



**HISTORICAL
DICTIONARY
OF THE 1940s**



EDITORS

JAMES G. RYAN AND LEONARD SCHLUP

**HISTORICAL
DICTIONARY
OF THE 1940s**

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF THE 1940s

EDITORS

JAMES G. RYAN AND LEONARD SCHLUP

M.E. Sharpe
Armonk, New York
London, England

Copyright © 2006 by M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form
without written permission from the publisher, M.E. Sharpe, Inc.,
80 Business Park Drive, Armonk, New York 10504.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ryan, James Gilbert

Historical dictionary of the 1940s / James G. Ryan and Leonard Schlup.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-7656-0440-X (hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Nineteen forties—Dictionaries. 2. History, Modern—20th century—Dictionaries.

I. Schlup, Leonard C., 1943— II. Title.

D419.R88 2006

909.82'4'03—dc22

2005013952

Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of
American National Standard for Information Sciences
Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials,
ANSI Z 39.48-1984.



BM (c) 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

James G. Ryan dedicates this book to Kimberly West, Christopher West, and Jennifer West, who make being an uncle a lot of fun.

Leonard Schlup dedicates this book to the memory of his maternal great-uncle, John B. Roberts (1880–1970), whose wonderful zest for life, youthful spirit, and keen common sense provided special inspiration.

Contents

Introduction	ix
The Dictionary	3
Chronology	433
Appendices	
Wendell L. Willkie's Acceptance Speech	447
Joseph Stalin's Broadcast to the Peoples of the Soviet Union	451
Japanese Foreign Minister Togo Shigenori's Address to the Imperial Diet	455
President Franklin D. Roosevelt's War Message to Congress	458
Adolf Hitler's Declaration of War Against the United States	460
Benito Mussolini's War Statement	473
Ernie Pyle, from <i>Here Is Your War</i>	474
Wendell L. Willkie, from <i>One World</i>	475
Text of the Yalta Conference Agreement	477
President Harry Truman's Announcement of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima	483
Justice Robert H. Jackson's Opening Speech for the Prosecution at the Nuremberg Trials	485
Winston Churchill and the "Iron Curtain" Address	519
President Harry Truman on the Truman Doctrine	526
George C. Marshall on the Marshall Plan	530
President Harry Truman's Inaugural Address	532
Judge Learned Hand on the Spirit of Liberty	536
Eleanor Roosevelt on the Struggle for Human Rights	538
American Historical Association Presidential Addresses	544

Selected General Bibliography	545
About the Contributors	547
Guide to Contributors' Entries	553
Index	555

Introduction

Historical Dictionary of the 1940s offers readers a ready-reference portrait of one of the twentieth century's most tumultuous decades. Not an encyclopedia, the volume quickly defines a historical figure, institution, or event and then points to three sources that treat the subject in depth. In selecting topics for inclusion, we have tried to offer a representative slice of life as contemporary Americans saw it.

The book focuses chiefly on the United States, but places American lives and events firmly within a global context. Historians of diplomacy, commerce, and economics have long recognized the nation's early twentieth-century "isolation" as exaggerated. Clearly, by the 1940s, no thoughtful mind could divorce the American experience from international concerns. Accordingly, the *Dictionary* includes some foreign events and some persons who never stepped on U.S. soil.

Most significantly, we treat as a unified era a decade that historians typically bifurcate into the separate categories, "World War II" and "the Cold War." For nearly everyone cognizant at the time, however, the period was a seamless web; crisis and change lay at the center of it. The 1940s were arguably the most violent ten years in human history. Fifty to eighty million people perished before their time. Some 60 percent were civilians. The United States, of all major nations, felt the sacrifice the least. Indeed, the global conflict rapidly turned a society ravaged by the Great Depression into an economic colossus and military superpower.

Accompanying the transition was a deep, abiding sense of unity. For Americans, it had effects lasting long beyond 1949. Patriotism stood out the most, perhaps. Few doubted that the nation that combated first fascism, then Stalinism, was the finest on earth. Anti-Communism, present since the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, became required of all persons seeking to be taken seriously. Rapidly society moved from welcoming virtually every anti-Nazi radical to suspecting all critics of capitalism. The 1940s witnessed an unprecedented number of persons serving in various military units. Not surprisingly, there developed an easy acceptance of most authority as legitimate. At the same time, however, the decade saw the seeds of the modern African American and Hispanic American civil rights movements. Less visible were spores of a renewed feminism that would remake the late twentieth century. Present for anyone caring to look—and alarming to many—was a distinct and growing youth subculture.

Sometimes compilers of historical dictionaries and encyclopedias romanticize an era, consciously or unconsciously. That is not our purpose here. No one would argue that every major aspect of the United States during the 1940s was noble or progressive. Indeed, during these years American society—like most—was being tugged in different directions by disparate forces. Therefore, herein lie descriptions of historical figures and movements that ennobled the human condition, along with some that degraded it. Modern

readers, if magically transported back to the 1940s, might find curious the era's continuing fascination with traditional dress codes. Many of those same time travelers would be sickened by the public's most ubiquitous unhealthy habit, tobacco addiction.

The design of *Historical Dictionary of the 1940s* is straightforward. The bulk of the book presents hundreds of entries alphabetically, providing factual information that enables readers to assess the item's historical significance. Each entry ends with brief "Further Reading" citations guiding those seeking additional information on that specific topic. The following section offers a chronology of memorable events. Then appended are unforgettable documents, such as Franklin D. Roosevelt's war message to Congress and Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech. Next a section on our many contributors appears. A short, selective bibliography of general books, rather than specialized studies, follows. Finally, a comprehensive index assists anyone looking for coverage of a particular topic that might appear in several, or even many, entries.

We express our gratitude to all contributors. A substantial percentage of them are secure members of the historical profession. We are acutely aware, however, that for nearly four decades, graduate schools have produced a surplus of American history degrees. This trend, once an anomaly, has continued unabated and now seems a permanent, if deplorable feature of academia. Of course, we are powerless to combat the rampant casualization that has resulted. We have, however, sought essays from some of the process's victims. They include, among others, unemployed historians; those financially dependent on spouses; adjuncts; and graduate students. If publication in *Historical Dictionary of the 1940s* advances any of their careers, we shall be delighted. We have also attempted to reach out to those who may never become a part of the traditional profession. To many of them, its selection process increasingly seems as random as it is Darwinian. We salute those who nevertheless retain an interest in historical writing (often despite career disappointments): journalists, archivists, librarians, museum curators, administrators,

community college instructors, and high school teachers. For them, personal satisfaction is often the only reward for publishing. Finally, we have benefited from emeritae and emeriti who have shared their experience with us, despite the temptation of the remote control accessing several hundred television channels. We see our ecumenical approach as one of the *Dictionary's* strengths and expect this volume to become a standard reference book on the era. We urge other scholars to reach out in similar fashion to the academically dispossessed.

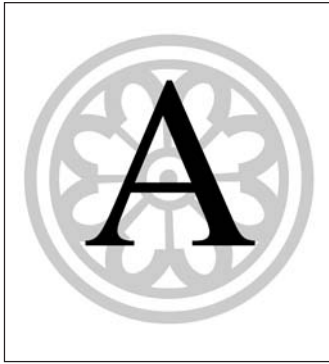
Our contributors are geographically diverse and, in some cases, prolific. Essays have arrived from every section of the United States, plus Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. We owe a special debt of gratitude to a group of super writers who contributed numerous essays. They enriched the *Dictionary* beyond the editors' capacity to reward. Authors submitting ten or more essays include Alan Allport, Jane M. Armstrong, Justus D. Doenecke, Mark E. Ellis, Linda Eikmeier Endersby, Judith B. Gerber, Berman E. Johnson, and Suzanne Julin. Scholars sending in twenty or more include Gregory Dehler, Norman E. Fry, Larry D. Griffin, Charles F. Howlett, Amanda Laugesen, Donald K. Pickens, and David O. Whitten. In a class by himself stands Christopher Cumo. Remarkably talented, he is a historian of science whose outside interests range from art and classical music to boxing. Dr. Cumo completed more than one hundred entries, and his vast energy has hastened this volume's completion considerably.

The editors thank Peter Coveney, former executive history editor at M.E. Sharpe, Inc., for his nearly instantaneous endorsement of this project. Successors Andrew Gyory and, to an even greater degree, Niels Aaboe enthusiastically and patiently guided the project during its latter stages. Esther L. Clark displayed remarkable forbearance in fielding questions from many sources and directions. Amanda Allensworth, Henrietta Toth, and Laurie Lieb shaped the manuscript once it reached the production department. Over the years, the project has seen numerous compensated typists come

and go. James G. Ryan extends special thanks to student assistants Simone Chiasson and Morgan John for their diligence. They performed clerical tasks few undergraduates enjoy, at a pace resembling that of the publishing industry. Ryan also expresses appreciation to his department head at Texas A&M University at Galveston (TAMUG), Dr. Janet Carlson. She

and the entire administration greatly facilitated this project by authorizing a reduced teaching load, although he was still an associate professor. Both editors are grateful to Dr. James McCloy, Associate Vice President for Research and Academic Affairs at TAMUG, as well as to Dr. Carlson, for generous grants that financed most of the indexing costs.

**HISTORICAL
DICTIONARY
OF THE 1940s**



ABBOTT, WILLIAM ALEXANDER “BUD” (October 2, 1895–April 24, 1974) and **COSTELLO** (Cristillo), **LOUIS FRANCIS** (March 6, 1906–March 3, 1959), comedy team in burlesque, vaudeville, radio, film, and television. Born in Asbury Park and Paterson, New Jersey, respectively, each worked separately on stage until joining in 1936. Abbott, tall and suave, contrasted comically with Costello, who was short, pudgy, and brash. They first gained national notice on radio in the late 1930s. During the 1940s, theirs was regularly among the leading radio programs of the decade. They also exploded onto the motion picture screen in the 1940s. The motion picture *Buck Privates* (1941) began a string, averaging two a year, that made them and their studio considerable money. At first, with World War II raging, they joked their way through the armed forces, and in 1948 they began a series of films in which they encounter a variety of monsters such as Frankenstein and the Mummy. Abbott and Costello broke up briefly in 1945 but returned to moviemaking. Between 1952 and 1954 they became television stars. Their most famous routine, a comic classic titled “Who’s on First?” was developed during the 1940s and made a permanent impact. Indeed, even in the early twenty-first century it is a staple of the video exhibits in the National Baseball Hall of Fame. Abbott and Costello separated again in 1957, but individually they never reached the popularity they had enjoyed as one of the most famous comic duos in American entertainment history. They both died in the Los Angeles area.

Further Reading: Richard J. Anobile, *Who’s on First? Verbal and Visual Gems from the Films of Abbott and Costello*, 1972; Bob Furmanek and Ron Palumbo, *Abbott and Costello in Hollywood*, 1991; Bob Thomas, *Bud and Lou: The Abbott and Costello Story*, 1977.

JOHN F. MARSZALEK

ABORTION By 1940 all forty-eight states had banned abortion. The prohibition drove abortion underground, not unlike the sale and distribution

of alcohol in the 1920s and illicit drugs today. Abortion was the underworld of medicine, noted the New York *Daily* in September 1946, full of quacks and convicts. That women who had abortions risked their lives exacerbated the debate.

The May 1946 trial of San Francisco physician Charles B. Caldwell for the death of a woman during his attempt to abort her fetus provided a telling example. The prosecutor confined the trial’s scope to Caldwell’s guilt, but the San Francisco *Examiner* wondered why any nation would subject women to substandard medical care. The issue turned on control, with antiabortion laws evidence that women did not control even their own bodies. Assuming that men would never relinquish such fundamental control over their destiny, why should women?

The exploits of unscrupulous doctors reinforced the perception of abortion as underworld. In 1947 police arrested physician Leopold Brandenburg a third time for performing an abortion. The arrest was Brandenburg’s latest scandal. Two years earlier a grand jury had indicted him for theft when the Federal Bureau of Investigation traced to his bank account \$10,000 stolen from a mail truck in North Carolina. To add to his notoriety that year, Brandenburg had surgically removed the fingerprints from the hands of Alcatraz parolee Roscoe Pitts, but Brandenburg botched the job. Enough of Pitts’s prints remained for police to finger him for dynamiting a safe in North Carolina. Brandenburg’s actions demonstrated that government should regulate abortion rather than allow it to fester in a swamp of criminality, editorialized the New York *Daily News* in September 1947.

The problem was that religious leaders had preempted government’s role, asserted physician Sophia Kleegman as early as 1942, by declaring that abortion violated the commandment against murder; in their view, abortion was not merely a crime, but a rebellion against God. Kleegman blamed the Catholic Church and Protestant evangelicals for perpetuating a morality of fear and for violating the separation of church and

state by codifying dogma into law. Evangelicals, convinced since the Scopes trial of 1925 that they were the lone defenders of traditional American values, viewed Kleegman's attack as further proof that secularists were bent on destroying the fabric of American culture. These issues remain central to the current debate over abortion.

Further Reading: Donald T. Critchlow, ed., *The Politics of Abortion and Birth Control in Historical Perspective*, 1996; Marvin Olasky, *Abortion Rites: A Social History of Abortion in America*, 1995; Andrea Tone, ed., *Controlling Reproduction: An American History*, 1997.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

ACHESON, DEAN GOODERHAM (April 11, 1883–October 12, 1971), secretary of state. Acheson was born in Middletown, Connecticut, received his early education at Groton, and later attended Yale University. Through much of his life he was an average student at best. At Harvard Law School, however, he developed a keen interest in law and graduated fifth in his class. In 1919, he went to Washington, DC. There he worked as a law clerk in the office of Supreme Court justice Louis Brandeis. In 1921, Acheson joined the law firm of Covington and Burling. Over the next few years he became increasingly involved in politics, and he attended the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1932. After Franklin D. Roosevelt's victory, Acheson was appointed undersecretary of the Treasury. While he agreed with most New Deal policies, he differed over the gold standard. On November 15, 1933, he resigned and returned to law practice. During the remainder of the decade he became increasingly supportive of the Roosevelt administration. In 1941, Acheson was appointed assistant secretary of state.

Once the war started, Acheson and his office became involved in economic warfare against the Axis powers. He helped develop the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which later became the World Bank. With the advent of peace, shattered nations would need funds to rebuild, and the IMF would be able to provide the money. After the war ended, President Harry Truman appointed him undersecretary of state. During the early Cold War years, when the Russians were viewed as

the enemy, Acheson often presented a conciliatory tone. He became content to contain Communism and, along with George C. Marshall, developed what would be called the Marshall Plan. With Truman's reelection in 1948, Acheson became secretary of state. Soon after, he supported the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to insure peace and security in Europe. As secretary of state from 1948 until 1953, he was responsible for heading American foreign policy during some of the bitterest Cold War years. Many of his foreign policy initiatives still influence today's world.

Further Reading: Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department*, 1969; James Chace, *Acheson: The Secretary of State Who Created the American World*, 1998; David McLellan, *Dean Acheson: The State Department Years*, 1976.

MARK E. ELLIS

AFRICAN AMERICANS, a minority group in the United States descended from African slaves. By 1940 they had been consigned to a status as second-class citizens and only a few had visions of redress and socioeconomic improvement. Before World War II, nearly 90 percent of all African Americans resided in the South, where most lived below the poverty level. They were confined by local customs to low-income occupations such as janitors, maids, and other domestic servants, except in the large black communities where some became successful entrepreneurs. Jim Crow laws promoted strict segregation, and discrimination against African Americans was a common practice in every sector of southern society. The right to vote was given to only a few African Americans; most lived under a state of terror from the Ku Klux Klan, and the judicial system was rigged to prevent their equal treatment under the law. With job opportunities limited for white Americans because of the lingering effects of the Great Depression, African Americans in the South suffered even more; before the war began to deliver job opportunities, many were fighting outright starvation.

In the North, African Americans fared better because their numbers were not so threatening to the white community, but that changed when

southern blacks began to migrate north, looking for newly created defense industry jobs. The record number of blacks who migrated north to escape southern deprivation changed the sociopolitical structure in many northern cities. They now had the right to vote, and in a more liberal climate they could protest against racial injustice. Their new power was readily seen in 1941 when A. Philip Randolph's black porters' union threatened to lead 50,000 members in a march on Washington, DC, to secure fair employment in the defense industries. The threat prompted President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue an executive order, monitored by the Fair Employment Practices Committee, ending discrimination in defense industries. The desperate need for defense industry workers subsequently ended many long-standing employment prejudices and thereby encouraged development of an African American middle class.

African Americans served in the military in large numbers and had to fight discrimination at home and abroad. Although they had served with distinction in every previous American war, the racial taboos and prejudices of the 1940s required them to prove again that black men would fight for their country. And they did so with great valor but without appropriate recognition. Nevertheless, they earned the respect of their superior officers and upon returning home joined in the fight for social change. President Harry S. Truman's actions in 1948 reflected the changing fortunes of African Americans. Truman energized the stalled civil rights movement. He signed an executive order phasing out segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and all other areas of federal employment. He was the first president to address the NAACP.

By the end of the decade, African Americans began to vote in significantly larger numbers, but were still marginal citizens. However, gradual improvements were being made, as exemplified by Jackie Robinson in professional sports, Nat "King" Cole in the entertainment industry, Adam Clayton Powell in politics, and Ralph J. Bunche (the first African American to win the Nobel Peace Prize) in diplomatic affairs. African Americans also switched their voting allegiance from the Republican Party to the

Democratic Party. As early as 1936, African Americans had become disillusioned with the Republican Party, which they had recognized as Abraham Lincoln's party. Democratic Party leaders had demonstrated a greater sensitivity to the deprivation experienced by African Americans, and several risked their reputations by championing social justice and laws that would promote equal treatment for all Americans. African Americans of the 1940s thus laid the foundation for the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, which would have an impact on all Americans.

Further Reading: Michael R. Gardner, *Harry Truman and Civil Rights: Moral Courage and Political Risks*, 2002; C. Eric Lincoln, *The Negro Pilgrimage in America*, 1967; Benjamin Quarels, *The Negro in the Making of America*, 1964.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE MILITARY African Americans participated in the war effort on the front lines (more than 1 million entered the armed forces, with 500,000 serving in the European and Pacific theaters), in war industries, and in patriotic spirit. As with previous wars, African Americans put aside grievances for the national good. Hoping their patriotism would prove their allegiance to their country, African Americans saw an opportunity to garner rights through military service.

Unfortunately, their return home proved once again that sacrifice would not guarantee full citizenship rights. Veterans experienced a continuation of racism through Jim Crow laws, voting disenfranchisement, and daily torments. Open hostility, in fact, increased, as whites sought to remind black veterans of their "place" inside the United States. A wave of lynchings and race riots defined the experience of the returning black veteran, forcing governmental intervention and federal investigations.

While black veterans faced uncertain futures limited by housing segregation and racialized violence, the GI Bill provided a certain amount of opportunity. While not equally distributed and certainly not guaranteed given Jim Crow, the GI Bill provided African Americans with an

opportunity to attend college. That chance, as well as the growth in defense industry jobs and enactment of Fair Employment Practices Committee legislation, contributed to growth in the black middle class and increased movement of blacks into cities. Both factors proved crucial in advancing the struggle for civil rights.

Black soldiers additionally returned home to a shifting racial ethos. World War II and later the Cold War provided an increased amount of leverage, as the need for servicemen remained high. Now having experienced life without Jim Crow, many black veterans returned home with a new militancy. Amzie Moore, who played a significant role in the struggle for civil rights in Mississippi, had witnessed a greater degree of equality while overseas and returned home determined to register to vote and organize others to do so as well.

The power and determination of black veterans, combined with the increasing efforts of civil rights activists, contributed to the growing movement. Veterans gave the war effort their great numbers. African Americans rallied around the idea of a “double victory”—a triumph over fascism in Germany and a vanquishing of racism in America. Black Americans spoke openly of their exasperation at spilling blood for empty promises of better days. They did not understand why they should risk dying for democracy for some foreign land when they lacked it at home. In response to the clear contradiction, A. Philip Randolph threatened a March on Washington in 1942. President Franklin D. Roosevelt feared international implications; the United States did not want to be put before the world as a hypocrite and a fraud. He ordered the desegregation of defense industries with Executive Order 8802.

In serving the United States in its battle against fascism, black veterans received not a parade or a warm welcome home, but heightened animosity, race riots, and a continuation of white supremacy. Many African American men in uniform experienced harassment and brutality, with a few incidents ending in lynchings. The experiences overseas, coupled with changes at home and increased opportunities, propelled America into a dynamic age of civil rights struggles.

Further Reading: Howard Odum, *Race and Rumors of Race: The American South in the Early Forties*, 1997; Charles Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, 1996; Ronald Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II*, 2001.

DAVID J. LEONARD

AFRICAN AMERICAN NATIONALISM Unlike most nationalism, which refers to a political independence movement of nation-states, African American nationalism has been largely defined as sentiments that characterize the aspirations of African Americans and a complex set of ambivalent beliefs that argue for a separation from white American society. In the 1940s, expressions of African American nationalism were mitigated by the global threat of fascism and the exigencies of World War II. The most pronounced expressions were seen in the aftermath of the Marcus Garvey movement, the Black Muslim philosophy, and reactions to white mob violence.

Although some African American nationalism has prevailed throughout American history, a massive expression took place in the 1920s and 1930s with Marcus Garvey's “Back to Africa” movement. Garvey's colonization effort for African Americans failed, but left an enduring presence of African American nationalism in the black community well into the 1940s. This nationalism remained subdued because it was not fueled by technological, cultural, political, or economic advances made by African Americans. Instead, the driving forces were the mass migration of African Americans from the South, clashes between blacks and whites competing for new jobs created by World War II, and frustrated efforts toward social justice under existing laws. African Americans were never promised an equal status in the cultural, political, and economic realms of American society, but they expected it anyway and began aggressive steps to secure it. This aggressiveness was not a nationwide thrust of African American nationalism. Instead, it was a subtle awakening delivered by a wartime economy in need of a more open society. It reflected the sentiments and reactions of African Americans who were inspired by some elements of the Garvey movement. The most notable proved to be the Black Muslims.

In 1933 the Black Muslims and their self-appointed leader, Elijah Muhammad, began to build a philosophy of black separatism around the religion of Islam, and they were the first group to aggressively advocate an independent nation for African Americans. Headquartered in Chicago, by the 1940s they began to establish their own schools, apartment houses, grocery stores, and restaurants. They held strict rules of conduct for their members; banned smoking and drinking; required a conservative, neat appearance; and outlawed drugs, profanity, gambling, listening to music, and dancing. Muhammad preached that it was time for African Americans to resume “their dominant role” in society and that a violent war between blacks and whites would be likely before the transition could be completed. Muhammad’s nationalism landed him four years in a federal prison, but his movement continued. Most African Americans ignored him; however, decades later his philosophy encouraged attitudes of nationalism that changed the focus of self-esteem for African Americans nationwide.

When southern black migrants came north in search of well-paying defense industry jobs, white mobs often rioted with a violence that increased sentiments of African American nationalism. As police in many instances colluded with the white mobs, African American newspapers urged black communities to arm and protect themselves. In so doing, many African Americans began to re-evaluate the economic oppression, social degradation, and political discrimination that accompanied the violence, which to a degree was sanctified by law and practiced without shame by all levels of government. These reevaluations did not generate any widespread agitation or resistance; most African Americans remained resigned to their inferior status while others clung tenaciously to the promise of the American Dream. Nevertheless, volatile seeds of African American nationalism were sown during World War II. When the war ended by delivering little measurable change, African Americans began to develop a more militant approach toward social justice. Though greatly subdued, African American nationalism in the 1940s set the stage for the Supreme Court’s *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision of 1954, the civil rights movement, and

the “black power” thrust of the 1960s.

Further Reading: Lerone Bennett Jr., *Confrontation: Black and White*, 1970; Raymond F. Betts, *The Ideology of Blackness*, 1971; Ron Karenga, “Black Cultural Nationalism,” *Negro Digest*, 1968.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

AGRICULTURE One might consider U.S. agriculture during the 1940s as a revolution in chemicals and crops. Insecticides were the leading edge of the change, their development prodded by the damage that insects caused crops. In 1947 the Department of Agriculture (USDA) estimated that the boll weevil alone destroyed crops worth \$225 million, cotton in particular, each year. In response, public and private agencies spent \$655 million per year, the USDA reported, in developing new insecticides and producing established ones.

Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) was the first of a new generation of insecticides that killed insects on contact and retained its potency for weeks after application. The Swiss firm J.R. Geigy Chemical derived DDT in 1939 as a by-product in its production of explosives. When one of its chemists discovered DDT’s potency against insects, in 1942 Geigy gave samples to the USDA, which agreed to furnish Geigy with data of DDT trials. The next year the USDA, with the land-grant colleges and agricultural experiment stations, launched trials throughout the United States. Amazed, farmers toured DDT-sprayed barns without seeing a single insect. In 1944, USDA entomologist Joseph B. Polivka published the first of a series of articles promoting DDT against the Japanese beetle. DDT seemed to capture the imagination and the interest of farmers everywhere by 1946. Whereas in 1939 they had spent \$9.2 million on insecticides, by 1949 the figure reached \$174.6 million.

Two other types of chemicals rounded out the chemical revolution. By 1945 farmers were using the first herbicides that targeted only broad-leaf weeds and were not toxic to corn and other grains. At the same time farmers injected into the soil anhydrous ammonia, which contained nitrogen in a form plant roots could readily absorb.

The trio of DDT, selective herbicides, and anhydrous ammonia accelerated the trend toward

monoculture. No longer did farmers need to rotate crops to avoid the buildup of a large population of insects that fed on a single crop. The European corn borer, for example, eats corn but not soybeans, leading farmers to rotate corn with soybeans to prevent large borer populations. By killing the borer, DDT made rotation unnecessary. Anhydrous ammonia likewise made unnecessary the corn-soybean rotation to avoid depleting soils of nitrogen. In 1948 the USDA reported that only 12 percent of U.S. farmers rotated crops, whereas the percentage may have been higher in the 1930s. In 1938, for example, 37 percent of farmers in Indiana rotated corn with another crop.

Corn was the focus of the crop revolution in the 1940s. As early as 1909, geneticist George Harrison Shull had announced that the crossing of inbred lines of corn might produce heterosis (hybrid vigor) in progeny. In 1917 agronomist Donald F. Jones at the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station developed a technique for crossing inbred lines to produce hybrid corn. In the 1920s, farmers first began planting hybrids. By 1945 farmers planted hybrids on 95 percent of corn acreage. Crucial to this success was the fact that many hybrids were drought-tolerant and some were resistant to the European corn borer, allowing farmers to reduce their dependence on DDT. Hybrid corn and high-yielding varieties of other crops doubled U.S. grain production between 1940 and 1960. Overall American farm production increased two-thirds between 1946 and 1966.

These gains concentrated in few hands as 3 million farmers, unable to compete in a market of surplus food and thus low crop prices, left agriculture during these years. Once a way of life, agriculture by the 1940s was a capital-intensive business. The farmer-entrepreneur had one eye on commodity prices and the other on the literature of agriculture and science. Farmers relied on the local extension agent to keep them abreast of the latest science and machinery. They favored the devaluation of the dollar and a worldwide reduction in tariffs to promote exports. Although they tended to vote Republican, the party of limited government, they favored generous farm subsidies.

Further Reading: R. Douglas Hurt, *American Agriculture: A Brief History*, 2002; R. Douglas Hurt, *Problems of Plenty: The American Farmer in the Twentieth Century*, 2002; Randel S. Beeman and James A. Pritchard, *A Green and Permanent Land: Ecology and Agriculture in the Twentieth Century*, 2001.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

AIKEN, GEORGE DAVID (August 20, 1892–November 19, 1984), U.S. senator. One of the most respected political figures of his time, Aiken was born in Dummerston, Vermont. After attending public schools in Putney and Brattleboro, he began his career in fruit farming. An extensive nursery business and commercial cultivation of wildflowers earned him recognition throughout New England. After holding a seat in the Vermont State House of Representatives from 1931 to 1935 and occupying the lieutenant governorship from 1935 to 1937, Aiken won election as governor. He served from 1937 to 1941. Elected as a Republican to the U.S. Senate in 1940, he remained there from 1941 to 1975. He chaired the important Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments during the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress, labeled the “do nothing” Congress by President Harry Truman. A moderate-progressive Republican from the eastern seaboard and GOP establishment, with a Wendell Willkie internationalist view, Aiken gradually grew more out of step with his party as it shifted to the conservatism of Barry Goldwater and the emerging South and West in electoral politics during the 1960s. Due to age and political longevity, Aiken declined to seek reelection during the Watergate year of 1974. He died in his hometown of Putney, Vermont.

Further Reading: Obituary in *New York Times*, November 20, 1984; Michael Sherman, ed., *The Political Legacy of George D. Aiken: Wise Old Owl of the United States Senate*, 1995.

LEONARD SCHLUP

ALCATRAZ (c. 1934–1963), notorious American prison. The words “Can anything be worth *this?*” uttered long ago by an inmate capture the popular essence of Alcatraz, perhaps the most

infamous prison ever operated in the United States. Located on an island in San Francisco Bay, Alcatraz represented the federal government's response to post-Prohibition and post-Depression crime in America. The result of a collaborative effort by U.S. Attorney General Homer Cummings and Director of the Bureau of Prisons Sanford Bates, "the Rock" was neither intended nor designed to rehabilitate inmates. Instead, it warehoused the "worst of the worst" federal offenders: kidnappers, racketeers, murderers, and other predators. Alcatraz was ideally suited to house these individuals. Cold (53° F) waters with swift currents and tricky navigational channels surrounded the isolated prison, thereby reducing the probability of escape.

Originally a fort (1850–1906) and later a military prison (1907–1933), Alcatraz began civilian operations in 1934 with thirty-two inmates who remained from the army prison. The facility consisted of three large cellblocks containing 378 individual cells, each cell housing a single inmate. When it ceased operations in 1963, some 1,545 inmates had served time there, including some of the most notorious crime figures from the early decades of the twentieth century: Al Capone, George "Machine Gun" Kelly, and Robert Franklin Stroud, the "Birdman of Alcatraz." Capone arrived in 1934, among the first group of civilian prisoners housed at Alcatraz, but his four and a half years there involved more time spent in the hospital ward than among the general population. Kelly also arrived in 1934 and eventually spent seventeen years at Alcatraz before being transferred to a different facility to finish his sentence. Stroud arrived in 1942 and likewise spent seventeen years at Alcatraz.

By the early 1960s, times were changing for much of society, including the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Alcatraz's end was in sight, because it offered no concept of rehabilitation, a philosophy increasingly becoming the accepted norm among penologists. Additionally, the facility's physical plant was showing major signs of decay, and the estimated costs of needed renovations, repairs, and security upgrades ranged in the millions of dollars. Federal officials decided they could construct a new prison at Marian, Illinois, for not much more than the cost of renovating

and continuing to operate Alcatraz. On March 21, 1963, the last twenty-seven inmates were moved to other facilities, Alcatraz ceased operations, and the National Park Service assumed control of the facility.

Further Reading: Milton Daniel Beacher and Diane Beacher Perfit, *Alcatraz Island: Memoirs of a Rock Doc*, 2001; Michael Esslinger, *Alcatraz: A Definitive History of the Penitentiary Years*, 2003.

JOHN J. SLOAN III

ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS (AA), alcoholism treatment program. An Akron, Ohio, surgeon, Dr. Robert Smith, and a New York stockbroker, Bill Wilson, met in Akron in 1935. Alcoholics both, each had been exploring possible spiritual cures for alcoholism through the Oxford Movement. Only Bill (first names only in AA for anonymity), however, had achieved any continued sobriety. He had learned from Dr. William D. Silkworth, of Towns Hospital in New York, the usefulness of modeling alcoholism as a psychosomatic disease. After meeting Bill, Dr. Bob maintained his own sobriety. That year they succeeded in getting an Akron City Hospital patient sober, and the three made up the first group of Alcoholics Anonymous. In the autumn of 1936, a second group formed in New York, and the following year a third emerged in Cleveland. In four years the three groups got one hundred people sober. In 1939 the organization published *Alcoholics Anonymous*, often called *The Big Book*, in which Bill W. explains the Twelve Steps of recovery. The 1940s were the crucial decade for the movement's popularity and development. Membership in 1940 stood at 2,000; by 1950, 100,000 had recovered worldwide. The popularity of the organization was assured when the *Saturday Evening Post* featured an article on it in March 1941. Bill W. and the New York office concentrated on how to get individually minded persons such as alcoholics to remain together in a group for their own benefit. The effort resulted in formulation of principles and practices that Bill wrote up as the Twelve Traditions of Alcoholics Anonymous. Dr. Bob promoted the AA principles with patients he treated at St. Thomas, a Catholic hospital in Akron. The first

international conference was held in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1950, when Dr. Bob spoke on the importance of keeping the program simple. After he died on November 16, 1950, Sister Ignatia continued his work at the Charity Hospital in Cleveland. At the second international Alcoholics Anonymous convention in St. Louis in 1955, Bill W. turned leadership over to the AA General Service Conference, which had been established in 1951. He died on January 24, 1971. As AA members continue sharing their experience, strength, and hope, the group has become a global organization, with meetings throughout the world. AA's World Service Meeting was first held in 1969 and biannually since 1971, alternating between New York and venues throughout the world.

Further Reading: Bill Wilson, *Alcoholics Anonymous*, 1976; *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 1957; *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions*, 1953.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

ALL-AMERICAN GIRLS PROFESSIONAL BASEBALL LEAGUE (AAGPBL) Founded by Chicago Cubs owner Philip Wrigley, this women's league began operation in 1943 during World War II and survived through the 1954 season before collapsing. Wrigley was eager to capitalize on America's fascination with the national pastime. The selective service had created a player shortage that caused many minor-league teams to disband. Wrigley began the inaugural season with four teams located in the upper Midwest. Following some initial concern about the endeavor's feasibility, the AAGPBL began to thrive by the end of its first year and eventually expanded to ten teams by 1948. The league constantly tinkered with traditional baseball rules to adapt them for female players; during its first few years, the game played by the AAGBL more closely resembled softball than baseball. A twelve-inch ball (as opposed to the standard nine-and-a-quarter-inch baseball), underhand pitching, and shortened base path distances all were incorporated within the AAGBL rules. Not until the final season of competition did the AAGBL adopt regulations that made its game virtually indistinguishable from the men's version. Despite the

tinkering, during the late 1940s fans flocked to see the female players, and most teams were easily able to remain solvent. Scouts for the league recruited women from around the United States and Canada and were extremely successful in signing a number of talented players during the first few years. Thanks to relatively high salaries (\$45 to \$85 per week on average), the AAGPBL was a desirable occupation for those women who possessed the desire, talent, and freedom to participate. League administrators sought not only highly skilled players, but also those that would project images of femininity palatable to the American public. Players were required to maintain stellar decorum both on and off the field and were even obligated to attend charm school classes to ensure adherence to proper manners and behavior. League rules of conduct stipulated that women were never to be seen unkempt, even on the field, and went as far as to offer suggestions for maintaining a pleasing appearance during games. Along with promoting the physical appeal of its players, the AAGPBL also attempted to boost interest by hiring former major league players as managers. Several retired big leaguers, including Hall of Fame players Max Carey and Jimmy Foxx, were persuaded to become managers in the AAGPBL. By 1950, the interest in women's baseball, as well as interest in the national pastime in general, had waned and the league began to contract. The AAGPBL continued operations through the 1954 season before collapsing due to financial difficulties.

Further Reading: Lois Browne, *The Girls of Summer: The Real Story of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League*, 1992; Barbara Gregorich, *Women at Play: The Story of Women in Baseball*, 1993.

STEVE BULLOCK

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA (ACWA) The visionary goals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America became commonplace language in union contracts during the 1940s. Disgruntled garment workers had formed ACWA, which had 30,000 members at its inception. By 1920 the Amalgamated had 177,000 members, with contracts covering 85 percent of the clothing industry. They

selected their first president, Sidney Hillman, from the ranks of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. By the end of the 1940s, nearly 400,000 persons carried ACWA cards. This dynamic growth was the result of Hillman's ambition to organize the men's clothing workers into a single union with conditions of work and wages that were uniform throughout the clothing industry. The ACWA sought unemployment insurance for all workers, health care, retirement benefits, employee-owned banks, and employee-owned cooperative housing. Hillman's efforts at organizing the clothing trades made the ACWA a major source of influence in the politics of the Democratic Party and an innovator of change. Sometimes it sponsored other textile and clothing unions in the United States and Canada during the 1940s. The ACWA brought unity and national cohesiveness to the clothing trades as a result of its role in the war effort and in national politics. In 1940 President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Sidney Hillman as the labor member of the National Defense Advisory Committee and in December he became the associate director general of the Office of Production Management. These offices were political rewards for the union's support during the 1936 presidential campaign. By 1943 Hillman had become the chair and director of the union-based political action committee (PAC) and rallied ACWA and other unions behind Roosevelt. The union's endorsement of Roosevelt was based on the pragmatic conclusion that his labor policies were a mirror image of ACWA goals. Health insurance, retirement benefits, fair and decent wages, and a voice for workers in the workplace had been prominent in New Deal rhetoric. Although the ACWA was formally committed to Progressive Party presidential candidate Henry Wallace in 1948, Hillman got ACWA and other PAC leaders to support incumbent President Harry Truman, thus insuring influence in the Truman administration.

Further Reading: Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union Papers, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Pennsylvania; Hyman Bookbinder, *To Promote the General Welfare: The Story of the Amalgamated*, 1950; Matthew Josephson, *Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor*, 1952.

NORMAN E. FRY

AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA In the 1940s, Australia and the United States established an unusually close relationship. When America entered the war in 1941, Australia was already fighting the Axis powers. The Pacific War, however, directly threatened Australia. Fighting took place in neighbouring islands such as Papua and New Guinea.

As part of Anglo-American strategy, Australia needed to be defended from the Japanese threat, although fighting the war in Europe was given precedence, and Australian needs were always subordinate to those overall Allied strategy. Lend-lease (provision of economic aid to nations allied to the United States) extended to Australia and would shape postwar economic relations. The obligation implied in lend-lease would also be the cause of tension in the postwar period, when Australian and American economic aims would not always be in harmony. Indeed, the relationship between the two nations always included an element of tension, since many Australians viewed American ambitions and influence with concern and suspicion.

The United States used Australia as a base for a large proportion of its service personnel in the Pacific. Nearly 1 million Americans were stationed in, or were visitors to, Australia during the war. This American presence had a lasting impact on both Americans and Australians—notably in the number of Australian women who became war brides, the presence of African Americans in “White Australia,” and in the cultural influences that Americans brought with them.

The years following 1945 saw the United States exert considerable influence over the Australian economy, with benefit to America in terms of trade and tariffs. The war had already forced Australia's defenses to become intertwined with American foreign and defense interests. By the 1950s, with the Cold War shaping international relations, Australia had come to depend on its American ally, signing the ANZUS (Australia-New Zealand-United States) alliance treaty in 1951.

American culture had a pervasive impact on Australia through the 1940s; the United States found Australia a willing market for its culture.

Hollywood film, which found an enthusiastic audience among Australians, was perhaps the most significant form of American culture to permeate Australia. American music, however, flooded the airwaves, sparking debates over the future of Australian culture. Bing Crosby's crooning, in particular, drew much criticism from those who feared the demise of good taste. Australian magazines were filled with American content. During the war years, importations of American books were halted but resumed after the war's end, and American fiction generally (notably, Westerns and crime dramas) were popular with Australian audiences. For Australia, this was a notable shift toward a broader cultural view than that of the previous British-oriented culture, but it also marked the acceleration of "Americanization" in Australian culture.

Further Reading: Philip Bell and Roger Bell, *Americanization and Australia*, 1998; Philip Bell and Roger Bell, *Implicated: The United States in Australia*, 1993; E. Daniel Potts and Annette Potts, *Yanks Down Under: 1941–45*, 1985.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

AMERICA AND EAST ASIA America's relationship with East Asia shifted sharply from an isolationist perspective to an interventionist one when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Prior to that date, the United States was suspicious of Japanese expansionism in East Asia but chose to be diplomatically benign to it. The United States preferred to focus on economic measures, such as secret talks with Great Britain concerning an oil embargo, to protest Japan's annexation of Manchuria in 1932 and its invasion of China proper in 1937.

