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.
- 2.2. Was second most powerful nation in Europe, but needed allies against Germany

Austria-Hungary:

- 1.1. Shared border, cultural, language and racial ties with Germany.
- 2.2. Ruled huge empire containing many Slavic people such as Poles, Czechs, Serbs, Bosnians, Croats, etc. who wanted to break away from her.
- 4.3. Recently took over Bosnia-Herzegovina, which wanted to be part of Serbia.

Serbia:

- 1.1. Wanted to control Bosnia-Herzegovina, with whom she had racial and religious ties.
- 2.2. Landlocked country - wanted a seaport in the Adriatic.
- 3.3. Claimed to champion cause of the Slavic peoples in the Balkans.
- 4.4. Desperately needed a strong ally to protect her against Austria-Hungary.

Russia:

- 1.1. Largest country in Europe, but undeveloped, poorly led, and disorganized.
- 2.2. Posed as champion for Slavic people with whom she shared cultural ties.
- 3.3. Wanted a seaport in the Adriatic

United States:

- 1.1. 3,000 miles away from Europe; traditionally isolationist and intent on avoiding alliances of any kind.
- 2.2. World's most powerful industrial country with very small army and navy.

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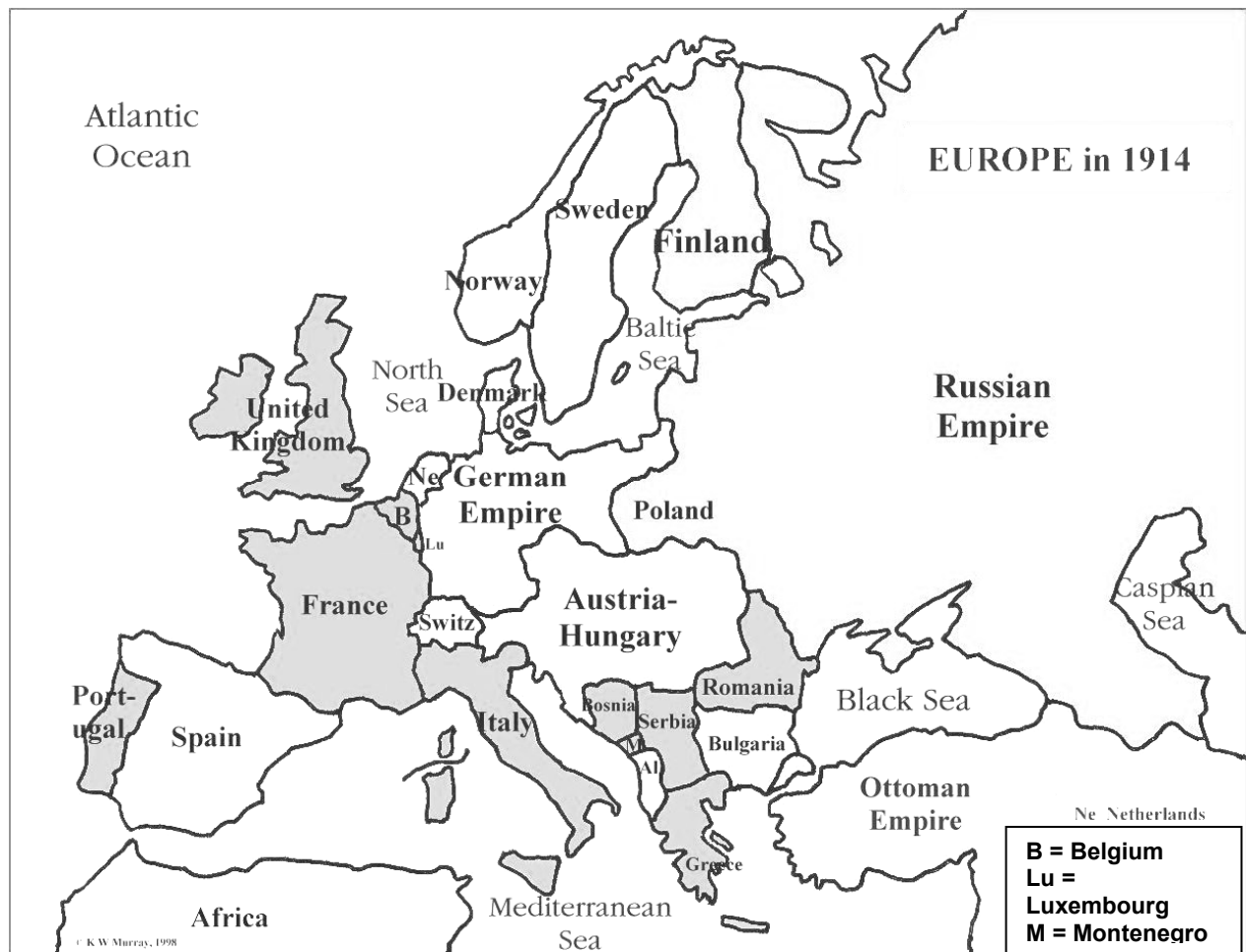
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3.3. English speaking people shared cultural and religious ties with Great Britain

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. As your teacher directs, form your alliances based on the interests, common enemies, and aspirations of the country you have been assigned to represent.

Europe in 1914



June 29, 1914

THE WORLD CHRONICLE

Heir to Austrian Throne Slain By Bosnian Youth Francis Ferdinand and Wife Die in Sarajevo Assassin Caught: Proud of His Deed

Sarajevo, Bosnia, June 28, 1914

Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, and his wife, Sophie, were shot and killed by a Bosnian student here today. The fatal shots were the second attempt upon the lives of the couple during the day. It is believed to be the result of a political conspiracy that involved the Serbian military intelligence department.

The author of the attempted assassination was a Bosnian student by the name of Gavrilo Princip.

The open touring car carrying the royal couple through Sarajevo made a wrong turn on Rudolph Street. As it backed up to turn around, Princip jumped on the running board. From point blank range he pumped two bullets into the open car. The first struck Archduke Francis Ferdinand in the neck; the second hit his wife in the stomach. "Sophie, Sophie, do not die," the Archduke called to his beloved wife, "stay alive for our children." Moments later the Archduke and the woman he loved so well were dead.

The assassin must have had inside information, for it was a well-guarded secret that the Archduke always wore a coat of silk strands, woven so tightly that no bullet could penetrate it. A strip of this

material could make a motor car tire so strong that it could not be punctured.

The Emperor of Austria-Hungary, Francis-Joseph, who had just left for his summer vacation, will return to Vienna immediately. The Archduke's children are in Bohemia and relatives have already left Vienna to tell them the terrible news. The bodies of the Archduke and his wife will be brought to Vienna in a week's time.