As for Southeast Asia, the United States chose to condone colonialism in the region, having itself taken the colony of the Philippines at the turn of the century. The United States stood by its isolationist tendencies as Asian territories, from southeastern China to Indochina, came under Japanese control.

After entering the war, America began actively aiding Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist China against Japan, supplying the former through the Himalayas. American airplanes flew from bases

in India, over Nationalist China, to bomb Japan. In Southeast Asia, the U.S. Pacific Fleet also returned to the Philippines under General Douglas MacArthur and defeated the Japanese there. After the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, MacArthur accepted Japan's unconditional surrender. Fierce battles of attrition in places such as Okinawa, and Japanese kamikaze pilots, had compelled the Americans to consider using atomic weapons to force surrender. In 1945, without consultation with the Soviets, America quickly occupied Japan, giving nominal roles to Great Britain and France. Initially, the Allied occupation sought to disarm Japan and remove all heavy industries capable of creating weapons of war. However, the specter of Communism became a mitigating factor in preventing the complete deindustrialization of Japan. With the Japanese threat removed, China plunged into civil war. The United States supported the Nationalists, who were eventually defeated and driven to the island of Taiwan. The establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1949 removed all hesitation about reindustrializing Japan. Because of this reversal, the Japanese attitude toward postwar occupation became positive in many respects. Most Japanese viewed the United States as a benign occupier that helped to introduce stability, order, and economic development. America took a hard-line stance against the PRC, refusing to recognize the new regime until the 1970s. During the 1950s, in a battle for supremacy on the Korean peninsula, the Americans led a United Nations force in aiding South Korea, while the Chinese augmented the Communist troops in North Korea. The threat of Communism also stimulated a more accommodative American attitude toward former European colonial powers such as the Dutch, French, and British in reclaiming their Southeast Asian colonies. However, as a show of postwar American moral support for decolonization and self-determination, the former U.S. colony of the Philippines was granted independence in 1946. Manuel Roxas became the new nation's first president. In return, the Americans retained Filipino military bases for strategic purposes. World War II's Pacific theater changed the relationship

between the United States and East Asia forever, with the region gradually gaining American economic and diplomatic attention. U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia would also increase dramatically, culminating in the Vietnam War.

Further Reading: Herbert Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, 2000; John Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History*, 2001; David Joel Steinberg, *In Search of Southeast Asia*, 1987.

LIM TAI WEI

AMERICA AND GERMANY The American-German relationship can be divided into two distinct periods: that of belligerents from 1941 to 1945, and victor and vanquished during the occupation of Germany, from 1945 to 1949. In 1941 America engaged in an undeclared war against German U-boats in the Atlantic. The U.S. official policy, however, was neutrality until Hitler declared war on the United States on December 11, 1941. Although Japan's December 7 surprise attack on Pearl Harbor had brought the Americans into the conflict, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Grand Alliance agreed on a "Germany-first" strategy. Initial contact between German and American troops occurred following the Anglo-American landings in French North Africa in November 1942. However, the decisive encounter did not come until D-day (June 6, 1944), when Allied forces landed in Normandy under command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. On August 25, 1944, Paris was liberated. Aachen (the first German town of note to be taken by the Allies) was occupied from October 21, 1944; in February and March 1945 American troops advanced into Germany. Fighting in the European theater ceased on May 7, 1945, and the unconditional surrender of the German armed forces was signed the following day.

During the war, the problem of how to deal with a defeated postwar Germany was discussed repeatedly, notably at the Casablanca Conference (January 1943), the Teheran Conference (November–December 1943), the Yalta Conference (February 1945), and the Potsdam Conference (July–August 1945). The principle of unconditional surrender was established at Casablanca, and final decisions regarding the

occupation of Germany were made at Potsdam. Germany and Berlin were divided into four zones controlled by the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Disagreements about the administration and management of these zones would become one of the principal causes of the Cold War. The overriding principles for the American zone of occupation can be identified as the "Four Ds": democratization, demilitarization, denazification, and decartelization. These were outlined in JCS (Joint Chiefs of Staff) 1067, Directive to the Commander in Chief U.S. Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany, April 1945. As part of these objectives, the International Military Tribunal for Germany at Nuremberg (1945–1949) punished Nazi war criminals.

American administration of Germany was organized through the military, specifically through the Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.) (OMGUS). This was the governing body for the American zone until 1949. During the occupation there were three military governors: Eisenhower, General Joseph T. McNarney, and General Lucius D. Clay. American-German relations changed in 1947, with the Cold War becoming the chief determining factor thereafter. JCS 1067 was replaced by JCS 1779 (July 1947), which altered occupation objectives. Other modifications included the establishment of the Marshall Plan (June 5, 1947), which would become a major factor in the reconstruction of Germany, and the unification of the British and American zones into one (Bizonia) for economic purposes (January 1, 1947). The resultant currency reform provided one of the sparks for the closing of Soviet borders around Berlin and the ensuing Berlin airlift (June 1948–May 1949).

Ultimately, Germany was split into two states: the Soviet-dominated German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Western-dominated Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). The American-inspired Basic Law was promulgated on May 23, 1949, establishing the FRG, with Bonn as its capital and Konrad Adenauer as its leader. On September 2, 1949, John J. McCloy became U.S. military governor and U.S. High Commissioner for Germany (HICOG). Toward the end of September, with the establishment of

the FRG, HICOG replaced OMGUS. The American-German relationship was transformed into a friendship that endures today.

Further Reading: Michael Beschloss, *The Conquerors: Roosevelt, Truman and the Destruction of Hitler's Germany*, 2003; Richard L. Merritt, *Democracy Imposed: U.S. Occupation Policy and the German Public, 1945–1949*, 1995; Thomas Alan Schwartz, *America's Germany: John McCloy and the Federal Republic of Germany*, 1991.

WENDY TOON

AMERICA AND GREECE In November 1944, Allied personnel arrived in Greece, barely two weeks after its liberation from the Nazis. Famine during the winter of 1941–1942 had taken thousands of lives, and the entire nation was in ruins after the German retreat. The drachma was devalued, the people were impoverished, and human suffering was great. A Nazi scorch-and-burn policy had devastated the nation's infrastructure.

The euphoria at the Allied arrival was short-lived, for the destruction of ports made it impossible to deliver the aid needed by the starving populace. Violent factions were appearing, threatening to rekindle a civil war that had erupted in 1943. A guerrilla force known as the Greek People's Liberation Army rose up, armed with weapons abandoned by earlier Italian occupation forces. This force was, in fact, a branch of the National Liberation Front. These two groups agreed on one point: King George II had to go. Along with Ioannis Metaxas, the king had established a fascist dictatorship from 1936 until 1940. He represented the inequality, injustice, and greed that these two groups loathed. At this point, however, British prime minister Winston Churchill was at the end of negotiations with Soviet leader Joseph Stalin regarding parceling the Balkan Peninsula. Greece was to be a British area of operation, whereas Romania was to be under Soviet control. American president Franklin Roosevelt despised this colonial arrangement, but preferred silence to provoking more political upheaval in an already fragile situation. Thus, U.S. aid and rehabilitation supplies sent to Greece were the only outward signs of American interest in 1945. By 1947 an anti-Communist Greek government was elected and the United States began to get

more involved, especially because Communists were so active in the region. Emerging Communist forces, supporting Stalin, coupled with Tito's runaway Yugoslav Republic, created extremely difficult circumstances. The Truman Doctrine of 1947 pledged support for free peoples threatened by outside pressures and armed minorities within. A non-Communist Greece seemed crucial in securing a pro-Western Europe. Economic troubles in the land were exploited constantly by the Communists, but the United States had an atomic monopoly. Accordingly, the USSR felt it could do no more than chip away at the Balkans in an effort to gradually gain control of the region. Thus Greece found itself pulled by opposing superpowers. Andreas Papandreou's government was losing control in 1947 and the British were running out of money to support the country. The United States took over the expenditures, but economic conditions made Communism seem attractive. As violence increased, the Truman administration realized it had underestimated the difficulty of containment. The urban elite lived far better than the peasants in the provinces. These peasants rejected Allied and Athenian reforms, thus plunging the country into civil war in 1948. Greek royalist forces, supported heavily by the British and Americans, won the war in 1949. The country was in worse shape than before and heavily dependent upon American aid. However, and most importantly, the Truman Doctrine had succeeded in thwarting the spread of Communism. On February 18, 1952, Greece formally joined the NATO alliance.

Further Reading: Thomas T. Hammond, ed., *Witnesses to the Origins of the Cold War*, 1982; Howard Jones, "A New Kind of War": *America's Global Strategy and the Truman Doctrine in Greece*, 1989; Eugene T. Rossides, ed., *Greece's Pivotal Role in World War II and Its Importance to the U.S. Today*, 2001.

CYNTHIA A. KLIMA

AMERICA AND ISRAEL When World War I ended with the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain controlled Palestine under what was called a mandate system. Pressure from a growing Zionist movement for the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine began

to create problems in the region. By the early 1940s, Jews were immigrating, both legally and illegally, to Palestine in large numbers.

Although President Franklin Roosevelt made promises to Saudi Arabia that he would not support a Jewish state, President Harry Truman encouraged Jewish relocation to the Middle East. Scholars disagree regarding Truman's motives for supporting Jewish immigration and his subsequent recognition of the Israeli state. Some cite pressure from the Jewish lobby and the importance of pleasing a large Jewish constituency in states such as New York. Others argue that Truman's own religious upbringing influenced him to preserve Palestine as a Holy Land and help displaced Jews at the same time. Truman could have also been trying to undercut his own State Department, with which he frequently had conflicts, while also hoping to recognize the new state before the Soviets did. He further believed that inclusion of another democratic country in the United Nations would improve the organization's chances for success.

In the years immediately after the end of World War II, the British slowly lost control of the situation in Palestine. Violence between Arabs and Jews, and the unwillingness of either side to accept a binational Palestinian state, finally led the British to turn the problem over to the United Nations. The UN decided to partition Palestine, to take effect in 1948 when the British mandate lapsed. Thus on May 15, 1948, a Jewish army took control of part of the partition and declared the independent State of Israel, which Truman quickly recognized. In response to this declaration, Israel's Arab neighbors declared war. Israel asked the United States for help. Although Truman supported its independence, he did not want a formal alliance with Israel, so he encouraged the new state to obtain arms and financial aid from other Western countries. Eventually, the United States did sell arms to Israel during the Palestine War, contributing to its victory over Arab states in 1949. Once the war was over, Truman tried to pressure Israel into making peace with the Arabs, repatriating the approximately 500,000 Arab refugees (later referred to as Palestinians) who fled the new state, and relinquishing control of the Negev Desert. Israel, however,

felt vulnerable and even Truman's threat to withdraw a \$49 million loan could not convince it to cooperate. Truman's attempt to persuade Syria to resettle a large number of Palestinian refugees failed and the Arab states refused to talk peace without some solution to the refugee problem. The relationship between Israel and the United States remained strained during Truman's administration. Israel constantly sought more weapons, money, and security assurances while the United States sought to balance its policy between Israel and Arab states and to influence Israel toward moderation.

Further Reading: Peter Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945–1961*, 2004; Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, 2000; John Snetsinger, *Truman, the Jewish Vote and the Creation of Israel*, 1974.

APRIL R. SUMMITT

AMERICA AND ITALY Italy had been an ally of the United States during the Great War. The collision between the two countries was put into motion when Benito Mussolini came to power in 1922. Italian Americans encountered nativism, primarily because of their Roman Catholic religion and working-class background. Generally the Democratic Party ignored their needs, so they voted Republican, particularly in New York City. All in all, they were being assimilated into the larger American culture. Some American natives welcomed Mussolini's leadership in Italy because he promised to get the trains running on time, keep the streets clean, and give Italians direction and purpose.

Mussolini's charm soon vanished. With his conquests of Abyssinia in 1935–1936 and Albania, the American government grew critical. When Italy joined forces with Nazi Germany, the chief political and military issue became the Allied invasion of Italy. The so-called soft underbelly of Europe proved an illusion, as the Allies' long and costly campaign worked its way from Sicily only to stall in the northern Italian Alps. When Italy surrendered, partisans executed Mussolini and his mistress in Milan on April 28, 1945. The German army, however, supported by remnants of the Italian fascists, remained well

fortified in the Alps. It successfully resisted the Allies until the collapse of Germany.

Postwar reconstruction was difficult. Italy became an early battleground in the Cold War. It had one of Europe's largest Communist Parties, which worked to take the nation into the Russian orbit. American policies of the Marshall Plan, Point Four, a strong military presence, and steady political and diplomatic pressure kept Italy in the West.

The Italian Americans made a major contribution to the United States. In the late 1940s, 1.4 million Italian immigrants and 3.1 million American-born persons of Italian parentage lived in the United States. Most Italians had come to America between 1881 and 1921. Many were laborers, but the economic boom of the war years and the GI Bill of 1944 meant social mobility for Italian-American veterans in the post-war years. Politically this group backed the radical left, but was strongly anti-Communist and supported the Truman policy of containment in Europe. Congressman Vito Marcantonio from the Bronx in New York City was an exception. After the late 1940s patriotism was identical to anti-Communism; therefore, ethnic identities lost to the American civic religion. The politics of assent replaced the politics of descent.

In Italy political instability was the norm, with over forty-five governments in power since 1946.

Further Reading: Asa Briggs and Patricia Clavin, *Modern Europe, 1789–1989*, 1997; John Patrick Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism: The View From America*, 1972; C. Seton-Watson, *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism*, 1967.

DONALD K. PICKENS

AMERICA AND JAPAN America's relationship with Japan has been referred to as a "clash." Between 1941 and 1945 the two nations fought in the Pacific. After the Japanese defeat, however, the American-Japanese relationship seemed to hold hope of genuine cooperation. On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, without warning. The following day President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked Congress to declare war on the Japanese, bringing America into World War II. The Doolittle raid on April 18, 1942, the first air attack on Tokyo, was designed to boost

morale and has been seen by many historians as a revenge attack for Pearl Harbor. The turning point in the Pacific war was the Battle of Midway, in June 1942, which broke Japanese naval superiority and enabled the Americans to take the offensive. From then on, Allied forces slowly won back the Pacific territories under Japanese occupation. By 1944, intensive air raids started over Japan's home islands. The two most significant wartime announcements regarding Japan came on December 1, 1943, and July 26, 1945. The Cairo Declaration called for the destruction of the Japanese Empire and unconditional surrender. This demand was repeated in the Potsdam Declaration, which threatened Japan with destruction if it did not comply. The Japanese military would not surrender under such terms, however. Ultimately, the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945, and the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan on August 8, as agreed earlier at the Yalta Conference. On August 15, Emperor Hirohito, in an unprecedented radio address, announced Japan's decision to surrender unconditionally. General Douglas MacArthur officially accepted Japanese submission on the battleship USS *Missouri* on September 2.

Occupation by the Allied powers began in August 1945 and ended in April 1952. The overriding principles for the occupation can be identified as democratization, demilitarization, decentralization, and disarmament. They were outlined in JCS (Joint Chiefs of Staff) 1380, Basic Directive for Post-Surrender Military Government in Japan Proper, November 1945. The administration of Japan was organized through the existing Japanese government and MacArthur was appointed as Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP). The occupation, though nominally an Allied project, was strictly dominated by the United States. As a result of its defeat, Japan lost all territory acquired after 1894. The remains of its war machine were destroyed and war crime trials were held at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East at Tokyo from 1946 to 1948. Hirohito, a quasi-religious figure, was not declared a war criminal as a result of a conscious American policy to preserve order.

During the occupation, MacArthur oversaw development of a new American-inspired constitution that went into effect in 1947. This transformed Japan into a democratic state: the emperor lost all political and military power and was made a symbol of the state, universal suffrage was introduced, human rights were guaranteed, and the Shinto religion and the state were clearly separated. Japan renounced war and agreed to exist without armed forces. MacArthur also intended to break up power concentrations by dissolving the *zaibatsu* (business conglomerates) and other large companies and by decentralizing the education system and the police. As part of land reform, concentrations in land ownership were also removed. By 1947, the United States, increasingly acting according to its Cold War self-interest, began to change its policies, reintroducing the persecution of Communists at home and in Japan, stationing additional U.S. troops in Japan, and encouraging the Japanese to establish a self-defense force, despite their new constitution's anti-war article. This phase of the occupation is often referred to as the "reverse course." The occupation of Japan ended in 1952 after the San Francisco Treaty of 1951. Cooperation between the Japanese and Americans had worked relatively smoothly and good relations have been maintained. The American-Japanese relationship was transformed into one of friendship.

Further Reading: Alan M. Schom, *The Eagle and the Rising Sun: The Japanese-American War, 1941–1943: Pearl Harbor Through Guadalcanal*, 2003; Eiji Takemae, *The Allied Occupation of Japan*, 2003; Thomas W. Zeiler, *Unconditional Defeat: Japan, America, and the End of World War II*, 2003.

WENDY TOON

AMERICA AND THE ARAB WORLD When the 1940s began, the United States was not particularly concerned with Arab states in the Middle East. During the 1920s and 1930s, the American government had kept its activities in the Middle East at a bare minimum, not wanting to encroach on Britain's sphere of influence. As the costs of World War II forced the British to withdraw from their empire, the United States reluctantly took their place in the Middle East. President Franklin Roosevelt's chief focus during the 1940s was

defeating Nazi Germany; thus his successors would have to develop a U.S. policy toward the Arab world. However, Roosevelt did work to establish a good relationship with Saudi Arabia to protect American access to oil. When Harry Truman became president, he approached the region with caution. American oil companies had been granted concessions in Saudi Arabia after World War I and, by the early 1940s, were pumping large amounts of petroleum out of the region. The California Arabian Oil Company (changed to Arabian American Oil Company or ARAMCO in 1944) held a major oil concession in Saudi Arabia, which was paying large dividends in the 1940s. The outbreak of World War II disrupted sales and shipments, forcing King Ibn Saud to demand money from the oil company to avoid bankruptcy. After the war, ARAMCO requested support from the American government, and Truman sought to strengthen U.S. ties to Saudi Arabia in order to keep the oil flowing. As the emerging Cold War pitted the United States against Communism and the Soviet Union, Truman's focus in the Middle East mainly centered on three non-Arab states that the United States referred to as the Northern Tier: Turkey, Greece, and Iran. The Truman administration considered these three nations important barriers to Soviet expansion into the region. To prevent Soviet incursions that would threaten American access to Saudi oil, Truman pledged money and support for the Northern Tier. Although the Truman Doctrine—as his approach was called—became the basis for Cold War containment policy applied in Europe, the Middle East served as the catalyst for its development. At first, neither Truman nor his advisers recognized any significant, strategic risk to the Arab nations below the Northern Tier. The British seemed in firm control of the region, and the United States believed that its ally would serve American interests there. Instead, Truman focused on rebuilding Europe through the Marshall Plan. American policy toward Arab states was thus conducted primarily through American oil companies. Truman's quick recognition of the new State of Israel in 1948, however, began to strain the American relationship to Saudi Arabia and other Arab states. The creation of Israel and subsequent Palestine War

also exacerbated inter-Arab rivalries. The war also revealed the corruption and inefficiency of existing regimes and spurred demands for reform. Therefore, the nationalist impulse most stimulated by the war was local, not pan-Arab.

Further Reading: H.W. Brands, *Into the Labyrinth: The United States and the Middle East, 1945–1993*, 1994; Peter Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945–1961*, 2004; Michael B. Stoff, *Oil, War and American Security: The Search for a National Policy on Foreign Oil, 1941–1947*, 1980.

APRIL R. SUMMITT

AMERICA AND THE HOLOCAUST Shortly after Adolf Hitler became Germany’s chancellor in 1933, German Jews became a target of Nazi terrorist tactics, subject to arrest, public humiliation, and, in April, a state-sponsored boycott of Jewish-owned businesses. As word of these injustices reached the United States, American Jewish organizations became the first to speak out. In May, they held a series of protests, an anti-Nazi march in Chicago, and a New York City march led by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, a friend of President Roosevelt.

Jewish groups stepped up their activities in response to Kristallnacht (the night of broken glass), the pogrom on November 9, 1938, in which Nazi storm troopers destroyed thousands of Jewish-owned businesses. Anti-Hitler protest rallies swept the United States, with the largest in New York City and Washington, DC. President Roosevelt’s response was to show his disdain for the persecution by recalling America’s ambassador to Germany.

Throughout the war years, the American Jewish Congress and other groups held rallies and high-profile events such as the 1943 “We Will Never Die” pageant, organized by the Broadway theater community.

Despite knowledge of violence against the Jews dating back to 1933 and amid increasing reports concerning the plight of the Jews, the U.S. government took a hands-off approach. America’s borders remained closed to Jews. In 1921 Congress had created a quota system favoring northern and western European nations; it made visas difficult for southern and eastern European refu-

gees to obtain. Any change in the policy would have had to overcome the country’s isolationism, racism, and particularly unemployment fears generated by the Depression.

Prevailing anti-Semitism also contributed to the government’s hands-off policy. At the time, there were over one hundred anti-Semitic organizations in America. Anti-Jewish propaganda, discriminatory hiring practices, and restrictive agreements among hotels, housing developments, and social clubs abounded.

Also contributing to the government’s reluctance was the fact that the United States did not receive credible confirmation about the Nazi’s genocidal plans until August 1942. This came from a member of the World Jewish Congress who requested that the American consulate in Geneva relay the information to the United States and Allied governments and to Rabbi Wise. The State Department, however, did not immediately forward the message to Wise, nor did it publicize these reports of Hitler’s “final solution” until it made its own investigation.

As reports of mass killings of Jews increased, the evidence became irrefutable and was finally publicized by Rabbi Wise in a November 1942 press conference. He announced that the State Department had confirmed reports of the Nazi “extermination campaign.” In December 1942, the governments of the United States, Britain, and other Allies finally publicly revealed their knowledge of the Nazis’ plans.

While the government resisted speaking publicly about the possible violence against Jews, the press did not. Press coverage started as early as 1933, and by 1938, as the violence escalated and as more restrictive laws were enacted, coverage increased (although it was often placed on inner pages). By 1941, American newspapers began to run stories describing the mass murder of Jews, some even using the word “extermination,” although also relegating these stories to back pages. In January 1944, after nearly forty rallies and petitions from Jewish organizations, as well as prodding from Henry Morgenthau, head of the Treasury Department, President Roosevelt reversed the government’s policy of refusing refugees and created the War Refugee Board. The board’s goal was to rescue

victims of enemy oppression facing imminent death. It is believed that the War Refugee Board helped to save the lives of 200,000 Jews.

Further Reading: Robert H. Abzug, *America Views the Holocaust, 1933–45: A Brief Documentary History*, 2000; Jeffrey S. Gurock, *America, American Jews, and the Holocaust*, 1998; David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews*, 1998.

JUDITH B. GERBER

AMERICA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

The atmosphere between the United States and the United Kingdom (UK) before the outbreak of World War II was cordial but cool. Attempts at bilateral tariff reform during the 1930s had not got very far, rancor over unpaid war loans still lingered, and there was no agreement between the two powers on such pressing matters as the rise of the European dictatorships and Japan's aggression in China. Ties of custom, kin, and language naturally ameliorated some of these tensions, as was shown by the friendly reception given to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth on their state visit to the United States during the summer of 1939. But President Franklin D. Roosevelt was necessarily compelled by Congressional legislation and isolationist public opinion to declare strict neutrality when Britain declared war on Germany that September. Roosevelt's repeal of the arms embargo against the UK two months later did ease one of the more onerous stipulations of the Neutrality Acts, but American banks and companies were still forbidden to lend money to Britain, and any purchased war matériel had to be collected from U.S. harbors on a strict cash-and-carry basis.

What transformed this standoffish relationship into a firm from was the dramatic series of Axis victories from May 1940, when the Germans invaded France and the Low Countries, to December 1941, when the Japanese Empire launched its devastating attacks on Hawaii, the Philippines, and Malaya. Roosevelt's pro-British initiatives—the destroyers-for-bases deal, lend-lease, and his constitutionally dubious “war” against Nazi U-boats in the North Atlantic—prepared the way for this emergency coalition. But the crucial role was played by Britain's half-American prime

minister, Winston Churchill, who, unlike his predecessor Neville Chamberlain, knew the United States well and was passionate in his resolve to unite the English-speaking peoples in an anti-Axis union. Stirring but largely symbolic agreements like the Atlantic Charter, signed in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, in August 1941, gave way after Pearl Harbor to more practical forms of cooperation such as the Combined Chiefs of Staff organization, which planned the grand strategy of the Anglo-American war effort. Important differences persisted throughout the years of alliance. Some of these were technical disagreements about the use of military force—British commanders were skeptical about the feasibility of a cross-Channel invasion and would have preferred to concentrate Allied efforts in the Mediterranean theater. Other disputes were more profound. State Department aides suspected that Churchill was trying to use U.S. power to secure his country's failing empire, and Roosevelt, who was convinced that European decolonization was a necessary precursor to a global peace settlement, would not countenance what he saw as a return to the rotting old order in the Near East and Asia.

With the end of hostilities came an abrupt halt to lend-lease, and the incoming Labour government of Clement Attlee inherited a near-bankrupt Britain that could scarcely survive the immediate postwar period without massive financial aid from America. U.S. conditions for a reconstruction loan were severe—the end of imperial tariff preference and the surrender of the sterling zone—but the Truman administration eventually recognized that the dearth of dollars in European hands was bad for American exporters as well as their customers, encouraging the self-interested largesse of the Marshall Plan. The postwar shift in the power balance between Britain and the United States led to some resistance and resentment; the clash over Britain's control of the Suez Canal Zone in 1956 marked the nadir of contemporary Anglo-American relations. But elsewhere, such as the eastern Mediterranean in 1947—the birthplace of the Truman Doctrine—the handover of policing responsibilities was relatively amicable. And the founding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949 did at least

ensure that, whatever disagreements persisted within the Anglophone camp, its wartime alliance would not be allowed to lapse as it had so disastrously after the Great War.

Further Reading: Ritchie Ovendale, *Anglo-American Relations in the Twentieth Century*, 1998; Randall Bennett Woods, *A Changing of the Guard: Anglo-American Relations, 1941–1946*, 1990.

ALAN ALLPORT

AMERICA AND THE USSR Early relations between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or Soviet Union, were very unfriendly. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the United States refused to recognize the Soviet government. The United States also aided early efforts to overthrow the new regime. The first official American ambassador to the Soviet Union was appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, when the United States finally recognized the Soviet government.

Less-than-friendly relations with the Soviet Union were further strained as World War II approached. The USSR signed a nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany in 1939 and used it to legitimate Soviet invasions of Poland, Finland and the Baltic states. The Soviets also signed a neutrality agreement with Japan in 1941.

An opening for a change in the relationship came when Germany invaded Russia in June 1941. The United States furnished the Soviet Union with about \$9.5 billion in aid during the remainder of the war. However, tension continued as the war progressed and the Soviet Union demanded the opening of a second front in Western Europe. Once the United States entered the war in December 1941, President Roosevelt promised the second front to ease German pressure on the Russians in the east. The promise was difficult to keep, however, and Soviet-U.S. relations became more strained. The lowest common denominator, a mutual need to defeat Nazi Germany, kept the alliance together. The second front promise was finally kept with the Allied invasion of Normandy in June 1944. U.S. and Soviet leaders met periodically during the war, often with the British prime minister, Winston Churchill. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Soviet marshal Joseph

Stalin met in Teheran in late 1943 and at Yalta in early 1945. The main topics were usually war aims and, eventually, plans for the world order after the war. Heads of the three countries met again in 1945 at Potsdam, with Harry S. Truman representing the United States.

Relations became intensely strained late in the war when the United States successfully tested the world's first atomic bomb. Although Churchill was kept informed of atomic developments, Stalin was not. Beyond forcing Japan to surrender, the dropping of the atomic bombs in August 1945 may also have been a show of force directed at the Soviet Union, which Truman knew could become a powerful enemy once the war ended.

There were some outward signs of cooperation as the United States and the Soviet Union took their places as two of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council in 1945. These five members each had the right to veto a council decision. Disagreement, however, continued. The Soviet delegation had also wanted the permanent members to have the right to prevent council discussion of an issue but was forced to relent.

Strained relations turned into open hostility before the end of the decade, with Stalin's actions in Eastern and Central Europe and the U.S. policy of containment. The Soviet Union spread its "revolution" through the creation of puppet states in Eastern Europe and blockaded West Berlin in 1948. The United States responded with the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan of 1947 and the Berlin airlift to combat the blockade in 1948. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed in 1949 to confront growing Soviet threats directly. NATO was eventually opposed by the Warsaw Pact, created in 1955.

The following four decades saw U.S.-Soviet relations move in cycles between attempts at conciliation and friendship and times of high political and indirect military conflict. Relations changed dramatically with the fall of the iron curtain in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and the Soviet Union's demise in 1991.

Further Reading: Robin Edmonds, *The Big Three: Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin in Peace and War*, 1991;

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War*, 1987; Amos Perlmutter, *FDR and Stalin: A Not So Grand Alliance, 1943–1945*, 1993.

LINDA EIKMEIER ENDERSBY

AMERICA FIRST MOVEMENT, political pressure group. The America First Movement had its roots in the isolationist 1930s and immediately thereafter. The goal was keeping the United States out of wars in Europe or Asia. The movement sought to stress domestic concerns, not those of other countries. Solving the problems of the Great Depression in America and the dislocations that it caused was foremost in the minds of its leaders. Anti-Semitism and pro-German sentiments undoubtedly contributed much to America First's neutrality policy. Several prominent Americans, including Charles A. Lindbergh and Henry Ford, voiced support for the America First Movement and spoke on its behalf. America First claimed a membership of 800,000 and based itself in the Chicago area.

As the 1930s drew to close, the isolationists grew more numerous and more vocal. The America First Committee was formed in 1940 as a pressure group to oppose aid to the Allies. It denounced as dangerous many of the Roosevelt administration's foreign policy initiatives: the Lend-Lease Act, the repeal of neutrality legislation, and the use of the U.S. Navy to protect convoys. The movement certainly had an impact on the entry of the United States into World War II. The war raged for two years before the U.S. entry, and even aid programs for the Allies were withheld. With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, however, the movement quickly disappeared and its leaders began to support the war.

Further Reading: Wayne S. Cole, *America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940–41*, 1953; Justus Doenecke, *In Danger Undaunted: The Anti-Interventionist Movement of 1940–1941 as Revealed in the Papers of the America First Committee*, 1990; Justus Doenecke, *Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939–1941*, 2000.

MARK E. ELLIS

AMERICA IN 1940 The 1940 census counted 131,669,275 Americans with a center in Sullivan

County, Indiana. Fifty-six percent resided in urban areas. The American life span had increased to sixty-four years, a rise of fifteen years since the turn of the century. Illiteracy continued to decline. In 1940, 4.2 percent of Americans were illiterate, a record low. Over 30 million radios brought the news and entertainment into American homes.

The United States was finally starting to emerge from the Great Depression. Orders for war matériel and conscription caused decreases in the unemployment rate, although 8 million Americans still lacked jobs. Under the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the forty-hour week went into effect in 1940. The gross national product was \$97.1 billion with a national debt of \$36.7 billion. An average manufacturing worker earned sixty-six cents an hour, or \$25.20 per week. The median urban family income was \$1,463 per year. A haircut was fifty cents, a glass of beer cost ten cents, a quart of milk went for thirteen cents, eggs sold for thirty-five cents a dozen, and most physicians charged a flat rate of two dollars per visit.

Although the United States remained neutral, 1940 was overshadowed by World War II and the devastating effectiveness of the Nazi march of conquest. Americans were shocked to see Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and France conquered in quick succession, followed by England's being subjected to a ferocious aerial assault in the Battle of Britain.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt remained officially neutral throughout 1940, but took several measures that were both defensive and pro-Allied. In September he announced the destroyers-for-bases deal, in which the United States traded fifty World War I-era destroyers to Great Britain in exchange for several bases in the Western Hemisphere. Later that month, the Selective Service Act established the first peacetime draft in American history. In keeping with Roosevelt's policy of hemispheric defense, bilateral treaties were negotiated between the United States and its fellow republics of the Americas by year's end. Not everyone agreed with Roosevelt's position. Ardent isolationists, including Charles Lindbergh, formed the America First Committee to mobilize public opinion

against American involvement. The Smith Act, passed in June, required the registration and fingerprinting of aliens and made it illegal to belong to any organization that advocated overthrowing the United States government.

In the November elections President Roosevelt, pledging to keep American boys out of a foreign war, comfortably defeated Republican Wendell Willkie. Roosevelt won the unprecedented third term by a margin of 449 electoral votes to 82 and 27,244,160 popular votes to 22,305,198. Democrats retained control of the Congress, although conflict between the administration and the southern Democrats, which had begun during the court-packing controversy of 1937, still divided the party.

Books published that year included Richard Wright's *Native Son*, William Faulkner's *The Hamlet*, and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* by Ernest Hemingway. Glenn Miller topped the charts with "In the Mood," "Tuxedo Junction," and "Pennsylvania 6-5000." Frank Sinatra made important debuts with the Tommy Dorsey Orchestra and cartoon characters Bugs Bunny, Woody Woodpecker, and Tom and Jerry.

The Cincinnati Reds defeated the Detroit Tigers four games to three in the World Series. In the National Football League championship game, the Chicago Bears defeated the Washington Redskins 73-0. The New York Rangers defeated the Toronto Maple Leafs four games to two to win the Stanley Cup.

On May 20 Igor Sikorsky publicly unveiled his helicopter for the first time and RCA demonstrated its electron microscope. Other inventions included the Jeep and a color television set, although mass production of the latter remained years away. Nylon stockings went on sale for the first time and synthetic tires were available. The Pennsylvania Turnpike opened. The passing of F. Scott Fitzgerald and the deaths of 198 people in a tragic dance hall fire in Natchez, Mississippi, were overshadowed by the carnage of the World War.

Further Reading: Chester Eisinger, ed., *The 1940s: A Profile of a Nation in Crisis*, 1969; Cabell Phillips, *The 1940s: Decade of Triumph and Trouble*, 1975; Robert Sickles, *The 1940s*, 2004.

GREGORY DEHLER

AMERICAN DREAM, a concept that epitomizes the democratic ideals and aspirations on which the United States was founded. It usually is evoked to extol American virtues and a way of life at its best. It often is viewed as a force behind government philosophy in the United States, and it is broadly interpreted as a combination of freedom and opportunity with increasing tones of civil liberties, impartial treatment, and social justice. It also refers to the goals and opportunities of having a better living standard than the previous generation, property ownership, and the ability to comfortably rear and educate one's children. Definitions of the American Dream are not only evolving; interpretations of it vary depending upon individual perspectives and the challenges confronting American society, the local community, and each American citizen.

In the early 1940s, many Americans felt disillusioned about the American Dream. The nation was still reeling from the throes of the Great Depression, and some minority groups that had been deprived and neglected in better years felt that the dream had become a veritable nightmare. Unemployment rates continued as high as 15 percent in 1940, and there were few jobs available before the Pearl Harbor attack of 1941. People in a mobile, prosperous economy best realize the American Dream. Prosperity did not become a reality until the exigencies of World War II forced a national emergency and a war economy was developed for goods and services. The war thus afforded many Americans a higher standard of living than they had ever experienced before. While American troops fought overseas, the domestic economy experienced growth in every sector. Concurrently, the demands of the national emergency unwittingly rendered the American Dream more reachable for nearly all citizens. The nation experienced a shortage of goods and war rationing, but unemployment fell below 2 percent. Even traditionally deprived groups, such as African Americans, single women, the disabled, and senior citizens, began to be uplifted and affected. As the war dragged on, these groups became more vocal in their pursuit of the American Dream, thereby raising expectations to even higher levels. However, these ideals were shelved for the duration of the national

emergency, which recognized the threat of the Axis powers. The Axis posed a real and visible challenge to the American way of life, and American propaganda organs installed viable and effective efforts to keep people focused on the virtues of the American Dream and the defeat of its formidable enemies.

By the time World War II ended in 1945, the nation had experienced some outstanding transformations that profoundly affected the American Dream. The four-year war produced forty years of growth, with transitions in nearly every sector. The national emergency had shattered many social barriers, the nation no longer had a totally closed society, and many Americans had migrated and traveled to other areas, including overseas, returning with fresh ideas and new perspectives and expectations. These issues thus began to redefine the American Dream and to identify institutions, mores, and legal structures that would ensure more participation among all Americans.

Embryonic efforts to desegregate public schools subsequently became the most significant element to redefine the American Dream. Begun in the 1940s by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, these efforts were later crystallized in the 1954 Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*. This decision would dramatically impact the American Dream and usher in a new way of life for nearly all Americans.

Further Reading: Derrick A. Bell, *Shades of Brown: New Perspectives on School Desegregation*, 1980; Berman E. Johnson, *The Dream Deferred: A Survey of Black America 1840–1896*, 1993.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) Founded by Samuel Gompers in 1886, the federation was an association of autonomous national craft unions. Its leaders sought to improve their members' well-being through collective bargaining, rather than through the ballot box. Until World War II, the AFL had limited political goals. Its position of "volunteerism" dictated that union economic activity was the only action that could improve

the workers' condition. Political activity merely wasted the member unions' energies. The Great Depression, America's worst economic crisis, brought latent friction between crafts unionism and industrial unionism to a head. In 1935 a Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by United Mine Workers leader John L. Lewis, organized to promote industrial unionism within the AFL. By 1938 it had become a rival and more militant federation named the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). At the start of World War II, spurred by CIO competition, the AFL increased its membership to over 4 million. In the early war years, the AFL adhered to its traditional political nonpartisanship. That soon changed. The war forced the entire labor movement to enter the political arena in order to regain its lost momentum. The gains that had been won as a result of the 1935 Wagner Act, labor's Magna Carta, were challenged on every front. Caught up in the patriotic fervor, the AFL agreed not to strike during the war's duration. Ten days after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt convened a conference of labor and business leaders. A three-point program was agreed upon in which labor essentially surrendered its right to strike in the national interest, accepting instead government mediation of industrial disputes. Wage freezes and the no-strike pledge led AFL president William Green to openly criticize the arrangement. In 1943, a number of unauthorized or "wildcat" strikes occurred, leading to a total of 13.5 million person-days lost. The following year the number of strikes declined due to public criticism.

During the 1940s, the AFL abandoned its position of nonpartisanship and started developing a progressive record on economic and social issues. The strike, still a powerful weapon in labor's arsenal, had done little to sway public opinion in its favor. New strategies now appeared. The AFL opposed oil depletion allowances and sales taxes while supporting corporation income taxes and the income-withholding feature (social security taxes).

When a series of strikes swept the nation after the war, Congressional leaders sought to weaken labor's ability to strike at any time. The resulting

1947 Taft-Hartley Act made job actions more difficult, but also rekindled interest in labor unity. Thus, during the postwar climate of hostility toward labor, sparked mainly by rising Cold War tensions, the AFL focused on other ways to provide workers with adequate compensation. The federation called for enactment of laws to lower tax rates and provide more exemptions for low-income people; to fully tax capital gains; to close loopholes in estate and gift taxes; to provide more money for public education; and to establish a stronger federal housing program along with improved social security benefits.

The 1940s witnessed the AFL's growing political consciousness. The wartime corporate-labor cooperation, postwar diplomacy in Europe, and increased anti-Communist agitation during the early Cold War years greatly affected the new direction the AFL chose to follow. The Republican Party's success in the 1946 congressional elections as well as the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, moreover, eventually led to the merger between the AFL and the CIO in the next decade.

Further Reading: Foster Rhea Dulles, *Labor in America: A History*, 1966; Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, 4 vols., 1975; Philip Taft, *The A.F. of L. from the Death of Gompers to the Merger*, 1959.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

AMERICAN JEWS, ethnic minority numbering some 4 million people before World War II. Anti-Semitism had long been a feature of life in the United States. Despite the fight against Hitler, demagogues such as Father Charles Coughlin and Gerald L.K. Smith denounced Jews. American Jews were also denied opportunities in many areas and professions. Geographical quotas specifically limited their number at Ivy League universities. In the social arena, a more discreet form of anti-Semitism, of the kind depicted in the 1947 film *Gentleman's Agreement*, was in force. A person seeking a hotel room could suddenly find there were no vacancies when the manager realized that the would-be guest was "of the Hebrew faith"; written or unwritten covenants against renting housing to Jews abounded. Many American Jews still looked to

Europe as the center of Jewish heritage and culture. The Nazi genocide there, however, devastated Jewish communities. That, combined with immigration to the United States before and after World War II, made America home to nearly half of all remaining Jews outside Palestine in 1945. As a result, America emerged as a locus of Jewish culture.

The period following the end of World War II offered unparalleled opportunities for America's Jews. As the restrictive barriers denying equal opportunities for Jews eroded, they entered the mainstream of American life. Jews benefited from postwar affluence and shared in the consumer boom, becoming increasingly suburban and bourgeois. New communities sprang up and Jews underwent a religious revival matching that of the wider culture. They continued to contribute to the music industry and to Hollywood both on and behind the silver screen. American Jews also began to express themselves in new ways during the late 1940s. The decline of academic anti-Semitism coupled with an expansion in higher education and academia during the postwar period provided new avenues of expression. Jewish intellectuals readily exploited these hitherto denied opportunities as quotas and other restrictive practices limiting admission of Jewish students and hiring and advancement of Jewish professors were abandoned. Many young Jews entered the ranks of higher education and an entire Jewish university—Brandeis—was established in the late forties. The growth of publishing also aided Jewish intellectuals. In 1945, the American Jewish Committee founded what would become a leading journal of Jewish thought and culture, *Commentary* magazine. Soon a distinctive group of Jewish intellectuals, composed of American-born Jews and many émigré Europeans, had gathered around the magazine. They spread out into many different areas of American cultural and literary life. Their fictional writings formed a new branch of Jewish American literature that celebrated the failures and successes of Jews in the United States. New novelists like Saul Bellow and playwrights such as Arthur Miller emerged and produced great literary works. Similarly, Jewish art critics like

Meyer Schapiro, Clement Greenberg, and Harold Rosenberg, together with Jewish patrons and gallery owners, were vital in advancing modern art. Particular strengths were abstract expressionism and the work of Adolph Gottlieb, Barnett Newman, Mark Rothko, Morris Louis, and Louise Nevelson. Although many Jews suffered as a result of the House Un-American Activities Committee's investigations into the motion picture industry in Hollywood in 1947, this was largely coincidental rather than by design. Overall, the Jewish community felt more secure than ever before despite the Nazi genocide, the temporary disruptions of the early Cold War, and the McCarthy era. The twenty years following World War II have, therefore, been referred to as a golden age for American Jews, and some American Jewish academics have felt that the United States has not only granted a freedom to Jews unprecedented in the history of the Diaspora, but also provided the freest environment for the development of Jewish culture.

Further Reading: Arthur Hertzberg, *The Jews in America: Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter: A History*, 1989; Howard M. Sachar, *A History of the Jews in America*, 1992; Stephen J. Whitfield, *In Search of American Jewish Culture*, 1999.

NATHAN ABRAMS

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION (ADA), political organization. The origins of the ADA run deep into the twentieth century and illustrate particular issues for liberalism and New Dealism in the 1940s. The ADA was a response to two major issues. The first was the conflict between isolationism and internationalism as World War II threatened in the late 1930s. The second concerned the relationship between domestic reform and Soviet-style Communism as a valid alternative to democratic capitalism.

In 1941, a group of democratic socialists broke with Norman Thomas over his policy of nonintervention as the war approached. From 1941 until 1947 New Dealers, reformers, and socialists worried about America's future. The issue was guns and butter. Guns meant that the United States in its role as a world power must be ready militarily to defend American national interests

across the globe. Butter meant justly distributing the goods and services that a needy world and nation wanted. On January 3, 1947, at the encouragement of Reinhold Niebuhr, a group of liberals formed Americans for Democratic Action, in which Eleanor Roosevelt provided leadership and inspiration. It advocated a combination of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points and a global New Deal.

Until the organization fell apart over President Lyndon B. Johnson's Vietnam policy, the ADA was quite successful in articulating the postwar liberal vision of reconstruction. Education and lobbying on particular issues were the strong aspects of the organization. The membership was a who's who of reformers, representing the varied interest and policy groups of the Roosevelt coalition that maintained a real presence in the national Democratic Party. Foreign policy was a critical issue in 1948, a year after the ADA's founding. The Progressive Citizens of America, led by Henry A. Wallace, New Dealer and mystic, wanted a foreign policy that displayed a kinder and gentler attitude toward the Soviet Union. To that end, the ADA expressed Cold War liberalism: domestic reform and the containment foreign policy.

Prior to the 1948 election, the ADA wanted Dwight Eisenhower or William O. Douglas to seek the Democratic nomination, thinking that Truman was a beatable candidate. Truman won the nomination after a long and bitter convention that saw civil rights become a major plank and the reactionary Democrats becoming Dixiecrats on their long journey to the Republican Party. Wallace and the Progressives split on the left but Truman kept the Roosevelt coalition together and won the general election. Civil rights had become part of presidential politics. The ADA remained active until the 1960s, when cultural politics and Vietnam tore the organization apart while the nation turned to the right.

Further Reading: Steven M. Gillon, *Politics and Vision: The ADA and American Liberalism*, 1987; Mary S. McAuliffe, *Crisis on the Left: Cold War Politics and American Liberals, 1947-1954*, 1978; William L. O'Neill, *A Democracy at War: America's Fight at Home and Abroad in World War II*, 1993.

DONALD K. PICKENS

AMOS 'N' ANDY, one of the most popular serials in the history of radio. The show began in 1926 at WGN in Chicago, starring Charles Correll and Freeman Gosden. By the 1940s it was playing over NBC's network stations nationwide. Created and written by Correll and Gosden, *Amos 'n' Andy* was a fifteen-minute serial broadcast six days per week. At the peak of its success, the serial commanded the attention of more than 40 million listeners daily, nearly one-third of America's population at that time. The story line featured two African American men who had migrated from Atlanta to find their fortunes in the black world of Chicago. Correll and Gosden were both white men who spoke in the black vernacular to play the parts of all characters introduced in the story line. The show captured the imagination of black and white listeners as Correll and Gosden skillfully slipped in and out of several black characters, offering a colloquial humor that provided quality entertainment.

Amos 'n' Andy was a pioneer in many ways. It was the first serial comedy to air six days a week. It followed the daily lives of two African American men. It was the first radio comedy series to portray an all-black world. It was the first show to broadcast twice a day in order to accommodate evening listeners on the West Coast and the East Coast. And, not the least of its achievements, it remained on the air for nearly thirty years.

Based upon people Correll and Gosden had known when they lived in the South, the script never described the plight of black people or the privileged status of white people. However, the listening audience knew that two white men were playing the role of two black men functioning as buffoons in a race-conscious society. Although some black characters were projected negatively, most of them held respectable jobs or owned businesses. Nevertheless, many thoughtful blacks in the 1940s considered the serial harmful to black self-respect and felt it distorted white people's perception of blacks; others held that it was just a funny look at themselves, offering no racist undertones. The show was so popular that it survived the onslaught of television; in 1951 it became a successful televised serial. Two years later, however, civil rights leaders convinced the

network that it should be discontinued. Despite high ratings and demands for reruns, primarily in the South, it never again aired on radio or television. It continued in syndication, however, until 1966.

Further Reading: Erik Barnouw, *A History of Broadcasting in the United States*, 1966; Melvin P. Ely, *The Adventures of Amos 'n' Andy: A Social History of an American Phenomenon*, 1991; J. Fred MacDonald, *Don't Touch That Dial: Radio Programming in American Life*, 1979.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

ANDERSON, CLINTON PRESBA (October 23, 1895–November 11, 1975), secretary of agriculture and United States senator. A Democrat who combined domestic reform and internationalism in the post–World War II era, Anderson was born in Centerville, South Dakota. He attended Dakota Wesleyan University and the University of Michigan. Because of a worsening case of tuberculosis, he relocated to Albuquerque, New Mexico, in 1917. After his sister died from the same disease, Anderson began arguing for a national health insurance program. He was active in journalism, public health associations, business activities, Democratic politics, and New Mexico civic organizations. Anderson, a New Dealer, won election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1940. Five years later President Harry S. Truman appointed him secretary of agriculture. Anderson supported an adequate price structure for American farm products, defended the administration's farm policies, and conserved wheat. His department met the requirements outlined in Truman's Nine Point Famine Relief Program. Anderson was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1948 and served from 1949 until his retirement in 1973. He advocated civil rights, land conservation, the environment, and containment of Communism. Generally, he endorsed the New Frontier and Great Society agendas of the 1960s. Anderson died in Albuquerque, leaving a legacy as a reformer who never abandoned his ideals as a businessman or politician.

Further Reading: Clinton P. Anderson, *Outsider in the Senate: Senator Clinton Anderson's Memoirs*, 1970; Clinton P. Anderson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; James L. Forsythe, "Clinton P. Anderson:

Politician and Business Man as Truman's Secretary of Agriculture," PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1970.

LEONARD SCHLUP

ANDERSON, MARIAN (February 17, 1897–April 8, 1993), contralto opera singer. When famed conductor Arturo Toscanini heard Marian Anderson sing in the 1930s, he exclaimed that her voice was a once-in-a-hundred years phenomenon. At this time, she was just beginning a distinguished international musical career.

Anderson was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to African Americans John Berkeley and Ann Anderson, both common laborers. Her father scrimped to purchase a piano for the family. Marian soon was able to accompany herself. Her vocal debut came at age six at Philadelphia's Union Baptist Church as a choir member. Soon she was singing solos. With the church's financial help, she studied with renowned voice teacher Giuseppi Boghetti, the first in a long international list of vocal instructors. She won the National Association of Negro Musicians competition in 1921, resulting in her public debut in 1924 at New York City's Town Hall. A year later she won the National Music League Award and a solo appearance with the New York Philharmonic. Then her career truly blossomed. She sang classical music and African American spirituals in concerts all over the world.

Because of her fame, it came as a shock in 1939 when the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) denied Anderson permission to perform at Constitution Hall in Washington, DC. Among many Americans outraged over such racial prejudice was Eleanor Roosevelt. The first lady consequently invited Anderson to sing at the Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday, 1939. This concert expanded Anderson's fame and opened the door for other black performers in the 1940s. In 1941, Philadelphia honored her with the Bok Award, and she used that \$10,000 purse to establish the Marian Anderson Award for musical education of needy students. Between 1941 and 1946, while World War II was raging, a poll by the magazine *Musical America* named her each year the most important female

singer on radio. In 1944, she broke the attendance record at the Hollywood Bowl.

During the 1950s, Anderson became the first African American to perform at New York's Metropolitan Opera House, was a delegate to the United Nations, and sang the national anthem at President Eisenhower's second inauguration. Her career closed with a final tour in 1964, beginning at Constitution Hall and ending with a farewell recital at Carnegie Hall in 1965.

Anderson lived into her mid-nineties, residing most of her later years in Danbury, Connecticut, but dying in Portland, Oregon.

Further Reading: Marian Anderson, *My Lord, What a Morning: An Autobiography*, 1956; Allan Keiler, *Marian Anderson, A Singer's Journey*, 2000; Charles Patterson, *Marian Anderson*, 2000.

JEANNE A. MARSZALEK

ANDREWS SISTERS, singers. Laverne (July 6, 1911–May 8, 1967), Maxene (July 3, 1916–October 21, 1995), and Patty (February 16, 1918–). All three were born in Minneapolis, Minnesota. They spent much of their early childhood singing and entertaining themselves around the family piano. By 1931, they began touring with the Larry Rich Band and they continued to tour with other groups throughout the 1930s. Their first recording of "Bei Mir Bist Du Schon" in 1937 made them successful artists. They began performing on several radio shows, and they were the first female group to have a gold record. By 1940, they had several hit records to their credit and they started appearing in films. During World War II, they volunteered their time to perform in United Service Organization (USO) shows and they were featured in several patriotic movies to help the war effort. Their music was upbeat and happy when the battlefield often brought grim news. Their distinctive three-part harmonies became engrained in the World War II era. As a result of their international tours, they became the most popular female singing act in the show business world. Their wide appeal covered numerous musical styles—the big band sound, jazz, polkas, and ethnic melodies. Three of their biggest hits during the 1940s were "Chatanooga Choo Choo" (1941), "Boogie

Woogie Bugle Boy” (1941), and “Accentuate the Positive” (1945). Laverne died in Brentwood, California, and Maxene passed away in Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

Further Reading: Lee B. Cooper, “Examining the Audio Images of War: Lyrical Perspectives on America’s Major Military Crusades, 1914–1991,” *International Journal of Instructional Media* 19 (1992): 277–288; John Sforza, *Swing It: The Andrews Sisters Story*, 2000.

MARK E. ELLIS

ANTIMISCEGENATION LAWS While fears about race mixture and the sexuality of people of color date back to colonization and slavery, the term *miscegenation* finds its origins in 1863. It appears in a pamphlet titled *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro*. The tract argued for societal interbreeding until races were indistinguishably mixed as a solution to America’s race problem. While initially attributed to the Republican Party, the pamphlet was actually written by members of the Democratic Party in an attempt to discredit Republicans, Lincoln, and the abolition movement. This initial moment is telling in that questions about miscegenation have always sat closely to politics and the ideologies of white supremacy.

Immediately after the Civil War, citizenry throughout the nation put the ideological opposition to and white hegemonic contempt for miscegenation into legal practice. Statutes outlawed sex and marriage between whites and those of “swarthy complexion.” Despite assumptions that antimiscegenation laws were directed at blacks, states and their citizenry were equally concerned with sexual contact between whites and other people of color. In fact, both California and Washington enacted antimiscegenation laws that specifically prevented Asians from marrying whites. In all, thirty states passed antimiscegenation laws, which remained on the books until after the 1940s.

World War II put race-mixture and miscegenation laws into question. As Adolf Hitler and the Nazi movement harped upon their efforts to secure a pure Aryan race at the expense of millions of lives, America’s promulgation of similar ideologies necessitated evaluation. Moreover,

the war provided increased leverage for civil rights organizations challenging all forms of segregation. America fought to rid itself of those glaring inconsistencies, even as its citizenry resisted change, leaving the question surrounding miscegenation laws in perpetual uncertainty.

Beyond the ideological flux induced by World War II, America’s participation in a battle to secure “four freedoms” resulted in a series of demographic shifts. The number of black soldiers who wedded women overseas and fathered children reflected a further challenge to antimiscegenation laws. The federal government passed the GI Finances Act and War Brides Act, both of which indirectly undermined antimiscegenation statutes. While usually affecting white women and children, these legal shifts sanctioned marriages between white soldiers and Asian women, allowing entry of Asians into the United States beyond immigration quotas. In 1947, the federal government took a more explicit stance concerning white-Japanese marriages, requiring that couples undergo rigorous background checks, and forbade marriages between Americans and “bar women.”

The 1940s ended with a significant challenge to America’s ban on interracial sexuality and marriages. Given that since 1887 no state had repealed a single statute outlawing miscegenation, while many others enacted Jim Crow marriage laws, litigation reflected a significant (albeit symbolic) departure in national and state policy. *Perez v. Sharp* (1948) set in motion a wave of court cases, culminating with *Loving v. Virginia* (1967), in which the plaintiffs battled racist ideology by questioning the constitutionality of antimiscegenation laws.

Andrea Perez and Sylvester Davis applied for a marriage license from the Los Angeles clerk shortly after the end of the war. Since they identified her as white and him as black on the application, the clerk refused to issue them a license, citing a 1945 California law signed by Earl Warren. Believing the statute and the clerk’s actions to be in violation of their constitutional rights, the couple filed suit.

The California Supreme Court barely agreed with the plaintiffs, voting four to three in favor of the petitioners, conceding that antimiscegenation

laws violated the First Amendment. The statute prevented Perez and Davis from freely exercising their religion. Justice Roger Traynor wrote, in the majority opinion, that antiscegenation laws prevented free marriage, “a fundamental right” that must never be impinged upon “except for an important social objective and by reasonable means.” More importantly, he wrote that any enactment of “race restrictions must be viewed with great suspicions.” While the ruling did not immediately compel other states to overturn antiscegenation statutes or drastically alter public opinion, this decision opened a shifting era of American race relations.

The 1940s thus represented a decade of contestation and contradiction, when steps to eradicate antiscegenation laws met with opposition and the further enactment of antiscegenation laws throughout America.

Further Reading: John D’Emilio and Estelle Freeman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, 1998; Randall Kennedy, *Interracial Intimacies: Sex, Marriage, Identity, and Adoption*, 2003; Werner Sollors, ed., *Interracialism: Black-White Intermarriage in American History, Literature and Law*, 2000.

DAVID J. LEONARD

ANTI-SEMITISM Anti-Semitism encompasses many different facets of hatred. It can be hatred of Jewish culture, the Jewish people, the religion of Judaism, or Zionism. It can be a racial and prejudicial program created to eradicate Jews from a particular country or, as seen in the 1940s, to eliminate Jews from the face of the earth. Anti-Semitism does not constitute so much isolated incidences of hatred, but rather a systematic pattern of thought directed against the Jews. Usually Jews constitute a minority within a country, and the majority resents them. Anti-Semitism involves dehumanization, wherein Jews are treated as hated objects; their disappearance is not mourned.

Pogroms in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century were directed against Jews by private citizens and police, in an effort to run them out of the country. Laws were passed in other lands to shut Jews out of certain professions. Still other anti-Semitic behavior involved restricting

Jews to one area of a country, such as the Pale of Settlement. Jews were surrounded by the gates of ghettos or restricted to certain sides of the street, as seen in Warsaw in the 1930s and 1940s. Twentieth-century anti-Semitism has involved rumors of a “Jewish conspiracy” and of the “Jewish inventions of Capitalism and Communism.”

Although anti-Semitism has existed for many thousands of years, it was in the 1940s that a specific program was created to drive Jews out of existence. On January 20, 1942, Reinhard Heydrich, head of Nazi Germany’s Security Main Office, and Heinrich Himmler, founder and boss of the SS, Hitler’s elite fighting force, arranged the Wannsee Conference. The purpose was to create the “final solution” for the Jews held in concentration camps. Adolf Eichmann kept the meeting minutes; it was decided that gassing would be an effective means of getting rid of the “Jewish problem.” Death camps were set up between 1941 and 1944, and 5.1–5.9 million Jews were executed. Primarily, anti-Semitic propaganda had done its job in the 1930s and 1940s—non-Jews simply did not protest against Jewish mistreatment. Churches remained silent while the Nazi regime continued with its diabolic plan.

France’s Vichy government enacted in 1940 the *Statut des juifs*, which restricted Jewish participation in government, cultural affairs, medicine, and law. Anti-Semitic acts occurred daily, mainly against Jewish immigrants who had left Germany for France in the 1930s. Ironically, native-born French Jews ignored the plight of these immigrants. During the early 1940s, Vichy officials arrested and deported recent immigrants, along with French-born Jews, to the east. Most died in concentration camps. In Stalinist Russia, many attacks took place in 1942. Hitler’s mantra that “the Jews did not fight” triggered further assaults by the Soviet government and private citizens. Jewish theater was eliminated, as it was seen as a gathering place for Jewish conspirators against Stalin’s regime. Overt attacks, however, subsided in the later 1940s, as World War II ended and details of the Holocaust brought worldwide sympathy for the Jewish plight. After Israel’s creation in 1948, however, Stalin resumed the elimination of Jewish cultural icons, such as Yiddish newspapers, writers’ unions, and theaters.

In Poland, during the war, about 265,000 Jews were sent from the Warsaw Ghetto to Treblinka. The Polish army did nothing to protect Jews. Anti-Semitic attacks continued after the war through 1947, when many Jews returning to Poland to reclaim property or to open businesses were beaten and killed by snipers and gangs of thugs. Local authorities ignored the crimes. On July 6, 1946, a pogrom took place in Kielce, Poland, in which forty Jews were killed. Many of the residents of Kielce had turned in Jewish residents to Nazi authorities during the war.

In the United States, anti-Semitism rose slightly, with the advent of such groups as the Silver Shirts, the Paul Reveres, and the German-American Bund. Anti-Semitism has been a program employed by both left and right political groups in an effort to gain power in many countries.

Further Reading: Spencer Blakeslee, *The Death of American Anti-Semitism*, 2000; Gennadi Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows: Anti-Semitism in Stalin's Russia*, 1995; Meyer Weinberg, *Because They Were Jews: A History of Anti-Semitism*, 1986.

CYNTHIA A. KLIMA

ARDEN, EVE (April 30, 1912–November 12, 1990), actor. Born Eunice Guedens in Mill Valley, California, Arden was an experienced movie and stage performer before entering radio in 1945 on *The Danny Kaye Show*. Subsequently she costarred with Jack Carson on *The Sealtest Village Store*. Her movie credits in the 1940s included *Doughgirls*, *Cover Girl*, and *Mildred Pierce*. Arden's big break came when CBS president William S. Paley offered her the title role in a new comedy series called *Our Miss Brooks*, which ran from 1948 to 1957 on radio and on television from 1952 to 1956. Playing Connie Brooks, a witty Madison High School English teacher beset with humorous difficulties, Arden almost instantly became a national sensation, leading to numerous speaking engagements before educational groups across the country. The supporting cast included an irascible principal, a bashful biology teacher, an addled landlady, and a young student, Walter Denton, played by Richard Crenna. Arden, whose career spanned seven decades, died in California. She was

posthumously inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame in 1995.

Further Reading: J.G. Ellrod, *The Stars of Hollywood Remembered*, 1997; obituary in *New York Times*, November 13, 1990.

LEONARD SCHLUP

ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS During the 1940s, the Army Corps of Engineers achieved preeminence as a builder of huge dam projects on the rivers of America and as the primary construction builder for the U.S. armed forces. The 1944 Flood Control Act marked the victory of the concept of multipurpose development, which determined that all projects on the waterways would provide flood control, irrigation, water supply, hydroelectric power, and recreation. Locks, dams, and levees had been built on the Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee, and other major rivers, but the 1944 Flood Control Act created a comprehensive plan for river development. The ultimate achievement of this comprehensive plan was the Pick Sloan Plan, which authorized the Corps to build several huge dams on the Missouri River to achieve multipurpose development.

After the destroyers-for-bases agreement of 1940, the Army Chief of Staff, George C. Marshall, shifted the responsibility for military construction from the Quartermaster Corps to the Corps of Engineers. The corps built a string of air bases from Newfoundland to British Guiana. The corps was also given the task of building all air bases in the United States. After December 1941, the corps was given responsibility for buying, constructing, and maintaining army bases, training camps, munitions plants, air bases, depots, and hospitals. In the war zone, the corps prepared beaches for assault, destroyed German beach traps, and raised bridges. In friendly territory, it built an extensive system of wilderness roads in Canada, Alaska, India, and China. The corps of the 1940s had become a master builder on both land and water.

Further Reading: Barry W. Fowle, ed., *Builders and Fighters: The U.S. Army Engineers in World War II*, 1992; Jamie W. Moore and Dorothy P. Moore, *The Army Corps of Engineers and the Evolution of Federal Flood Plain Management Policy*, 1989; Todd Shallat, *Structures in the*

Stream: Water, Science, and the Rise of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1994.

NORMAN E. FRY

ART American art in the 1940s was bewilderingly diverse. At one extreme stood Norman Rockwell, whose paintings, simple in content and message, made few demands. He was the decade's iconographer, his art shorthand for a land of idyllic memory. Crowding his canvases were the desiderata of American mythology: small towns, baseball games, and pious churchgoers. Their use paralleled William Faulkner's literary technique, but abandoned the complexity and moral ambiguity that Faulkner found inherently human. Rockwell's realism in form obscured realism in content and veered toward propaganda, yet he was the decade's most popular painter. That the public greeted him as an artist was enough to define him as such, despite his paintings' tendency toward trite expressions of patriotism.

At the other extreme were, to retain the metaphor, the iconoclasts, artists whose work philistines condemned as incomprehensible and decadent. In 1952, well after the movement was under way, cultural critic Harold Rosenberg dubbed it abstract expressionism, but labeling art is easier than understanding it. Difficulty lies partly in the temptation to see this art as an offshoot of the European tradition. True, abstract expressionism derived from abstract art, but Jackson Pollock, among others, rejected this tradition. He thought cubism's geometrical form and clean lines too cerebral and stylized, and surrealism a dead end.

Pollock drew inspiration and extracted meaning from literature and from psychologists Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung (particularly the latter's notion of archetypes). Art derived from the primal psyche that all humans shared; the same polyglot of symbols gave art its universality. Pollock believed his task as artist was to lay bare the psyche in what his mentor, Thomas Hart Benson, had called a series of "controlled accidents." To achieve this quality, Pollock splattered and dripped paint on the canvas.

Yet not all contemporaneous artists shared Pollock's rejection of cubism and surrealism. Clarity of line and form remained central to the

art of Armenian immigrant Arshile Gorky. He was part of a European migration that enriched American art in the 1940s, just as European scientists enriched American physics, chemistry, and biology. Gorky's 1941 *Garden of Sockis* synthesized cubism, with shapes and colors in homage to Pablo Picasso, and surrealism, with a dreamlike quality that Salvador Dali captured in *The Persistence of Memory*. The intensity of primary colors in Gorky's 1944 *The Liver Is the Cock's Comb* surpassed anything the cubists and surrealists had dared. A vertical gash of yellow rends the left third of the painting from the other two-thirds. The painting bleeds red, blue, green, orange, and yellow on both sides of the divide. So intense are the colors that they strike one as proxy for emotions, giving Gorky's art a pathos that transcended works of Rockwell and Pollock.

No less influential an abstract expressionist was Dutch immigrant Willem de Kooning. His *Queen of Hearts*, painted between 1943 and 1946, arrests the observer with its subtlety as much as Rockwell's work does with its crude nationalism. The enigmatic woman in *Queen of Hearts*, perhaps the Virgin Mary, occupies the center as does Mary in European and Byzantine paintings. Yet the infant Jesus is absent. Perhaps she is Mary after the Crucifixion, for she looks older and more troubled than one would expect were she the archetypal Mary with child. Perhaps she is the Mary who came after German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche proclaimed the death of God. *Queen of Hearts* draws the observer far from the unreflective piety of Rockwell. In its inscrutability, the painting is a religious experience deeper than Rockwell could plumb, for who can understand faith?

Abstract expressionism drew its richness of content from literature, psychology, and religion. The movement catapulted American art to international renown in the 1940s much as the Manhattan Project elevated the status of domestic physics.

Further Reading: David Anfam, *Abstract Expressionism*, 1990; Wayne Craven, *American Art: History and Culture*, 1994; Irving Sandler, *The Triumph of American Painting: A History of Abstract Expressionism*, 1982.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

ARVEY, JACOB M. (November 3, 1895–August 25, 1977), Chicago Democratic politician. Jacob M. Arvey was born in Chicago, attended Crane High School, and obtained a law degree from John Marshall Law School. He gained fame as the Democratic alderman in the Jewish twenty-fourth ward, which repeatedly returned nine-to-one majorities for Democrats. By 1941, he had become such a force in the organization that journalists often referred to the “Kelly-Nash-Arvey machine.” Arvey’s name also became synonymous with the graft and corruption of Chicago’s Democratic Party.

After serving in the army, Lt. Colonel Arvey returned to Chicago, where Mayor Ed Kelly appointed him to the Park District Board, a notorious party pork barrel. It seemed that Arvey had come back to Chicago as a typical machine politician, but the 1946 general election brought defeat for local Democrats. This convinced Arvey that the party had to advocate reform. Late in 1946, he persuaded Mayor Kelly not to seek a fifth term and backed a local businessman and reform candidate, Martin Kennelly. Kennelly won the mayor’s race in 1947, and Arvey got the credit as the savior of the machine.

Arvey reprised his role in the state elections of 1948. That year he backed Paul Douglas, a University of Chicago economics professor and an antimachine Chicago alderman, for the Senate. Arvey also supported Adlai Stevenson, an attorney with a reputation above reproach, for the governorship. Stevenson and Douglas won their respective seats in landslides, and once again Arvey received party credit. Remarkably, his move to dump the party’s presidential candidate, Harry Truman, in favor of Dwight Eisenhower, did not hurt Arvey.

Within two years, Arvey lost his position as party tactician. The off-year election in 1950 brought another bad year for Chicago Democrats. Corruption charges against the candidate for sheriff hurt the party and cost the seat of Senate Democratic leader Scott Lucas. Arvey, taking the blame for the poor showing, resigned his chairmanship. A new party leader, Richard J. Daley, consolidated his power as both mayor of Chicago and chairman of the Cook County

Democratic Party, forcing Arvey out of the circle of power. He died in Chicago.

Further Reading: Jacob M. Arvey Papers, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois; Charles B. Cleveland, “Col. Jack Arvey: A Master Politician for the Democratic Party,” *Illinois Issues* 3, no. 11 (1977): 34; Milton L. Rakove, *We Don’t Want Nobody Sent*, 1979.

NORMAN E. FRY

ASTRONOMY Astronomers and engineers grappled in the 1940s with the immensity and evolution of the universe. In Chicago, radio engineer Grote Reber, building on the work of Bell Telephone engineer Karl Jansky, confirmed that the center of the Milky Way produces radio waves. Reber identified other points in other galaxies that also produce radio waves. Radio waves were a signature of a galaxy, evidence of its existence, and Reber concluded that some radio waves emanated from galaxies not then visible to telescopes. Not only was the universe expanding, it was larger than any telescope could probe.

The universe’s enormous size had arisen from an instant of expansion. In 1948 Ukrainian-American astronomer George Gamow derived a series of equations suggesting that the initial instant of the expansion, a mere fraction of a second, had been at a velocity faster than the universe has since expanded. The initial burst was akin to an explosion—hence the name big bang to designate this theory. This expansion may continue until all matter has dissipated as energy and all energy has spread so diffusely that the temperature of the universe will approach -273 degrees Celsius, absolute zero. What began as a bang may end as a freeze.

Stars too have a beginning and end. Between 1939 and 1943 Indian-American astronomer Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar laid the foundation for the study of stellar evolution. He proposed that the aggregates of dust and gases that coalesced into stars vary in mass. The mass of a star fixes the amount of matter available for conversion into energy. Stars of different masses will differ in color, luminosity, and longevity. A single star within its lifespan will change color, luminosity, size, and energy according to the elements it burns. Early in its

life it will burn hydrogen, its lightest and most abundant element, enjoying billions of years of uniform energy. As the hydrogen begins to deplete, a star will produce an increasing proportion of energy by burning heavier elements. The amount of energy and heat will increase, swelling a star into a red giant. The heavier elements exhausted, a star will drop in temperature and collapse upon itself. Chandrasekhar posited that a star of great mass might collapse so tightly upon itself that it will form what we now call a black hole. Chandrasekhar understood from Albert Einstein's General Theory of Relativity that any mass curves space. A star of sufficient mass might upon collapse curve space into an infinite loop from which nothing, not even light, can escape—hence the name black hole. From big bang to black hole, our contemporary understanding of the universe arose in the 1940s.

Further Reading: Michael Hoskin, *The Cambridge Concise History of Astronomy*, 1999; John Lankford, *History of Astronomy: An Encyclopedia*, 1997; David Leverington, *A History of Astronomy from 1890 to the Present*, 1995.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION Congress passed and President Harry Truman signed on August 1, 1946, the Atomic Energy Act, establishing the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). Its mandate was to oversee the development of nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants. Both cause atoms to disintegrate, releasing energy from the nucleus. A nuclear weapon releases this energy in a flash—hence the explosion. A nuclear power plant releases energy at a rate sufficient to boil water. The resulting steam rushes through a chamber, where it spins a turbine, generating electricity. The U.S. Army Corp of Engineers, which had directed the Manhattan Project (the code name for the program to build an atomic bomb), passed control of the development of nuclear weapons to the AEC on December 21, 1946.

The Atomic Energy Act empowered a five-member Board of Commissioners to govern the AEC. The president appointed the five, one of

whom chaired the board. To advise Congress and the president, the act also created a Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, a Military Liaison Committee, and a General Advisory Committee. As with the Board of Commissioners, the president appointed members to the three committees.

President Harry Truman appointed attorney and former head of the Tennessee Valley Authority David E. Lilienthal, who began his duties on January 1, 1947, as the first chair of the Board of Commissioners. The other four commissioners were New England businessman Sumner T. Pike, Iowa newspaper editor William T. Waymack, Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, and physicist Robert F. Bather. The lone scientist on the board, Bather had worked on the Manhattan Project. The commissioners appointed engineer Carroll L. Wilson, a protégé of Massachusetts Institute of Technology electrical engineer Vannevar Bush, as general manager of the board.

Tension between the United States and the USSR led the AEC to give the development of nuclear weapons priority over nuclear power plants. The AEC enlarged the plutonium reactors at Hanford, Washington, and the uranium reactors at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. In April and May 1946 the AEC tested the first post-World War II uranium and plutonium bombs at Enewetak Atoll in the Pacific and began to amass an atomic arsenal.

In September 1949 the USSR detonated its first atomic bomb, leading Admiral Strauss to propose that the AEC respond to the Soviet threat by developing a hydrogen bomb. Strauss called the hydrogen bomb a “quantum leap” above a uranium or plutonium bomb, an apt phrase because a hydrogen bomb is several orders of magnitude more destructive than a uranium or plutonium bomb. On January 31, 1950, Truman ordered the AEC to develop a hydrogen bomb, a project physicists completed in 1952.

Further Reading: Barton C. Hacker, *Elements of Controversy: The Atomic Energy Commission and Radiation Safety in Nuclear Weapons Testing, 1947–1974*, 1994; Steven M. Neuse, *David E. Lilienthal: The Journey of an American Liberal*, 1996; J. Samuel Walker, *A Short History of Nuclear Regulation, 1946–1990*, 1993.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

AUSTIN, WARREN ROBINSON (November 12, 1877–December 25, 1962), United States senator and ambassador. Born in Highgate Center, Vermont, Austin received a degree from the University of Vermont in 1899. He practiced law at St. Albans and held various local offices before opening a law firm in Burlington in 1917. Austin was active in Republican Party politics, entering the United States Senate in 1931 and remaining until 1946. There he advocated individualism, conservatism, frugality, and small government. He considered President Franklin D. Roosevelt's use of executive power during the Great Depression excessive. Austin did not, however, share his party's isolationist position, preferring instead limited internationalism and flexibility in foreign policy. In the 1940s he argued for foreign economic aid, postwar cooperation among countries, and the United Nations (UN), thereby losing some Republican support but gaining valuable Democratic allies. To promote bipartisan acceptance of the UN, Truman named Austin the country's first ambassador to the UN on June 5, 1946. Austin remained in that capacity until his retirement in 1953. Idealism and universalism became his trademarks in the late 1940s, and he wholeheartedly believed that the UN would be a vital force for world peace under America's leadership. Austin was the most prominent Republican in the Democratic administration. He died at home in Burlington.

Further Reading: Warren R. Austin Papers, Bailey Library, University of Vermont, Burlington; obituary in Burlington *Free Press*, December 26, 1962; George T. Mazuzan, *Warren R. Austin at the UN, 1946–1953*, 1977.

LEONARD SCHLUP

AUTOMOBILES During the 1940s, American automobiles with envelope bodies became longer, lower, and wider. They had flowing fenders and broad expanses of glass. This age was filled with memorable models. The brightest star was the magnificent Lincoln Continental. Also noteworthy were the sleek 1940 Mercury and Ford Deluxe, the Packard Clipper of 1941, the 1946 DeSoto, the Studebaker of 1947, the aerodynamic Nash Airflyte of 1948, and the 1949 Buick Roadmaster.

Several characteristics marked this era of automobiles. First, General Motors set many trends throughout the 1940s. Second, the debut of the modern V8 engine constituted a significant engineering development, led by Cadillac and Oldsmobile in 1949. Third, cars were built with integrity; they ran tirelessly on oversized engines, sipped little gasoline, and exhibited longevity. Raw materials went into them in quantities that would be economically unfeasible in the early twenty-first century. Fourth, assembly of the American Bantam, Hupmobile, and Graham ceased before the war. Fifth, the Tucker, which bristled with aircraft technology and safety features, represented the best-known auto failure during the decade. Sixth, in most years, best-selling cars were Chevrolet, Ford, and Plymouth; Crosley and Willys-Overland usually ranked last. Seventh, other cars of the 1940s included Chrysler, Dodge, Frazer, Hudson, Kaiser, La Salle, and Pontiac.

Buick was usually fourth in the industry. It built only 2,482 cars in the last months of 1945 but drove more than 150,000 off the assembly line the next year. Its Super model proved to be the best selling. Harley Earl masterminded creative Buick styles of the 1940s. The most important news in 1948 was Dynaflo, Buick's excellent automatic transmission. The price range that year was between \$1,735 and \$3,433, a rise from the 1940 figures of \$895 and \$2,199. In 1948 the Buick Roadmaster was raised to 150 horsepower. The following year it sported a new body design. The Roadmaster's toothy front grille, unique tail lamps, and distinctive side fender Ventiports or "port-holes" easily distinguished the handsome five-passenger car, which weighed 4,420 pounds with independent coil front suspension, cost \$3,200, and devoured its competition.

Ford's first postwar creation, also in 1949, was completely redesigned, impressing America with its fresh, streamlined styling and unique "bullet" grille. In addition, the all-new "inverted bathtub" design of the 1949 Mercury was an instant hit, a customized version of which was driven by James Dean in the movie classic *Rebel Without a Cause*.

America's love affair with the automobile in the 1940s was as evident then as today. The post-World War II boom saw Americans buying

cars in record numbers. Many of these models today bring high prices and admiration at classic car shows.

Further Reading: Mark S. Foster, *A Nation on Wheels: The Automobile Culture in America Since 1945*, 2003; Louis Weber, *Great Cars of the Forties*, 1985.

LEONARD SCHLUP

AUTRY, ORVON GENE (September 29, 1907–October 2, 1998), American singing cowboy and film star. Born on a ranch near Tioga, Texas, Autry grew up in Oklahoma. Will Rogers heard Autry play guitar and suggested that he try radio. By 1928 Autry was on KVOO-Radio as “Oklahoma’s Yodeling Cowboy.” Autry appeared in ninety-three feature films and made 635 recordings, more than half of which he either wrote or cowrote. Distributors in 1940 named Autry the fourth-largest box office attraction, and he remained the country’s first or second favorite Western film star. Movies made from his most popular records include *Back in the Saddle* (1941), *The Last Round-Up* (1947), and *The Strawberry Roan* (1947). Autry’s *Be Honest with Me* (1941) was nominated for an Academy Award. Except during the war, Autry appeared on his *Melody Ranch* radio show from 1940 until 1956. He served in the Army Air Corps, flying supplies over the famous hump (the Himalayas). After V-J Day, Autry toured with the United Service Organization (USO) and entertained the troops in the South Pacific. His “Here Comes Santa Claus” (1947), “Peter Cotton Tail” (1950), and “Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer” all went platinum, and the latter remains the second-best-selling single of all time. Autry’s television show *The Gene Autry Show* played from 1950 until 1956. He died in Studio City, California.

Further Reading: Gene Autry, *Back in the Saddle Again*, 1978; David Rothel, *The Gene Autry Book*, 1988.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

AVIATION (COMMERCIAL) Just as the steam locomotive transformed travel in the United States during the nineteenth century, the airplane duplicated the feat during the twentieth. The 1940s were a decade of expansion. Between 1940 and 1949 Pan American World Airways established

service among twenty cities, some of them in Europe and Asia. As industrialist Henry Flagler had done in 1912 with the locomotive, Pan American in 1946 set up nonstop service between New York City and Miami. The locomotive could not, however, duplicate the airplane’s ability to bridge the continents: Pan American’s 1942 round-the-world flight demonstrated that the airplane could take people and cargo anywhere. As if to underscore this point, Pan American began in 1942 the first international air cargo service. Passenger service during the 1940s was more novelty than commercial success. Four accidents and forty-three fatalities in 1947 reminded everyone of the perils of flight. In 1949 Boeing unveiled the B-377 Stratocruiser, with four 3500-horsepower engines and a cruising speed of 300 miles per hour. The four propellers could spin in reverse to aid the brakes in taxiing the plane to a stop and to back it into a hangar. But the Stratocruiser carried only sixty-one passengers and lost money that year.