General opinion in Vienna blames high officials in the Serbian government for the assassination. It is believed, for instance, that the man who recruited Princip to do the job was a minor official in the Serbian government as well as a member of the Black Hand, a terrorist organization. The Serbian papers were always full of anti-Austrian propaganda. Their hatred for Austria-Hungary was ill disguised among government officials, and they made no serious attempts to stop the activities of terrorist organizations.

There is no doubt that the assassination will lead to a foreign policy crisis of immense proportions. If Austria presses demands against the Serbs, Germany, Russia, and even England and France could get involved. This could lead to the worst war fought in world history.

(Related stories on pages 2, 4, & 7)

Suggested Student Exercises for World War I Simulation:

1. Based on following rules and realities decide how you wish to respond to the crisis of 1914 resulting from the Serbian student's assassination of Francis Ferdinand:
 1. All decisions except attacks are to be announced in the following order: Austria, Germany, Serbia, Russia, France, England, and U.S.A.
 2. Attacks and defense positions are to be announced by teacher upon reading sealed military orders from each country.
 3. Countries involved in simulation are to make their decisions in meetings with allies.
 4. For an attack to be successful, the attacking force must have twice the military force of the defender at each permitted area of attack. If two countries knock each other out at the same time, it's a tie.

National Roles:

Austria-Hungary

There is good evidence that the Serbian cabinet knew about the plot to kill your dearly beloved Archduke. This crisis might give Austria-Hungary the opportunity to get rid of the Serbs forever. For years Serbia has been fanning the flames of revolution by Slavs in Austria-Hungary against the mother country. If you can get Germany's support, you can make tough demands on Serbia, and if she does not agree, attack and destroy her.

Realities:

Population: 50 million; Army: 150 Divisions; Navy: none

Decisions:

Round 1.

1. Call reserves in preparation for attack in round 2 (but get pledge of support from Germany first), *and/or*
2. Demand that Serbia get rid of all government officials hostile to Austria, & stop all propaganda against Austria, or face war;
3. Ask for arbitration with England (which means no attack in round 2)

Round 2.

1. Call up reserves in preparation for an attack in round 3.
2. Agree to arbitration and arbitrate (means no attack in round 3)
3. Attack (only if you called reserves in previous round)
(See round 3 for rules governing attacks)

Round 3.

1. Continue arbitration
2. Attack Serbia with ____ divisions, Russia with ____ divisions, and defend self from Russia with ____ divisions and from Serbia with ____ divisions. (*Remember:* you must divide forces 0/100% ,50/50%, or 70/30%. Serbia cannot destroy Austria-Hungary)

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Germany

You were upset with the way Austria-Hungary backed down in the past, and you want to give her courage. However, you also want to avoid a world war. If there is a war, you have the best army in Europe, but you'll have to fight both France and Russia at the same time, and that could be difficult.

You have a secret plan to attack France through Belgium where she has no defenses and to hold out against the poor Russian army while you defeat France.

Realities:

Population: 64 million; Army: 200 divisions; Navy: 150 ships.

Decisions:

Round 1.

1. Publicly announce full support for Austria-Hungary and call up reserves so you can attack in round 2, **or,**
2. Support Austria-Hungary if she decides to ask for arbitration. This means you can't attack in round 2.

Round 2.

1. Call up reserves so you can attack in round 3,
2. Announce continued support for or participate in arbitration. (This means you can't attack in round 3.)
3. Attack. (See round 3 for rules governing attacks.)

Round 3.

(Note: In defense of Lorraine and from Russia your troops are worth 2 times what they are worth in attack. In attack of France through Belgium your troops are worth 1/2 more than in attacks elsewhere. You can divide your troops any way you want.)

1. Participate in arbitration
2. Attack Russia with ____ divisions; France through Belgium with ____ divisions; France through Lorraine with ____ divisions. Defend from France at Lorraine with ____ divisions. Defend from Russia with ____ divisions.

Serbia

Without help from Russia, Austria-Hungary could crush you completely. You may be willing to make concessions to Austria-Hungary under international arbitration, but you feel that giving in completely to Austria-Hungary's demands would be the same as total surrender

Realities:

Population: 3 million; Army: 10 divisions; Navy: 0 divisions.

Decisions:

Round 1.

1. Give in completely to Austrian-Hungarian ultimatum.
2. Allow England to arbitrate your dispute with Austria-Hungary
3. Refuse arbitration.
4. Refuse arbitration and mobilize.

Round 2.

1. Call up reserves
2. Give in to ultimatum

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3. Participate in arbitration

Round 3.

1. Attack Austria with ____ divisions
2. Defend from Austria with _____ divisions (*remember: all divisions must be divided 0/100%, 50/50%, or 70/30%*)

Russia

You backed down in 1908 when Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina and you do not want to be embarrassed again. You now have good relations with France following a very successful state visit. You have promised to help France by attacking Germany if she attacks France, and France has promised to help you by attacking Germany, if Germany attacks you. Your army, however, is weak.

Realities:

Population: 163 million; Army: 200 divisions; Navy: 60 ships

Decisions

Round 1.

1. Announce support for Serbia, but don't mobilize
2. Call for or support arbitration
3. Call up reserves (otherwise won't be able to attack in round 3.)

Round 2.

1. Call up reserves (otherwise won't be able to defend in round 3.)
2. Call for or support arbitration (instead of calling for reserves)
(*You cannot attack in round 2, even if you called reserves in round 1*)

Round 3.

1. Attack Germany with ____ divisions and/or Austria with ____ divisions
2. Defend self from Germany with ____ divisions, and/or Austria-Hungary with ____ divisions.
(*Remember: troops must be divided 0/100%, 50/50%, or 70/30%. Your troops are only worth 80% of number of divisions.*)

France

Your military leaders and many patriotic Frenchmen want to go to war to get Alsace Lorraine, which you lost to Germany in the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-71. However, you realize that Germany may defeat you unless you get help from both Russia and England. You have to be sure you get their support in negotiations. In case of war, your plan is to attack Germany through Lorraine and trust Germany not to attack you through neutral Belgium because she had signed a treaty promising she wouldn't. You may wish to change this plan.

Realities:

Population: 40 million; Army: 50 divisions; Navy: 90 ships.

Decisions

Round 1.

1. Call for neutrality or arbitration, which means you can't attack in round 2.
2. Warn Germany that you support Serbia and Russia but don't call up reserves. That means you won't be able to attack in round 2.
3. Call up reserves so you will be able to attack in round 2.

Round 2.

1. Call up reserves so you can attack in the next round.
2. Attack (*see round 3. for instructions*) but only if you called reserves in round 1.
3. Call for arbitration, or strict neutrality (which means you won't be able to attack in the next round.)

Round 3.

1. Attack Germany at Alsace-Lorraine with ___ divisions.
2. Defend yourself from Germany at Alsace-Lorraine with ___ divisions and from Germany by Belgium border with ___ divisions. (*Remember you must divide troops 0/100%, 50/50%, or 70/30%.*)

Great Britain

Great Britain is also unlikely to sit by and allow Germany to defeat France or invade neutral Belgium. But the British do not want a war. The best solution for Great Britain would be to avoid war by acting as an arbitrator between Serbia and Austria-Hungary.

Realities:

Population: 40 million; Army: 50 divisions; Navy: 300 ships. (*It would take some time to get Great Britain's 50 divisions to fight in France.*)

Decisions

Round 1.

1. Call for strict neutrality or offer to arbitrate dispute between Serbia and Austria-Hungary.
2. Warn Germany that you will support France no matter what or only if she attacks through neutral Belgium. (May not call reserves in round 1 or attack in round 2.)

Round 2.

1. Call up reserves in order to defend France in round 3.
2. Declare strict neutrality or offer to arbitrate or continue arbitrating, but then won't be able to come to defense of France till round 4.

Round 3.

1. Call up reserves so you can defend France in round 4.
2. Declare strict neutrality or continue arbitrating but then won't be able to come to defense of France in round 4.
3. Come to the aid of France with ____ divisions

Round 4.

1. Continue arbitrating, or declare strict neutrality (which mean can't come to France's aid at all.)
2. Come to France's aid with ____ divisions.

The United States

The traditional policy of the United States has been to remain neutral and avoid entangling alliances on all sides of the Atlantic. If it plays a role, the U.S. will use its influence to prevent a war in Europe. The U.S. may warn European countries what it may do if they go to war, and these warnings may include cutting off all trade or even sending 40 divisions in the fourth round.

Realities:

Population: 100 million; Army: 5 divisions but expandable; Navy: 50 ships

Decisions

Round 1.

1. Declare strict neutrality in the dispute.
2. Encourage Serbia and Austria-Hungary to accept arbitration, and warn all powers that you may cut off trade with whatever nation starts the war - an act which reduces the value of its forces by 10%
3. Start a military draft and increase size of navy - raise taxes by 10% to pay for preparations for war.
4. Do both 2. and 3.

Round 2

1. Declare strict neutrality in the dispute
2. Encourage Serbia and Austria-Hungary to accept arbitration and warn you may cut off trade with whatever nation starts the war - an act that reduces the value of its forces by 10%.
3. Start a military draft and increase size of navy; raise taxes by 10% to pay for preparations for war.
4. Do both 2 and 3.

Round 3.

1. Warn nations that U.S. would remain neutral but must be allowed to trade with both sides.
2. Start a military draft and increase size of navy - raise taxes by 10% to pay for preparations for war.

Round 4.

1. Warn nations that U.S. would remain neutral but must be allowed to trade with both sides.
2. If you started the draft in round 1 you may send 40 divisions to Europe. If you started the draft in round 2 you may only send 20.

Chapter 8

War in Europe: Who Was Responsible?

Many have compared the assassination of President Kennedy and our relationship to Cuba with the assassination of Crown Prince Francis Ferdinand to what happened in



The Archduke and

Serbia. The similarity is that Cuba was a thorn in the side of the U.S., and Serbia was a thorn in the side of Austria-Hungary. The difference is that while we have conclusive evidence that Gavrilo Princip received help from Serbia, only circumstantial evidence linked Cuba to Lee Harvey Oswald. Nevertheless, keep this analogy in mind while reading the following account of events leading from Francis Ferdinand's assassination to the beginning of World War I.

The Immediate Aftermath

One of the key men linked to Ferdinand's assassination was Milan Ciganovitch. He was a minor Serbian official and a member of an anti-Austrian terrorist organization known as the Black Hand. Ciganovitch recruited Princip and another man involved in the assassination. He trained both of these men in the use of revolvers and stationed them along the parade route in Sarajevo. After the assassination, Serbian officials allowed Ciganovitch to escape. The Serbs even kept sending him his salary under an assumed name. Serbian officials also prevented Austrians from learning more details of Ciganovitch's involvement in the plot.

The 'Blank Check'

One week after the assassination, Austrian and German officials met secretly. Germany urged the Austrians to take a firm stand regarding Serbia. If this meant war, the Germans promised, they would support Austria to the hilt. (This support was later characterized as a 'blank check on the resources of the German Empire) Since the Austrians had backed down on previous crises in the Balkans, Germany felt this encouragement was necessary.

The Ten Demands

Germany's attempts to get Austria-Hungary to take a tough stand succeeded. Austrian officials sent a blistering note to Serbia, one of the toughest warnings in diplomatic history. It accused Serbia of stirring up the hostility that hatched the plot to kill Francis Ferdinand. Furthermore, it blamed the Serbs for doing nothing to prevent the assassination. Finally, this diplomatic bombshell gave Serbia 48 hours to meet the following demands:

- End all propaganda against Austria in your newspapers, magazines, and public schools.
- Remove all officials hostile to Austria from your government, and allow Austria to take part in suppressing all plots directed against Austria
- Arrest all the conspirators involved in the assassination plot, including Ciganovitch, and allow Austria to take part in their trials.

- Close borders to all illegal crossings into Austria, and offer suitable explanations for all anti-Austrian statements made by your officials.
- Reply by 6 P.M., July 25, 1914, that all the foregoing measures are being carried out.

This stern note was sent to Serbia exactly 48 hours before a satisfactory response was demanded..

Responses to Austria's Demands

Before replying, Serbia asked assurances of support from Russia, the only ally near enough to help her. When the Russian Foreign Minister read Austria's note he commented, "this means war." With that, Russia became the first country in this crisis to begin the process of mobilizing its troops.¹⁴ Russia justified calling up her troops because it took the inefficient military in the vast country and with insufficient railroads linking its major cities far longer to prepare for war than it took either Germany or Austria-Hungary.

Despite support from Russia, Serbia drew up a conciliatory response to Austria's demands. It promised to heed to some of the demands and asked for further clarification on others. The only demand rejected outright was 'allowing Austria to participate in the trial of alleged conspirators.' Because Serbian leaders believed Austria would attack despite their attempt to meet its demands, Serbia called up her reserves. Receiving Serb's reply by the 6 P.M. deadline, Austrian leaders hardly bothered to read it, and immediately recalled their ambassador from Serbia. Along with his entire staff, the Austrian ambassadors caught the 6:30 train to Vienna that evening. Three days later (on July 28th), Austria declared war on Serbia and shelled its capitol, Belgrade.