By then the jet airplane had gone from conception to reality. In the 1930s German and British engineers had articulated the physics of a jet engine, which in turn borrowed the principles of combustion that physicist and inventor Robert H. Goddard had published in 1919. Goddard and the engineers who followed him focused on oxygen rather than the fuel to be ignited, because the amount of oxygen dictates the rate of combustion. Using this insight, Goddard had used liquid oxygen, which has more molecules per unit of volume than gaseous oxygen, to accelerate combustion. Liquid oxygen was expensive to produce and maintain. As a cheaper alternative, the German and British pioneers of the jet engine developed a compression chamber. Air passing through the front of the engine entered the compression chamber, which condensed the volume of gaseous oxygen. With more molecules of oxygen per unit of volume, a jet engine burned fuel at a higher rate than could a propeller-driven engine and so could reach unprecedented speeds for an airplane. A jet engine sprays fuel through the oxygen in a compression chamber. Upon ignition, the oxygen expands in volume at a sudden and exponential rate and bursts through the rear of the engine, creating thrust.

In 1935 German engineer Hans Joachim Pabst von Ohain tested the first jet engine and on October 1, 1942, aviator Robert M. Stanley made the first jet flight in the United States aboard the Bell XP-59, an experimental airplane. Like the gasoline engine, the jet engine had no immediate commercial value. On October 26, 1948, the Boeing 707-121 inaugurated the era of passenger service by jet airplane, flying eleven crewmembers and 111 passengers from New York City to Paris, retracing Charles Lindbergh's 1927 flight.

Further Reading: Nicholas Cumpsty, *Jet Propulsion: A Simple Guide to the Aerodynamics and Thermodynamic Design and Performance of the Jet*, 2003; David Donald, *The Complete Encyclopedia of World Aircraft*, 1997; Bill Gunston, *The World's Major Passenger Airliners*, 1991.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

AVIATION (MILITARY) United States air operations in the European theater involved two distinct plans: a strategic campaign against the German war economy and tactical air support for American ground troops. Army air force leaders attacked German war industries in daylight without fighter escorts, accepting a certain number of bomber losses. Army air force personnel were in charge of tactical air support.

Air operations began on July 4, 1942, when the U.S. Eighth Air Force light bombers raided Dutch airfields. The first major attack occurred on August 17, 1942, as twelve B-17s hit the marshaling yards at Rouen, France. On January 27, 1943, fifty-five bombers carried out the first air attack on Germany, striking the Wilhelmshaven naval base.

Early in the campaign against the German war economy, the Eighth Air Force failed to gain air superiority over the Nazis. The B-17 bombers suffered huge losses because short-range fighters were unable to accompany them deep into Germany. Fortunes were reversed in early February 1944 with Lieutenant General James H. Doolittle's appointment as the Eighth's new commander. He ordered new long-range escort fighters, P-51s, P-38s, and P-47s, to attack German aircraft rather than passively protect bombers. In May 1944, the Allied supreme commander,

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, permitted the bombing of oil fields that were recommended by Lieutenant General Carl A. Spaatz. The oil campaign was the finest achievement of the strategic bombing campaign. At the same time, the Eighth stepped up bombing of the German rail system with the use of incendiary devices. By late February 1945, the German rail system was destroyed, ruining the war economy.

In the Pacific theater, April 18, 1942, provided a significant psychological boost to American morale when Doolittle raided Tokyo using sixteen B-25s. In 1944 and 1945, long-range B-29 Superfortresses were used to carry out the strategic air campaign in the Pacific. In June 1944, B-29s were an integral part of Operation Matterhorn. Under the direction of Major General Curtis LeMay, the army air force conducted low-level incendiary raids at night against Japanese industrial targets. On March 9, 1945, during Operation Meetinghouse, 334 B-29s incinerated sixteen square miles of Tokyo, destroying key targets and killing 80,000 civilians. LeMay's B-29s burned out 180 square miles of sixty-seven cities and killed at least 300,000 people. In July 1945, Spaatz assumed command of the Army Strategic Air Forces in the Pacific. He had B-29s modified to carry atomic bombs. He directed the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. At war's end, LeMay insisted that his conventional bombing would have achieved victory over Japan.

Further Reading: Conrad C. Crane, *Bombs, Cities, and Civilians: American Airpower Strategy in World War II*, 1933; Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate, *The Army Air Forces in World War II*, vol. 5, 1953; Stephen McFarland and Wesley Newton, *To Command the Sky: The Battle for Air Superiority over Germany, 1942-1944*, 1991.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

"AXIS SALLY" (November 29, 1900-June 25, 1988), radio personality in Nazi Germany during World War II. She was born Mildred Gillars, in Portland, Maine, to a working-class family. Gillars wanted a stage career, but suffered from bad luck and bad choices. After she failed to gain a place on Broadway, she went to Germany. There she met Max Otto Koischwitz, a dedicated Nazi and important person in German radio. Gillars

became a star overnight, making the second-highest salary in the industry.

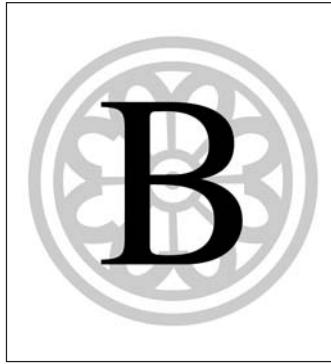
In 1942, she and Koischwitz hosted a radio show aimed at discouraging Allied troops from continuing the war. It was not successful, but the GIs enjoyed the show for the music and her voice, ignoring her message. She drifted into treason, drawn by the glamour of her job and the chance at celebrity. In 1941, Gillars took an oath of allegiance to Nazi Germany. Her Nazi stardom lasted nearly two years. Often Allied airmen listened to her until they had to go on radio silence as they approached their targets. By 1946 Koischwitz, was dead from tuberculosis. Starving and hiding from the Allied authorities, Gillars was captured.

By 1948 Gillars was on trial in the United States on ten counts of treason. Found guilty of

one, she received a sentence of ten to thirty years plus a substantial fine. Proving a model inmate, Gillars served eleven years at the Federal Reformatory for Women in Anderson, West Virginia, where Tokyo Rose also spent time. Gillars earned two college degrees, and after her conversion to Roman Catholicism and parole in 1961, she taught at a convent school. She maintained her love of drama. After her retirement, Gillars, the first American woman convicted of treason, lived a quiet life until her death in Columbus, Ohio.

Further Reading: Jules Archer, *Treason in America: Disloyalty vs. Dissent*, 1971; John C. Edwards, *Berlin Calling: American Broadcasters in the Service of Germany*, 1991; Nathaniel Weyl, *Treason: The Story of Disloyalty and Betrayal in American History*, 1946.

DONALD K. PICKENS



B-29 SUPERFORTRESS, airplane and America's most expensive weapon in World War II. The B-29s that devastated Japanese cities in the final months of World War II and delivered the atomic bombs that destroyed Hiroshima (August 6, 1945) and Nagasaki (August 9, 1945) were products of an ambitious program that manufactured nearly 4,000 bombers so advanced they incorporated technology available only on paper when the project began.

The B-29 project had political, social, and military ramifications. The war energized the American economy: factories were bustling with people back at work after the Great Depression. Although economic overheating was a threat in some parts of the United States, recovery was neither even nor universal: unemployment in some states paralleled labor shortages in others. Planners hoped that the B-29 project would absorb unemployment and produce a superweapon at the same time.

General Henry ("Hap") Arnold of the U.S. Army Air Force gave the B-29 project personal attention whenever his authority alone could cut through bureaucratic red tape or unravel an organizational knot. When the \$3 billion Superfortress undertaking came together with the \$2.5 billion Manhattan Project, doors opened and materials flowed into the B-29 plants. The giant plane was an essential ingredient in the nuclear program. Several of the Superfortresses were modified especially to carry the heavy atomic bombs.

Because production lines began before the first B-29 took to the air, design evolved as prototypes were built and flown. Engineers and pilots pinpointed problems and made design changes to correct them. Then, after Superfortresses were flown in combat, aircrews called for further alterations. Production lines changed with the designs in some plants but in others lines were fixed and finished planes were modified after completion.

Plants at Wichita, Kansas; Renton, Washington (near Seattle); Omaha, Nebraska; and

Marietta, Georgia, produced and assembled airframes. Engines were a separate project. The air-cooled duplex-piston R-3350 Cyclone engine, like the B-29 airframe, pushed the technology of the day. Problems with the engine

could not be overcome until they were discovered and analyzed, but the manufacturing facilities had to be designed and built to produce engines for the engineers to critique. Manufacturing problems were so complex and frustrating that some, like overheating, were never solved.

The B-29 project is a study in economies of scale: as more planes were produced, the cost per plane declined. The first hundred B-29s produced at Boeing's Wichita plant required on average 157,000 worker-hours each; the second hundred took 78,000 hours, the third hundred took 57,000 hours, and the average eventually fell to 30,000 hours.

Further Reading: Tom Collison, *The Superfortress Is Born: The Story of the Boeing B-29, 1945*; Jacob Vander Meulen, *Building the B-29, 1995*.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

BABY BOOM The baby boom, an increase in the United States birthrate after World War II, surprised University of Chicago sociologist William F. Ogburn who, as late as 1948, predicted that the postwar birthrate would hold constant, and with good reason: since 1800 the U.S. birthrate had held steady or declined, a phenomenon that correlated with the growth of cities and wealth. As Americans moved from farm to city during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they had neither the need nor space for large numbers of children. At the same time, notwithstanding the poverty of many Americans, net wealth increased. As income rises, people tend to have fewer children.

The inverse correlation between income (resources) and the number of children may seem counterintuitive, but it is rooted in human biology. Humans pursue a different reproductive strategy than, say, mosquitoes, which lay millions

of eggs per adult female. But humans rarely have more than one child per birth and seldom more than five or six before menopause or death. Humans have survived as a species despite this low birthrate by investing time, energy, and resources in the survival of the few children they have. As resources increase, so too does the likelihood of raising a child to maturity; hence, the birthrate declines with the rise in affluence.

Contrary to evolutionary history and much of our own history as a nation, birthrates tend to rise after a war, but never as sharply as after World War II. The birthrate leaped from 85 births per 1,000 women in 1945 to 115 per 1000 in 1947. The birthrate fell to 105 per 1,000 in 1950, only to rise again, this time steadily to 122 per 1,000 in 1957. Thereafter it fell to 85 per 1,000 in 1968. The baby boom thus had two phases: an initial spurt followed by slower growth during much of the 1950s. The falling rate after 1957 marks the end of the baby boom.

Strange as this pattern seems, it is rational. Eighty-three percent of U.S. births between 1945 and 1947 were to new mothers. An interval of consolidation followed, during which parents adjusted their time and resources to meet the new demands of parenthood before they decided whether to have a second child. That the birthrate increased slowly between 1950 and 1957 demonstrates that some parents chose not to have additional children. Those who had more than one child were influenced by the popular literature of the 1940s and 1950s, which warned that an only child, bereft of interaction with siblings, might grow into a maladjusted adult. This pressure toward plurality accounted for at least part of the increase between 1950 and 1957.

Despite the inverse correlation between wealth and birthrate, many historians attribute the baby boom to postwar prosperity. They cite the affordability of homes, food, and cars and the building of suburbs, schools, and hospitals as inducements for Americans to have more children. Were this rationale true, the United States should teem with billions of people, whereas India should be barren.

Historians also argue that the end of World War II returned America to the traditional division of labor in which the man worked and the

woman kept house. Money measured the man's success whereas the number of children measured the woman's. The cult of domesticity thus encouraged parents in general and women in particular to have children. From this perspective, procreation was an act of conformity.

Others attribute the baby boom to the postwar growth in the number of urban poor. Underemployed and undereducated, they sought social cohesion through sex. Promiscuity was a virtue for urban males; every woman was the focus of Darwinian competition between men for her affection. Men and women who could not find validation in a career found it in each other. Here, too, procreation was an act of conformity.

Further Reading: Susan B. Evans and Joan P. Avis, *The Women Who Broke All the Rules: How the Choices of a Generation Changed Our Lives*, 1999; Paul C. Light, *Baby Boomers*, 1988; Elaine T. May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, 1988.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

BALL, LUCILLE DESIREE (August 8, 1911–April 26, 1989), actor and television executive. Born in Jamestown, New York, Ball studied theater and dance in New York City. During the 1920s and 1930s, she played minor roles for various Hollywood studios and Broadway shows. In 1940, a turning point in her life, Ball portrayed a stripteaser in *Dance, Girl, and Dance* and also won a spot in the Broadway musical *Too Many Girls*. There she met Cuban musician Desi Arnaz, whom she married in November 1940.

Ball built her career during the 1940s. She played a singer in *The Big Street* (1942). She always had work, but did not fully use her skills until she won a role in the radio show *My Favorite Husband* from 1947 to 1951.

Her marriage was unhappy because of miscarriages and Arnaz's womanizing. When CBS in 1950 approached Ball about restructuring her radio show to television, she demanded that Arnaz be cast as her husband despite his ethnicity. Ball and Arnaz formed Desilu, a production company, and the comedy *I Love Lucy* opened in October 1951. No other television show ever enjoyed such viewer approval. The concept of shooting the program on film before a live audience using

three cameras was brilliant. The program ceased regular production by the end of 1957. In 1960, Ball filed for divorce because of Arnaz's alcoholism. Hailed as the queen of comedy, Ball appeared in other "Lucy" roles in the 1960s and 1970s. A shrewd businesswoman, she directed Desilu actively. She died in Los Angeles.

Further Reading: Bart Andrews and Thomas J. Watson, *Loving Lucy, Ricky and Fred and Ethel*, 1976; Charles Higham, *Lucy: The Life of Lucille Ball*, 1986; Stefan Kanfer, *Ball of Fire: The Tumultuous Life and Comic Art of Lucille Ball*, 2003.

LEONARD SCHLUP

BALLPOINT PENS The commonplace ballpoint pen was a post–World War II commercial phenomenon introduced in the United States by entrepreneur Milton Reynolds. During a business trip to Buenos Aires, Reynolds discovered the Birome ball bearing pen. While not a great success in Argentina, the Birome was popular among American flyers who encountered it during the war. The pen supposedly did not leak or smear at high altitude, nor require the frequent refilling of ink needed by fountain pens.

Attempting to corner the market, Eberhard Faber Co. bought the rights to manufacture the Birome in the United States. Working with an engineer and a lawyer, Reynolds was determined to produce a ballpoint pen different enough from the Birome to be awarded an American patent. (The ballpoint pen had been invented in 1888, but inventor John Loud never manufactured the pen and the patent lapsed.) When the Reynolds International Pen Co. succeeded in manufacturing its ballpoint pen, it beat other competitors to the market. On October 29, 1945, Gimbels department store offered the ballpoint pen for \$12.50 each and the product was an instant sensation. Within a week, Gimbels sold an astonishing 30,000 pens. Eventually, Sears Roebuck, W.T. Grant, Walgreen's, Allied Stores, and the Thrifty drug chain sold the Reynolds ballpoint pen as well.

Reynolds went to great lengths to secure his product market. He sued Eberhard Faber and Eversharp Inc., citing antitrust infringements and unfair business practices in preventing the mass

distribution of his company's pens. Counterclaims were made, but Reynolds spared no expense in national newspaper advertising. He gave cash prizes to druggists who had the best window displays of his product, and he even hired famed swimmer Esther Williams to prove that his ballpoint pen could write underwater. Reynolds's most dramatic ploy, however, was outfitting a light attack bomber dubbed the *Reynolds Bombshell* for an around-the-world flight that he and veteran flier William P. Odom completed in fewer than seventy-nine hours. Handing out 1,000 pens along the way, the Reynolds-Odom team broke Howard Hughes's standing record between April 12 and April 16, 1948. President Harry S. Truman congratulated them at the White House.

Other pen companies cashed in on the ballpoint pen bonanza. Ballpoint pen sales peaked in 1946 but then plunged due to market saturation. Inferior products, with ink that smeared and faded in sunlight, caused some schoolteachers to ban ballpoint use, and many banks refused to cash ballpoint-penned checks. In 1949, Paper Mate came on the market with a superior ink formula. Soon it was advertised with the catchphrase "bankers approve."

Further Reading: *Business Week*, "Furor Over Pens," March 2, 1946; Don Wharton, "Mighty Battle of the Pens," *Nation's Business*, November 1946; *Steven Caney's Invention Book*, 1985.

JANET BUTLER MUNCH

BARKLEY, ALBEN WILLIAM (November 24, 1877–April 30, 1956), vice president of the United States. Born in a log cabin near Wheel, Kentucky, to parents who were tenant tobacco farmers, Barkley graduated from tiny Marvin College in 1897. He pursued legal studies for one year at Emory College in Georgia, read law privately, was admitted to the Kentucky bar in 1901, and opened a law practice in Paducah. A colorful, stem-winding orator, he quickly became a star in local Democratic politics. In 1905 he was elected McCracken County prosecutor; four years later, county judge. In 1912 Barkley easily won the first of seven elections to the U.S. House of Representatives. Although unsuccessful in a bid

for Kentucky's governorship in 1923, he was elected three years later to the U.S. Senate. There he served until 1949. A consistent but not uncritical supporter of New Deal legislation, he was named Senate majority leader in 1937. Barkley's warm relationship with Franklin D. Roosevelt became strained in February 1944 when the president vetoed a tax bill, an action no previous chief executive had ever taken. In an emotional speech on the Senate floor, Barkley denounced the veto and resigned his leadership position. The following day his colleagues unanimously reelected him majority leader. The affair probably cost him the presidency; several months later the ailing Roosevelt selected another border-state senator, Harry S. Truman, as his vice presidential running mate. When the Republicans captured the Senate in 1946, Barkley continued as minority leader. Two years later he was tapped, for an unprecedented third time, to serve as keynote speaker at the Democratic National Convention. His fiery oratory stirred the delegates to demand his nomination as vice president, though he was not President Truman's first choice. In the ensuing campaign, the seventy-year-old Barkley delivered more than 200 speeches in thirty-six states. Following their stunning victory, Truman and Barkley enjoyed a close working relationship. As a token of his respect, Truman ordered the creation of a seal for the office of vice president. When he declined to seek reelection in 1952, Truman threw his personal support to Barkley. The strong opposition of organized labor, however, doomed his candidacy, and Barkley withdrew from consideration. His term at an end, he went home to Paducah but declined to retire. In 1954, he defeated John Sherman Cooper, the incumbent Republican, and returned to the U.S. Senate at age seventy-six. He served only fifteen months. At the conclusion of a speech to students at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia, he suffered a massive heart attack and died instantly.

Further Reading: Alben W. Barkley, *That Reminds Me*, 1954; Polly Ann Davis, "Alben W. Barkley: Senate Majority Leader and Vice President," PhD diss., University of Kentucky, 1963; James K. Libbey, *Dear Alben: Mr. Barkley of Kentucky*, 1979.

THOMAS H. APPLETON JR.

BARUCH, BERNARD MANNES (August 19, 1870–June 20, 1965). Born in Camden, South Carolina, Baruch enrolled at age fourteen in City College of New York in 1884 and graduated in 1889. Two years later he joined A.A. Housman and Co., a New York brokerage firm. By 1930 he had amassed a fortune through shrewd stock market investments. Baruch's fiscal and economic expertise led President Franklin Roosevelt to consult him during the Great Depression. By then Baruch had a network of business and congressional friends. He urged them and Roosevelt to mobilize industry and labor and to control prices and wages by fiat should war engulf the United States. Congress heeded this advice during World War II, though Baruch did not wield the power he had had during World War I as chairman of the War Industries Board.

In 1942 Roosevelt appointed Baruch to the Rubber Survey Committee, which sought alternate rubber sources because Japan had cut off access to Southeast Asian rubber plantations. In 1943 he was asked to outline a plan for conversion of the economy to meet postwar domestic needs.

In 1946 President Harry Truman appointed Baruch ambassador to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. In his attitude toward atomic power, Baruch is often compared to Albert Einstein. However, the comparison is misleading. True, both were Jews who abhorred the prospect of an arms race. Baruch, however, wanted the United States to continue building atomic bombs until the United National Atomic Authority gained full control of worldwide processing of uranium and other fissionable elements. Einstein, by contrast, embraced pacifism in insisting that no nation build another atomic bomb. Baruch failed to understand what was plain to Einstein: the U.S. insistence on building fission bombs in the absence of United Nations control would lead to the building of a fusion bomb, using the element hydrogen, several orders of magnitude more destructive than a fission bomb. A hydrogen bomb, Einstein believed, might extinguish terrestrial life. U.S. policy was self-fulfilling. In 1949 the United States began to build a hydrogen bomb. Baruch's desire for rapprochement with the Soviet Union came too late and only led Truman to exclude him from his inner circle.

Baruch, eager to codify his reputation for posterity, commissioned writer Margaret L. Coit to write his biography. Her study, *Mr. Baruch*, appeared in 1957, but he felt she had misjudged his importance. To correct what he regarded as errors, Baruch published two autobiographies: *Baruch: My Own Story* in 1957 and *Baruch: The Public Years* in 1960. He died in New York City.

Further Reading: Blythe F. Finke, *Bernard M. Baruch, Speculator and Statesman*, 1972; James G. Grant, *Bernard Baruch: The Adventures of a Wall Street Legend*, 1997; Jordan A. Schwarz, *The Speculator: Bernard M. Baruch in Washington, 1917–1965*, 1981.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

BASEBALL, national sport. The Great Depression disrupted major-league baseball badly. Just as the game was starting to recover, World War II compounded its miseries. In 1941, in one splendid summer between the two, however, New York Yankee Joe DiMaggio lifted the nation's spirits with his fifty-six-game hitting streak.

Even though the military draft claimed hundreds of players, the game never stopped. In January 1942 President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent baseball commissioner Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis a letter stating that baseball should continue in order to maintain American morale, but that all players of draft age should serve in the armed forces. The war took over 500 major leaguers and 3,500 minor leaguers. Old timers, youngsters, and novelties, such as the St. Louis Browns' one-armed outfielder Pete Gray, filled the depleted rosters. The war affected the Negro leagues in a similar fashion. In 1943 the lack of players led to the creation of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League.

Baseball was also confronted by wartime shortages of wood and rubber, affecting the quality of the bats and the balls. To boost morale, the owners permitted the games to be transmitted on Armed Forces Radio and allowed military personnel into the games free of charge. In addition to their other concessions, baseball stadiums sold war bonds.

After the war, star players such as Joe DiMaggio, Ted Williams, Bob Feller, and Stan Musial returned to the diamond and fans filled the bleachers. The Cardinals and Dodgers con-

tinued their domination of the National League, while the Yankees, Indians, and Red Sox led the American League. Yet baseball was in the process of dramatic changes. The death in 1945 of Judge Landis and his replacement by Albert "Happy" Chandler as commissioner changed the way that baseball was managed. No longer under the autocratic and independent power of Landis, the owners exerted more control. To increase cash flow, the owners invested heavily in marketing, and games were carried on radio and television. During the 1940s baseball became a big business conducted over a multimedia format.

Baseball changed in another significant way when Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in 1947. Since the late nineteenth century, major-league baseball had been a sport for whites only. Dodger owner Branch Rickey believed that the racial divide was unjust, but he also sensed that integration would bring in more money by appealing to African Americans. It was a tough sell; by the end of the season, only the Cleveland Indians had followed his example. By 1950, however, black players were entering the major leagues in a steady stream, and the Negro leagues were heading toward bankruptcy.

Further Reading: Red Barber, *1947: When All Hell Broke Loose in Baseball*, 1982; Jim Kaplan, *Golden Years of Baseball*, 1992; Benjamin Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 1992.

GREGORY DEHLER

BASEBALL'S NEGRO LEAGUES, all-black professional baseball leagues. The Negro leagues were not as organized as the major leagues. Schedules were erratic and it was not uncommon for teams to play 200 games a season. While many teams scheduled other Negro league teams, most of their games were barnstorming meets against other semiprofessionals, white teams, and minor leaguers. Such informality prevented accurate record keeping. The schedule could be brutal. Often Negro league teams traveled fifteen hours overnight in buses after playing a doubleheader, only to play another two games the following day. Travel was made harsher by segregation. Negro league play was very competitive, but the medical care was poor, and the emphasis was on speed.

Fifteen-man rosters did not give players much opportunity for rest. Negro league players were generally paid less than whites, although Satchel Paige was the highest-paid professional baseball player, black or white, in 1942. Negro league players were paid decently compared to other job options open to blacks at the time. Beginning in the late 1930s, Negro players unhappy with their salaries could and did jump their contracts to play in the Caribbean and Latin America, where they could receive more money. When few professional positions were available to blacks, professional baseball players had status in the African American community. The Negro leagues held a World Series, but the biggest draw of the season was an all-star matchup known as the East-West game.

World War II was good for the Negro leagues. Although many players served in the military, attendance improved dramatically over the level of the previous decade. The war brought increased employment in the black community and migration to the large cities.

Throughout the 1940s there was much discussion and several unsuccessful attempts to integrate professional baseball. The great African American stars of the 1930s and early 1940s, such as Cool Papa Bell, Satchel Paige, Josh Gibson, and Buck Leonard were all past their primes. In 1945 Jackie Robinson, an army veteran and a Negro league player, signed with the Brooklyn Dodgers' organization. After spending 1946 with a minor-league team, Robinson played with the Dodgers in 1947, breaking the color barrier. Integration of major-league baseball marked the end of the Negro leagues. Although owners had the intention of maintaining the integrity of the Negro leagues and attendance grew in 1946, the number of fans declined dramatically in 1947. The following year was worse, and the Negro National League was disbanded when several of its teams folded. The Negro American League continued with declining attendance and reduced quality of players until 1960.

Further Reading: Bruce Chadwick, *When the Game Was Black and White*, 1993; Robert Peterson, *Only the Ball Was White*, 1970; Donn Rogosin, *Invisible Men: Life in Baseball's Negro Leagues*, 1983.

GREGORY DEHLER

BASKETBALL (COLLEGE) College basketball in the 1940s mirrored the segregation in American life. Historically black colleges and universities played each other rather than white teams, and integrated teams were the exception. Universities that defied Jim Crow risked ostracism. In 1946 Duquesne University recruited Charles Cooper to its previously all-white squad. The Universities of Miami and Tennessee retaliated by refusing to play Duquesne. In 1948 the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) tried to limit its tournament to all-white teams, retreating after universities with integrated teams threatened a boycott.

Pundits cared less about race than rank during a decade when they quarreled over how to determine the best team. The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), NAIA, and National Invitation Tournament all held championships, and teams competed in bowl games as they still do in college football. Tournaments, championships, and bowl games yielded several teams each year that could claim to be the best. To sort out competing claims, the Associated Press in 1949 began to rank teams, picking the University of Kentucky as the first national champion. That year Kentucky topped the Southeastern Conference a fifth consecutive year, winning thirty-six games and losing only one. Among its wins was the NCAA championship against Oklahoma A&M. Both teams won two NCAA titles that decade, allowing each to boast that it was the best team of the 1940s.

Further Reading: Morgan G. Brenner, *College Basketball's National Championships: The Complete Record of Every Tournament Ever Played*, 1999; Mike Douchant, *Encyclopedia of College Basketball*, 1995; John D. McCallum, *College Basketball, U.S.A., Since 1892*, 1982.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

BASKETBALL (PROFESSIONAL) The 1940s witnessed the rise of professional basketball as a true national public spectacle. Previously, most professional leagues were regional in scope. A wide variety of teams and styles of play competed for public attention, including barnstorming

teams, semiprofessional organizations, amateurs, and college programs. Professional players could sometimes make a living comparable to athletes in other sports, but they changed teams frequently, and a variety of leagues rose and fell. As late as the beginning of World War II, the professional leagues could hardly compete with college ball for media attention or profits. The National Basketball League (NBL), founded in 1937, was one of the first successful professional leagues with teams from a broad region. The NBL was made up largely of teams from midwestern cities of varying size, including the Fort Wayne Zollner Pistons, Akron Goodyear Wingfoots, Oshkosh All-Stars, and Sheboygan Redskins. At first dominated by the Pistons, the NBL often adopted the more innovative college rules and styles, helping transform the professional game in the 1940s from a rough, slow, low-scoring affair to a faster, higher-scoring game in which taller players were more significant. The league faced its first major challenge when World War II drew away some of its most talented stars. Years before major league baseball allowed African American players, the Toledo Jim White Chevrolets and Chicago Studebakers dealt with the loss of key white players by integrating their teams. The NBL's greatest challenge came in the postwar years when it was forced to compete with a rival league. A group of arena owners, convinced that basketball could be a lucrative venture in large cities, met in New York City in 1946 to form the Basketball Association of America (BAA). With teams in major metropolitan areas such as New York City, Boston, Chicago, and Detroit, the BAA soon became competitive with the NBL. During the 1948–1949 season, the BAA enticed four premier teams, including the Minneapolis Lakers, to join the newer league. The Lakers had been a major force in the NBL, largely because they featured George Mikan. Tall, lanky, and wearing thick glasses, Mikan delighted crowds with his hook shots and frequent scoring from the pivot. On August 3, 1949, the NBL had little choice but to merge with the BAA to form the National Basketball Association (NBA) with seventeen teams, including the Pistons, New

York Knicks, and Mikan's Lakers. The Lakers went on to win the first NBA title.

Further Reading: Bill Bradley, *Life on the Run*, 1976; Zander Hollander, ed., *The Modern Encyclopedia of Basketball*, 1969; Robert W. Peterson, *Cages to Jump Shots: Pro Basketball's Early Years*, 1990.

WADE DAVIES

BEARD, CHARLES A. (November 27, 1874–September 1, 1948), historian and isolationist. Beard was born into a Quaker family in Knightstown, Indiana. By 1940 he was one of America's best-known historians. In *America in Mid-Passage* (1939), Beard argued his isolationist views and confidently stated that the unique continental size of the United States provided enough economic and military security to allow it to sit out Europe's fratricidal wars.

As war drew nearer, Beard grew more open and direct in his criticism of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's apparent desire to drag the United States into war. Beard thought that the president was dishonestly trying to involve the United States in the war through what Beard considered the Asian back door. Beard spoke out whenever he could at rallies, in the pages of magazines, and before congressional hearings. Beard saw the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor as evidence of Roosevelt's duplicity and was among the first to question the official interpretation of how and why the United States became involved in the war. He was deeply criticized by colleagues and former friends for his views.

Beard continued his historical writings during the war. In 1942 he wrote *The American Spirit*, an intellectual history. The following year, he published *The Republic*, a discussion of national government. In 1944 he completed his *Basic History of the United States*, a synthesis that served as a college textbook into the 1960s.

He died in New Haven, Connecticut.

Further Reading: Charles A. Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932–1940*, 1946; Charles A. Beard, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941: A Study in Appearances and Realities*, 1948; Ellen Nore, *Charles A. Beard: An Intellectual Biography*, 1983.

GREGORY DEHLER

BELL, JAMES THOMAS “COOL PAPA” (May 17, 1903–March 7, 1991), professional baseball player. Born in Starkville, Mississippi, to African American, sharecropper parents, Bell was one of eight children. Deciding at age seventeen that he did not want to pursue a similar course as his father and that he could make a better living outside the Deep South, Bell followed several of his older brothers to St. Louis, where he worked, went to school, and began playing professional baseball. Initially a pitcher with a stellar knuckleball, Bell possessed unparalleled foot speed that convinced his managers to put him in center field, where he played for virtually his entire thirty-year career. Most of his contemporaries, both black and white, identified Bell as the fastest player of the era, and his verified time of circling the bases in just over thirteen seconds is quite possibly the fastest ever recorded. While in St. Louis, Bell progressed from various semi-pro teams to an eventual spot with the St. Louis Stars of the Negro National League in 1922. It was with the Stars that Bell earned the nickname that remained his identifiable moniker for the remainder of his life—“Cool Papa”—given to him as a result of his ability to remain calm under pressure. Throughout the remainder of the 1920s and 1930s, Bell played for a number of Negro league teams, such as the Pittsburgh Crawfords and the Kansas City Monarchs, as well as a multitude of teams in Latin America. Like most Negro league players of the day, in winter Bell traveled abroad, where he earned a substantial salary for his efforts on the diamond and was able to escape much of the racism that burdened African Americans of the era. By the dawn of the 1940s, Bell had passed his peak, yet he continued to perform at an amazing level, first for the Negro leagues’ Chicago American Giants and then for the Kansas City Monarchs. Bell’s success on the diamond contributed to the Monarchs’ capturing two consecutive league championships in 1943 and 1944, before the integration of major-league baseball began sapping the quality of Negro league play. Bell remained in uniform for the Monarchs until 1950, the last several years as a player-manager for the Monarchs’ farm team, where he helped develop future major leaguers Ernie Banks and Elston Howard. Following his

retirement as a player, Bell returned to the St. Louis area and was inducted into the Major League Baseball Hall of Fame in 1974.

Further Reading: Robert Gardner, *Forgotten Players: The Story of Black Baseball in America*, 1993; Donald Honig, *Baseball: When the Grass Was Real*, 1975.

STEVE BULLOCK

BENÉT, STEPHEN VINCENT (July 28, 1898–March 13, 1943), fiction writer and poet. Born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the son of an officer, Benét spent his childhood at military bases throughout the nation. He graduated from Yale University with a BA in 1919 and an MA in 1920. After a year at the Sorbonne, he began a series of novels, including *The Beginning of Wisdom* (1920), *Young People’s Pride* (1922), *Jean Huguenot* (1923), *Spanish Bayonet* (1926), and *Jane Shore’s Daughter* (1934). Benét first gained national recognition as a poet in 1922 for his “Ballad of William Sycamore,” followed in 1925 with “The Mountain Whippoorwill.” In 1925 he received a Guggenheim Fellowship, while enabled him to write *John Brown’s Body* (1928), a long historical poem on the Civil War. *John Brown’s Body* was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for poetry in 1928, and Benét was becoming the best-known living poet in the United States. Other successes included such short stories as “Johnny Pye and the Fool-Killer” (1937), “The Devil and Daniel Webster” (1937), and “Doc Mellhorn and the Pearly Gates” (1938). During this time contemporary political themes came to the fore, all warning of fascism in Europe and the United States and celebrating Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal. Particularly telling were a number of poems describing a “nightmare” scenario, among them “Metropolitan Nightmare” (1933), “Litany for Dictatorships” (1935), “Ode to Walt Whitman” (1935), and “Ode to the Austrian Socialists” (1936). Once World War II broke out in Europe, Benét strongly favored intervention, a position reflected in his anthology *Zero Hour* (1940) and *Summons to the Free* (1941), a collection of essays. When the United States entered the war, he wrote radio scripts for the series *This Is War* and *Dear Adolf*. In 1942 he contributed a poetic drama, “They Burned the Books.” During

the same year, he offered a “Prayer for the United Nations,” read by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on a Flag Day broadcast and published posthumously as *We Stand United* (1945). At the request of the Office of War Information, he also penned *America* (1945), a short history of the United States for foreign circulation. Never in robust health, Benét died at age forty-four in New York City. At the time of his death, he was in the midst of writing a long narrative poem on American colonization. Part of his project was published after his death under the title *Western Star* (1943), a work that won Benét another Pulitzer Prize for poetry in 1944. In 1946 a series of short stories, *Last Circle*, was published.

Further Reading: Stephen Vincent Benét Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University; Charles A. Fenton, *Stephen Vincent Benét: The Life and Times of a Man of Letters, 1898–1943*, 1958.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

BENSON, EZRA TAFT (August 4, 1899–May 30, 1994), agronomist and religious leader. Benson was born in Whitney, Idaho, and at age five began helping his parents on the family farm. Only at age eight did he enter school. In 1918 he graduated from Oneida Academy, affiliated with the Mormon Church, in Preston, Idaho. In 1922 he enrolled in Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, where he was president of the Agriculture Club and Men’s Glee Club. Students voted him the most popular man on campus. In 1926 he graduated with honors with a major in animal husbandry and a minor in agronomy. The next year he received an MS in agricultural economics from Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa.

A series of positions at the University of Idaho and in the Mormon Church elevated Benson in 1939 to executive secretary of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives in Washington, DC. This position gave him access to the House and Senate Agriculture Committees, where he cemented political alliances. In 1941 President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Benson to a four-man committee to advise him about farm policy during World War II.

As a presidential adviser, Benson disagreed with the New Deal’s emphasis on federal spending

to spur economic growth. Instead, Benson proposed that Americans would be more productive with less government regulation.

His service in government did not diminish his participation in the Mormon Church. On June 30, 1940, the church appointed him first president of its Washington, DC office. On July 26, 1943, the church elevated him to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Church president Heber J. Grant ordained Benson an apostle on October 7, 1943. In December 1945 the Church appointed him its mission president to Europe. In 1946 he distributed ninety-two boxcars of food, clothes, and other supplies to Europeans displaced by World War II, and he reopened Mormon missions throughout Europe.

His humanitarianism and conservatism appealed to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who appointed Benson secretary of agriculture in 1952. In eight years as secretary he met with China’s leader in exile Chiang Kai-shek, Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev, King Hussein of Jordan, and Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion.

In 1975 Brigham Young University established the Ezra Taft Benson Agriculture and Food Institute, in tribute to its alumnus. His honors included the Bronze Wolf, the highest award from the Boy Scouts, and the Presidential Citizens Medal. On November 10, 1985, he became the thirteenth president of the Mormon Church. Benson died in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Further Reading: Sheri L. Dew, *Ezra Taft Benson: A Biography*, 1987; Francis M. Gibbons, *Ezra Taft Benson: Statesman, Patriot, Prophet of God*, 1996.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

BENTLEY, ELIZABETH (January 1, 1908–December 3, 1963), Soviet spy and informer. Elizabeth Bentley achieved national prominence with her testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948. There she outlined her involvement in an espionage network under her lover Jacob Golos, a handler of American operatives for the KGB, and earned the newspaper nickname “Red Spy Queen.” Bentley, born in Connecticut, was educated at Vassar College and studied Italian at the University of Florence,

where she supported fascism. Her faculty adviser there, Mario Casella, turned her against it, however. After her return to the United States in 1934, she joined the American League against War and Fascism, an organization supported by the American Communist Party, and subsequently entered the party itself. In 1938, Bentley began assisting Golos, who was also a party member, and worked for a KGB industrial espionage front organization, the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia. As Golos's aide and courier, Bentley dealt with operatives who were involved in espionage and appeared prominently in the Venona papers, the Soviet diplomatic traffic decoded by the United States Army Security Agency (precursor to the National Security Agency), under the cover name of GOOD GIRL or CLEVER GIRL. Bentley's espionage career was rather pedantic in contrast to the work of Golos's other spies. Her activities were limited to gaining the confidence of the Italian government, which she was able to achieve due in part to her student days in Florence, and right-wing American businessman, Richard Waldo; she passed information about his business dealings to Golos. Golos, in turn, reported to Leonid Kvasnikov and ultimately to Lieutenant General Pavel Fitin, the head of the KGB's First Directorate.

Following Golos's death in 1945, Bentley came to believe Soviet pressure had overtaxed his heart. She quarreled with Russian handlers who replaced him, made threats, then came to fear assassination by the NKGB and turned herself in to the custody of the FBI. Following her debriefing and her subsequent deposition to the House Un-American Activities Committee, which brought an obscure California congressman, Richard M. Nixon, into the national spotlight, Bentley was called to testify at the Rosenberg trial in 1950. Based on the intelligence gathered from the Venona papers, the defection of a Soviet military intelligence clerk, Igor Gouzenko, and the trial of Klaus Fuchs, the intricate spy ring led by Julius Rosenberg (code name ANTENNA/LIBERAL) had become blatantly apparent to American intelligence officials. Bentley testified and affirmed during cross-examination that Golos had spoken to a "Julius," who resided in the same neighborhood as the

Rosenbergs, and she inferred that Rosenberg was in fact a contact of Golos. Following her damning testimony during the Rosenberg trial, Bentley, an alcoholic, retreated into obscurity and died in Connecticut.

Further Reading: Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Agency, *Venona: Soviet Espionage and the American Response, 1939–1957*, 1997; National Security Agency, *VENONA Historical Monograph #3: The 1944–45 New York and Washington-Moscow KGB Messages*, monograph published online at <http://nsa.gov/docs/venona/monographs/monograph-3.html>; Kathryn S. Olmstead, *Red Spy Queen: A Biography of Elizabeth Bentley*, 2002.

O.D. "BOB" ARYANFARD

BERLIN BLOCKADE, first major Cold War confrontation. With World War II cooperation behind them, the United States and the Soviet Union vehemently disagreed on the future of their former enemy, Germany. The United States believed that a prosperous Germany was the key to an economically and politically stable Europe. In January 1948 the United States and Great Britain merged their two sections of occupied Germany into "Bizonia" as the first step toward that aim. The Soviet Union, having been attacked twice in a generation from the west, felt threatened by a strong Germany. The next stage in the Anglo-American plan was reforming the currency of Germany and attempting to win French support. The French government feared antagonizing Communists in its own country as well as arousing the concern of nationalists who, like the Soviets, were fearful of a strong Germany. On March 31, 1948, the United States announced the Marshall Plan, a massive foreign aid program to bolster the European economy, which initially invited Soviet-controlled countries to participate. This only heightened the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Soviet premier Joseph Stalin fired a warning shot in mid-June by announcing that the autobahn, the main roadway between the Western zone and West Berlin, was closed for "repairs." Not bowing to threats, on June 17 the French Chamber of Deputies voted to join the Americans and the British in merging their zones

and instituting a unified currency reform. The Soviets responded by further harassing any ground traffic between western Germany and West Berlin, such as searching all vehicles and rail cars and subjecting them to prolonged and unexplained delays. On June 23 the United States, Great Britain, and France launched their currency reform. The Soviets responded the following day by announcing a blockade of Berlin. Ostensibly, the Soviets claimed that the currency reform of the Western allies was a deliberate attempt to undermine the economy of their sector and that the only way to protect themselves was to quarantine Berlin.

The Western powers had limited options available. American military governor General Lucius Clay proposed sending an armored column through East Germany into West Berlin as a test of Soviet resolve. This idea was quickly vetoed. Considering the overwhelming Soviet superiority in conventional weapons, a military option was not realistic. As a sign of determination and as a warning to the Soviets, American atomic-capable bombers were redeployed from the United States to bases in Great Britain. With no other options open, President Harry S. Truman assented to an airlift. An airlift would directly confront the Soviets but was less likely to instigate a military response. On July 1, 1948, the first American planes took to the air, laden with food and other needed supplies for the residents of West Berlin. Stalin played a waiting game. He gambled that the West Berliners would rebel against the Western powers when they proved weak and unable to supply enough fuel and food, especially during winter. Providing food proved less burdensome compared to the demand for coal caused by the cold weather. Much to Stalin's chagrin, the American and British planes proved capable of meeting the season's fuel needs. Moreover, West Berliners, determined not to cave in to Stalin's plans, responded with one of the greatest displays of moral courage in the twentieth century. By April 1949 Allied planes were carrying 7,845 tons of supplies per day. On May 12, 1949, Stalin ended the blockade.

The blockade was the first of three great crises in Berlin during the Cold War (the other two occurred in 1961 and 1989). Not only did Stalin fail to drive the Western powers out of West

Berlin or at least get them to abandon their plan for a strong and independent Western Germany, but he also drove France closer to Great Britain and the United States. Fears of Soviet aggression led in 1949 to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Further Reading: W. Phillips Davison, *The Berlin Blockade: A Study in Cold War Politics*, 1958; Melvyn Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*, 1992; Ann and John Tusa, *The Berlin Blockade*, 1988.

GREGORY DEHLER

BETHUNE, MARY McLEOD (July 10, 1875–May 18, 1955), educator and civil rights reformer. Mary Jane McLeod was born in Maysville, South Carolina, the daughter of former slaves. She attended Scotia Seminary in North Carolina on a scholarship and was awarded a scholarship to Dwight Moody's Institute for Home and Foreign Missions in Chicago. After a year there, she was hired to teach at the Haines Institute in Augusta, Georgia. She left Georgia for Daytona, Florida, where in 1904 she started her own school with just five students, the Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute for Negro Girls. It became a high school, junior college, and, finally, in 1924, Bethune-Cookman College. Throughout the next three decades, she focused on helping blacks at the national level as a delegate and adviser to national conferences on child welfare, education, and other issues.

Bethune also helped lead many prominent black organizations. She was president of the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and in 1924 headed the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. She also founded the National Council of Negro Women in 1935 and in 1940 was elected vice president of the NAACP. In 1936 she was appointed director of Negro affairs in the National Youth Administration, making her the first black woman to hold a major U.S. government position. She served there until 1943, struggling against discrimination and attempting to improve job opportunities and living conditions for blacks.

During the war Bethune worked to desegregate the armed services. She lobbied the Department

of War in 1942 to commission black women officers in the WACs, and in 1944 she became the national commander of the Women's Army for National Defense, an all-black women's organization. In 1945, Bethune was one of the NAACP's official representatives at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, which met for postwar planning for peace. She served as a consultant on interracial affairs and understanding, the only black woman there in an official capacity. In 1949, she was awarded the Haitian Medal of Honor and Merit, the first woman to receive Haiti's highest award. Later that year, representing the federal government, she was sent to Liberia, where she received the Order of the Star of Africa. In 1951, Bethune served on President Truman's Committee of Twelve for National Defense.

She continued working with many organizations, such as the National Urban League and the Association of American Colleges until her death in Daytona Beach, Florida.

Further Reading: Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Bethune-Cookman College; Milton Metzner, *Mary McLeod Bethune: Voice of Black Hope*, 1987; Holt Rackham, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 1964.

JUDITH B. GERBER

BIDDLE, FRANCIS BEVERLY (May 9, 1886–October 4, 1968), attorney, judge, and U.S. attorney general. Biddle was born in Paris, France. He received a BA from Harvard University in 1909, and two years later an LLB from Harvard Law School. An outstanding student, he was selected to be the personal secretary of Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. during the 1911–1912 term. Holmes's influence proved seminal in shaping Biddle's legal and judicial career. After army service during World War I, Biddle became special assistant U.S. attorney for Pennsylvania's Eastern District. During the New Deal years, President Franklin Roosevelt named him chairman of the National Labor Relations Board. In 1938, Biddle helped lead a congressional committee investigating the Tennessee Valley Authority. A year later, he was appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. In 1940 Roosevelt appointed him solicitor

general of the United States. Biddle also headed the Immigration and Naturalization Service, newly reorganized and placed under the Department of Justice. He strongly defended the rights of U.S. citizens and sought to protect residents of Italian and Japanese descent. As solicitor general, Biddle argued and won fifteen cases before the Supreme Court. The cases all tested the constitutionality of New Deal legislation. The most notable, *United States v. Darby* (1941), involved the Wage and Hour Act. When attorney general Robert H. Jackson was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1941, Biddle was elevated to attorney general. He established an Interdepartmental Committee on Investigations to help ascertain a citizen's loyalty. Years later he regretted enforcement of the Smith Act of 1940 (Alien Registration Act), ultimately used to prosecute alleged Communists, and the 1942 military order relocating West Coast Japanese Americans to internment camps. When World War II ended, President Harry Truman appointed Biddle as the chief U.S. representative to the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. After the Nuremberg trials, Biddle recommended to Truman that the instigation of all aggressive wars be made a crime under international law. Biddle's years of public service ended thereafter. He chaired the Americans for Democratic Action from 1950 to 1953. In semiretirement, Biddle authored a scathing attack on McCarthyism, *The Fear of Freedom* (1951), and later a biography of his hero, *Justice Holmes, Natural Law, and the Supreme Court* (1961). Biddle died on Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

Further Reading: Francis B. Biddle, *A Casual Past*, 1961; Francis B. Biddle, *In Brief Autobiography*, 1962; Joseph F. Wall, "Francis Beverly Biddle," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, Supplement 8, 1988: 34–35.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

BIG BANG THEORY Americans were prominent among astronomers in articulating the big bang theory. Vesto M. Slipher at the Lowell Observatory in Flagstaff, Arizona, applied the concept of the Doppler effect to the light from stars in other galaxies. The Doppler effect states that the wavelength of light should compress (shorten)

when an object approaches an observer and expand (lengthen) when an object recedes from an observer. In 1912 Slipher observed that stars in other galaxies were redder than expected. Their light, he realized, had shifted toward red, that is, toward longer wavelengths. The galaxies, therefore, were receding from the Milky Way.

In 1923 Edwin Hubble, trained in astronomy and law, observed that the farther a star was from earth, the redder it appeared and thus the faster it was receding from earth. The universe was expanding, and its speed increased with time. This idea of a nonstatic universe so astonished Hubble that, as late as 1936, he still doubted his discovery. Albert Einstein likewise expressed skepticism.

If the universe were expanding in time, a hypothetical reversal of time would contract the universe until all energy and matter condensed into a single massive point. At the beginning of time the universe must have rushed forth from this point to have assumed its present state, Belgian philosopher and astronomer Georges-Henri Lemaître posited in 1927. The continuing expansion of the universe was an echo of the initial expansion.

Despite the skepticism of Hubble and Einstein, Ukrainian American astronomer George Gamow sided with Lemaître. In 1948 Gamow derived a series of equations suggesting that the initial instant of the expansion, a mere fraction of a second, had been at a velocity faster than the universe has since expanded. The initial burst was akin to an explosion—hence the name big bang to designate this theory.

The expansion of the universe remains a topic of scientific debate, with astronomers in two camps. In one are those who believe that gravity will slow and ultimately reverse the expansion, causing the universe to collapse upon itself in another massive point. This position implies that the current universe may be only one in a series of universes to have existed between an unknown number of expansions and contractions.

The second camp has in the last few years attracted the majority of astronomers. These astronomers hold that the amount of matter in the universe is too small and thus gravity too weak to slow the expansion, which will continue until all matter has dissipated as energy and all energy has spread so diffusely that the temperature of

the universe will approach -273 degrees Celsius, absolute zero. The heat of the big bang will dissipate in an eternal freeze.

Further Reading: David M. Harland, *The Big Bang: A View from the 21st Century*, 2003; Paul Parsons, *The Big Bang*, 2001; Joseph Silk, *The Big Bang*, 2001.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

BIKINI (July 5, 1946), swimsuit. In 1943 the U.S. government reduced swimsuit cloth rations by 10 percent, creating the bare midriff in American swimsuits. Four days before French fashion designer Louis Reard introduced his new “four triangles of nothing” swimsuit in Paris on July 5, 1945, the United States tested its first nuclear device on Bikini, an atoll in the Marshall Islands in the central western Pacific Ocean. Reard may have named the swimsuit after the islands or the nuclear test, because Frenchman Jacques Heim had also created a similar two-piece bathing suit he called the “Atome.” Each man claimed to have created the world’s smallest woman’s bathing suit. Indeed, Reard’s bikini was so skimpy that no Parisian model at the time would wear it and he had to hire nude dancer Micheline Bernardini to display it. Reard’s thirty square inches of material made the navel of the wearer the center of attraction. Reard insisted that a two-piece bathing suit was not a bikini unless it could be pulled through a wedding ring.

Brigitte Bardot popularized the swimsuit in France in the 1950s. American swimsuits of the era accentuated motherly aspects of the feminine form, but the sexual revolution of the 1960s changed that. American Brian Hyland immortalized the swimsuit in his song “Itsy Bitsy Teenie Weenie Yellow Polka Dot Bikini” (1960), and actresses, such as Annette Funicello, danced in bikinis in *Beach Party* (1963) and *Bikini Beach* (1964). By the 1970s string bikinis were fashionable. Wearers favored polyester fabrics, but bright, colorful, organic materials with swirled flowered prints were popular with hippies. Another favorite pattern was the American flag. Such a suit indicated the wearer was either a patriot or a subversive. Because the bikini was less popular in the 1980s, Reard closed his business in 1988.

Further Reading: Patrick Alac, *The Bikini: A Cultural History*, 2001; Harold Koda and Richard Martin, *Splash: A History of Swimwear*, 1993.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

BILBO, THEODORE GILMORE (October 13, 1877–August 21, 1947), governor, U.S. senator. Born on a farm near Poplarville, Mississippi, Bilbo attended a teachers college and Vanderbilt University without earning degrees. After teaching in Mississippi high schools, he passed the bar in 1908 and returned to his hometown to open a law practice. From 1908 to 1912, Bilbo served in the state senate, where he earned a reputation as a colorful orator and a race-baiter, defending the hill country farmers against the interests of the wealthy Delta planters. In 1910, the legislature censured and sought to expel Bilbo for taking a bribe. Claiming he had accepted the money in order to expose corruption, Bilbo retained his seat and his popularity with voters. In 1915, he was elected governor. During his first term, he worked to modernize Mississippi by creating a state highway commission and reforming the tax code. His second term was marked by scandal and mismanagement.

In 1934, Bilbo won election to the U.S. Senate as a New Deal Democrat intent on alleviating the economic hardships of his rural constituents. By the start of his second term in 1941, however, he had emerged as one of the nation's most vocal opponents to civil rights legislation. Bilbo denounced antilynching bills, filibustered anti-poll tax measures, and fought the policies of President Franklin Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Committee from 1941 to 1946. Considered a racist demagogue, Bilbo railed against blacks, Jews, Italians, Communists, and labor leaders.

Bilbo spent much of the 1940s working to restrict black suffrage in Mississippi. His racist diatribes attracted national attention during the 1946 senatorial election. According to a petition submitted to Congress, Bilbo's campaign speeches called for acts of violence against African Americans attempting to vote. Two Senate special committees investigated the election proceedings, as well as allegations that the senator had personally gained from war contracts. At the start of the Eightieth Congress in January 1947, the Senate

split over the propriety of seating Bilbo. The election case remained undecided, however, at the time of Bilbo's death in Mississippi following surgery.

Further Reading: Robert J. Bailey, "Theodore G. Bilbo and the Fair Employment Practices Controversy: A Southern Senator's Reaction to a Changing World," *Journal of Mississippi History* 42 (February 1980): 27–42; Richard C. Ethridge, "The Fall of the Man: The United States Senate's Probe of Theodore G. Bilbo in December 1946, and Its Aftermath," *Journal of Mississippi History* 38 (August 1976): 241–262; Chester M. Morgan, *Redneck Liberal: Theodore G. Bilbo and the New Deal*, 1985.

JANE M. ARMSTRONG

BIRTH CONTROL, social movement. Margaret Sanger, a pioneer in the contraception movement, coined the term *birth control* in 1921 when she established, with other women, the American Birth Control League. In 1942 the league became Planned Parenthood and later International Planned Parenthood. The title changes were indicative of a changing philosophy and degree of acceptance. Margaret Sanger provided the drama and the tactics of the early movement and until 1966 remained the recognized leader of the cause. In reality, however, the birth control movement quickly became the rallying place for all sorts and conditions of women. At first, birth control was an underground movement connected to the modernism and radicalism of New York City's Greenwich Village. Gradually, upper-class women joined the movement with their money and social connections. As respectability increased, Sanger modified her left-wing rhetoric, but she always maintained that a woman should have control over her body—first and foremost.

Chief obstacles to birth control were the Comstock Act, which prohibited sending immoral or pornographic literature through the U.S. mail, and the lack of solid scientific information. Anthony Comstock (1844–1915) was a minor federal postal inspector in New York City. He used his position to prevent even medical students from receiving anatomy textbooks. Zealously, Comstock believed that systematic suppression of such material would result in future generations that were morally pure. He ruled that birth control, in

any form, was pornography and a menace to public morals and health. In the nineteenth century, birth control existed as a dark secret for many women, married and single.

After years of agitation, the American Medical Association endorsed birth control in 1937, and by 1965 in *Griswold v. Connecticut* the Supreme Court ruled that married people could legally have access to birth control technology. Several well-to-do women financially supported the development of a birth control pill. Early in the 1960s, the pill became a reality. Scholars have disputed whether the pill caused the sexual revolution or vice versa. Possibly the sexual revolution began during the 1940s and World War II.

The larger historical significance of the birth control movement was how rapidly it became a normative part of American life. By the early 1950s, the federal government included birth control material in its foreign aid programs. Generally a more relaxed atmosphere existed regarding the entire range of sexual information and behavior. The history of the birth control movement is indicative of how quickly American normative attitudes and values can change under the presence of social opportunities and new technologies.

Further Reading: Ellen Chester, *Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America*, 1992; Linda Gordon, *The Moral Property of Women: A History of Birth Control Politics in America*, 2002; James Reed, *From Private Vice to Public Virtue: The Birth Control Movement and American Society Since 1830*, 1978.

DONALD K. PICKENS

BLACK ELK, NICHOLAS (1863–1950), Native American philosopher. The Lakota Oglala (Sioux) Black Elk was probably born in Wyoming and spent his early years in flight during armed conflicts on the northern Great Plains. There he learned his people's theology and culture through oral traditions. From 1886 to 1889, he traveled with William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West Show in the United States and England, and independently in France and Italy. Through the 1890s, he lived as a holy man but, soon after the turn of the century, converted to Catholicism and became a missionary and catechist. In 1930,

at the isolated community of Manderson on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, Black Elk shared his life story and beliefs with John Neihardt, who gave them poetic expression in the classic work *Black Elk Speaks*, first published in 1932. It contained a condensation of Lakota spiritual and philosophical traditions as expressed by a cross-cultural Lakota who, as a Catholic catechist, learned to communicate with non-Indians as well as with tribal members.

Timing was a determining factor in the evolution of Black Elk's image. With the administrative circular number 2970, dated January 3, 1934, U.S. Indian Commissioner John Collier reversed a federal policy of cultural imperialism reaching back to colonial times. He ordered that there be no interference with tribal religious practices, cultural activities, or bilingualism. For several years, experienced U.S. Indian Field Service personnel resisted the order but, by decade's end, most of them had either retired or died. Accordingly, traditional Native religious practices began to emerge from underground during the 1940s.

Author Joseph Eppes Brown located the aged Black Elk on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1947 and conducted a series of interviews. A resulting publication, *The Sacred Pipe*, again acknowledged Black Elk as a premier spokesman for traditional Lakota lifeways. Whereas *Black Elk Speaks* has been considered by many Native traditionalists to be the canon (sacred text) of Lakota spirituality and morality, Brown's *Sacred Pipe* has been perceived as the sacramentary (manual of ceremonial principles and rubrics) of the traditional Sacred Pipe religion.

The Black Elk interviews and publications are important to both Native and nonnative people who seek an understanding of indigenous beliefs and practices. As a result, these texts have generated an exhaustive list of published critiques, criticisms, and reinterpretations. Still generating interest and scholarly curiosity, Black Elk remains unchallenged as a primary voice of Native traditionalism.

Further Reading: Joseph Eppes Brown, *The Sacred Pipe*, 1953; John Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks*, 1932; Julian Rice, *Black Elk's Story: Distinguishing Its Lakota Purpose*, 1991.

CAROL GOSS HOOVER AND HERBERT T. HOOVER

BLACK, HUGO LAFAYETTE (February 27, 1886–September 25, 1971), associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Hugo L. Black was born in Harlan, Alabama. He received the LLB degree in 1906 from the University of Alabama and became a successful trial lawyer in Birmingham. In 1926 he was elected U.S. senator and was re-elected in 1932.

Senator Black, chair of the labor committee, fought corporate power and defended New Deal legislation. Franklin D. Roosevelt valued Black's investigative and political talents. On August 11, 1937, the president nominated the southern liberal Democrat to the Supreme Court.

Justice Black advocated the abolition of substantive due process. His belief was rooted in the fundamental insight that societal problems stemmed from immutable human nature; he thereby concluded that the Supreme Court had to be mindful of the needs of the disadvantaged in order to counteract the power of the privileged. His high regard for individual rights impelled him to attach the greatest importance to the U.S. Constitution.

For many decades before the Great Depression, federal courts maintained a substantive interpretation of the due process clause to protect property rights—economic rights—from state intrusion. With the advent of the New Deal, the U.S. Supreme Court between 1937 and 1947 abandoned substantive due process of law. In only one case during that period did the high tribunal rule against state legislation establishing restrictions on property rights, asserting that it ran counter to the due process or equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment.

On the First Amendment: In a concurring opinion, written by Black, he and William O. Douglas observed that compelling conscientious objectors to comply with the regulation requiring flag saluting was a device for concealed religious harassment (*West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*, 1943). Black wrote the majority opinion asserting that the provision for released-time religious teaching in the public schools of Champaign, Illinois, was unconstitutional because those tax-supported buildings were being used to disseminate religious faith (*McCullum v. Board of Education*, 1948). When

an Illinois court issued an antipicketing injunction directed against 6,000 union members engaged in peaceful picketing marred by the violent conduct of a few, Black in a dissenting opinion held the injunction to be an infringement of free speech (*Milk Wagon Drivers Union v. Meadowmoor Dairies*, 1941).

On fair trials: In a capital case in which an indigent, uneducated African American decided not to testify and faced a death sentence, the Court upheld the conviction. In what Black rated as his most important opinion, he in his dissent declared that the drafters of the Fourteenth Amendment intended to apply the Bill of Rights to the states: the incorporation principle (*Adamson v. California*, 1947).

On September 17, 1971, Black retired. He died shortly thereafter at the Bethesda Naval Medical Center in Maryland.

Further Reading: Gerald T. Dunne, *Hugo Black and the Judicial Revolution*, 1977; Roger K. Newman, *Hugo Black: A Biography*, 1994; Stephen Parks Strickland, ed., *Hugo Black and the Supreme Court: A Symposium*, 1967.

BERNARD HIRSCHHORN

BLIMPS AND AIRSHIPS Two types of craft, blimp and airship, are lighter than air. A blimp is an oblong bag containing a gas that must be lighter than both the mixture of gases in the atmosphere and the blimp's mass to achieve lift. The gas gives blimps their shape, though they cannot exceed 360 feet in length without distorting the bag's shape, undermining maneuverability and stability. An airship, by contrast, takes its shape from the rigid envelope that surrounds the bag. The envelope is akin to an insect's skeleton, which is external, in contrast to a vertebrate's internal skeleton. An external skeleton allows an airship, in theory, to be of unlimited dimension without distorting its shape.

The larger a blimp or airship, the greater its mass and the greater is the need for lift. One solution has been to use the lightest gas, hydrogen. Hydrogen has half the mass of the second lightest gas, helium, and one-sixteenth the mass of oxygen per unit of volume. In addition to lightness, hydrogen is the most abundant gas in the atmosphere and thus readily available. The

drawback is hydrogen's flammability, a risk military and civilian authorities were willing to take until the German airship *Hindenburg* exploded over Lakehurst, New Jersey, on May 16, 1937.

The United States and European nations raced to supplant hydrogen with helium. Although rare and twice the mass of hydrogen per unit of volume, helium is sufficiently nonreactive with oxygen to be nonflammable under conditions on earth. Helium burns only under the immense heat and pressure of stars, and then only by fusion. By 1940 the United States was producing more helium than all the nations of Europe combined. The use of airships divided Congress and the U.S. Navy. Fiscal conservatives in Congress, still smarting from the spending excesses of the New Deal, saw airships as a cheap coastal patrol against submarines should the United States enter World War II. Navy officers, however, had staked their careers on the aircraft carrier and foresaw its decisiveness in the Pacific theater. They ridiculed the airship as a throwback to World War I.

Congress acted cautiously, authorizing the navy in June 1940 to build forty-eight airships. The navy delayed and had only ten in operation when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941. By war's end, the navy's 167 airships had escorted 89,000 merchant ships from port without the loss of a single air- or merchant ship. Contrary to the expectations of navy experts, the airship contributed more to the U.S. victory in World War II than it had in World War I. Yet the navy had been right: the airship contributed on the margin. The aircraft carrier decided the war in the Pacific.

Further Reading: William F. Althoff, *Sky Ships: A History of Airships in the United States Navy*, 1994; Louis C. Gerken, *Airships: History and Technology*, 1990; James R. Shock, *American Airship Bases and Facilities*, 1996.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

“BOGEY AND BACALL”—HUMPHREY DeFOREST BOGART (December 25, 1899–January 14, 1957) and **LAUREN BACALL** (born Betty Joan Perske on September 16, 1924), actors. In 1944 Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall appeared together in a film for the first time. The result was one of Hollywood's most enduring

romances, and they remain a legend today. The movie, loosely based on a 1937 novel by Ernest Hemingway, was *To Have and Have Not*, producer/director Howard Hawks's wartime adventure masterpiece and escapist entertainment. It was in this film that Bacall, who played young Marie Browning, spoke those famous words to Harry “Steve” Morgan (Bogart) “You know how to whistle don't you, Steve? You just put your lips together and blow.” The film's stars, Bogey and Bacall, were both born in New York City. Bacall's unique beauty, characteristic raised eyebrow, and low, distinctive, husky voice clinched her appeal and made her irresistible before the camera. Bogart was arguably the most popular actor of the twentieth century. Bogey and Bacall starred in *The Big Sleep* (1946) with Hawks again as director and Bogart playing Philip Marlowe and Bacall performing as Vivian Rutledge. Another Warner Brothers' film was *Dark Passage* (1947) directed by Delmar Daves, in which Bogart had the role of Vincent Parry and Bacall that of Irene Jansen. Finally, in *Key Largo* (1948) directed by John Huston, Bogart assumed the character of Frank McLeod, while Bacall was Nora Temple.

The wedding of Bacall and Bogey on May 21, 1945, occurred in idyllic surroundings at Malabar Farm in Mansfield, Ohio, a home owned by Louis Bromfield, a Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist and conservationist. Twelve years later Bogart died in Hollywood. Bacall currently resides in New York City.

Further Reading: Lauren Bacall, *Lauren Bacall By Myself*, 1978; Joseph Hyams, *Bogart and Bacall: A Love Story*, 1975; Jeffrey C. Myers, *Bogart: A Life in Hollywood*, 1997.

LEONARD SCHLUP

BOWLES, CHESTER (April 5, 1901–May 25, 1986) advertiser, public official, and diplomat. Born in Springfield, Massachusetts, Bowles graduated from Yale University in 1924, worked as a reporter, and formed an advertising agency in 1929. His sale of the firm, in 1941, afforded Bowles the resources to concentrate on public affairs. That year, he was named head of Connecticut's Wartime Rationing Administration,

then the Director of Price Administration. Two years later, Bowles became general manager of the U.S. Office of Price Administration (OPA).

Bowles applied a New Dealer's activism and idealism to the OPA. The agency, created to control inflation through consumer rationing and rent and price controls, limited inflation to around 28 percent for the duration of the war, yet carried a heavy political cost. The agency's size and its intrusiveness into Americans everyday lives gave Republicans political ammunition to use against the Democrats in the 1942 and 1946 congressional elections.

Bowles played a critical role in defending the OPA in 1946 when he published a book titled *Tomorrow Without Fear*. In it, he advocated continued federal oversight over prices and wages, Keynesian economics, and social legislation to allow the bottom third of the population to participate as active consumers. Conservative opponents to Bowles and the OPA included the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. From February to July 1946, Congress and the Truman administration debated the OPA's merits and the wisdom of price controls. Delays and compromise extended the agency's life, but undermined its effectiveness, prompting a rapid rise in inflation. Bowles, angry over what he viewed as a weak defense by Truman, joined a number of disaffected liberals in a failed effort to "Stop Truman" from obtaining the 1948 Democratic presidential nomination. Ironically, Truman used Bowles's fight on behalf of the OPA in 1946 on the campaign trail as evidence that the president fought on behalf of the average consumer, thereby aiding in his upset victory.

Bowles returned to Connecticut state politics in 1946 when he lost the Democratic nomination for governor. He served briefly in several appointments at the United Nations before winning the governor's post in 1948. Unseated in 1950, he then served as U.S. ambassador to India as well as three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. He was appointed undersecretary of state for the Kennedy administration, but clashed frequently with policy hard-liners over Cuba and Vietnam. He returned to India to serve as ambassador from 1963 to 1969. Bowles published his

memoirs, *Promises to Keep: My Years in Public Life*, in 1971.

He died in Sussex, Connecticut.

Further Reading: John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 1976; Howard B. Schaffer, *Chester Bowles: New Dealer in the Cold War*, 1993; Harold G. Vatter, *U.S. Economy in World War II*, 1985.

DAVID BLANKE

BOXING During the 1940s boxing regained the popular following that had been lost with the era of Dempsey. The individual who did the most to resurrect the sport was the heavyweight champion Joe Louis, known as the "Brown Bomber." Louis held the title from 1937 to 1949, the longest of any heavyweight champion, and defended his title twenty-five times, also a heavyweight record. Louis proved that an African American boxer could attain fame in a largely white nation if he did not offend racial mores. Louis's career proved another lesson for the boxing business: a popular, talented athlete regardless of his race could make a large fortune. Louis's gross earnings during his career were over \$4,626,000.

Historically, talented boxers in the lower weights could acquire fans and make money, but during the 1940s the heavyweight division had the most fans and the largest purses. The problem for boxers in all weights, but especially in the lower weights, was that they had to fight frequently in order to make a living. It was not unusual for boxers to have more than a hundred fights during their careers. Boxers in the middleweight, welterweight, and lightweight divisions could become popular and receive substantial purses if they were entertaining and if they were involved in an intense championship rivalry. The best known such rivalry of the decade was that featuring middleweights Tony Zale and Rocky Graziano. Zale kept his championship title in the first fight, lost it in the second, and got in back in the third. The matches were bloody battles that gained both men boxing fame and a new high for indoor fight gate, \$422,918.

By the late 1940s, American boxing was on the brink of a great change. Most matches were indoors in small clubs or large stadiums, such as Madison Square Garden. Whatever the size of

the venue, the only way to make money was to get fans into the seats. When Jack Norris took over the boxing empire of promoter Mike Jacobs in 1949, he ushered in the era of televised boxing, backed by Reed Kilpatrick, chairman of the board of Madison Square Garden. Television would bring more money to boxing and greater fame for talented boxers.

Further Reading: Nat Fleischer and Sam Andre, *An Illustrated History of Boxing*, 2001; Robert A. Hartley, *History and Bibliography of Boxing Books: Collectors Guide to the History of Pugilism*, 1989; Harry Mullan, *The Illustrated History of Boxing*, 1987.

NORMAN E. FRY

BOYD, WILLIAM (June 5, 1898–September 12, 1972), movie actor, producer, and television star. Born in either Cambridge or Hendrysburg, Ohio, Boyd grew up in Tulsa, Oklahoma. In 1918 he traveled to Hollywood, California, armed only with handsome features and a photogenic physique. He surfaced as one of director Cecil B. DeMille's favorites by 1926, thereafter appearing in more than three dozen films. In 1935 Boyd began starring as Hopalong Cassidy, a strong, honest, teetotaling hero, riding a beautiful white horse, Topper. His sixty-six feature films as Hopalong constituted the longest-running Western series in Hollywood history. Boyd's distinctive touch was his black attire and silver hair. He made ten Hopalong pictures in 1941 and eight in 1943. The Hopalong movies were syndicated; in 1949 the National Broadcasting Company contracted Boyd to produce new episodes for television. The show's popularity also generated comic books, a comic strip, black cowboy clothes, and school lunch boxes, all of which made Boyd wealthy. Boyd donated part of his income to children's charities. He retired in 1953 and invested in real estate. He refused photographs or interviews in his later years, seeking to be remembered as the healthy, strong, good guy in black that he had been at the height of his career. He died in South Laguna Beach, California.

Further Reading: Archie P. McDonald, ed., *Shooting Stars: Heroes and Heroines of Western Films*, 1967; Danny Peary, *Cult Movie Stars*, 1991; obituary in *New York Times*, September 14, 1972.

LEONARD SCHLUP

BRADLEY, OMAR NELSON (February 12, 1893–April 8, 1981), general. Bradley was born in Clark, Missouri, graduated in 1915 from the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, and served in the Western theater during World War II. British prime minister Winston Churchill in 1942 shaped the strategy there, deciding to attack the Axis in North Africa and Italy, where he perceived enemy weakness.

With the British determined to hold Egypt against an assault by German field marshal Erwin Rommel, Bradley and 250,000 troops advanced from the west to capture Bizerte, Tunisia, in May 1943. Recognizing their position as untenable, the Nazis withdrew, leaving Bradley a base from which to invade Sicily. By August 1943 he had beaten the island's Italian defenders, preparing for invasion of Italy's mainland.

He would not, however, invade Italy. That September General Dwight D. Eisenhower gave Bradley command of the First Army, in London, to plan an invasion of Nazi-occupied France. In June 1944 Bradley swept across the English Channel and onto the beaches of Normandy. By August Bradley, now in command of Twelfth Army Group, reached Argentan, just north of the Orne River in France. The advance put him at risk. Had the Nazis counterattacked from the south, they might have cut off the Twelfth Army from the main U.S. force. Anticipating the danger, Bradley put most of his forces at Mortain, where they rebuffed a Nazi attack on August 13, 1944.

Bradley now wished to drive east toward Germany, but Sir Bernard Montgomery, commander of British forces in Europe, insisted on leading the main offensive east himself. Eisenhower, determined to hold together the Anglo-American coalition, acquiesced, assigning Montgomery the command. He also allowed Montgomery to detach a division from the Twelfth Army, thereby weakening Bradley. With fewer tanks and a smaller gasoline ration, Bradley accepted the consolation prize of liberating Paris on August 25, 1944.

The need to resupply slowed Bradley as it did other commanders, leaving the Nazis an opportunity to counterattack in December 1944 between Bradley in the south and Montgomery in the north. Refusing to panic, Bradley coordinated

operations with General George S. Patton until Montgomery moved south to restore communications. With that done, Bradley drove east into Germany. Assailed by Bradley and Montgomery in the west and the Soviets in the east, Germany collapsed in April 1945.

Victorious, Bradley returned to the United States and served as administrator of Veterans' Affairs from 1945 to 1947, army chief of staff between 1948 and 1949, and the first chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1949.

He died in New York City.

Further Reading: Martin Blumenson, *General Bradley's Decision at Argentan*, 1990; Omar N. Bradley and Clay Blair, *A General's Life: An Autobiography*, 1983; Russell F. Weigley, *Eisenhower's Lieutenants: The Campaign in France and Germany, 1944–1945*, 1981.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

BRETTON WOODS CONFERENCE Officially known as the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, this meeting occurred at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in the Gold Room of the luxurious Mount Washington Hotel and Resort, built for coal and railroad tycoon Joseph Stickney in 1902 and now listed on the National Register of Historic Places. From July 1–22, 1944, dignitaries representing forty-four countries, including the Soviet Union, discussed their economic problems and proposed solutions for the postwar era. Following separate plans for a world organization to stabilize international exchanges, offered by Harry D. White for the United States and John Maynard Keynes for Great Britain, the United States formally invited financial experts from various nations to iron out differences and establish a framework for economic development and stability. The Bretton Woods Conference created the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), both becoming specialized agencies of the United Nations with their headquarters in Washington, DC. The gold standard was set at \$35.00 an ounce, and the United States dollar became the backbone of international exchange. By the end of 1945, the required number of governments had ratified the treaties, and these two organizations

began operations by the summer of 1946. Although the conference's arrangements collapsed in the 1960s and 1970s, the institutions founded at Bretton Woods continue to play a role in managing the world economy today but in a vastly different way.

Further Reading: Mark Hallerberg, *Domestic Budgets in a United Europe: Fiscal Governance from the End of Bretton Woods to EMU*, 2004; Orin Kirshner and Edward M. Bernstein, *The Bretton Woods-GATT System: Retrospect and Prospect After Fifty Years*, 1995; Robert Leeson, *Ideology and International Economy: The Decline and Fall of Bretton Woods*, 2003.

LEONARD SCHLUP

BRICKER, JOHN WILLIAM (September 6, 1893–March 22, 1986), governor and U.S. senator. Born near Mount Sterling, Ohio, Bricker earned undergraduate and law degrees from Ohio State University. He began practicing law in Columbus but soon turned his attention to Republican Party politics. During the early twentieth century, Bricker was heavily influenced by the conservative consolidation of the 1920s. After holding a number of local and state government positions, he was elected attorney general of Ohio in 1932, the year of national Democratic victories. He won the governorship in the elections of 1938, 1940, and 1942. His terms were known for their efficiency, honesty, and economy, and he transformed an inherited deficit into a budget surplus. Vehemently opposed to the New Deal, Bricker warned against unbridled federal bureaucracy, contending that matters such as unemployment relief, pension systems, and minimum wage legislation should remain the domain of state governments. Bricker crusaded for GOP presidential contender Wendell L. Willkie in 1940 and wanted the nomination himself in 1944. It went to Thomas E. Dewey, however, and Bricker emerged as his vice presidential running mate. During the campaign, Bricker denounced the Democratic Party as a front not only for organized labor but also for the Communist Party. The Dewey-Bricker ticket was easily defeated by the Roosevelt-Truman team. Bricker was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1946, a year of Republican congressional victories. He remained there until

1959. Bricker supported a constitutional amendment, opposed by Presidents Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower, which would have given Congress the power to regulate executive agreements and to safeguard the United States against possible United Nations interference in America's internal affairs. The proposal would have deprived presidents of their authority and flexibility in conducting foreign policy. The Bricker amendment never became law. Bricker, called an honest Warren Harding, was neither an intellectual nor an astute legislator. He represented a pivotal state, however, a microcosm of the nation in the 1940s. Ohio was agricultural and rural, as well as industrial and urban, with strong small-town, grassroots connections. Bricker epitomized the midwestern conservative, Republican senator, caught in a transitional period and lacking the ability to comprehend the changes around him. Postwar America was different from the nation of his youth. Bricker's legacy was mostly one of failure. The strong backlash in Ohio against right-to-vote legislation in 1958 ended his career. He died in Columbus.

Further Reading: Obituary in Akron *Beacon Journal*, March 23, 1986; John W. Bricker Papers, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus; Richard O. Davies, *Defender of the Old Guard: John Bricker and American Politics*, 1993.

LEONARD SCHLUP

BRIDGES, HENRY STYLES (September 9, 1898–November 26, 1961), governor and U.S. senator. Bridges was born in West Pembroke, Maine, and earned a degree in agriculture from the University of Maine in 1918. He became the youngest governor in the nation when in 1934 he won the governorship of New Hampshire. Two years later, during the Roosevelt landslide of 1936, he was elected to the U.S. Senate. He immediately and consistently sided with the Old Guard conservative Republicans, voting against nearly all New Deal measures. Yet, surprisingly, he supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt's internationalist policies before and during World War II. Bridges sharply attacked the Yalta agreements and during the postwar years paid strict attention to national security issues. As chair of the Appropriations Committee in 1947 and 1948,

he pushed for balanced budgets. His seniority made him president pro tempore of the Senate in 1953 and 1954, during the early years of the Eisenhower administration. Far more conservative and unyielding than the Republican president, Bridges frequently clashed with his own party's leadership. Times were changing rapidly, but Bridges seemed unable to adjust to the new realities. At the time of his death in Concord, New Hampshire, he was one of the acknowledged leaders of the GOP's staunch conservative faction.

Further Reading: Henry Styles Bridges Papers, New England College Library, Henniker, New Hampshire; obituary in *New York Times*, November 27, 1961; David Reinhard, *The Republican Right Since 1945*, 1983.