Germany Tries to Stem the Tide of Impending War

During the crisis, Emperor William I of Germany was cruising in the royal yacht and could not be reached. That left Germany's policy in the hands of Foreign Minister Bethmann-Hollweg, who would continue advising Austria to take decisive action against Serbia. When William finally returned to Berlin on July 28th and read Serbia's reply to the demands, he was so pleased that he wrote, "It is more than can be expected. With it every reason for war drops away." With that William tried desperately to reverse the forces which his "blank check" had set in motion. He asked Austria to reconsider its declaration of war against Serbia. Failing this, he pleaded with Austria to announce that she would not take territory from Serbia. When this plea also fell on deaf ears, William did not do the one thing that might have prevented war; he did not inform the Austrians that he would cancel his 'blank check' if the Austrians failed to make peace with Serbia.

Having failed to halt his ally, Austria-Hungary, William tried influencing his potential enemy, Russian Tsar Nicholas II. Addressing his note to "cousin Nicki," the German monarch asked Russia to stop mobilizing. Fearing a war with both Germany and Austria-Hungary, Nicholas ordered the general mobilization reduced to a partial mobilization. His generals argued that this would be too confusing. The next day, July 29th, Nicholas learned that the Austrians had shelled Belgrade, capital of Serbia. With a heavy heart, Tsar Nicholas reversed his orders once more. Posters appeared throughout that vast country warning that preparations for war would take preference over all other activities. On that day (July 30th), Russia's allies, England and France began their preparations for war.

¹⁴ Mobilization in those days was considered to be a preparation for an attack on another country.

War Begins

As of noon, July 31st, Germany alone among the great nations in Europe had not called up its reserves. By this time Germany's generals were frantically pleading with their Emperor to start mobilizing. Their arguments were based on the logic of military necessity. Germany's defense depended on its ability to land a knockout punch against its enemy in the west (France), before turning to meet the expected attack from Russia in the east. Any further delay, the generals argued, would force Germany into the perilous plight of having to fight a war on two fronts at the same time.

Emperor William II tried once more to halt Russia's and France's preparations for war. At 3:30 P.M. July 31st he sent telegrams to both countries. He gave Russia 12 and France 18 hours to stop mobilizing. The deadline passed with no word from Russia; William extended the deadline for another 5 hours, and still no word. As her deadline approached, France called up her troops. Two hours later, Germany declared war on Russia. With that, all hopes for peace vanished and World War I began on August 1, 1914.

Germany Attacks France

The German general staff had worked on plans to attack France since 1892. Constantly revised and refined, the plans called for a lightning attack on France by the German army through neutral Belgium despite Germany's international guarantee to respect Belgium's neutrality. The German war machine swung into action with unbelievable timing. With the precision of a Swiss watch, soldiers and supplies from all parts of the nation were loaded onto trains that arrived at their destination precisely as scheduled, were unloaded and quickly returned in time to for the next run.



Devastated Belgium

France had not been prepared for Germany's attack on the country whose neutrality she had pledged herself to defend. But the German's demand that Belgium allow her troops to march through this neutral country was refused. Despite its lack of preparation, Belgium heroically held off the German war machine for 18 days, and Belgium's defense of its homeland gave France the time it needed to fully mobilize its troops. Hoping to cut off German troops as they marched into Belgium, France

used the time to launch an attack on Germany through Lorraine. However, Germany had anticipated such an attack, and France lost her best soldiers and officers in a gallant but futile attempt to overwhelm Germany defenses.

When the French counter-attack failed, German troops poured into France. Germany pushed the French and the army Great Britain had sent to help its retreating ally back by as many as 30 miles a day. The victorious Germans came within less than a day's march of Paris. At this point, however, France's General Joffe re-grouped his troops for one last counter-attack. Striking on the 6th of September at the Marne River, Joffe caught the Germans by surprise. The battle raged for nearly a week, but by the end of the third day, the Germans were forced to retreat. Just as it had looked like they were defeated, however, the Germans stopped retreating, dug trenches, and waited for their enemies behind machine guns and barbed wire. Five hundred thousand soldiers were killed and wounded that week in one of history's most brutal blood baths, but the French could not penetrate Germany's defenses and the battle ended in a crimson stalemate.

Stalemate on the Western Front

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The nature of warfare changed with Germany's discovery that a few men in a trench with machine guns could practically halt an entire regiment. Both sides soon applied this lesson. By November 1914, two endless lines of trenches stretched some 600 miles from the English Channel, across Belgium and France and into Switzerland. Sometimes these lines were separated by no more than a few hundred yards – at other times by more than five miles. In between, thousands of miles of barbed wire lay coiled against a ground attack behind which was the artillery, ready to fire shells at enemy positions. Neither side could advance against these lines of defense without suffering unacceptable losses. The lightning-like attacks of August were thus replaced by the muddy trenches of November filled with rats, rotting corpses, and the smell of death.

Stalemate on the Eastern Front

The stalemate on the Western Front was matched by a bloody and fruitless war in the East. During the early weeks of the war, Russian troops had advanced into Germany itself. They were driven back by German armies commanded by Generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff. Russia's success against Austria-Hungary forced Germany to come to its aid, and once again German armies triumphed. The Russians beat a slow retreat, drawing Germany's armies deeper and deeper into the vast stretches of this huge country. Still, despite their successes in battle, the Germans were unable to defeat the Russians, and in the East as well as the West, the war was stalemated with neither side able to claim victory.

Desperation

Thus the war of attack in August 1914, changed to a war of attrition that November. Like mighty wrestlers of equal strength, each side grasped for anything that might give it an advantage. The ability of each to raise, equip, and feed armies became increasingly important. Trade with neutral nations such as the United States would soon play an essential role in fighting World War I. As the country with the world's largest economy and greatest military potential, the United States could be pivotal in determining the final outcome of the war.

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. Sum up the various events that led to an outbreak of the fighting.
2. If your teacher directs, assume the country's role you played in the Alliance game and state why you think the other side (either Austria-Hungary and Germany, or Serbia, Russia, Great Britain, and France) was responsible for starting World War I. Be prepared to defend your country and its allies from any blame for their actions. (E.g.: Serbia gave a conciliatory reply; Austria was upset about its Archduke believing that Serbia was to blame; Germany tried to get all the countries not to fight; etc. Note also that Serbia could be blamed for the assassination, Austria-Hungary for their demands, Germany for the 'blank check,' Russia for mobilizing early, etc.)
3. Objectively speaking, what actions by both sides could be judged irresponsible and be blamed for starting World War I?

Chapter 9

Neutrality and the Lusitania

Rules for war: Is such a thing possible? In the past, many nations agreed on a body of international laws governing how countries should act while at war. Among the important agreements were the following:

- The right of neutral countries to be free from unprovoked attack.
- The right of neutral countries to freedom of the seas, to travel to and trade with countries at war.
- The right of civilians to travel in unarmed ships, that could be sunk only if passengers and crew were given enough time to get into lifeboats.

How the Rules of War Were Broken by Germany and England

The international rules of war were quickly broken following the beginning of World War I. First, Germany fought its way across neutral Belgium to attack France. Then Germany declared war on England and planted mines along shipping routes in the North Sea to prevent British trade with Holland and other countries in the area. Neutrals could ask for a map to learn where these mines were located, but the British had to take their chances.

Great Britain quickly responded to Germany's violation of neutrality rights. It strictly prohibited all trade of war goods (contraband) with Germany. Taking no chances, the British insisted that any ship trading with Germany submit to a thorough search. Furthermore, England's definition of contraband expanded as the war continued. Originally the list covered only guns and ammunition, but as time wore on, contraband included most food and clothing. The British hoped to destroy Germany's and Austria-Hungary's ability to continue fighting.

Submarine Warfare Announced and Debated

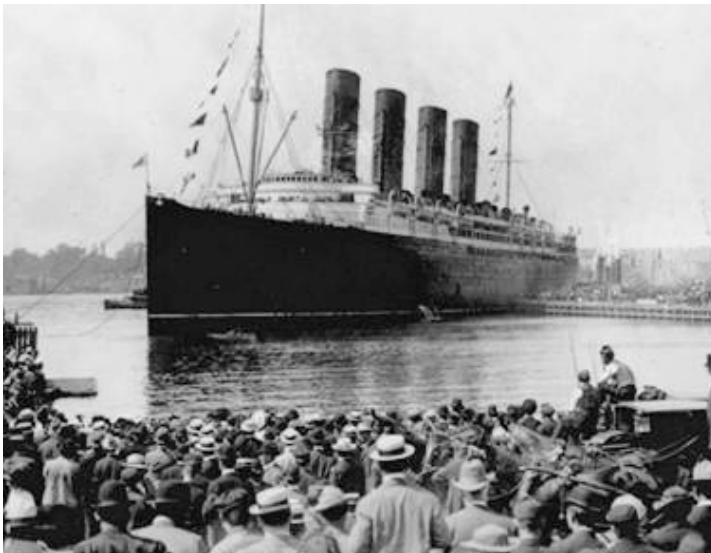
On February 4, 1915, Germany announced the beginning of unrestricted submarine warfare. After February 18th, her fleet of submarines would sink the ships of every neutral and belligerent country without further warning. Passenger ships were not excluded; no attempts would be made to give passengers time to board lifeboats. This ban applied to an area roughly three hundred miles from The Hague where many of the rules for warfare and the rights of neutrals that Germany was violating had been written.

Many people throughout the world were shocked that Germany would sink passenger ships belonging to neutral countries. They pointed to the international rules that allowed neutrals to trade with countries at war and required warnings to give civilians time to get off their ships. But Germany argued that its fragile submarines should not be treated like normal ships. If a submarine surfaced to warn of an oncoming attack it would be quickly sunk. Furthermore, German spokesmen pointed out that England's illegal food blockade threatened their survival as a nation and the lives of innocent women and children. They also claimed that the ammunition and other contraband that the US was selling to England and her

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allies would be used to kill Germans. Furthermore, German officials noted that the British often flew flags of neutral countries and sent ammunition on passenger ships. Finally, Germany reasoned that since the U.S. had already submitted to England's blockade of contraband as well as food and clothing, it would be



Lusitania begins her last voyage, May 1, 1915

unfair for the U.S. to allow England to block its trade with Germany without allowing Germany to respond in kind.

It is true that England had successfully blockaded Germany. President Wilson allowed U.S. ships bound for Germany to be boarded and searched, allowing their cargo to be confiscated and subjecting them to innumerable delays. However, Wilson excused these violations because they involved only the loss of property, which was replaceable, and not the loss of human lives, which were sacred and irreplaceable. The President therefore informed 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 its sister ship, the *Titanic*, the *Lusitania* was headed for an unexpected and tragic end on the day it lifted anchor in New York. 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* had been "adequately" warned; and whether its sinking should be a cause for the U.S. to declare war on Germany. The source of this interesting account with its wealth of details, is *Sports Illustrated*.

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 Canard'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,

NOTICE!

Travellers 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 adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travellers 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.

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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.

There was tension, but there were no cancellations. The new third mate (later one of two surviving officers) remembers that "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 2,000 people and a cargo of which half (including 4,200 cases of ammunition) was 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 zig zag. 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 unvarying 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."

From Gally Head, lighthouse keeper Duffy heard five explosions. He made nothing of this fact, but it was to become a crucial one in later investigations. It suggested that the disastrous results of the torpedoing were caused by a heavy cargo of contraband explosives.

On Old Head of Kinsale, lighthouse keeper Murphy heard several explosions and "looked west and saw a large steamer apparently all right." He went on whitewashing.

On board the Lusitania the telegraph operator repeated his message: "Come at once. Big list. Ten miles south of Old Head of Linsale." 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. Vanderbilt gave his life vest to an hysterical woman and stood by hatless, casual. He could not swim. 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. 1,198 people had died; 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 18 months.

Reactions to the Sinking of the Lusitania

Americans were shocked by the news of the sinking of the Lusitania with loss of 1198 innocent lives. Some people wanted to go to war; others demanded an immediate apology and explanation. Still others said we should keep American passengers off ships sailing in the war zone and selling contraband to England and France. Two such comments on opposite sides of the issue are provided below. As you read each comment try to decide what each would do, and why you either agree or disagree with his recommendation:

Roosevelt Sees a Pattern	Bryan Wants to Warn Americans
<p>None of the old time pirates committed murder on so vast a scale as in the case of the Lusitania.</p> <p>The destruction of cities, (by Germans) the terrible wrong-doing to civilians, men women and children in Belgium and northern France in order thereby to terrorize the civilian population – have now been paralleled by what has happened on the sea.</p>	<p>We cannot well justify a failure to warn American citizens against going into the danger zone on foreign ships – especially on ships, which by carrying ammunition invite great risks. If the elected officials of a city are justified in warning people off the streets of the city in which they live, surely a nation is justified in warning its citizens off of the water highways which belong to no nation alone, but to all nations in common.</p>

Wilson's Dilemma

President Woodrow Wilson was shocked and upset by the sinking of the Lusitania and the loss of 124 American lives. But, he did not want to risk even more American lives by declaring war on Germany. He also did not like the other choice offered by Secretary of State William Jennings who wanted US ships to stay out of the war zone proclaimed by Germany. Others in the country wanted the U.S. to stop trade with England and France as well as with Germany.