LEONARD SCHLUP

BROADWAY The 1940s was an excellent decade for musicals but the overall picture was bleak. Broadway itself was deteriorating; rising real estate values, obsolete regulations, and increasing taxes combined to make live theater an unappealing business proposition. Movies continued to lure away customers and the threat of television loomed on the horizon. Seventy-two productions were mounted in the 1940–1941 season, down from 187 a decade earlier. An upturn occurred during the war itself and many brilliant new musicals would open throughout the decade—but they would not be enough to restore the street to its former glory. In 1948, theatrical power brokers convened the first general emergency meeting in Broadway history. It did not go well. Financial and managerial skills were in short supply and one observer, designer Boris Aronson, described Broadway theater as an “organized calamity.”

This was hard to take—after all, the war years had been so good. Thousands of out-of-towners, servicemen, and war-industry employees had poured into the city, flush with cash and eager to take in a few shows. Back then, an average ticket cost about five dollars, while a silk tie cost twice as much.

Warmhearted shows such as *Winged Victory*, *Harvey*, *Born Yesterday*, *My Sister Eileen*, and *Life with Father* won wide favor, as did a number of plays that grappled directly with war

themes: *The Hasty Heart* (set in a military hospital), *A Bell for Adano* (about the occupation of an enemy village), and *Mister Roberts*.

After the war, however, the crowds went home and the plays lost steam. Two major playwrights did appear in the immediate postwar era—Tennessee Williams and Arthur Miller—but each seemed to peak early. Williams exploded on the scene with *The Glass Menagerie* (1945) and *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947) and Miller became an overnight sensation with *Death of a Salesman* (1949).

While straight plays were sputtering, musicals took off dramatically. *Oklahoma!* (based on *Green Grow the Lilacs*) was an enormous hit. It opened in 1943 and established Richard Rodgers (music) and Oscar Hammerstein II (lyrics) as the top team on Broadway. *Follow the Girls* (1944), starring Jackie Gleason, was a very different kind of musical, a potpourri of nightclub comedy, burlesque, and risqué songs—much like a USO variety show. In 1945, Rodgers and Hammerstein had another success with *Carousel*, and the last half of the decade saw even more hits, such as *Annie Get Your Gun*, *Finian's Rainbow*, *Brigadoon*, and *Where's Charlie*.

The decade ended not with a bang but with two bangs: *Kiss Me, Kate* (1948) and *South Pacific* (1949). *Kate* was an ingenious reworking of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* with music and lyrics by Cole Porter (who had not had a success for so long he was considered by some to be unbankable). *South Pacific*, another smash for Rodgers and Hammerstein, was a war romance loosely based on a collection of James Michener's short stories, *Tales of the South Pacific*.

Further Reading: Abe Laufe, *Broadway's Greatest Musicals*, 1973; Mary McCarthy, *Theatre Chronicles 1937–1962*, 1963; Ethan Mordden, *Beautiful Mornin': The Broadway Musical in the 1940s*, 1999.

DAVID WEINER

BROWDER, EARL RUSSELL (May 20, 1891–June 27, 1973), American Communist Party (CPUSA) leader, innovator, and spymaster. Born amid poverty in Wichita, Kansas, Browder became undisputed CPUSA boss by 1932. Throughout the decade he linked his movement to

indigenous radical traditions and championed antifascist unity.

The Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939 helped spark World War II and ended CPUSA support of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. A mini-Red Scare swept America. In 1940 Congress passed the Voorhees Act, requiring registration by organizations having foreign ties. To avoid it, Browder took the CPUSA out of the Communist International (Comintern). The government used a passport technicality to imprison him. On June 22, 1941—mere months after he began a four-year sentence—Germany invaded the USSR. Overnight, the CPUSA became prowar. After Pearl Harbor put the United States and the Soviets on the same side, the Communists championed collective action.

In 1942 Roosevelt, unable to offer Russia a genuine second front, commuted Browder's sentence. Subsequently Browder received token audiences with Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles. The personal attention convinced Browder, who had suffered psychological damage at Atlanta Penitentiary, that he was a major political figure. The Comintern's dissolution in 1943—a Soviet sop to appease the Allies—gave Browder the illusion that he now headed an independent national Communist Party.

Browder's new importance proved intoxicating. Never modest, he quickly developed an ugly hubris. He employed his innovative skills, displayed occasionally since 1933, to claim status as a pioneering Marxist theoretician. Specifically, in 1944 he reconstituted the CPUSA as the Communist Political Association (CPA). Conceding the permanence of America's two-party system, Browder envisioned a left-wing lobbying organization. That same year he proclaimed his "Teheran Thesis," which, he believed, made him as ideologically significant as Mao Zedong. Browder announced that the Teheran Conference of 1943 foretold peaceful coexistence between world Communism and capitalism.

Back in the 1920s, the unknown Browder and other family members had begun covert Comintern activities overseas. In 1938 he secured his sister Margaret's release from Soviet secret police (NKVD, later NKGB) work. Yet Earl, his brother Bill, and other relatives continued and

expanded their sub-rosa efforts during the 1940s. Bill's Manhattan apartment hosted prominent Soviet spies, and Earl became a largely independent NKGB force in America. He used espionage information to stay more knowledgeable than intraparty rivals.

In 1945 a French Communist journal denounced Browder. Domestic followers reestablished the CPUSA and expelled him. He spent his remaining years a pariah to Marxists and target of FBI scrutiny.

Further Reading: John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America*, 1999; Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party During the Second World War*, 1982; James G. Ryan, *Earl Browder: The Failure of American Communism*, 1997.

JAMES G. RYAN

BUCK, PEARL S. (June 26, 1892–March 6, 1973), American novelist. Pearl Buck was born in Hillsboro, West Virginia, to parents who were missionaries in China. Buck wrote seventy books, all based on her early experiences and her study of the Chinese novel and all sympathetic to China and its people.

She graduated from Randolph-Macon Women's College in 1914 and took an MA at Cornell University in 1926. In 1917 she married Lossing Buck, and they lived for several years in Nanshuchou, China, the village that became the setting for many of her stories, including *The Good Earth* (1931). After she and Lossing Buck divorced in 1935, she married editor and publisher Richard Walsh. They lived at Green Hills Farm in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. In 1932, Pearl Buck received the Pulitzer Prize in fiction and the William Dean Howells Medal for fiction for *The Good Earth*, which was made into a film in 1937.

In *The Good Earth*, Wang Lung, a poor farmer, marries O-Lan, with whom he has five children. Through hard work, Wang starts to accumulate land from the Hwang family until famine reduces him to poverty and the job of a rickshaw driver. A revolution provides Wang with the opportunity to steal gold, with which he finances various land purchases until he actually

possesses the Hwang home and lands. Wang then takes a concubine, Lotus, and lives the life of the idle rich, while his sons fail to see that the family's success lies in the ownership of land.

Through Buck's works, many westerners came to a better understanding of China, and she was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1938. During the 1940s she published twenty-seven books, two plays, and two radio scripts. She and Walsh supported the Chinese in the war against the Japanese invasion by raising millions for medical relief. She was under FBI surveillance after 1938 and throughout her life. She sat on the Board of Trustees at Howard University from 1940 until 1960. In 1942, she published *Dragon Seed*, which was made into a film that year. In May 1943, she testified before the U.S. House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. In 1949, she founded Welcome House, an orphanage for Asian children fathered by American servicemen, and during the last twenty years of her life she established the Pearl S. Buck Foundation (Pearl S. Buck International today) to provide for those Asian children not adopted by American families. Buck coined the word *Amerasian*. Her liberal views brought her under attack from Senator Joseph McCarthy and other right-wing politicians after World War II. Later, Buck worked for African American civil rights, the equal rights amendment, and the nuclear test ban treaty. Her two-volume autobiography is *My Several Worlds* (1954) and *A Bridge for Passing* (1964). Rutgers University awarded Buck an honorary doctorate in 1969. In 1970, she published her last two works, *The Kennedy Women* and *China As I See It*. The same year she was elected to the Woman's National Hall of Fame. Buck died in Danby, Vermont.

Further Reading: Peter Conn, *Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography*, 1996; Cornelia Spencer, *The Exile's Daughter: A Biography of Pearl S. Buck*, 1944; Nora Stirling, *Pearl Buck: A Woman in Conflict*, 1983.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

BULGE, BATTLE OF THE, final German attack on the Western front, launched on December 16, 1944. Throughout the summer and fall of 1944, Allied forces under the command of General

Dwight Eisenhower pushed across France toward Germany. All areas, except for an eighty-five-mile sector in the Ardennes forest in Belgium, were advancing. Eighty thousand men of the U.S. First Army held the Ardennes, the weakest part of the Allied line from Switzerland to the North Sea.

Adolf Hitler, during his recovery from the failed July 20 assassination attempt, spent much time thinking about regaining the initiative in the west and taking the important port of Antwerp. He had attacked through the Ardennes with devastating effectiveness in 1940, and the weakness of the American forces defending the sector convinced him he could do it again. Whereas nearly thirty divisions in Russia would prove insignificant, they could defeat the Allies in the west. He gathered a force of over 200,000 men and 1,000 tanks under the command of Field Marshal Gerd Von Rundstedt.

On December 16, 1944, under overcast skies that canceled the Allies' air superiority, the Germans launched their attack on the Ardennes. Led by Otto Skorzeny, commandos dressed as American military police spread confusion behind Allied lines by redirecting signs, cutting telephone wires, and giving misinformation. For the Germans they held captured bridges and important intersections. The German forces were divided into three armies. On the northern flank was the Sixth SS Panzer Army. In the middle was the Fifth Panzer Army. The Seventh Army was on the south. Initially, all three armies were successful in crashing through the thinly defended American front. The northern tier was the first to slow down, far short of its prime objective, Antwerp. On December 17 the SS troops of the Sixth Panzer Army murdered unarmed American prisoners of war at Malmedy. The Seventh Army slowed to a halt next. The Fifth Army made the most dramatic advances, driving fifty miles deep, creating the "bulge," but it too was halted, by the American 101 Airborne Division at the strategic crossroads town of Bastogne. Lack of fuel added to the German woes, as they could not supply enough gasoline to drive their tanks. They had anticipated capturing American fuel depots but failed in this objective as well.

General Dwight Eisenhower rushed his reserves forward and realigned his entire front. In

the north, British field marshal Bernard Montgomery was given control of three American divisions, which, in addition to the British Thirty Corps, rested on the northern flank of the bulge. General Omar Bradley's Twelfth Army Group was reoriented to the south and positioned in the center of the bulge. General George Patton's Third Army made a ninety-degree left turn and attacked the bulge from the south. On December 20 the skies cleared and 5,000 Allied planes hunted down the German tanks. On Christmas day, American armored units broke through to the besieged garrison at Bastogne. Slowly, Allied forces rolled back the German front in the remaining days of December and the early days of January 1945. Although Hitler had issued an order in December forbidding German units from withdrawing, a Russian offensive on January 13, 1945, forced him to pull most of his remaining tanks out of the bulge and send them east. Two weeks later the Americans had restored their front of December 16, effectively ending the Battle of the Bulge.

The Battle of the Bulge was a great defeat for Germany. The Allies suffered the loss of more than 80,000 men. Germany lost over 100,000 men as casualties and prisoners, over 600 tanks, and 1,000 aircraft. The number of casualties does not tell the whole story. In gambling his reserves in the Ardennes and losing, Hitler had no strategic force to use in Germany to confront the advancing Allied armies.

Further Reading: Stephen E. Ambrose, *The Victors: Eisenhower and His Boys: The Men of World War II*, 1998; Hugh Cole, *The Ardennes: The Battle of the Bulge*, 1965; John Eisenhower, *The Bitter Woods: The Battle of the Bulge*, 1969.

GREGORY DEHLER

BUNCHE, RALPH JOHNSON (August 7, 1904–December 9, 1971), statesman. Born in Detroit, Michigan, Bunche graduated valedictorian in 1922 from Jefferson High School in Los Angeles, California. Valedictorian again in 1927, he received a BA from the University of California at Los Angeles, in 1928 an MA and in 1934 a PhD from Harvard as the university's first African American to earn a PhD in the field of

government and international relations. His dissertation won the 1934 Toppan Prize in political science.

Bunche's teaching and scholarship at Howard University gave way to government service during World War II. In 1941 he became a specialist in colonialism and race relations at the Office of the Coordinator of Information for the Armed Forces, later renamed the Office of Strategic Service. The next year he headed its Africa Section in the Research and Analysis Branch. His attempt to bring coherence to U.S. policy toward sub-Saharan Africa had little effect on an administration fixated on events in Europe and Asia and as an afterthought in North Africa, and then only because of clashes between the Allies and the Nazis. As a member of the U.S. State Department, Bunche was a delegate in 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks and in 1945 at the International Labor Conference in Philadelphia and the Constituent Assembly of the United Nations in San Francisco, where he helped draft the charter of the United Nations (UN). A member in 1945 of the Preparatory Commission and in 1946 of the U.S. delegation, Bunche attended the convocation of the UN General Assembly and was a charter member of the Committee on Palestine at a time of volatile relations between Jews and Arabs. His skill at balancing their demands and maintaining civility amid tension won him the confidence of Secretary General Trygve Lie. In May 1948 Lie dispatched Bunche to broker peace in the Arab-Israeli War. Bunche hoped to assist Sweden's Count Folke Bernadotte, but his assassination left Bunche to shoulder the load alone. By August 1949 he had crafted accords between Israel and Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. He summarized the difficulty of these negotiations in the 1949 Colgate University Lectures in Human Relations in New York.

In 1949 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People awarded Bunche the Spingarn Medal and appointed him to its board of directors. That year Harvard awarded him a Doctor of Laws, one of his more than fifty honorary degrees. In 1950 he received the Nobel Peace Prize for negotiating an armistice between Israel and its Arab neighbors. In the presentation speech, John Gunner, chair of the Nobel

Committee, praised Bunche for his "infinite patience." In 1963 President Lyndon Baines Johnson bestowed upon Bunche the Medal of Freedom. He died in New York City.

Further Reading: Ben Keppel, *The Work of Democracy: Ralph Bunche*, Kenneth B. Clark, *Lorraine Hansberry, and the Cultural Politics of Race*, 1995; Joseph D. McNair, *Ralph Bunche*, 2001; Brian Urquhart, *Ralph Bunche: An American Life*, 1998.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

BURDICK, USHER LLOYD (February 21, 1879–August 19, 1960), farmer, author, and congressman. Born in Owatonna, Minnesota, Burdick attended the State Normal School at Mayville, North Dakota, and earned a University of Minnesota law degree in 1904. Over the next three decades he practiced law, wrote numerous books and articles on Western history, and engaged in livestock breeding and farming. He also held local and state offices, including the lieutenant governorship of North Dakota. Burdick was elected in 1934 to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Republican backed by the Non-partisan League. He served until 1945 and again from 1949 until his political retirement in 1959. Known as a maverick because of his independent voting record, Burdick supported many New Deal measures, such as legislation for work relief, while opposing others, including Social Security. Before Pearl Harbor he was an isolationist, a position that reflected North Dakota's isolationist public sentiment. He opposed military conscription in 1940 and lend-lease the following year. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, he endorsed President Franklin D. Roosevelt's wartime policies and the creation of the United Nations. During the post-war era, he favored parts of President Harry Truman's Fair Deal, such as public housing and rent control, but expressed reservations concerning the administration's foreign policy. Returning to his isolationist tradition in the late 1940s, Burdick voted against the Marshall Plan and loans to Great Britain. He died in Washington, DC, leaving a son, Quentin Burdick, who inherited his father's political mantle and represented North Dakota in Congress.

Further Reading: Usher L. Burdick, *History of the Farmers' Political Action in North Dakota*, 1944; Usher L. Burdick Papers, University of North Dakota Library, Grand Forks; obituary in *New York Times*, August 20, 1960.

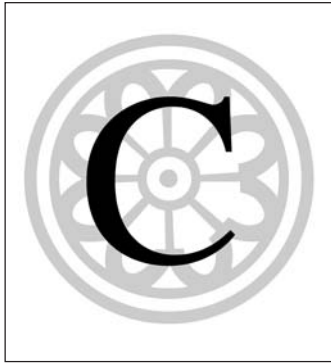
LEONARD SCHLUP

BUSH, PRESCOTT SHELDON (May 15, 1895–October 8, 1972), banker and U.S. senator. Born in Columbus, Ohio, Bush earned a BA degree from Yale College in 1917. After serving in World War I, he entered business. He joined W.A. Harriman and Co., a Wall Street banking firm, in 1926. When it merged with another financial concern, Bush emerged as a partner in the resulting Brown Brothers, Harriman and Co. He soon became involved with charitable work. During World War II, Bush headed fund-raising campaigns for the United Service Organizations and the National War Fund. He also directed the Union Banking Corporation, which was closed in 1942 under the Trading with the Enemies Act. Bush was active in town meetings at his hometown of Greenwich, Connecticut, and gradually expressed interest in Republican politics. He won election to the U.S. Senate from Connecticut in

1952 and 1956, the years of Dwight D. Eisenhower's landslide presidential victories. Bush epitomized the era's "modern Republicanism." He favored tax cuts, reduced federal expenditures, balanced budgets, flood control, urban renewal, interstate highways, civil rights legislation, and the line item veto for the president. In foreign policy throughout the 1940s and 1950s, he was an internationalist. Bush declined to seek reelection in 1963 for health reasons. He died in New York City. Although his political career was short, he left a profound political legacy for his family and nation as the founder of a political dynasty. His son, George Herbert Walker Bush, served eight years as vice president of the United States and four years as president. Prescott Bush's grandson, George Walker Bush, a governor of Texas, was elected America's president in 2000 and reelected in 2004. Another grandson, Jeb Bush, was elected governor of Florida.

Further Reading: Prescott S. Bush Papers, Department of Historical Manuscripts and Archives, University of Connecticut Library, Storrs; Joseph I. Lieberman, *The Legacy: Connecticut Politics, 1930–1980*, 1981; obituary in *New York Times*, October 9, 1972.

LEONARD SCHLUP



CAIRO CONFERENCE Also known by its code name **SEXTANT**, this 1943 meeting between President Franklin Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill in Cairo, Egypt, was divided into two sessions. The first, November 23–25, was dominated by discussion of grand strategy in the Pacific war against Japan. Chinese generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, who was also attending, made a lengthy case for an Allied amphibious operation across the Bay of Bengal to attack Japanese-occupied territories in Southeast Asia. This plan, tentatively agreed upon by the Americans and British, was ultimately abandoned. But the assembled leaders did release a public statement on war aims in the Pacific that had greater long-term significance; it included a demand for the unconditional surrender of Japan, as well as commitments to restore Manchuria and Taiwan (Formosa) to China and to grant Korea full independence. Churchill and Roosevelt, mindful of their upcoming negotiations with Stalin in Teheran, also discussed the campaign in Europe. Churchill still harbored doubts about the wisdom of a major cross-Channel invasion of France. Accordingly, he pushed for the continued primacy of the Mediterranean campaign into 1944. He received some support for this from General Eisenhower, who was at this time still supreme commander of the Anglo-American forces in North Africa and Italy. The conference temporarily adjourned from November 27 to December 2 to allow both statesmen to travel to Iran to meet with Stalin (a meeting code-named **EUREKA**); during this assembly of the so-called Big Three, Roosevelt, much to Churchill's dismay, agreed with the Soviet dictator that Operation **OVERLORD**—the D-day assault on Normandy—would be given highest priority. Upon their return to Cairo, the British and American leaders met with Turkish president Ismet İnönü in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the Ankara regime to declare war on the Axis, before finally closing the conference on December 7.

SEXTANT revealed the strengths but also the significant limitations of the Anglo-American wartime alliance. It gave the British prime minister the opportunity to cement his personal friendship with Roosevelt. Churchill, who

knew Egypt well and had first visited Cairo in the 1890s, played the role of tour guide, taking the U.S. president on a trip to the Pyramids and the Sphinx, neither of which Roosevelt had ever seen. But the inability to reach a final decision on European strategy in the absence of a Soviet representative underscored the emerging reality that it was America's relationship with the USSR, not Britain, that would shape the war's final stages.

Further Reading: Jon Meacham, *Franklin and Winston: An Intimate Portrait of an Epic Friendship*, 2003; Keith Sainsbury, *The Turning Point: Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill, and Chiang-Kai-Shek, 1943*, 1985; Steve Weiss, *Allies in Conflict: Anglo-American Strategic Negotiations, 1938–44*, 1996.

ALAN ALLPORT

CALOMIRIS, ANGELA J. (August 1, 1916–January 30, 1995), photographer, innkeeper, and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) undercover informant. Born and reared in New York City by Greek immigrant parents, Angela Calomiris studied two years at Brooklyn and Hunter Colleges and initially pursued a career in photography. In the 1930s she studied with the New York Photo League, whose members explored documentary photography as an instrument of social reform. Calomiris learned that some league members were Communists, and others sympathetic to Communist rhetoric and goals. In 1942 the FBI recruited Calomiris, explaining its concern with the Photo League's radical elements and asking her to become an FBI undercover agent within the American Communist Party. The liberal anti-Communist Calomiris agreed, and soon she began to rise within party ranks. She served undercover for seven years, focusing on party organizing and fund-raising efforts and sending the FBI reports on Communist meetings, training

seminars, literature, social gatherings, and party members' identities. She recorded that Communists taught the doctrine of inevitable revolution even as party leaders publicly denied the necessity for violent overthrow of the government. Once the Cold War had begun, Calomiris watched and described the party's reversion to an overt ideology of revolutionary class struggle. In 1949, the FBI ended her undercover work by calling her to appear in the federal government's trial of the top U.S. Communist Party leaders under the 1940 Smith Act, which outlawed advocating the overthrow of the government by force or violence. Calomiris shocked and demoralized former Communist comrades by testifying on the prosecution's behalf, revealing her seven years of deception, and claiming that American Communists clearly preached the necessity of revolution. Calomiris identified defendants by name and explained what sort of seditious plans they allegedly had taught the rank and file. It soon became clear that her reports about the Photo League were largely responsible for its demise. Leftist league founders such as famed photographer Sid Grossman endured frequent FBI harassment, and the Photo League made the attorney general's list of subversive organizations every year from 1947 until 1951, when the league was officially dissolved. Calomiris enjoyed a year or so of fame, including the publication of her memoir *Red Masquerade* (1950), before fading from the public view. Her notoriety in New York City's leftist and artistic society, however, ultimately thwarted many of her photojournalistic ambitions, and she eventually pursued careers in education and real estate. In the 1960s Calomiris settled in Provincetown, Massachusetts, where she traveled in bohemian circles and rarely admitted to her role in helping to foment the domestic Cold War and destroy the Photo League.

Calomiris died in San Miguel de Allende, Mexico.

Further Reading: Angela Calomiris, *Red Masquerade*, 1950; Anne Tucker, *The Photo League, 1936–1951*, 1987; Veronica Wilson, "Red Masquerades: Gender and Political Subversion During the Cold War, 1945–1963," PhD diss., Rutgers University, 2002.

VERONICA WILSON

CAPEHART, HOMER EARL (June 6, 1897–September 3, 1979), U.S. senator. Born in Algiers, Indiana, Capehart attended local public schools. He enlisted as an army private in 1917 and rose to sergeant during World War I. After the war, Capehart returned to Indiana, where he engaged in farming as well as the radio, phonograph, and television manufacturing businesses. He was elected as a Republican to the U.S. Senate in 1944, a year in which GOP presidential nominee Thomas E. Dewey carried the Hoosier State; Capehart served there until 1963. A conservative Republican in postwar America representing a rural, small-town constituency, Capehart, who served on the Committee on Banking and Currency, followed his party's position on domestic and international issues. He endorsed Dewey for president in 1944 and 1948 and criticized aspects of President Harry Truman's Fair Deal. Upon his retirement from politics after losing his seat in 1962 to Democrat Birch E. Bayh, Capehart resumed his farming, manufacturing, and investment pursuits. He died in Indianapolis.

Further Reading: William B. Pickett, *Homer E. Capehart: A Senator's Life, 1897–1979*, 1990; John Taylor, "Homer E. Capehart: United States Senator, 1944–1962," PhD diss., Ball State University, 1977.

LEONARD SCHLUP

CARAWAY, HATTIE WYATT (February 1, 1878–December 21, 1950), U.S. senator. Caraway was born Hattie Ophelia Wyatt in Bakerville, Tennessee. In 1896, she graduated from Dickson Normal College in Tennessee and moved to Jonesboro, Arkansas, with her husband, Thaddeus H. Caraway, who later served in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate. In 1931, Thaddeus died in office and Hattie was appointed to fill his Arkansas Senate seat temporarily. She won a special election for the remainder of the term in January 1932 and thus became the first woman to be elected to the Senate. Later that year, she surprised her fellow Democrats by running for the upcoming six-year term. Caraway won the tough primary election after Senator Huey Long joined her campaign. The controversial Louisianan made dozens of speeches on her behalf, ensuring her victory in the general election

as well as her support for his wealth redistribution proposals.

Throughout the 1930s, Caraway backed most of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal legislation, but opposed his policies on civil rights. Although she rarely spoke in debate, she participated in a filibuster against an antilynching bill in January 1938. The following November, she easily won her bid for reelection. Known as the quiet senator, she worked primarily for her constituents' agricultural interests, but broadened her focus with the onset of World War II. Caraway praised the administration's wartime foreign policy, including the lend-lease program with Great Britain. While not an affirmed feminist, in 1943 she was the first female member of Congress to cosponsor the equal rights amendment. On October 19 of that year, she became the first woman to preside over the Senate. She was also the first woman to chair a Senate committee, leading the Committee on Enrolled Bills as of 1933. In 1944, Representative J. William Fulbright defeated her in the Democratic Senate primary. Caraway remained politically active in her post-Senate career, serving on the U.S. Employee's Compensation Commission (1945–1946) and as a member of its appeals board (1946–1950). She died in Falls Church, Virginia, several months after suffering a severe stroke.

Further Reading: Diane Kincaid, ed., *Silent Hattie Speaks: The Personal Journal of Senator Hattie Caraway*, 1979; David Malone, *Hattie and Huey: An Arkansas Tour*, 1989; Stuart Towns, "A Louisiana Medicine Show: The Kingfish Elects an Arkansas Senator," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Summer 1966): 117–127.

JANE M. ARMSTRONG

CASABLANCA CONFERENCE, first Allied wartime planning session. The talks took place January 14–24, 1943, in Casablanca, Morocco. Delegations headed by U.S. president Franklin Delano Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, Vichy France general Henri Giraud, and the French Resistance leader Charles de Gaulle attended. Because the Soviet Union was facing a massive Nazi assault, Joseph Stalin chose not to leave Moscow. The symbols of unity and cooperation, as seen in the meeting of the French

leaders, belied a general lack of purpose for the conference.

For the British and French, the critical concern was in maintaining a favorable balance of power with the emerging Russian military juggernaut. A second front, for these nations, served to reinsert a potent and long-lasting military presence by British, French, and U.S. troops into Central Europe, rather than ease the short-term strains felt by the Soviets under the *Wehrmacht*. Churchill wanted the Allies to conserve their forces and limit their military agenda to lesser battles in Italy and around the Mediterranean. U.S. aims were divided at Casablanca, allowing the British to maintain control over the partnership. American general George C. Marshall favored a massive assault across the English Channel. By contrast, U.S. air commanders believed that a second front could be maintained by aerial bombing of the German mainland.

The conference resulted in several strategic decisions. The Allies renewed their commitment to winning the Battle of the Atlantic in spite of heavy losses in men, ships, and cargo. The United States pledged to honor its lend-lease commitments to the Soviet Union. The Americans were given greater latitude in their plans for fighting the war in the Pacific. More importantly, a second front was planned in Sicily, not northern France. In addition, a Combined Bomber Offensive, which called for round-the-clock attacks by American daylight precision bombing and British nighttime area bombing was initiated. The more conservative British strategy held sway.

Roosevelt's informal announcement, at the conference's conclusion, that the Allies would demand "unconditional surrender" by the Axis powers gained the most attention by the press but could hardly be seen as a success of the conference. Roosevelt felt compelled to make such a forceful statement largely because of the paucity of actual military aid being given to Soviets. Without a true second front, such promises further eroded the relationship between the United States and the ever-suspicious Stalin. Moreover, in making this ultimatum in 1943, Roosevelt limited the flexibility of military and civilian leaders at the war's end, when the United States was actually in the process of devising an end strategy.

Further Reading: Anne Armstrong, *Unconditional Surrender: The Impact of the Casablanca Policy on World War II*, 1961; Diane Marie Clyne, *The Conference at Casablanca*, 1971; David Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*, 1999.

DAVID BLANKE

CASE, FRANCIS HIGBEE (December 9, 1896–June 22, 1962), South Dakota progressive Republican senator. This Iowa native moved to South Dakota in 1909, earned a BA degree from Dakota Wesleyan University in 1918 and an MA at Northwestern University in 1922. From 1923 to 1935, he worked in the Black Hills as a journalist and served in the United States Marine Corps. In 1936, Case won election to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served the western constituency of South Dakotans until 1950. In 1951, he moved to the Senate, where he spent the remainder of his career.

The contributions he valued most, in Missouri River development and funding for roads, began during the 1940s and reached fruition after mid-century. Case teamed with South Dakota senator Karl Mundt, using congressional seniority to support major building projects. Case played a significant role in creating military facilities near Rapid City; in locating the U.S. Army Air Base in 1942 (later named Ellsworth Air Force Base); and in building a Missouri River reservoir. He worked on the Flood Control Act of 1944 and subsequently secured funding to construct five rolled earth dams along the Missouri River. He is remembered also for the completion of Mount Rushmore near Rapid City, by promoting Black Hills tourism and obtaining congressional funding, and for the construction of the intersection of Interstate Highways 29 and 90. He successfully fought to route I-29, which runs from Kansas City to Winnipeg, through the Dakotas, to the chagrin of Minnesotans. He also arranged for the preservation of deck and bridge structures from the battleship USS *South Dakota* at a museum in Sioux Falls. Not all of Case's achievements were regional. He helped realize the Washington, DC, Channel Bridge at I-395, served on the Senate District of Columbia Committee,

and supported funding the massive national Interstate Highway Act of 1956.

Through partisan persuasion, Case embraced the goals of Republicans during the post–New Deal era. While in the House of Representatives, he favored the use of federal authority to curtail the influence of labor unions and served on the House Un-American Activities Committee. In the Senate, he voted to censure Senator Joseph McCarthy yet steadfastly supported an arms race with the Soviet Union. Case died in Bethesda, Maryland.

Further Reading: Loren Carlson, “The Republican Majority: Francis Higbee Case and Karl E. Mundt,” 293–311, in Herbert T. Hoover and Larry Zimmerman, eds., *South Dakota Leaders*, 1989; Richard Chenoweth, *Francis Case: A Political Biography*, 1978; Nancy Lee Lamport, “Francis Case, His Pioneer Background, Indian Legislation and Missouri River Construction,” MA thesis, University of South Dakota, 1972.

HERBERT T. HOOVER

CATHER, WILLA (December 7, 1873–April 24, 1947), editor, teacher, writer, and literary critic. Cather was born in Winchester, Virginia. In 1883 her family moved to the frontiers of Nebraska. She graduated from the University of Nebraska, became an editor at *McClure's Magazine*, and emerged as a writer of force with the publication of *Alexander's Bridge* in 1912. From that point on, Cather earned her livelihood writing fiction. Her career revolved around three general themes. The first, developed from 1912 to about 1923, focused on the personal and spiritual growth associated with frontier life. The most striking examples were *O Pioneers!* (1913), *My Antonia* (1918), and *One of Ours* (1922), for which she received the Pulitzer Prize. The second theme, most prominent from the mid-teens to the thirties, addressed the idea of escaping from the limitations of convention and one's rural past, and appeared in works such as *The Song of the Lark* (1915), *Youth and the Bright Medusa* (1920), and *Lucy Gayheart* (1935). In her final decades, Cather demonstrated the disillusionment, but not cynicism, that comes with experience. Her later works, such as *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927), *Not Under Forty* (1936), and her many

short stories, display a mature writer at the peak of her form, confidently merging complex narratives and themes with richly hued characterizations. Cather is properly considered one of the most important American writers of the modern era. She died in New York City.

Further Reading: Sharon O'Brien, *Willa Cather: The Emerging Voice*, 1987; Merrill Maguire Skaggs, *After the World Broke in Two: The Later Novels of Willa Cather*, 1990; James Woodress, *Willa Cather: A Literary Life*, 1987.

DAVID BLANKE

CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN (February 9, 1859–March 9, 1948), women's suffrage leader and peace activist. Born Carrie Clinton Lane in Ripon, Wisconsin, she graduated from Iowa State College in 1880 and from 1881 to 1885 was a teacher, principal, and superintendent of the Mason City School District in Iowa. In 1885 she married the owner and editor of the *Mason City Republican*, Leo Chapman. Five years later she married George Catt, an engineer, and relocated to New York City. Carrie Catt served as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1900 to 1904. During World War I she assisted Jane Addams in founding the Woman's Peace Party. After the war Catt devoted her career to world peace and human rights. From 1925 to 1932, she organized and served as head of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. In the 1930s her organization had 739 branches in forty-two states, with close to 5 million members.

As early as 1933, Catt petitioned and lectured on behalf of Jews who were being persecuted in Germany. Very often, her outspoken views aroused the enmity of politicians; she was accused of Communist leanings. In 1939, with the possibility that the United States would enter the war in Europe, Catt argued for a "plan that will smash war to smithereens." After the United States entered the conflict, Catt devoted her energies to achieving a permanent peace. On April 8, 1943, Catt, though no longer active and in frail health, supported the transformation of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War into the Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace. At the war's conclusion the words

Victory and were deleted. The Women's Action Committee favored a postwar international police force as part of the United Nations in order to prevent civil war and rioting in the defeated Axis countries. Catt supported a "World Charter for Women," insisting that a peaceful world could be established by including suffrage for women in developing nations. She also called on reformers to focus on women's labor issues and family concerns. Catt died in New Rochelle, New York. Her campaigns for women's rights and world peace had spanned more than half a century.

Further Reading: Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights*, 1993; Robert B. Fowler, *Carrie Catt: Feminist Politician*, 1986; Jacqueline Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life*, 1996.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY Plans for a new postwar intelligence facility were already under way in late 1945, with the Departments of State, War, and the Navy all drawing up proposals. As a result, on January 22, 1946, President Harry Truman issued a directive to create the Central Intelligence Group (CIG) under Rear Admiral Sydney W. Souers, deputy chief of Naval Intelligence. CIG was not an independent body and was intended only to coordinate, evaluate, and disseminate intelligence gathered by the respective departments.

Having established the CIG, Souers left in June 1946, replaced by Lieutenant General Hoyt S. Vandenburg. Under the forthright and ambitious Vandenburg, the CIG gained its own intelligence-gathering capability by taking over the old Office of Strategic Services foreign intelligence network under the newly formed Office of Special Operations. When he left in May 1947, CIG had significantly expanded its size and powers.

The next director of Central Intelligence (DCI), until October 1950, was Rear Admiral Roscoe H. Hillenkoetter. With no bureaucratic experience and lacking sufficient rank, Hillenkoetter failed to impress the State Department or the military. During his time as DCI, the intelligence service received congressional approval following the passage of the National

Security Act in July 1947. Mainly concerned with the creation of a Department of Defense, the act also granted the newly named Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) its own independent status. In order to avoid unwanted difficulties with congress members who were opposed to the creation of a potential American “Gestapo,” the act declared that the agency had no domestic jurisdiction and that the powers of the DCI were to be fully determined only later. The CIA’s budget was also mentioned only in vague terms. Widespread acceptance of the need to avoid a second Pearl Harbor gained extra support for this initiative.

The National Security Act therefore codified the CIA’s purpose as intelligence gathering and evaluation. However, during 1947–1948 it became clear that other means were needed to meet the immediate Soviet threat. The European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan), announced in June 1947, would take time to achieve its goals. A Soviet-backed coup in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 and the impending elections in Italy for that summer—with the likelihood of a Communist victory—increased the urgency. In December 1947 the National Security Council passed NSC 4-A, granting the CIA the powers to conduct psychological operations abroad in support of U.S. foreign policy. NSC 4-A was further extended by NSC 10/2 in June 1948. Ten/two was largely the result of State Department Policy Planning Staff Director George F. Kennan’s aim for a capability not just to influence public opinion but to actually intervene in the political affairs of other nations. Such covert action was to be carried out by the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), a new body under State Department control and effectively outside the DCI’s responsibility. In this way, Kennan’s intention was to keep OPC operations in line with overall State Department policy. Instead, under Director Frank G. Wisner, OPC exploited its broad mandate, its budget expanding from \$4.7 million in 1949 to \$82 million by 1952.

Hillenkoetter was not able to meet the needs of an increasingly demanding post, and in October 1950 he was replaced by the more effective Walter Bedell Smith, formerly chief of staff under General Eisenhower and U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union. By then, the

1949 Central Intelligence Act had confirmed that CIA funds did not need to be vetted by Congress, and NSC 68 of April 1950 had recommended a massive increase in covert action and psychological warfare initiatives against the Soviet Union. In response, Smith reorganized the CIA’s structure and, by 1952, brought OPC fully under his control, thereby unifying the intelligence-gathering and covert action capabilities and laying the basis for how the agency would function in the years to come.

Further Reading: Arthur B. Darling, *The Central Intelligence Agency*, 1990; William M. Leary, ed., *The Central Intelligence Agency: History and Documents*, 1984; Michael Warner, ed., *The CIA Under Harry Truman*, 1994.

GILES SCOTT-SMITH

CHAIN STORES Centrally owned but geographically dispersed retail outlets operated as a single unit are rooted in post-Civil War America. The development of railroads and the telegraph allowed entrepreneurs to coordinate similar stores distributed over a wide market. Management and marketing expenses, spread over many outlets, reduced the chains’ average cost of business to below that of single-unit competitors. Although chains were established institutions in grocery retailing, department, variety, and mail-order stores by the 1940s, their development was stalled by the Great Depression of the 1930s, World War II in the first half of the 1940s, and the tumultuous national and international economy of the postwar years. The 1950s and 1960s brought a return of growth for the chains but, beginning in the 1970s, they lost favor in an increasingly prosperous consumer economy. Variety and mail-order chains folded one by one, and chain department stores like Sears and J.C. Penney struggled in competition with the vast inventories and low prices of the new discount chains, K-Mart and Wal-Mart. By the 1990s even the seemingly invincible grocery chains of the 1940s foundered in the wake of the giant discount chain advance into everything from table food to gasoline. Chain stores in the 1940s, then, were caught in limbo between the growth years of their past and the mature and declining years of their future.

Further Reading: Godfrey Montague Lebharr, *Chain Stores in America, 1859–1962*, 1963; David O. Whitten, *The Emergence of Giant Enterprise, 1860–1914: American Commercial Enterprise and Extractive Industries*, 1983.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

CHAMBERS, WHITTAKER (April 1, 1901–July 9, 1961), writer. Born Jay Vivian Chambers, Chambers took the first name Whittaker in 1919. He grew up in Lynbrook, Long Island, graduating from a local high school and attending Columbia University from 1919 to 1923 and again briefly in 1924. In 1925, while working for the New York Public Library, he joined the Communist Party, becoming news editor of the *Daily Worker* in 1931 and an editor of the *New Masses*, a Communist weekly, in 1933. From 1932 to 1937, Chambers was a courier for the Communist underground, and then broke with the party. In 1939 he became a writer for *Time* magazine, rising to senior editor in charge of the book section in 1941. In 1945 *Time* publisher Henry Luce made him foreign news editor. A skilled writer, he penned cover stories on such figures as singer Marian Anderson, historian Arnold Toynbee, and theologian Reinhold Niebuhr.