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. Describe the last voyage of the Lusitania and the warnings that were received.
2. According to your definition, did Germany commit a war crime by sinking the Lusitania, or do you think that the Germans gave the passengers and crew of the Lusitania an 'adequate warning', and that those on board sailed at their own risk?
3. Which of the following actions do you think President Wilson should take following the sinking:
 - a. Declare war on Germany without making further diplomatic effort to avoid it.
 - b. Warn Germany that a continuation of submarine warfare would lead to war with the U.S.
 - c. Stop trade with England until the blockade is lifted or England allows the US to trade with Germany.

Chapter 10 America Goes to War



Wilson addressing Congress

President Wilson won a diplomatic victory by putting heavy pressure on Germany after the Lusitania incident. After months of difficult negotiations, Germany not only renounced submarine warfare, but also paid money to the relatives of the victims. But Wilson's victory for free trade during times of war was only temporary. On January 31, 1917, eighteen months after the sinking of the Lusitania, Germany announced a resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare beginning the very next day. This left the U.S. with the same set of choices it had in 1915 following the sinking of the Lusitania. This time, however, Germany did not back down, and President Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war.

This chapter asks you to decide whether the U.S. should or should not have gone to war and why it actually did declare war on Germany and her allies. Deciding what the U.S. should have done, learning why she did and deciding why she did it could help you make better judgments about how we resolve similar foreign policy issues today.

The US's Economic Ties with England and France

The reasons the U.S. allowed England's blockade and not Germany's have already been discussed. This decision led to a very lopsided trade advantage among the warring countries that favored England and France. As indicated by the following chart, the U.S. not only sold goods primarily to England and her allies (mainly France), but increasingly lent these countries the money needed to pay for the goods:

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

The War to Save the World for Democracy

From the beginning, President Wilson had tried hard to keep the U.S. out of World War I. He had asked Americans to be neutral in fact as well as in name. As the war proceeded, he tried to maintain America's rights as a neutral nation to trade with both sides. When it appeared that the U.S. might be dragged into the war, he tried to bring about a negotiated settlement that would be fair to all sides. But

the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare on January 31, and the indiscriminate sinking of ships that followed, convinced Wilson to ask Congress for a declaration of war against a "selfish and autocratic power."

Believing he was forced to fight, Wilson chose the highest possible moral ground on which to base his request for war. Wilson saw Germany's declaration of submarine warfare as an attack on the rights of all nations, great and small. The war he sought would be fought "for the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power." While the U.S. had kept out of the war to date, Wilson explained that neutrality was no longer desirable because "the peace of the world is involved and the freedoms of its peoples." Furthermore, President Wilson stated that it was time 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 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.

A War for Profits and Not Principles

A strong, but very outspoken minority opposed America's entry into war on the basis that the pressure for the war stemmed from economic interests and not high ideals. These opponents included a well-known reformer George Norris. Norris argued that, "the money of manufacturers of ammunitions and guns and the stockbrokers and bankers with similar interests have controlled the flow of news and created a state of opinion in favor of the U.S. entering the war."

...Through the instrumentality 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 and great news agencies of the country 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 safe delivery of munitions of war to belligerent nations. The enormous profits of munitions manufacturers, stockbrokers, and bond dealers must be still further created by our entrance into the war. This has brought us to the present moment, when Congress, urged by the president and backed by the artificial sentiment, is about to declare war and engulf our country in the greatest holocaust that the world has ever known.

To whom does the war bring prosperity? Not to the soldier who for the munificent compensation of \$16 per month shouldered 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; not to the little children who shiver with cold, not to the millions of mothers and daughters who carry broken hearts to their graves. 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

A War to Defend the United States

Shortly before Woodrow Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany and Austria, he released a telegram that the British foreign office claimed it had intercepted. Addressed to the German minister in Mexico, the telegram advised him to offer Mexico the territories (including Texas and Arizona) which the U.S. had taken under the Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo in 1848. At the time the cable was released, U.S. troops were about 200 miles inside of Mexico looking for a bandit (Pancho Villa) who had crossed the border and attacked a town in Texas. This dramatic if not necessarily authentic information shocked Americans into fearing German aggression. If nothing else, the U.S. had a real interest in keeping a 'balance of power' in Europe:

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.

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. Which, if any, of the three reasons given for going to war against Germany and her allies justifies our going to war. Support your answer with facts from the unit.
2. Which of the above, do you think was the main reason for the U.S. entering World War I? Support your answer with facts from the unit.

Chapter 11

The Fourteen Points and the Versailles Treaty

President Woodrow Wilson reluctantly asked his countrymen to declare war on Germany in 1917, he told Congress that the 'world must be made safe for democracy.' The President did not want America to fight only to protect England and France so he called his nation to embark on a crusade 'to end all wars.' His Fourteen Points, announced in January 19, 1918, provided the blueprint to build the peace that would last for all time. They called for a peace treaty so fair and just that it would eliminate all need for future wars. The nations of the world would disarm themselves, renounce their colonial claims, eliminate tariff barriers, and engage in open and honest diplomacy. The map of Europe would be revised so that all major ethnic groups such as the Poles, Czechs, and Serbs, would each have their own nation, governed by and for themselves. Finally, a league of peace-loving nations would guarantee that the just provisions of this Treaty would be enforced by pledging themselves to protect one another from external attack by any aggressive country.

The collapse of Russia's armies during the autumn of 1917 and the communist revolution in November ended Russia's participation in World War I. As America hastily trained fresh troops to serve in France, Germany's armies launched a major offense. Fortunately, America's armies arrived in time to save the allies. The German attack was halted in July and in August and September, Germany retreated. When defeat seemed inevitable, many Germans were convinced that a peace based on the Fourteen Points was preferable to further losses. A revolution in 1918 overthrew the Emperor, and the new German government asked for a peace based on Wilson's program.

While the United States was committed to the Fourteen Points, neither England nor France had made similar assurances. "Wilson bores me with his Fourteen Points," France's Prime Minister George Clemenceau is said to have exclaimed, "God himself only had ten." Meanwhile, England's Lloyd George ran for re-election 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 have criticized this peace as being too hard on Germany, others have claimed it was too easy. This chapter challenges its readers to resolve the problems confronted by the heads of the victorious nations that will last not for twenty years, but for twenty generations and longer. The information and instructions needed to meet this challenge are provided in this chapter.

The Setting

The scene was a railroad car outside of Paris, and the men gathered in it represented England, France, and Germany. The document which they drew up pledged Germany to: stop fighting; give up its weapons of war; leave all occupied lands immediately; disband its armies; and allow the allies several bridges by which to cross into Germany. This armistice was to take effect on the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month (November 11, 1918).

The world on that November day was very different from the world of August 1914. Then, cheering crowds in the capitals of European cities proudly sent their young men off to battle. Four years later, dispirited bands of soldiers wearily sought their way home. In 1914, citizens who had known only peace looked optimistically toward the future. Later, the same people confronted a world that could only

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remember war and ached for respite. Ten million lives had been lost. Revolutions had swept the Tsar of Russia from his throne and had replaced him with a communist government under Vladimir Lenin. The German Emperor had been similarly deposed and replaced by a socialist government. The once proud Austrian-Hungarian Empire was split into the fragments of the ethnic groups it once ruled over, the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Croats, Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians.

More than falling dynasties and emerging nations marked the new Europe. Everywhere, the war had taken its deadly toll. The economic life and social ties which once held Europe together had been torn apart. Cities lay in smoking ruins, railroads were mangled beyond repair, bridges no longer spanned rivers, and people everywhere were weak from hunger. The world had been shaken to its roots. Its only hope seemed to lie in Woodrow Wilson's faith that this had been "the war to end all wars." The peace would have to be laid on firm foundations if this promise could be realized.*

The Major Issues

1. Should Germany be held solely responsible for starting World War I? Should she be forced to pay damages, about \$16 billion, done to civilian property in the lands she occupied and be made to pay for pensions of soldiers, an additional \$17 billion? (Note that amount of money today would be equal to over 7 trillion in year in 2000 U.S. dollars.) How much, if anything, should Germany pay?
2. Should Germany alone be permanently disarmed to the point that she 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?
3. Should the Conference recognize the following as independent countries: Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, (consisting of Serbia, Bosnia, and Croatia, and Montenegro), Czechoslovakia (consisting of ethnic Germans, Slovaks and Czechs), Poland (consisting of Poles formerly living in Russia and Germany as well as some Germans)? Should Germany and Austria be allowed to form one country?
4. Should France be given the west bank of the Rhine River inhabited by 6 million Germans as a buffer state protecting it from Germany? Should France get the Saar, source of Germany's coal and also the home of Germans, and should Poland get parts of Prussia containing a large Polish minority?
5. Should all of Germany's colonies be given to Great Britain and France (including Southwest Africa, Camerons, and the Caroline Islands in the Pacific)? 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 aid of every other member in the case of enemy attack? If so, should Germany and communist Russia be allowed to join?

The following is presented in a form which will allow classes to simulate the writing of the Versailles Treaty, or simply discuss how the major issues confronting the allies should be resolved

The United States' Objectives

We have already noted that Wilson's 14 Points were to make the world safe for democracy. This objective can be broken down into three parts:

Points 1-5. *Root out the causes of wars.*

These Wilson believed included secret treaties, the violation of freedom of the seas, the existence of tariffs and other trade barriers, arms races, and scramble for colonies. Wilson therefore wanted to end secret treaties, guarantee the right of freedom of the seas, eliminate all trade barriers, begin world wide disarmament, and make a fair adjustment of all colonial claims.

Points 6-13. *Adjust national boundaries in Europe to allow all major ethnic groups a country of their own free of foreign rule.*



Wilson, George of England, Orlando of Italy and Clemenceau of France at the Peace

Thus Germany would leave Belgium, Russia, and Alsace-Lorraine. The Serbs, Czechs, Bosnians, Austrians, Poles, and 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 the League of Nations*

This general association would keep the peace and protect the independence and territory of its members. Every member nation would promise to protect any member of the League that came under attack.

France's Objectives

While Woodrow Wilson inspired Americans to make the world safe for democracy, his major allies were pledged to less lofty goals. They did not feel they could afford the luxury of a fair and just peace. For four agonizing 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 was determined that the Germans would never again invade and that Germany's ability to wage war would be destroyed—not for ten years, but for one hundred. "We have been attacked; we want security; we have been despoiled; we want restitution; we have been devastated; we want reparation." To achieve her goals, the French would insist on three things

1. That Germany give up territory: not only Alsace-Lorraine, which Germany had taken in 1871, but also the Saar, Germany's rich coal mines, and the Rhine land (between France and the Rhine river lands inhabited by ethnic Germans) which France hoped to make into a defensible buffer state to protect her from future attacks by Germany.
2. That Germany be forced to admit that it was solely responsible for starting World War I and that she pay for the damages she caused to civilian property.

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

France's leader at the Peace Conference was George Clemenceau. Known as the Tiger of France, Clemenceau's great love for his country was matched by his hatred for Germany. He decided that Germany should never again be allowed to become a major power in Europe. Everything he wanted was directed at that great goal, and Wilson's 14 points were irrelevant.

Great Britain's Objectives

The British were not quite as hard on Germany as the French. They wanted a Germany to exist in Europe to trade with England some time in the future and act as a counterweight to France's military power. But the British wanted enough money from Germany to pay for military pensions as well as for property damages. Great Britain wanted Germany's colonies, which she claimed Germany was incapable of governing well, and the British also wanted Germany stripped of her navy, which she regarded as a threat to the British colonial empire.

Great Britain's leader at the Peace Conference was Lloyd George. Like Clemenceau, Lloyd George always wanted what was best for his country. He agreed with Wilson's idea of each ethnic group having its own country – as long as it did not make Germany too strong, or deprive Great Britain of its colonies. Although he wanted to weaken Germany, he wanted to keep it strong enough to be a counterweight to France's power in the future and rich enough to be Great Britain's customer.

Objectives of Other Nations

The Peace Conference began in December 1919 and lasted until May. Altogether, representatives from 32 different nations attended. The "Big Three," Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, and Georges Clemenceau, dominated the conference. However, there were others who played a role. For the purpose of enacting a simulation of the Peace Conference, several students should be designated to play the roles of each of the following nations or ethnic groups:

Austria-Hungary – Now Austrians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Bosnians, etc., These peoples had just broken away from Austria-Hungary, and they wanted a country of their own. They therefore wholeheartedly supported Wilson's principle of national self-determination. They also favored a League of Nations that could protect weak nations against strong countries and future aggressors. At the simulated Conference each group should be prepared to argue why it should have a country of its own.

Serbia – Now Yugoslavia. Has enlarged itself by taking over Croats, Bosnians, Montenegrins, and others who once were part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. They will argue that it should be recognized as a whole country, called Yugoslavia, even though it ruled over other minorities. Serbia will side with Great Britain and France on other issues.

Germany – Germany was not allowed to participate in the Peace Conference, but was told on April 30, 1919, to sign the Treaty. Germany will complain from the sidelines during the simulation

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whenever Wilson's 14 Points aren't being followed, and will insist that the Peace Treaty should be fair and just to Germany.

Russia — Now a communist country called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics following the revolution of 1917 that overthrew the Tsar was not allowed to participate in the Versailles Conference. While the Conference was in progress, British, French, and U.S. troops were in the USSR trying to put down the communist revolution. If the teacher allows them to talk, the Russian communists will support the 14 Points during the simulation, ask that foreign troops be removed from their soil, and demand a return of territories ceded to Germany at Brest-Litvosk to end the war.