In August 1948, at a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), Chambers claimed that during the 1930s former State Department official Alger Hiss, who was currently president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, had been his collaborator in Soviet espionage. When Hiss indignantly denied the accusation, Chambers told Congressman Richard Nixon, head of a HUAC subcommittee, intimate details concerning the life of Hiss and his wife, Priscilla. On August 17, in a dramatic face-to-face confrontation, Hiss conceded that he had perhaps known Chambers under the pseudonym “George Crosley,” but still denied any Communist affiliation. Ten days later Chambers repeated his charge on the television program *Meet the Press*, speculating that Hiss still might be a Communist. On September 27, Hiss instituted a slander suit against Chambers, but on December 7 Chambers led HUAC investigators to the so-called “pumpkin papers” located in a

pumpkin at his Maryland farmhouse. Chambers had hidden microfilm of confidential government documents, many written in Hiss’s own hand or copied on Hiss’s Woodstock typewriter. Early that same month Chambers had attempted suicide by cyanide. On December 15 a federal grand jury indicted Hiss for perjury. Because of an existing statute of limitations, Hiss could not be prosecuted for espionage. The first Hiss trial, held from May 31 to July 7, 1949, saw the Woodstock typewriter offered in evidence; the trial resulted in a mistrial. The second trial, spanning November 17, 1949 to January 21, 1950, resulted in Hiss’s conviction for perjury. He received a five-year sentence in Lewisburg federal penitentiary. Chambers, no longer permitted to write for *Time*, served as an editor of the conservative weekly *National Review* in his later years.

Further Reading: Whittaker Chambers, *Witness*, 1952; San Tanenhaus, *Whittaker Chambers: A Biography*, 1997; Allen Weinstein, *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case*, 1978.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

CHANDLER, ALBERT BENJAMIN (July 14, 1898–June 15, 1991), Kentucky politician and national commissioner of baseball. Born near Corydon, Kentucky, Chandler graduated from Lexington’s Transylvania College in 1921 and attended Harvard Law School for one year. He then concluded his legal education at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. After passing the bar exam in 1925, he began practicing in nearby Versailles, which became his lifelong home. His outgoing personality, perfectly captured in the nickname “Happy,” made him a natural for politics. A Democrat, he was elected to the Kentucky state senate in 1929, lieutenant governor two years later, and governor in 1935, at age thirty-seven. His first electoral defeat came in 1938, when he unsuccessfully challenged two-term incumbent Alben W. Barkley, the U.S. Senate majority leader, in the Democratic senatorial primary. In October 1939, with two months remaining in his term as governor, he resigned and accepted appointment to fill an unexpected vacancy in the U.S. Senate. The following year he won a special election to complete the unexpired term; in 1942, he secured a full six-year term. As senator, he

generally supported the Roosevelt legislative agenda, though he personally distrusted the president. In 1943, Chandler was among five senators (including Richard Russell of Georgia and Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts) sent to investigate American military installations across the globe. An enthusiastic admirer of General Douglas MacArthur, he consistently argued that more Allied military personnel and matériel should be devoted to the Pacific theater. Effective November 1, 1945, Chandler resigned from the Senate to become the second commissioner of baseball. Although a favorite of players, for whom he established the first pension fund, he alienated many fans by suspending Brooklyn Dodgers manager Leo Durocher for one year for what Chandler termed conduct detrimental to the sport. In a landmark ruling, he went against the wishes of most owners when he authorized the transfer of Jackie Robinson, an African American, from Montreal to Brooklyn, effectively breaking major-league baseball's color line. When Chandler's six-year contract came up for renewal by the owners in 1951, he fell one vote short of the three-fourths required. He soon resigned and returned to Kentucky to reenter politics. In 1955, he was elected to a second term as governor. At the Democratic National Convention the following year, he presented himself as an alternative to Adlai Stevenson and received votes from eight state delegations. Chandler failed in three later attempts to regain the governorship. In 1982, he was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York.

Further Reading: Happy Chandler with Vance Trimble, *Heroes, Plain Folks and Skunks: The Life and Times of Happy Chandler*, 1989; William J. Marshall, *Baseball's Pivotal Era, 1945–1951*, 1999; Charles P. Roland, "Happy Chandler," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 82 (1984): 358–388.

THOMAS H. APPLETON JR.

CHAPLINSKY V. NEW HAMPSHIRE (1942)

This Supreme Court decision defined what constituted fighting words. During World War II, Walter Chaplinsky, a Jehovah's Witness, distributed antiwar religious pamphlets in New Hampshire. On one occasion a hostile crowd, angry in

the wake of Pearl Harbor, surrounded him. A city marshal stepped in and halted Chaplinsky's actions. Upset, Chaplinsky promptly responded by calling the constable a "god-damned racketeer and a damned fascist." Chaplinsky was arrested on grounds of disturbing the peace. He was tried and convicted for using fighting words against a public official.

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the conviction because the New Hampshire Supreme Court had determined that a breach of peace law was limited to words with a "direct tendency to cause acts of violence by the persons to whom individually the remark is addressed." The Court denied First Amendment protection to fighting words, "those which by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of peace." The Court deemed that the words Chaplinsky uttered did not fall within the protected scope of freedom of speech.

The *Chaplinsky* ruling on fighting words clarified three points of law. First, the ruling encompassed offensive or abusive language that by utterance inflicts injury and that by its very nature is judged likely to produce a violent response by a person of "common intelligence." Second, the doctrine of fighting words was specifically limited to face-to-face verbal encounters, which at the very moment they are spoken invite physical reprisal or disorder. Third, the Court focused on the abstract character of the words, asking whether such words are likely to provoke retaliation "by the average addressee."

Chaplinsky was the last case in which the Supreme Court upheld a conviction for using fighting words against a public official. Since this ruling, the Court has carved out numerous exceptions to the whole notion of fighting words.

Further Reading: Jerome A. Barron, *Constitutional Law*, 1986; *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire* 315 U.S. 568, 62 S.Ct. 766, 1942; Richard Polenberg, *Fighting Faiths: The Abrams Case, the Supreme Court, and Free Speech*, 1987.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

CHAVEZ, DENNIS (April 8, 1888–November 18, 1962), U.S. senator. Born Dionisio Chavez in Los Chavez, New Mexico, Chavez early in life developed an interest in New Mexico Democratic

politics. He earned a law degree in 1920 from Georgetown University Law School, then practiced criminal law in Albuquerque while becoming politically active. An ardent champion of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, Chavez served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1931 to 1935. When U.S. senator Bronson M. Cutting died in 1935, Governor Clyde Tingley appointed Chavez to fill his seat. Chavez remained until his death in Washington, DC. His committee assignments included the powerful Appropriations Committee and the committees on Education and Labor, Irrigation and Reclamation, and Public Works. He cosponsored the Chavez-McAdoo Act, which created a radio station to broadcast anti-Nazi propaganda to Latin America. In 1944 Chavez introduced legislation to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. Although the Senate killed the bill, Chavez had displayed his commitment to integration and assimilation. During his long political career, Chavez enjoyed seniority, using his influence to obtain extensive funding for his state. He also encouraged greater Hispanic American participation in government. He served as a role model for future Hispanic political leaders in the United States.

Further Reading: Dennis Chavez Papers, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque; Joe Roy Lujan, "Dennis Chavez and the Roosevelt Era, 1933–1945," PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1987; obituary in *New York Times*, November 19, 1962.

LEONARD SCHLUP

CHEMISTRY Two aims guided chemistry during the 1940s, and indeed during the twentieth century. First, chemists in the United States and Europe worked to unite chemistry and biology because of their belief in reductionism: the attempt to explain the structure and behavior of life as the sum of the structure and function of its components. A bacterium, plant, animal, or other class of living thing was nothing but the aggregate of its chemical processes. To understand chemistry was to understand life itself.

Second, chemists sought to elucidate a molecule's structure as prerequisite to understanding its function. The American chemist and

two-time Nobel laureate Linus Pauling insisted that chemists build three-dimensional models to be sure of a molecule's structure and function. True to his word, Pauling would in 1950 create the first model of a protein. Often chemists built different models of the same molecule, leading to debate over which was correct. For Pauling this was chemistry's essence: to choose correctly among competing representations.

The great achievement would be to build a model of a gene. Deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) did not in 1940 show promise as the model of heredity. The German chemist Friedrich Miescher had isolated DNA from the nuclei of cells, but in small fragments, leading Pauling and others to reject DNA as the molecule of heredity, reasoning correctly that a small molecule could not control the complex development of an organism. Pauling did not consider that Miescher's low molecular weight for DNA might be wrong; after all, Miescher had been pupil to the great German chemist and botanist Julius Sachs.

As is true in all disciplines, assumptions shape research. Having discarded DNA, Pauling made no headway. What is necessary in such cases, American philosopher of science Thomas S. Kuhn would write in 1962, is a scientist new to a discipline and without dogmatic commitment to a set of assumptions. Rockefeller Institute physician Oswald Theodore Avery was such a scientist. He was sufficiently new to the study of chemistry not to regard Sachs and, by association, Miescher with awe. Avery guessed correctly that Miescher had extracted only tiny fragments of DNA and, in a complex set of experiments with two colleagues, demonstrated in 1944 that DNA was thousands of times larger than Miescher had supposed and that it directed cellular function. DNA was the molecule of heredity, but no one still had any idea of its structure. Without its structure no one could know how DNA directed cells to do anything.

This achievement, the most celebrated of the twentieth century, came in 1953, when Francis Crick and James Watson at Cambridge University derived DNA's helical structure.

Further Reading: Horace Freeland Judson, *The Eighth Day of Creation: Makers of the Revolution in Biology*, 1980; Ernst Mayr, *The Growth of Biological Thought*:

Diversity, Evolution, and Inheritance, 1982; Vesta-Nadine Severs and Jim Whiting, *Oswald Avery and the Story of DNA*, 2002.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

CHIANG KAI-SHEK (JIANG JIESHI) (October 30, 1887–April 5, 1975), Chinese nationalist and anti-Communist. Born in southeastern China, Chiang received training in a military school in Japan. He became an early supporter of the Chinese revolution led by Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan) in 1911 and later became a prominent general in this revolution. Unfortunately, the Chinese revolution’s success was followed by centrifugal warlordism. To combat the fragmentation of China, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Nationalist Party (also known as Guomindang, GMD) both collaborated and competed with each other in the 1920s. The left-wing and right-wing elements of the GMD broke up in 1927 due partly to the 1925 death of Sun, who had held them together, and the rise to power of Chiang. The latter took over the GMD’s anti-Communist faction, broke relations with Soviet Russia, and started to clamp down on Communist elements beginning in 1927. By 1928, he had succeeded nominally in unifying China and ruled his territories brutally under a single dominant party. In 1932, his own government accorded him the title of Generalissimo. When the Japanese invaded China in 1937, Chiang had to stop his pursuit of the Communists, who had regrouped in Yanan after the Long March in 1934. For pragmatic reasons, in 1937 he joined with the Communists, now led by Mao Zedong (Tse-Tung), in an official united front against the Japanese. Chiang himself was driven from Nanjing (Nanking) to Chongqing (Chungking) after the Japanese occupied the former. After Pearl Harbor, Chiang became a formal ally of the Americans in the Pacific War, collaborating with the Americans in southeast China by facilitating the refueling and passage of American bombers on the way to Japan. American support for his regime was also in line with the U.S. strategy of tying down Japanese troops on the mainland. With Japan’s defeat, Chiang and Mao engaged in a civil war that lasted until the Nationalist government was driven out of China and fled to Taiwan in 1949.

Further Reading: John Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History*, 2001; Jonathan Fenby, *Chiang Kai-shek*, 2004; Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo’s Son*, 2000.

LIM TAI WEI

CHIANG KAI-SHEK, MADAME (1897–October 24, 2003), wife of Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek and political activist. Born in southern China to a missionary family and a father who spoke fluent English and published Bibles, Soong Mei-ling (Song Meiling) received formal instruction at Wellesley College in Massachusetts. As a result, she spoke fluent English, an asset that would become valuable in her later career as a political activist. She married Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Nationalist government in China, in Shanghai in 1927. In the late 1920s, Madame Chiang served as the chair of China’s Aviation Committee, which oversaw virgin flights between selected large Chinese cities. Madame Chiang was part of the famed trio of the “Soong sisters.” Her sister Soong Ching Ling married the founder of the Republic of China (Dr. Sun Yat-sen), while the other sister married Kung Hsiang-hsi, a famed tycoon and the finance minister of the Republic of China. Madame Chiang was said to be politically influential in her husband’s decisions, purportedly persuading him to join the Communists in a united front against the Japanese after this demand was made by Marshal Zhang Xueliang who kidnapped Chiang in the Xian incident in 1936. Madame Chiang is credited with her tireless charm campaigns in the United States, trying to win American support for China’s war against Japanese aggression by meeting with American members of the China lobby, such as Eleanor Roosevelt, and making a famous, impassioned speech to the U.S. Congress on February 18, 1943. With the Communist victory in the Chinese civil war and the creation of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), Madame Chiang fled to Taiwan from Nanjing (Nanking) with her husband in 1949. She became a fierce anti-Communist, speaking out against the mainland Chinese authorities (e.g., against the Deng-Carter agreement), and continued to wield considerable influence in Taiwan and

the United States. Her influence waned only with the death of her husband in 1975. Although she maintained an interest in cross-straits relations between China and Taiwan, she spent most of her days in seclusion. Her life was recently popularized by the highly acclaimed Hong Kong movie *The Soong Sisters* (1997). Madame Chiang decided to leave Taiwan for the United States in September 1991 and remained with her family in Manhattan, New York, until her death. Her death was mourned on both sides of the straits, with official condolences offered by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Further Reading: Lin Bowen, *First Lady Song Meiling (Kua Shi Ji Di Yi Fu Ren—Song Meiling)*, 2000; *People's Daily*, "Madam Chiang Kai-shek Dies at Age 106," October 25, 2003; Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son*, 2000.

LIM TAI WEI

CHILD LABOR The United States Supreme Court unanimously upheld the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1941 and allowed the federal government, for the first time, to enforce laws against child labor throughout the nation. For four decades, the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) had worked to enact legislation to stop child labor, but the Supreme Court had repeatedly invalidated such laws. A statute aimed at banning child labor for products intended for interstate commerce was struck down by *Hammer v. Dagenhart* in 1918. Another regulation that taxed such products of interstate commerce was struck down in *Bailey vs. Drexel Furniture Co.* in 1922. In 1941, strong opposition to any change in the social custom of child labor kept a constitutional amendment against child labor from achieving the necessary approval of three-fourths of the states.

The case of *United States v. Darby* in 1941 reversed all previous decisions. The Fair Labor Standards Act had set minimum wages and maximum hours for children younger than fifteen years. Acting according to the powers enumerated to it in the Constitution, Congress limited the shipment of products in interstate commerce by employees who were paid less than twenty-five cents per hour and who worked over forty-four hours. The ruling did not deny states the

authority to regulate child labor under their own police powers, but it did greatly expand the right of the federal Congress to legislate controls over working conditions.

Justice Harlan F. Stone wrote the majority opinion in *United States v. Darby*. Stone concluded that Congress had plenary or full power to regulate commerce. Without such regulation, companies that manufactured goods under substandard labor conditions would have a competitive advantage over companies whose labor conditions were fair. The *Darby* decision overruled the doctrine of dual federalism, the doctrine that federal powers could not infringe on the powers reserved to the states. This ruling was a return to the era of the Marshall Court, which had recognized the plenary powers of Congress to legislate commerce in the states.

The special protection given to children by the Supreme Court in the *Darby* decision occurred at a time when child labor was a declining problem in the American economy. The number of children aged fourteen to fifteen in the workforce had declined by 41 percent from 1930 to 1940 as public school enrollments continued to grow. These trends were dramatically reversed with the onset of World War II and the extreme demands created by a wartime economy. The number of children in the workforce nearly tripled during the war. Opponents of child labor had wanted children in the classroom and not the factory, but during the early 1940s attendance in public schools declined for the first time ever. A million fewer students attended high school in 1944 than had attended in 1940. Exemptions in state laws had allowed child labor to exist legally in the agricultural economy, but the number of children under eighteen years old employed in agriculture also grew from 1 million in 1940 to 1.5 million in 1949.

This wartime trend in child labor inspired the NCLC to renew its efforts to restrict child labor. The NCLC used two strategies to resolve the child labor problem. The first was to gradually close the loopholes in the Fair Labor Standards Act after the war, ridding the law of the numerous exemptions that allowed child labor in many occupations, especially in agriculture. The other strategy was to increase the age for employment from fifteen

to sixteen. Both strategies yielded results. By the 1950s, child labor was again on the decline and more states were raising the age for employment. **Further Reading:** Hugh D. Hindman, *Child Labor: An American History*, 2002; Clark Nardaneli, *Child Labor and the Industrial Revolution*, 1990; Walter I. Trattner, *Crusade for the Children*, 1970.

NORMAN E. FRY

CHURCHILL, WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER (November 30, 1874–January 24, 1965), British statesman. Churchill was born at Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, into a prominent Tory family. He had a privileged, if emotionally austere childhood, being educated at Harrow before joining the army in 1895 as a cavalry subaltern. Supplementing his meager officer's pay with work as a war correspondent and author, Churchill saw military action in India and Africa before returning to Britain in 1900 to win a Unionist parliamentary seat. During the next forty years he was a persistent, albeit erratic presence in British political life, serving in both Liberal and Conservative administrations and in most of the major cabinet positions save that of premier itself. By the 1930s, however, the aging Churchill appeared to be a fading star, and it was only his prescient warnings about the danger of German rearmament that revitalized his career, winning him a place in Neville Chamberlain's September 1939 war cabinet as first lord of the Admiralty. By the following spring, Churchill had become the champion of disaffected parliamentary members who wanted the government's indolent Old Guard turned out; his chance came in May when Chamberlain received a furious hounding in the Commons debate on the failed Norwegian campaign—an expedition that, ironically, Churchill had planned and executed. On May 10, the same day that German forces invaded France and the Low Countries, Churchill received the king's invitation to form a new coalition government.

Churchill's public image was straightforward enough—the living symbol of democratic resistance to Nazism, and the speech maker and broadcaster who, in his own characteristically memorable phrase, gave the British lion its roar.

His practical role as head of a wartime administration was more complex. Churchill's concerns were almost exclusively diplomatic and strategic, and he delegated responsibility for home affairs to Deputy Prime Minister Clement Attlee and other Labor Party leaders—a decision that would have damaging implications at the postwar general election. So far as the day-to-day running of the war was concerned, Churchill (who had taken the post of minister of defense as well as premier) preferred to deal directly with the armed service chiefs of staff rather than his civilian colleagues, and he micromanaged the war effort to an extent that both impressed and exasperated—hiring and firing generals, interfering with operational plans, and forever pushing, cajoling, and sniping. Churchill had a penetrating intellect, an insatiable curiosity about everything, and a reserve of energy astonishing for a man of his age and uncertain health; he used these traits to great effect in his vigorous prosecution of the conflict. An accomplished student of his ancestor the First Duke of Marlborough and other great captains of history, he combined a romantic enthusiasm for war as pageant with a more sober understanding of the importance of modern technology and tactics. His greatest flaw, however, was his very superabundance of ideas; the long-suffering chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir Alan Brooke, wasted much time talking the prime minister out of ingenious but half-baked projects that he had come up with while musing in the bath. Churchill's persistent meddling in military affairs that he did not wholly understand was comparable to Hitler's, the key difference being that Germany lacked a constitutional framework to restrain the wilder excesses of its leader.

Churchill's unexpected defeat in the July 1945 general election was not so much a personal vote of no-confidence as it was an expression of greater trust in the Labor Party's postwar planning. The ejected Churchill took to writing his memoirs and playing the world statesman in a number of keynote addresses, including the March 1946 speech in Fulton, Missouri, in which he described the descent of the "Iron Curtain" across Europe. He returned to power in 1951 and remained prime minister until ill health forced his retirement from major public life in 1955.

Further Reading: Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, 6 vols., 1948–1954; Martin Gilbert, *Churchill: A Life*, 1992; Richard Lamb, *Churchill as War Leader*, 1993.

ALAN ALLPORT

CIVIL AIR PATROL (CAP) This civilian aviation program played a prominent national defense role during World War II. In 1941 there were 128,360 Civil Aeronautics Administration certified pilots in the United States. Before America's entrance into the war, a national Civil Air Patrol was proposed, with the aim of the deployment of "light plane" aviation to protect the country's shorelines. With the Office of Civil Defense's establishment on May 20, 1941, a committee of prominent civil defense leaders presented their plan to Fiorello H. La Guardia, then director of the U.S. Office of Civilian Defense. On December 1, 1941, a week before Pearl Harbor, La Guardia signed a formal order, under presidential executive authority, creating the Civil Air Patrol. It was a civilian-military partnership with Major General John F. Curry as national commander and Gill Robb Wilson as executive officer.

When World War II began, German submarines were sinking two or three U.S. merchantmen or tankers each day. The menace convinced military authorities to employ CAP to combat the U-boats. A coastal patrol program was established and CAP command was turned over to Captain Earle L. Johnson of the U.S. Army Air Corps. CAP also guarded borders, power lines, pipelines, and aqueducts against sabotage. Its forest patrol searched for missing aircraft and transported urgently needed aircraft repair parts. A cadet flight orientation program trained prospective army air corps pilots.

After the command jurisdiction of CAP was transferred to the War Department in 1943, coastal patrols were discontinued. At this time CAP contained about 75,000 men and women, with units in over 1,000 communities. Yet CAP's most important contribution had been its coastal patrols, before the War Department had adequate manpower to assume complete control. CAP aircraft flew 86,685 missions. They had reported 173 submarines sighted and dropped eighty-three bombs

and depth charges on fifty-seven enemy craft. They also summoned help for ninety-one vessels in distress and for 363 submarine attack survivors.

During the coastal operations, CAP lost ninety aircraft, and twenty-six pilots or observers were killed. CAP members received twenty-five War Department decorations for exceptional civilian service and 825 air medals.

It was during World War II that CAP's usefulness as a civilian auxiliary to the air branch of the military services was developed, its cadet program established, and its administrative organization implemented. On July 1, 1946, President Harry Truman signed Public Law 476, incorporating CAP as a benevolent, nonprofit organization. Two years later, on May 26, 1948, Public Law 557 established it as a permanent civilian auxiliary of the U.S. Air Force. Today, CAP has over 50,000 members and consists of three major components: aerospace education, cadet programs, and state and local search and rescue efforts.

Further Reading: C.B. Colby, *This Is Your Civil Air Patrol*, 1958; Carol V. Glines and Gene Gurney, *Minutemen of the Air*, 1966; Robert E. Neprud, *Flying Minutemen: The Story of Civil Air Patrol*, 1948.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

CIVIL RIGHTS During the 1940s the civil rights movement, propelled by the New Deal, World War II, and the Cold War, became a national issue. African Americans, having migrated in sizable numbers from the rural South to northern and western cities, shifted their allegiance to the Democratic Party to vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal in 1936. The support was not uncritical. In 1941 A. Philip Randolph, leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, warned Roosevelt of an impending African American march on Washington to protest racial discrimination in the defense industry and federal government. Shortly thereafter, on June 25, the president issued Executive Order 8802, creating a Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). Southern Congressmen assailed the policy and Roosevelt, fearful of jeopardizing regional support for his social and economic reforms, did little to further advance equal rights.

Harry Truman early understood the importance of the increasing urban black vote, particularly in competitive, two-party states whose electoral votes were significant. He also appreciated the incongruity of racism with his foreign policy. Racial terrorism in the South further motivated the president to take action. On December 5, 1946, Truman appointed a President's Committee on Civil Rights (PCCR) to study the current state of civil rights and make suggestions for safeguarding them. On January 29, 1947, Truman became the first president to address the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at a Lincoln memorial rally, and the first chief executive to publicly support civil rights for African Americans. The report of the PCCR, completed in October 1947, summoned the nation to expand equal opportunity by eradicating segregation based on color, religious belief, and nationality.

On February 2, 1948, came Truman's unparalleled response to the PCCR's report: a ten-point civil rights message to Congress. Henry Wallace and other liberals were critical of the president's neglect of the segregation issue. On March 11, Truman abandoned the idea to send Congress bills to implement his civil rights message to avoid further alienating southern Democrats. Truman's executive order 9981 of July 26, 1948, established a president's committee on equality and opportunity in the armed forces to investigate the issue of discrimination and segregation in the military, with desegregation the objective. Executive order 9980, issued on the same day, committed the federal government to nondiscriminatory employment practices in its executive branch.

The Truman administration offered the South a civil rights plank comparable to the insipid plank included in the party's 1944 platform. Antiadministration liberals vigorously advocated a strong civil rights passage listing specific proposals. A Truman majority of the Democratic Party's platform committee endorsed one reflecting the president's view. Southern delegates offered the states' rights plank. Hubert Humphrey brought the liberal civil rights version to the convention floor, where it won acceptance in the party platform over the administration's version.

In his State of the Union address to the Eighty-first Congress on January 5, 1949, Truman repeated the civil rights proposal he had presented (on January 6, 1947) to the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress. His civil rights program was never enacted during his administration.

Further Reading: William C. Berman, *The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration*, 1970; Alonzo L. Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism*, 1973; Donald R. McCoy and Richard T. Ruetten, *Quest and Response: Minority Rights and the Truman Administration*, 1973.

BERNARD HIRSCHHORN

CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE CAMPS During World War II an alternative service program for conscientious objectors (COs) was established to prevent a repetition of problems that had occurred during World War I. During 1917 and 1918, only members of the historic peace churches—Mennonites, Brethren, and Society of Friends (Quakers)—were given CO status. They served in the military in “non-arms-bearing roles” and were given furloughs to work on farms or serve in the medical corps. However, about 450 “absolutists,” who refused cooperation with the government, were court-martialed and sent to federal prisons. Their treatment in prison was so brutal that President Woodrow Wilson issued an executive order against it.

Memories of such injustices resulted in a more liberal policy as the United States readied for entry into World War II. Organized pressure led to the creation of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO). Under the Selective Service Act of 1940, a provision granted CO status for all religious objectors. The Roosevelt administration formed a working arrangement with NSBRO to oversee Civilian Public Service (CPS) projects for men whose objection to war was based on religious training and beliefs. Day-to-day operations were run by the historic peace churches: the Brethren, Mennonites, and Society of Friends. Secular objectors were also allowed to choose alternative service. COs were assigned to projects of so-called national importance. Many did conservation work in locations across the nation. Some toiled on farms. Other objec-

tors worked in hospitals. About 2,000 worked in mental hospitals and some 500 volunteered as subjects for medical experiments. In all, about 12,000 COs worked without pay in 151 CPS camps—many were old Civilian Conservation Corps camps—that were operated for the selective service by the NSBRO. Among them were historians William L. Neumann, Arthur A. Ekirch Jr., and Pulitzer Prize winner Carleton Mabee. There were also 5,000 absolutists who refused to cooperate and were sent to federal prisons. A majority of them were Jehovah's Witnesses.

Most Civil Public Service projects were ill defined. Yet the pacifists in the CPS camps put in over 8 million man-days of free work for the U.S. government between 1940 and 1946. The administrative cost to the historic peace churches was well over \$7 million. Lest the public treat them as martyrs, COs were assigned to out-of-the-way places normally not frequented by the public. Their humane treatment contrasted to the World War I experience.

Further Reading: Cynthia Eller, *Conscientious Objectors and the Second World War: Moral and Religious Arguments in Support of Pacifism*, 1991; Heather T. Fraser and John O'Sullivan, "We Have Just Begun to Not Fight": *An Oral History of Conscientious Objectors in Civilian Public Service During World War II*, 1996; Mulford Q. Sibley and Philip Jacob, *Conscription of Conscience: The American State and the Conscientious Objector, 1940–1947*, 1952.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

CLARK, DAVID WORTH (April 2, 1902–June 19, 1955), senator. Born in Idaho Falls, Idaho, D. Worth Clark attended the local public schools. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Notre Dame (1922) and his law degree from Harvard (1925). From 1926 to 1933 he practiced law in Pocatello, Idaho, and from 1933–1935 was his state's assistant attorney general.

From 1939 to 1945, he was one of Idaho's U.S. senators, having won the Democratic nomination in 1938 in part by claiming he was "not a New Deal yes man." Once in office, he frequently took issue with the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt, particularly on matters of foreign policy. In October 1939 Clark claimed

that the 500 years of British rule in Ireland was "10 times as brutal" as the "6 years of persecution of the Jews, the Catholics, and the Protestants in Germany." A month later, Clark endorsed a joint Dutch-Belgian bid to mediate the war between Germany on the one side and France and Britain on the other. In March 1940, as the Soviet Union was imposing a peace upon a defeated Finland, Clark introduced a resolution calling for an immediate rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviets. During 1941 Clark spoke at rallies sponsored by the anti-interventionist America First Committee. In May, while opposing the use of the United States navy to protect American shipments to Britain, Clark claimed to find little to distinguish Nazism, fascism, and Communism from British imperialism. He argued that England was in reality fighting for commercial supremacy, as she had for 1,000 years. That July Clark suggested that the United States seize control of Latin America and Canada and install puppet governments. In September Clark headed a subcommittee of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee investigating interventionist propaganda in the movie industry. In 1944 Clark lost the Democratic primary to Glen H. Taylor, elected to the Senate as a singing cowboy. Thereafter, Clark practiced law in Boise, Idaho, and Washington, DC. He also held financial interests in radio stations in Honolulu, San Francisco, and Van Nuys, California, and in a bank in Los Vegas, Nevada. Clark died in Los Angeles.

Further Reading: Justus D. Doenecke, *Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939–1941*, 2000; Idaho State Historical Society, Boise, file of newspaper clippings on Clark; obituary in *New York Times*, June 21, 1955.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

CLIFT, MONTGOMERY (October 17, 1920–July 23, 1966), actor. Born Edward Montgomery Clift in Omaha, Nebraska, Clift received a liberal education from private tutors and European travel. Despite the comfort and culture, a troubled childhood haunted him. An exceptionally handsome youth, he began a stage acting career in Florida. He was propelled to further successes on Broadway and in summer stock and

musicals. He displayed considerable talent from the start. Other major film roles included *You Touched Me!* (1945), *Red River* (1948), *A Place in the Sun* (1951), and *From Here to Eternity* (1953). A masterful actor who memorized lines easily, Clift became a popular Hollywood star. Asserting his individuality, dressing in frayed shirts, and favoring an inexpensive New York City apartment, he often shunned glamorous social affairs for a lonely life. This nonconformist behavior caught the public's imagination. During the 1950s he suffered from a metabolic disorder that brought imbalance, cramps, and cataracts, and he allowed himself to become addicted to alcohol and barbiturates. After attending a party at Elizabeth Taylor's home, he accidentally crashed his Chevrolet into a telephone pole, suffering a scarred and partially paralyzed face. His new appearance triggered further psychological suffering. Clift's erratic behavior caused gossip, and his homosexuality aggravated his emotional being in an era before gay liberation. He died of a heart attack in New York.

Further Reading: Patricia Bosworth, *Montgomery Clift*, 1978; Judith M. Kass, *The Films of Montgomery Clift*, 1979; Robert LaGuardia, *Monty*, 1977; obituary in *New York Times*, July 24, 1966.

LEONARD SCHLUP

COCOANUT GROVE FIRE On November 28, 1942, a fire at the Cocoanut Grove nightclub in Boston resulted in nearly 500 deaths and many serious injuries. In the aftermath, building and fire safety codes around the country changed and medical treatment for victims of fires advanced.

The popular Cocoanut Grove, located between Piedmont Street and Shawmut Street at Broadway, featured a tropical decor with artificial palm trees, bamboo and imitation leather accents, and colorful fabrics. By some estimates, the club teemed with nearly 1,000 people that night, twice as many as the building's legal limit. Many of them came to celebrate the victory of Holy Cross over Boston College in that afternoon's football game; others were servicemen and servicewomen involved in war preparations and enjoying an evening of relaxation. Western movie personality Buck Jones and an entourage arrived for dinner

and the floorshow, and regular customers swelled the noisy crowd.

The club consisted of adjoining structures with well-defined sections connected by passageways and staircases. Although investigation results were inconclusive, eyewitness evidence suggests that the fire started shortly after 10 PM, when a busboy tightening a loosened light bulb, using a match to illuminate the area, accidentally lit decorations in the Melody Lounge, located in the basement of the main building. Smoke quickly spread through the area and customers fled, climbing a flight of narrow stairs to the main foyer. At least one emergency exit had been locked shut; the revolving doors at the main entrance jammed as scores of people attempted to push their way through. When customers in other sections of the Cocoanut Grove saw smoke and heard warnings, they joined the crush of people trying to escape the club. Electricity went off, forcing patrons to try to find exits in darkness. At about 10:22 PM, the city's fire department began fighting the blaze and attempting to rescue the people still trapped in the building. The nightclub, however, was quickly engulfed in smoke, fumes, and flames.

A total of 492 people died in the Cocoanut Grove fire. The dead included more than fifty men and women serving in the armed forces, and Buck Jones, the fire's most famous victim. Thereafter, many state and local governments enacted laws governing exit doors, emergency lights, flammable materials, and other fire safety precautions. The medical care of the injured survivors resulted in new knowledge about deep-burn and asphyxiation treatment and recovery. The remains of the Cocoanut Grove were razed in 1945. The club's owner, convicted of manslaughter in the case, received a pardon in 1946.

Further Reading: Paul Benzaquin, *Holocaust!*, 1959; Edward Keyes, *Cocoanut Grove*, 1984.

SUZANNE JULIN

COLLIER, JOHN (May 4, 1884–May 8, 1968), commissioner of Indian Affairs. Collier, born in Atlanta, Georgia, studied at Columbia University in New York City and the College de France in Paris, but did not graduate. In 1905, he became the executive director of the Associated Charities

of Atlanta. By 1908, he served as the secretary of the People's Institute in New York, working there on and off for more than a decade. He strove to improve the life of immigrants while preserving their cultural identity. Collier became involved in setting up a Home School (an experiment in schooling based on John Dewey's "learning by doing" philosophy), developing settlement houses and community centers, and helping organize a National Community Center Conference.

In 1919, Collier relocated to California. There he became the director of Americanization for the California immigrant services. In 1920 he experienced a major turning point. He visited Taos, New Mexico, and saw firsthand the Pueblo Indians and their problems. Afterward he became more involved in Indian affairs. In 1921–1922, he was appointed to the Indian Welfare Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. There he advanced the cause of tribal preservation. He worked to defeat the Bursum bill, which threatened to strip the Pueblos of their natural resource rights.

Throughout the 1920s, Collier continued to advance the tribes' interests. One of his most notable successes was persuading the Interior Department to investigate the Indian Bureau. The Brookings Institution did the study, which called for major reforms of the bureau. Collier championed the report's findings. In 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him commissioner of Indian Affairs.

From 1933 until his resignation in 1945, Collier worked prodigiously in implementing the "Indian New Deal" through the Wheeler-Howard Act. During his tenure, Collier ended the distribution of lands under the Dawes Act, compensated tribes for lost lands, encouraged tribes to develop their cultures and economic enterprises, and worked to implement self-rule under federal supervision. Not everyone agreed with Collier's goals and programs; congressional opponents often criticized him. As World War II progressed, moreover, Collier's influence declined. In 1945, he resigned to head the Institute of Ethnic Affairs in Washington, DC. By 1947, Collier moved from public service to academics. He taught briefly at Columbia University and later Knox College in Illinois, and he wrote prolifically on Indian affairs. He died in Taos, New Mexico.

Further Reading: Lawrence Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform*, 1983; Kenneth Philip, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920–1954*, 1977; obituary in *New York Times*, May 9, 1968.

MICHAEL V. NAMORATO

COLLINS, DOROTHY (November 18, 1926–July 21, 1994), singer and performer. Born Marjorie Chandler in Windsor, Ontario, Collins began her career at age fourteen and built her professional reputation during the 1940s. When the radio version of *Your Hit Parade* began a long network television run in 1950, she became the lead singer. Other performers included Snooky Lanson, Russell Arms, and Giselle McKenzie, with Raymond Scott, Collins's first husband, conducting the orchestra. The show aired weekly. Cast members sang the current top seven tunes in reverse order, all dramatized by innovative skits, sets, and an entourage of dancers and performers. When rock 'n' roll began displacing the syrupy ballads popular during the 1930s and 1940s, *Your Hit Parade*, a family oriented telecast, suffered. It was canceled in 1958. Collins later emerged on *Candid Camera*, where she displayed a lively comedic flair. She and her husband had their own record label, and Collins composed some of her songs. Her best work was in the musical theater, where she starred in the original cast of the Broadway hit, Stephen Sondheim's *Follies*. Collins was nominated for a Tony Award for Best Actress in a Musical. She was also quite successful with nightclub engagements, Guy Lombardo's New Year's Eve shows, jazz performances, guest appearances on television shows, and summer stock, including her lead role in *Dream Girl*. Without question she was one of the era's finest vocalists. Collins died in New York City.

Further Reading: Obituary in *New York Times*, July 22, 1994; John R. Williams, *This Was Your Hit Parade*, 1973.

LEONARD SCHLUP

COMMAGER, HENRY STEELE (October 25, 1903–March 2, 1998), historian. Born in Pittsburgh, Commager was a leading historian and political activist. He graduated from City

College of New York and received his doctorate from Columbia University. His teaching career included stints at Columbia, New York University, and Amherst, and he lectured widely in the United States and Europe. He wrote for journals of opinion, reviewed books, and published scholarly articles and nearly forty books, not including several successful textbooks. He was a pioneer author of intellectual history, the prime example being *The American Mind*. His scholarship contributed to New Deal liberalism—domestic reform and a Wilsonian foreign policy of collective security and interventionism. He was a classic Cold War liberal whose thought and scholarship matured during the 1940s.

He also commented on the cultural and political issues of his day. The events and ideologies of the last forty years of the twentieth century put great pressure on Commager's beliefs, but he remained constant to the end of his life. An engaging personality, he was a dedicated teacher who enjoyed debate in the classroom and the newspaper. He was part of the New York intellectual community, always ready to share opinions on history, literature, and politics.

Further Reading: Neil Jumonville, *Henry Steele Commager: Mid-century Liberalism and the History of the Present*, 1999; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*, 1988; Richard H. Pells, *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age: American Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s*, 1985.

DONALD K. PICKENS

COMMENTARY, monthly periodical launched in 1945 in New York City. Sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, *Commentary* was not intended to be a house organ. Its editor, Elliot E. Cohen, was given complete editorial freedom, at least in theory. The journal sought to present significant thought and opinion on Jewish affairs and contemporary issues. It focused on public concerns during the immediate postwar period: politics and radicalism; literature, culture, art, and film; foreign affairs, particularly the Cold War; civil rights; civil liberties; and the German question. In addition, *Commentary* looked at the particular concerns of the American Jewish community,

such as what it meant to be Jewish; Israel and Zionism; and the Holocaust and anti-Semitism. Many of *Commentary's* editorial staff and contributors were ex-Trotskyites who had abandoned their Marxism to become hard-line anti-Stalinists in the Cold War struggle against the Soviet Union. *Commentary* sought to assist the integration of the American Jewish community into the mainstream of American life. It articulated a conspicuous non-Zionism that defined America as the center of Jewish life and Diaspora.

Commentary became one of America's most celebrated periodicals, developing into the premier postwar journal of Jewish affairs, attracting a modest readership far wider than the Jewish community. Presidents of the United States, high-level administrative staff, and politicians regularly perused the journal. As a mark of this popularity, *Commentary* helped to launch political careers of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Jeane Kirkpatrick and Elliot Abrams. The magazine also provided an intellectual forum, nurturing the group known as the "New York Intellectuals," since it was willing to publish the works of a whole new generation of untried writers, thinkers, and poets, including Irving Kristol, Irving Howe, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Daniel Bell, Nathan Glazer, Delmore Schwartz, Bernard Malamud, Saul Bellow, and Leslie Fiedler. *Commentary* soon assumed a leading position in American intellectual life, and it has had more influence on the thinking of the American intelligentsia than any other periodical but the *New York Review of Books* and the *New Yorker*. *Commentary* helped define anti-Communist liberalism in the 1940s and 1950s, the New Left and the counterculture in the 1960s, and neoconservatism in the 1970s and 1980s. *Commentary's* influence always exceeded circulation figures.

Further Reading: Nathan Abrams, "'America Is Home': *Commentary* Magazine and the Refocusing of the Community of Memory, 1945–1960," *Jewish Culture and History* 3:1 (Summer 2000): 45–74; Alexander Bloom, *Prodigal Sons: The New York Intellectuals and Their World*, 1986; Milton S. Katz, "Commentary and the American Jewish Intellectual Experience," *Journal of American Culture* 3:1 (Spring 1980): 155–166.