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. Come to class prepared to argue/represent your nation's interest at the Versailles Conference. Every student should be prepared to represent one of the major powers involved in the World War I simulation. Six of the major issues resolved at the Conference are listed below:

Students should come to class with signs showing who they are, and sit with other representatives of their country. 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.

Epilogue: The Peace Treaty

1. A brief summary of the Peace Treaty that Germany was forced to sign 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 as well as the pensions of \$33 billion for soldiers who fought in the war. The equivalent amount today if the U.S. faced a similar bill would be over 7 trillion in year 2000 dollars.

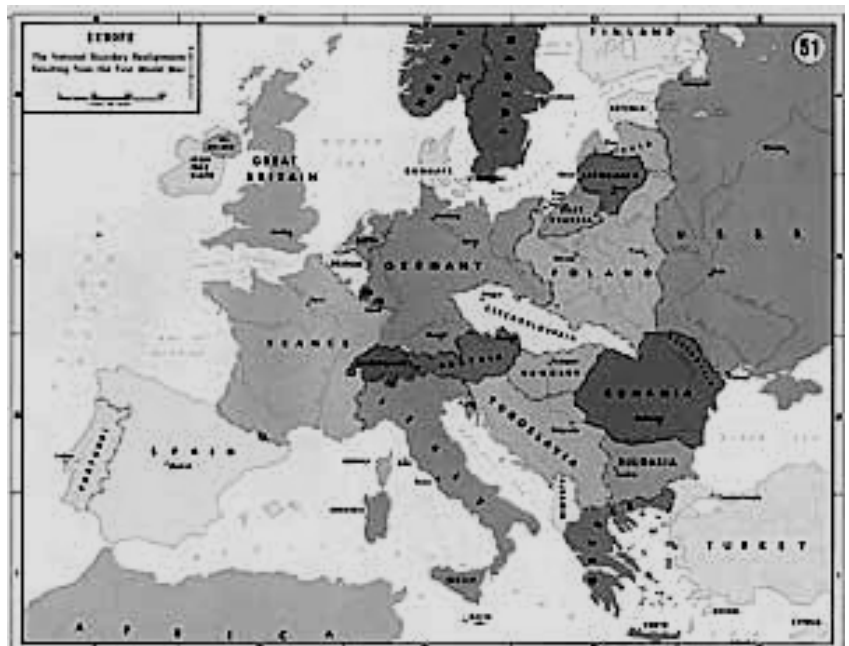
2. The Treaty permanently disarmed Germany. The Germans were not allowed to rebuild their navy or own submarines, tanks, or military aircraft. The Treaty limited Germany's army to 100,000 men. No other nation was similarly disarmed or restricted.

3. The Treaty recognized the creation of many new countries in Europe. These included Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, etc., and followed Wilson's principle of ethnic self-determination. Frequently, this principle was violated as in the case of making ethnic Germans part of Czechoslovakia to give this new country defensible borders and making ethnic Germans part of Poland. Often several minority groups were forced into one nation as with the Serbs, Bosnians, Moslems, Albanians, and Montenegrins who were all made part of Yugoslavia. Germany and Austria were not allowed to unite.

4. The Treaty denied France the buffer zone it wanted on the left bank of the Rhine River because Germans lived there. The Treaty, however, demilitarized this territory for 15 years and neither side could station soldiers there. France could mine coal in the German speaking Saar region for 15 years, and the US 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 ruled them in the name of the League of Nations.

6. The Treaty established the League of Nations which Germany and Russia were not allowed to join. Article X of the League's charter committed all members to aid any League nation under attack.



Europe in 1919
Note: new nations created in central Europe

Chapter 12

Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations

Surrounded by statesmen who did not agree with him, President Woodrow Wilson lost many of the arguments for his 14 Points at the Peace Conference following World War I. 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% of its land, and had his army reduced to not more than 100,000. The Treaty, however, included Wilson's plan for a League of Nations and 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 countrymen ringing in his ears, it was hard for Wilson to imagine that the U.S. Senate would or could reject this Treaty. But, 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 isolationist Senators 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.

Although Henry Cabot Lodge found many things wrong with the Versailles Treaty, his opposition focused on Article X of the League's charter which obliged members of the League to defend other members from unprovoked attack. Without it Wilson believed, the League would be merely 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 with the controversial Article X intact.

The League of Nations

The idea of establishing an international agency for maintaining world peace has had a long history. While no such organization had been given life in the past, multi-national conferences had spelled out the rights of neutral nations and innocent civilians on land or at sea. When he drew up his famous 14 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:

- **A Council and an Assembly to act as a legislative branch.** The Council consisted of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan as well as the representatives of nine of the smaller nations. All nations in the League had a single vote in the Assembly, where they could

discuss such topics as the “international conditions” that “might endanger the peace of the world.”

- **A Secretariat, which in some ways would act as an executive branch, carrying out day-to-day functions of the League.** The Secretariat, however, commanded no army or navy, and thus could not carry out the wishes or decrees of the Assembly and Council. Its power lay in the willingness of member nations to act in its name. Boycotts were the first line of defense. If these measures failed, member nations would be *asked* to come to the defense of the country that had been attacked.

- **The Permanent Court of International Justice which in some ways acted as a judicial branch.** All members of the League were pledged to refer disputes to this Court or to the League’s Council. In the sense that the Council was also 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

The part of the League Wilson thought was most important was contained in Article X. This much debated 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, ideologies, and personalities between President Woodrow Wilson and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. Lodge began the fight by holding unnecessarily long hearings on the League Treaty and by using such delaying tactics as spending two weeks reading its 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 8,000-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 which left one-half of his body paralyzed. For two weeks, doctors were afraid the President would die.

Fortunately, Wilson lived – but he never regained his driving energy, mastery of the details of government, or his ability to thrill and stir an audience. For the remainder of the fight over ratifying the League Treaty, Wilson was confined to his sickroom, seeing only those who had the approval of his wife and his doctors. By controlling access to the President, Wilson's wife and doctors, in effect, controlled the kind of advice he received.

The drama over ratifying the League Treaty revolved around the controversial Article X. Wilson believed 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 League Treaty with Article X as Wilson insisted, or if the U.S. should have refused to join the League unless Article X was removed or seriously modified:

Wilson Defends 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 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.

Lodge attacks the League

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 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 Wahabis or Bedouins.

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

Suggested Student Exercises:

1. Why was including the League of Nations with Article X intact so important to President Wilson?
Why was not including Article X so important to Lodge?
2. 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?
3. Do you think that either Lodge or Wilson should have been willing to compromise on the issue of Article X?