NATHAN ABRAMS

COMMUNIST PARTY (CPUSA) The Communist Party, which had spent the 1920s faction-ridden and composed largely of workers speaking foreign languages, successfully Americanized its image during the 1930s. The nation was suffering from the Great Depression and the CPUSA was in its heyday, organizing strikes, marches, and rallies against capitalism. By mid-decade, as Nazi Germany began to menace its neighbors, the party gradually moved to emphasizing creation of a worldwide “people’s front” against fascism. At home, the party embraced liberals, and its activists helped organize the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The Communists recruited Americans to fight in the Spanish Civil War against Generalissimo Francisco Franco, whose forces were aided by German planes and Italian fascist troops. As CPUSA rolls reached their high-water mark of 90,000, party head Earl Browder believed his organization was slowly becoming the informal left wing of the Democratic Party.

The CPUSA’s decision to support the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939, however, brought a wave of criticism and open hostility. Congress passed the Smith Act of 1940, outlawing membership in any organization deemed by the attorney general to advocate the government’s violent overthrow, and the Justice Department sent Browder to prison on an old passport technicality. The CPUSA seemed less of a threat by June 1941, when Germany invaded the Soviet Union. After Pearl Harbor, the CPUSA rushed to embrace all enemies of the Axis powers. President Franklin D. Roosevelt commuted Browder’s four-year sentence as a gesture of unity when the United States could not give Russia an early second front.

For Browder, the dissolution of the Communist International in 1943 and the Teheran Conference later that year meant long-term cooperation between the United States, England, and Russia. In 1944 he offered his own contribution to mutual understanding by converting the CPUSA into a nonpartisan lobbying organization, the Communist Political Association. In July 1945 Browder, in an intraparty coup, was replaced by William Z. Foster, who reconstituted the party in the traditional Stalinist style.

During the 1948 presidential election, the Communists unofficially supported Progressive

Henry A. Wallace. The following year, eleven top CPUSA leaders were convicted of belonging to an organization that preached revolution, a violation of the Smith Act, and sentenced to prison for three to five years each. By 1957, the party had lost all influence in American life.

The CPUSA’s official organ was the *Daily Worker*; *The Communist* (later *Political Affairs*) was its theoretical monthly. The party’s income supposedly came from dues, but most of its funds came from Moscow until the late 1980s. Today the party survives as a microscopic political curiosity, composed largely of elderly Cold War veterans.

Further Reading: Nathan Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism*, 1974; Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History*, 1962; Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes, *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself*, 1992.

WŁODZIMIERZ BATOG

CONANT, JAMES BRYANT (March 26, 1893–February 11, 1978), chemist. Conant was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts. In 1910 he entered Harvard University, where he studied chemistry under Nobel laureate Theodore William Richards. There Conant received a BS in 1914 and a PhD in 1916 in chemistry.

In 1933 he became Harvard’s twenty-third president. In that position, he commissioned the 1945 report *General Education in a Free Society*, which urged high schools to require students to study more science, mathematics, English, and social studies. The report favored the liberal arts over vocational training. As such, it conflicted with the Smith-Hughes Act of 1925, under which Congress had provided states money to distribute to public schools to develop a vocational curriculum. In his zeal for the liberal arts, Conant in 1949 required Harvard students to take a sequence of core courses in the humanities, the social sciences, and biological and physical sciences.

As with many academics, World War II called Conant to national service. He urged Congress to institute conscription in order to bring the military to combat strength. In 1940 Congress began drafting men for this purpose.

In contrast to isolationists, Conant urged aid to Britain and intervention in the war should Germany and Japan threaten U.S. interests in Europe and the Pacific. In 1941 he went to England to promote joint Anglo-American research. The next year, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Conant scientific adviser to the Manhattan Project, the code name for the program to build an atomic bomb. On July 16, 1945, Conant was among the observers of the first atomic bomb detonation (a uranium bomb) in Alamogordo, New Mexico. Unlike Manhattan-Project colleagues Richard Feynman, Isidore Rabi, and Julius Robert Oppenheimer, Conant had no second thoughts about the bomb and urged President Harry Truman, who had succeeded Roosevelt, to drop the second of the two uranium bombs on Nagasaki, Japan.

Conant feared, however, that a nuclear-armed USSR might provoke an arms race. In 1945 Truman dispatched him to Moscow to urge Soviet restraint and to pledge that the United States would not use a nuclear weapon as a first strike against an enemy. In 1947 Truman appointed Conant to the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission, which Congress had created in 1946 to govern development of nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants.

Conant believed that U.S. security depended on supremacy in science, mathematics, and engineering. To this end he urged Congress to create the National Science Foundation in 1950 to promote research in these fields. He died in Hanover, New Hampshire.

Further Reading: James B. Conant, *My Several Lives: The Memoirs of a Social Inventor*, 1970; James G. Hershberg, *James B. Conant: Harvard to Hiroshima and the Making of the Nuclear Age*, 1995; Ray Porter and Marilyn Ogilvie, eds., *The Hutchinson Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 2000.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO), one of the most important labor federations in American history. The CIO was born and grew massively during the Great Depression, primarily as a result of the sit-down strikes of the late 1930s. The federation, aimed

at recruiting unskilled mass-production workers, entered the 1940s with huge victories, winning important strikes at most of the steel companies that had previously resisted unionism, and at Ford Motors. The question of wartime strikes, however, split the union. John L. Lewis, president and cofounder, opposed any attempts by other CIO leaders to compromise workers' interests in the name of national defense. As a result, Lewis made the stunning decision to support Republican candidate Wendell Willkie over Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1940 presidential election. After CIO workers voted for Roosevelt despite Lewis's opposition, Lewis resigned and took the United Mine Workers with him. His replacement atop the CIO, United Steel Workers president Philip Murray, shared some of Lewis's caution concerning government interference, but was strongly prowar and far more supportive of the Democratic Party. Murray's wartime policies were therefore somewhat contradictory. Murray continued to criticize the unequal implementation of the wartime labor policies, particularly calling for an end to wage freezes. At the same time, he strongly supported the no-strike pledge, accepting that the government's National War Labor Board would solve all labor disputes without strikes for the war's duration. While this meant that the war period allowed workers some important victories, especially in the numeric growth of the unions, it also meant that the CIO leaders frequently were forced to accept government decisions that granted workers smaller wage increases and fewer benefits than they might have won through collective bargaining. Therefore, although Murray and other CIO leaders attempted to abide by the no-strike pledge, CIO workers had no intention of doing so. In 1944 and 1945, when the government was too slow to respond to their demands, CIO workers went on huge wildcat strikes, openly criticizing both management's using the war to weaken the unions and union leaders' refusal to challenge management on these issues.

The strike wave that began during the war continued in the immediate postwar era, when CIO members joined in a huge wave of strikes. Conservative government officials, in response to what they saw as an increasingly radical labor

movement, called for a law limiting the power of the labor movement. The result was passage of the Taft-Hartley Act over President Truman's veto in 1947. The statute required labor leaders to sign affidavits avowing they were not Communists, allowed states to prohibit the union shop, banned sympathy strikes, and gave the president the right to call for an eighty-day cooling-off period in any strike that threatened the national interest. The law was a devastating blow to labor, and especially the CIO, which had relied on government support for its most important successes throughout the war period. In response to this shift in government policy, Murray and other CIO leaders complied with the law's provisions while putting more money and energy into the CIO's Political Action Committee (PAC) in order to counter the activities of an increasingly antilabor federal government. In a similar vein, the CIO launched a campaign known as Operation Dixie, in an effort to organize workers in the South and hopefully defeat the conservative southern congresspeople who supported antilabor legislation. CIO-PAC had some important achievements and was critical in forcing the Democratic Party to adopt an antidiscrimination platform in the 1948 presidential campaign. The late 1940s, however, saw the CIO begin a long process of decline. Operation Dixie was a dismal failure due to strong management opposition and union organizers' failure to take a firm stand on southern segregation. Additionally, despite CIO organizers' concerted efforts to get the law repealed, Taft-Hartley remained on the books.

Further Reading: Nelson Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II*, 1987; Sally M. Miller and Daniel Cornford, eds., *American Labor in the Era of World War II*, 1995; Robert Zieger, *The CIO, 1935–1955*, 1995.

DANIEL OPLER

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE), civil rights organization. CORE was founded in Chicago in 1942 by an interracial group of students led by George Houser, who was white, and James Farmer, who was African American. Many of the students were members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist

group seeking to change racial attitudes. CORE initially sought to better race relations and focused on desegregating public accommodations in Chicago. It was dedicated to nonviolent direct action and heavily influenced by the teachings of Henry David Thoreau and Mahatma Gandhi. It started as a nonhierarchical, decentralized group funded entirely by the voluntary contributions of its members. It quickly expanded nationwide to establish goals of equal rights, quality education, and economic and political opportunities for African Americans. During World War II, blacks were discriminated against and segregated in every sector of the workplace. Integration of the workforce could have solved many wartime manpower shortages, but employers and white workers were staunchly against it. In 1942 CORE favored integration as a means of achieving its goals, but later it changed its focus from integration to community control.

CORE's expanding membership in the early 1940s included mostly white, middle-class students from the Midwest. The organization pioneered the strategy of nonviolent direct action with tactics such as sit-in demonstrations, jail-ins, and freedom rides, which proved to be effective in the North. Success in integrating northern public facilities inspired members to strengthen the national organization and take their strategies to the South. This decision led to tension between CORE local chapters and the national leadership, which persisted during the 1940s. Some members of local chapters were pacifists who wanted to focus solely upon educational activities, while others insisted that social change could not take place without direct action protests. These divisions called attention to the need for a more focused national organization, which did not occur until Farmer became the first national director in 1953.

CORE's early years were rooted in a Christian-pacifist movement, although its battlegrounds were often violent. In 1947 it conducted the first direct action in the South by staging a two-week pilgrimage through Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky. This first freedom ride challenged Jim Crow practices that had been declared illegal by a 1946 Supreme Court decision outlawing discrimination in interstate

travel. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had strongly urged CORE not to conduct this action, asserting that it would result in wholesale slaughter with no good achieved. Thurgood Marshall, then the head of NAACP's legal department, was firmly against such a confrontation with white supremacy. Called the Journey of Reconciliation, the direct action designated four white and four black CORE members who intentionally violated the patterns of seating on southern buses and trains. As they traveled throughout the four states, they were beaten, arrested, and fined. The most significant incident occurred in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where four CORE members, two white and two black, were found guilty of violating the state bus statute. The angry white judge sentenced the black members to thirty days on a chain gang. However, judging the behavior of the white members, which included Houser, to be even more dangerous, he sentenced them to ninety. The Journey of Reconciliation captured the nation's imagination and gained great publicity. Bayard Rustin, one of the black members, later serialized his chain gang experience in a prominent newspaper, spurring an investigation that subsequently led to the abolition of chain gangs in North Carolina. In 1948 Rustin and Houser were given the Thomas Jefferson Award for their attempts to end segregation. Most importantly, the Journey of Reconciliation became the prototype for the freedom rides that characterized the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Further Reading: John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 1974; C. Eric Lincoln, *The Negro Pilgrimage in America*, 1967; Tad Tuleja, *Freedom Rides*, 1994.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS OF 1942

Libertarians and Republicans focused on the 1942 congressional election, the first since President Franklin Roosevelt won a third term in 1940, against his agenda at home and abroad. They rebuked the New Deal as leftist extremism. Their attack against labor reasserted the Republican commitment to business, a constant since the nineteenth century. They opposed Social Security in particular and welfare in general, arguing

that workers must earn their keep rather than rely on a safety net. Republicans labeled government works programs—the Works Progress Administration, for example—as a form of welfare.

The attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese gains in the Pacific, and Nazi victories in Europe strengthened isolationists in the Republican Party. Senators William E. Borah of Idaho and Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota blamed Roosevelt and the Democrats in Congress for miring the United States in yet another global war. The experience of World War I taught Nye to repudiate World War II as an excuse for business to reap windfall profits at the expense of human lives. Like Woodrow Wilson in World War I, Roosevelt had overreached. Isolationists condemned Democrats as reckless. Caution might have averted the disaster of Pearl Harbor and kept the United States at peace. Roosevelt had been unwise in seeking a third term, breaking the two-term tradition that George Washington had set. Nazism and fascism underscored the danger of concentrating power in one person's hands. Only Republican majorities in the House and Senate could check Roosevelt's quest for power.

Congressional Democrats in the Northeast and in cities defended New Deal policies as safeguards against corporate avarice and abuse. They hoped wartime patriotism and a strong economy would unify Americans behind the Democratic Party. Their fate depended on the durability of the New Deal alliance among labor, blacks, and intellectuals. Southern Democrats, unhappy with the New Deal, distanced themselves from its policies. They campaigned as defenders of white men, Protestantism, and patriotism. They tapped into the rural suspicion of everything European, from Darwinism to fascism. American intervention in Europe was a descent into decadence. In their campaign, Southern Democrats echoed the agenda of Tupelo, Mississippi, rather than Hyde Park, New York.

The 1942 election vindicated Republicans and Southern Democrats. Republicans gained forty-six seats in the House and nine in the Senate. The election underscored the divide between city and countryside, ubiquitous throughout American history. People in the Midwest voted for Republicans and in the South for conservative Democrats. For the

first time since the 1920s, the 1942 election returned to Congress a conservative coalition that upheld segregation, fundamentalism, entrepreneurship, private property and caution abroad.

Further Reading: Cortez A.M. Ewing, *Congressional Elections, 1896–1944: The Sectional Basis of Political Democracy in the House of Representatives*, 1984; Barbara Hinckley, *Congressional Elections*, 1981; Louis Sandy Maisel and Joseph Cooper, eds., *Congressional Elections*, 1981.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS OF 1946

As the Congressional elections of 1946 approached, the Democrats suffered from a number of disabilities. President Harry Truman lacked the control over the party that Franklin D. Roosevelt had enjoyed. First, Truman had alienated some important constituencies. His initiatives on civil rights cost him support in the South. His threats to draft striking workers did not endear him to labor. Hard-core liberals were put off by Truman's toughening policy toward the Soviet Union, which included building military bases in Europe, increasing the stockpile of atomic bombs, and ousting secretary of commerce Henry A. Wallace for criticizing the president's foreign policy. Second, migration during the war hurt the Democrats by making it more difficult for their base to register to vote. Third, the tension in the world had not dissipated as expected with the war's end. As each day passed, the Soviet Union looked less like an ally and more like an enemy. Fourth, the economic situation caused by postwar economic conversion hurt Truman and the Democrats. Although the transition was relatively mild, an expected consequence of war, high rates of inflation and large numbers of strikes hurt consumers. Price and wage controls, which Truman reluctantly agreed to, were highly unpopular. Finally, Truman was only learning the job as president and appeared uneasy and unsure of himself. His leadership contrasted with that of the steady and confident Roosevelt.

Republicans, on the other hand, approached the election with a measurable degree of optimism, especially since they no longer had to face Roosevelt, their most skilled and popular

opponent. They campaigned on tax cuts and Truman's lack of vigor in the domestic war against Communism, but emphasized Truman and his reconversion policies as the central issue. Due to deep divisions within the Republican Party, little mention was made of foreign affairs in the campaign. Their slogan was "Had enough? Vote Republican."

On Election Day, the Republicans gained fifty-seven seats to enjoy a 245-to-188 majority (one additional seat was held by a third party) in the House of Representatives, and twelve seats in the Senate for a majority of 51 to 45. The incoming Republican freshman class included Richard Nixon of California and Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin. Although Truman was upset by the loss, he quickly realized that the record of the incoming Eightieth Congress would determine the presidential election of 1948, and he moved to steal some issues from the Republicans. Namely, he eliminated most price and wage controls and some lingering wartime federal powers, appointed a commission to examine the loyalty of federal employees, and submitted a balanced budget for fiscal 1948.

Further Reading: Susan Hartman, *Truman and the 80th Congress*, 1971; Donald R. McCoy, *The Presidency of Harry S. Truman*, 1984; James T. Patterson, *Mr. Republican: A Biography of Robert A. Taft*, 1972.

GREGORY DEHLER

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION It is legal in the United States for young men to refuse to perform military service or take part in war in any form for religious or moral reasons. Such people are called conscientious objectors (COs). They were present during the American Revolution and the Civil War, mostly as members of historic peace churches such as the Church of the Brethren, Mennonites, and Quakers. During World War I, many resisters received draconian treatment and were often considered cowards and traitors. One survey reported that 142 life sentences and seventeen death sentences were meted out to men refusing to be inducted, though no death penalty was ever carried out. Not until 1933 were the last of the imprisoned World War I draft resisters released.

In 1940, while Britain, France, and Germany were at war on the European continent, conscription was reintroduced in the United States. For the first time, COs were required to perform alternative service. Subsequently, some 12,000 men declared themselves COs. Jehovah's Witnesses refused to serve the state, but not all objectors were pacifists or even religious; some were anarchists and socialists. Draft resisters also included Japanese Americans uprooted from their homes on the West Coast and imprisoned in internment camps. Most COs were sent to Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps, work camps run by the historic peace churches, though still under federal authority. Many COs, however, objected to the inconsequential work and lack of pay and chose instead to serve as volunteers in medical experiments. Others became experts in fighting forest fires. COs also founded the National Mental Health Foundation. Meanwhile, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, the Central Committee for COs, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the War Resisters League actively supported and counseled COs, as did a few newly formed religious groups such as the Jewish Peace Fellowship.

Decades later, during the 1960s, opposition to the Vietnam War and the widely detested draft was so widespread that applications for CO status soared. In 1973, President Richard M. Nixon ended the draft and established a voluntary military. (Today even members of the military can apply for CO status if they can prove they have undergone a change of heart while in uniform.) Seven years later President Jimmy Carter, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, reinstated draft registration for all men turning eighteen. The law still protects the rights of COs. Charles A. Maresca Jr. of the National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors (now known as the Center on Conscience and War) perhaps best defined the basic principle. In a letter to the *New York Times*, he declared that some conscientious objectors would participate in alternative nonmilitary work. Others may reluctantly choose prison. But above all, a conscientious objector will never go to war.

Further Reading: Peter Brock, *Twentieth Century Pacifism*, 1970; Cynthia Eller, *Conscientious Objectors and*

the Second World War: Moral and Religious Arguments in Support of Pacifism, 1991; David A. Weber, ed., *Civil Disobedience in America: A Documentary History*, 1978.

MURRAY POLNER

CONSERVATION Conservation of forests, water, and other resources to safeguard the biosphere was not part of the 1940s mind-set. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), whose funding Congress ended in 1942, was as much about fighting unemployment through hard work, fresh air and sunshine as about preserving the pristine America of James Fenimore Cooper's novels.

The CCC's passing changed little about the dynamics of conservation, a responsibility that fell to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). Since 1906 USDA efforts concentrated in the Forest Service, less an independent agency arm than a broker between lumber interests seeking access to federal land and preservationists who wanted to retain a sanctuary for flora and fauna. With the wartime emphasis on full economic mobilization, the edge tilted toward lumbermen; in 1944 the Forest Service granted them logging rights on thousands of acres in the West. Fortunately lumbermen pursued their interests without illusion; to cut trees without replanting was suicide, and the task of planting more and better varieties of deciduous and coniferous trees fell to the Forest Service. Between 1936 and 1946 loggers had diminished the stands of pine 35 percent in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. The Forest Service responded in 1946 by creating the Hittchiti Forest Research Center with 18.5 million acres of land in these three states. Foresters imitated those who raised corn, crossbreeding different varieties of pine to yield fast-maturing hybrids.

Equally vigorous was the Southern Forest Experiment Station (SFES), another Forest Service agency, with teams of foresters in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas. They cooperated with the Hittchiti Center in Alabama and South Carolina and with the forestry departments of the agricultural experiment stations in the other states. The SFES pursued three aims. First, mindful of the fire that had swept through the North Carolina hinterland

in 1941, the SFES established and trained fire teams to respond to future crises. Second, the agency planted new trees on more than 5 million acres between 1942 and 1949; in 1946 alone the SFES planted seedlings on 1.2 million acres in Texas and Louisiana. Third, it assembled Divisions of Forest Pathology and Forest Entomology to limit tree damage from disease, insects, and mites.

In other states, agricultural experiment stations advanced the conservation agenda. In southeastern Ohio, for example, Edmund Secrest, a forester who directed the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station between 1937 and 1946, planted hardy varieties of oak and maple on strip-mined land. At the same time, he expanded the genetic diversity of species in the Forest Arboretum in Wooster by planting seedlings of tree species indigenous to Asia.

In addition, USDA conservation efforts in the 1940s concentrated on the Soil Conservation Service (SCS). As was true of the Forest Service, the SCS had to contend with private interests, in this case those of farmers and ranchers. The dust bowl catastrophe had galvanized preservationists in the mid-1930s to support tough measures to regulate western farmers and cattlemen, but the wartime demand that agriculture feed civilians and U.S. servicemen around the world dictated that the SCS conserve soil. The result was a crash program akin to the Manhattan Project; the goal was not the development of an atomic bomb but the ratcheting up of research on preventing soil erosion on 31 million acres in twelve western states. At times the SCS worked with the Forest Service, the Bureau of Agricultural Engineering, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Minimum tillage and contour plowing were the quick fixes, though the SCS was stretched too thin in money and scientists to mount a program to breed hardy grasses that would survive drought and grazing. The end of World War II freed scientists to begin the program, but even then the USDA priority remained the breeding of crops rather than cover grasses.

Further Reading: Michael Frome, *The Forest Service*, 1971; V. Alaric Sample, *Forest Conservation Policy: A Reference Handbook*, 2003; D. Harper Simms, *The Soil Conservation Service*, 1970.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION The rise of consumerism defined post-World War II America. In 1949 an editorial in *Newsweek* magazine noted in astonishment that Americans had abandoned their Puritan heritage. Frugality had given way to prodigality, and Calvinist restraint to hedonistic indulgence. In 1946 alone American consumers spent \$140 billion, piling up \$8.4 billion in debt. Whereas the average Japanese worker saved nearly 20 percent of income between 1945 and 1950, the average American saved less than 5 percent. A fifteen-year-old Los Angeles girl described in 1949 the new mathematics of consumption. Her parents required her to save \$10 of her \$65 monthly allowance, but the rest was hers. She reported spending about \$40 on clothes and the rest on records and jewelry. All the teenagers, she insisted, found it trendy to spend money. Teenagers were particularly attuned to the culture of consumerism. Too young to remember the privations of the Great Depression, they assumed that prosperity was the perpetual state of affairs and so saw no need to save money, particularly when there was so much to buy.

Advertisers reinforced the spending spree. A 1948 Ford advertisement promised Americans that a new car would make them the envy of their neighbors, ending with an injunction to buy two. The next year Ford unveiled its new model in the ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City, and auto sales surpassed 1929's high-water mark. Advertisers understood the rivalry between neighbors to outdo each other. They publicized the contention of Boston construction worker Boyd Pennington, who insisted that if two neighbors happened to buy exactly the same color car, within two days one of them would have something different.

Americans possessed an insatiable appetite not only for things, but also for advertisements as a form of reconnaissance, telling them what products were popular and therefore what other people were likely to buy. Competition to outspend thy neighbor was intense near cities. The rise in 1947 of inexpensive cookie-cutter houses defined the postwar suburb. It goaded Americans to spend money in hopes of distinguishing themselves in a new world where one street of houses was a monotonous repetition of many others.

Consumption was also a type of conformity. In these homogeneous neighborhoods, most people were close enough in age and income to make conspicuous any deviation from the norm; to lag behind neighbors in acquiring trinkets raised doubts that one could provide for family adequately. Popular culture intensified the pressure to conform through consumption. Boys and girls bought the same jeans, shirts, and other attire. Black and Latino males bought the zoot suits that singer and teen idol Frank Sinatra popularized.

Suburbanites were not alone in feeling the pressure to spend. In 1948 rural sociologists at the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station in Wooster, Ohio, began to issue a series of consumer bulletins that compared brands of everything from refrigerators to Venetian blinds. Consumerism had spread to the countryside, where agricultural experiment stations and land-grant colleges as well as advertisers told farmers what to buy.

Whether in suburbs or on the farm, consumption became in the 1940s a form of patriotism and the shopping center a type of cathedral. American factories churned out refrigerators, cars, and whatever else citizens desired. In this context, spending money had a political and religious aura. Consumption was a means of affirming one's status as an American and the nation's status as a superpower. Consumption was a means of affirming the mythology of an endless frontier. Consumption was an index of one's affluence in an era of rising expectations. Americans were what they bought, a corollary of the capitalist premise that everything and everyone was a commodity. The public discovered in the 1940s that it could buy the American Dream.

Further Reading: Louis I. Gerdes, ed., *The 1940s*, 2000; Robert Sickels, *The 1940s*, 2004; Michael V. Uschan, *The 1940s (A Cultural History of the United States Through the Decades)*, 1999.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

CONTAINMENT Containment was the center of American foreign policy in its dealings with the Soviet Union during the Cold War, beginning in the late 1940s. It encompassed resistance to

perceived expansionist tendencies of the Soviet Union, often through association with compatible allies. Winston Churchill, in what became known as his "Iron Curtain Speech" on March 5, 1946, in Fulton, Missouri, called for resistance to Soviet expansion. The authoritative definition came with George F. Kennan's article, written under the pseudonym Mr. X., in *Foreign Affairs* in July 1947. Kennan claimed that the root of all Soviet action in foreign affairs was its hostility toward the capitalist West. While the Soviet Union's goal was worldwide domination, its own theories stated that the fall of capitalism was inevitable because capitalism contained the seeds of its own destruction. Kennan felt that the Soviet Union would cooperate with the West when convenient and push aggressively only in limited circumstances and locations, taking no "premature" risks. The Soviet Union believed it could not fail, so it could just wait. This policy was best combated with "vigilant containment" of the expansion of the Soviet Union by a U.S.-led coalition until time inexorably led to an internal transformation of the Soviet Union. Accordingly, the United States could wait patiently, as the Soviet Union waited patiently, for the other side to fall. Aggressive moves would be taken at geographical locations where the Soviet Union moved aggressively. This became official U.S. policy with the Truman Doctrine in 1947 (which pledged support for Greece's fight against Communist rebels), the Marshall Plan in 1948 (to aid reconstruction in Western Europe and offset Communist tendencies—that is, to rescue capitalism and defeat socialism), and the formation of NATO in 1949 (to further promote Europe's political and economic integration).

Containment was a controversial policy, criticized as early as 1947 for being too "open-ended" in its support of regimes struggling against Communism. Kennan himself would later voice objections. Others, however, denounced it as being too passive and pushed for the "liberation" of countries in the Soviet "sphere of influence." In 1949, the detonation of a Soviet atomic bomb and the victory of Communists in the Chinese civil war pushed U.S. policy makers to take a stronger foreign policy stance. While Kennan's containment had not been military in nature, the

policy of containment was extended by an April 1950 National Security Council document (NSC-68: “U.S. Objectives and Programs for National Security”) that buttressed U.S. involvement in the Korean War. The document called for a total military, political, and economic commitment, as well as a balance between conventional and atomic capability and psychological warfare. Upon the start of the Korean War, the U.S. administration backed up the new policy with ever-increasing national security and defense budget appropriations. The Korean War also helped turn NATO from a passive organization committed to defense of Western Europe to a military organization. While originally conceived as a defensive policy, containment became progressively more aggressive and militaristic, particularly in U.S. policy regarding Vietnam.

Containment seemed to work in light of the era of détente in the 1970s. However, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 renewed Soviet-U.S. tensions and pushed the United States into a more aggressive stance again. Nonetheless, containment as a U.S. policy ended in 1989 with the beginning of a Soviet retreat in Eastern Europe that ended in the dissolution of the USSR in 1991.

Further Reading: Michael J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security State, 1945–1954*, 1998; Wilson D. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947–1950*, 1992; Randall B. Woods and Howard Jones, *Dawning of the Cold War: The United States’ Quest for Order*, 1991.

LINDA EIKMEIER ENDERSBY

COPLAND, AARON (November 14, 1900–December 2, 1990), composer. Born in Brooklyn to Russian-Jewish immigrants, Copland learned to play the piano from his sister. At age fifteen he determined to be a composer. After studying composition at the Conservatoire Américain at Fontainebleau, he returned to the United States in 1924, premiering his *Symphony for Organ and Orchestra* at New York’s Carnegie Hall. Like his contemporary George Gershwin, Copland drew inspiration from jazz, an influence in his *Music for the Theater* in 1925 and *Piano Concerto* in 1926.

During the 1940s Copland reached his creative apex. His ballets *Rodeo*, *Lincoln Portrait*, and *Fanfare for the Common Man*, all in 1942, and *Appalachian Spring* in 1944 remain popular with concertgoers. These compositions express a yearning for an idyllic past. *Appalachian Spring*, which won both a Pulitzer Prize and New York Music Critic’s Circle Award in 1945, borrows folk music from the Shakers as though to evoke a purity of religious piety incongruous with secular America. The score romanticizes the rural past as though America were a Jeffersonian republic of sturdy yeomen, though by the 1940s agribusiness had replaced the small farm and the majority of Americans lived and worked in cities. Like *Appalachian Spring*, *Fanfare for the Common Man* searches for a mythic past when ordinary laborers had been the soul of America rather than the disposables in an economy of boom and bust. In the midst of World War II, Copland returned listeners to America’s revered wartime president in his *Lincoln Portrait*. Copland’s music was American and at the same time at odds with the nation’s elitism and commercialism.

During the 1940s Copland broadened his appeal beyond the concert hall. In 1940 he taught composition at Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood, Massachusetts, returning in 1946 until retirement in 1965. Twice during the 1940s he was a Department of State Cultural Ambassador to Latin America, and between 1937 and 1945 he was president of the American Composers Alliance. In 1946 the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers elected Copland a member. The next year he won his second Music Critic’s Circle award for his *Third Symphony*.

Other awards included the Gold Medal in Music from the National Institute and American Academy of Arts and Letters and an honorary Doctor of Music from Princeton University, both in 1956; the Medal of Freedom bestowed by President Lyndon Baines Johnson in 1964; the National Medal of Arts given by President Ronald Reagan and the Congressional Gold Medal by the U.S. House of Representatives, both in 1986. Copland died in North Tarrytown, New York.

Further Reading: Arthur Berger, *Aaron Copland*, 1990; Richard Kostelanetz, ed., *Aaron Copland: A Reader: Selected Writings, 1923–1972*, 2004; Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 1999.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

COPLON, JUDITH (May 17, 1921–), former United States government employee accused of spying for the Soviet Union. Born in Brooklyn, Coplon graduated from Barnard College and joined the U.S. Department of Justice in 1943. In 1945 she transferred to its Foreign Agents Registration Section in Washington, DC, where she helped determine which persons and organizations were required by law to register as agents of a foreign power. Her duties allowed access to Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) records concerning alleged Communists in the United States. Soon Coplon fell under suspicion for sharing classified materials with Soviet embassy official Valentin Gubitchev. FBI agents, alerted by intercepted, decrypted telegraph traffic (code-named VENONA) between embassy personnel and Moscow, and placed Coplon under surveillance. After observing several meetings between Coplon and Gubitchev, the FBI arrested them on March 4, 1949, and discovered classified government reports in Coplon's handbag. A grand jury, convinced that Coplon had planned to give Gubitchev the documents, indicted both parties for conspiring to defraud the United States, and Coplon for conspiring to share materials related to the national defense with an unauthorized person. Coplon's trials—the first in Washington and the second in New York—generated sensationalistic media commentary on her personal appearance, rumored romantic life, and testimony. Coplon claimed that she had never been a Communist or a spy. She characterized her rendezvous with Gubitchev as love trysts, but prosecutors presented evidence of her relationships with other men during the months in question and argued that she had met Gubitchev only to share secrets. The Washington jury convicted Coplon and Gubitchev on June 30, 1949, and the New York jury on March 7, 1950. U.S. officials returned Gubitchev to the USSR. Coplon's attorneys claimed that the FBI

had arrested her without a warrant and illegally wiretapped her telephone. In December 1950 the New York Court of Appeals overturned Coplon's conviction on these grounds, and in 1967 the Justice Department announced it would not retry the case. In 1950 Coplon married attorney Albert Socolov; they have four children. They refuse to discuss the case with academics or the media.

Further Reading: John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America*, 1999; Marcia and Thomas Mitchell, *The Spy Who Seduced America: The Judith Coplon Story*, 2002; Veronica Wilson, "Red Masquerades: Gender and Political Subversion During the Cold War, 1945–1963," PhD diss., Rutgers University, 2002.

VERONICA WILSON

CORAL SEA, BATTLE OF The Battle of the Coral Sea took place May 4–8, 1942. The Japanese had planned to invade New Guinea and capture Port Moresby, a vital step before conquering Australia. At least eight troop transports, cruisers, destroyers, and the aircraft carrier *Shoho* composed the invasion force. The Japanese carriers *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku* were also on their way from their base at Rabaul, New Britain. The American forces were composed of Task Force 17 (commanded by Rear Admiral Jack Fletcher—based at New Caledonia) and Task Force 11 (commanded by Rear Admiral Aubrey Fitch—located in Pearl Harbor for repairs). Task Force 17 had the aircraft carrier *Yorktown*, while Task Force 11 had the carrier *Lexington*. After the attacks on Pearl Harbor and the Philippine islands, these were the only significant naval forces in the South Pacific. The Allied forces were outnumbered in carriers by a margin of three to two.

Fortunately for the Allies, they had cracked the Japanese military code, and with information from Australian intelligence, Japanese movements could be observed. Task Force 11 was ordered to meet Admiral Fletcher's Task Force 17 and to be ready for the Japanese attack. Part of the Japanese force landed at Tulagi in the Solomon Islands, intent on building a seaplane base. The forces at Tulagi were attacked the next day by planes from the *Yorktown*. Most of the Japanese seaplanes were destroyed along with

some gunboats and support ships. The remainder of the Tulagi force retreated to join the Port Moresby invasion force. By now, the Japanese suspected that at least one American carrier was near. While each side knew the other's forces were in the area, poor communications hampered efforts to locate the enemy. Ironically, both forces were not much more than 180 miles apart at the time. Fletcher refueled his force and sent the oiler *Neosho* and an escort destroyer, *Sims*, to a safe area south of the fleet's current location. Japanese planes located both ships the next day and attacked, thinking they were a carrier and cruiser. The *Sims* was bombed and sunk, while the crippled *Neosho* tried to leave the area. But the *Neosho's* engines were out of action and she drifted free for several days before her crew could even be rescued. At the same time, carrier planes from the *Yorktown* and *Lexington* located the *Shoho* and bombed it. Thirty minutes later she sank beneath the waves. Next came the American attack on the Japanese *Shokaku*. It was bombed and set ablaze but managed to extinguish the fires and escape. Unfortunately, the Japanese followed the returning planes back to the American carriers. Soon, Japanese torpedo planes and fighters were attacking the carriers *Lexington* and *Yorktown*. Both were hit, with the *Lexington* getting the worst of it. The *Lexington* had to be abandoned, but the *Yorktown* remained operational. Japanese admiral Shigeyoshi Inouye recalled the Port Moresby invasion force, while the American forces were ordered to withdraw. The *Yorktown* was ordered to proceed to Pearl Harbor for repairs.

The Coral Sea was the first naval battle where opposing ships could not see each other and were often up to 200 miles apart. Most historians credit the Japanese with a tactical victory, but give the Allies the strategic triumph. While Japan was winning during most of the battle, it failed to get the decisive victory that it was looking for. Japanese offensive action in the South Pacific was ended. With one carrier sunk and the other out of action indefinitely, the Japanese lost the chance of handing the Americans a *coup de grâce* at the Battle of Midway a few weeks later.

Further Reading: Edwin R. Hoyt, Stanley Johnston, *Queen of the Flat-tops: The U.S.S. Lexington and the*

Coral Sea Battle, 1942; *Blue Skies and Blood*, 1975; Bernard Milot, *The Battle of the Coral Sea*, 1974.

MARK E. ELLIS

CORN STUNT DISEASE Since the 1920s, American corn breeders have reduced the natural diversity of corn by breeding a small number of high-yielding corn plants of roughly uniform genotype. By 1940 American farmers grew roughly the same genotype on 90 percent of corn acreage, unwittingly exposing their crop to ruin. The first epidemic came in 1945 when corn stunt disease appeared in southern California, then swept through the Rio Grande and lower Mississippi valleys. Farmers in some lands along these rivers lost their entire crop. Losses inland would have likewise been heavy but for the mode of disease transmission. Corn stunt is a viral disease transmitted by a species of leafhopper, a poor flier that cannot move rapidly through a cornfield. Moreover, a leafhopper that does not have the virus cannot get it from a diseased corn plant and so cannot infect other corn plants. Only those leafhoppers that have acquired the virus from grasses along the Rio Grande and Mississippi River can transmit it to corn.

The expenditure of chemicals and money prevented a recurrence of corn stunt disease in 1946 and led scientists to believe they were defeating corn diseases. Success prevented all but a few scientists from admitting the folly of growing genetically uniform corn throughout the United States. Disease has continued to plague corn, with outbreaks of viral diseases between 1962 and 1964 and a loss of one-third of the crop in 1970 from southern corn leaf blight, the worst losses in U.S. history. The recurrence of corn stunt disease in 2003 marked the most recent manifestation of the viral disease.

Further Reading: George N. Agrios, *Plant Pathology*, 1997; Gail L. Schumann, *Plant Diseases: Their Biology and Social Impact*, 1991; Donald G. White, *Compendium of Corn Diseases*, 1999.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

CORTISONE In 1929 Mayo Clinic physician Philip S. Hench noted that a patient with jaundice

and rheumatoid arthritis complained of fewer arthritic symptoms after the onset of jaundice. Two years later he observed a woman whose arthritic symptoms diminished during pregnancy. Hench suspected that in both cases the body produced a chemical that lessened arthritic symptoms.

The identification of this chemical was not easy. Rheumatoid arthritis is linked to the function of the immune system, whose complexity physicians do not fully understand even today. One might think of the immune system as innumerable walls and other fortifications surrounding a castle. That is, the immune system is not a single entity, but a series of biochemical pathways, each of which has a specific function in identifying and destroying pathogens. Often two or more pathways must collaborate with precision if they are to identify and destroy a pathogen. In the simplest case, one molecule or cell latches onto a pathogen as a way of marking it and a second molecule targets the latched-onto cell for destruction.

A deterioration of the finely tuned integration of the immune system causes an array of problems. Physicians label them collectively as autoimmune diseases. In these diseases, molecules and cells lose the ability to distinguish an invader (pathogen) from the body's host cells, with the result that the immune system targets the wrong cells. Rheumatoid arthritis is such a disease. White blood cells, components of the immune system, mistake the lining that covers joints, the synovium, for invader cells and target them for destruction.

Hench understood that, as an autoimmune disease, rheumatoid arthritis would improve with suppression of the immune system, a risky strategy. Any treatment that suppresses the immune system weakens its ability to identify and destroy pathogens. The search for a chemical that suppresses the production of white blood cells is akin to the proverbial attempt to find a needle in a haystack. Hench understood, however, that the body increases production of hormones during pregnancy, leading him to narrow his search to the glands.

By 1941 he and Mayo Clinic colleague Edward C. Kendall focused their search by process of elimination on the adrenal glands, which lie above the kidneys. The breakthrough came in

1948 when Mayo Clinic endocrinologist Randall Sprague noted that cortisone, a product of the adrenal glands, lessened the symptoms of Addison's disease, leading Hench and Kendall to identify its ability to suppress the production of white blood cells. On September 21, 1948, Hench gave the first cortisone injection to a patient suffering from arthritis. The success of the treatment spurred Merck and Co. to manufacture cortisone for therapeutic use. Kendall and Hench shared the 1950 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine for their work.

Further Reading: Rowland W. Chang, ed., *Rehabilitation of Persons with Rheumatoid Arthritis*, 1996; John D. Isaacs and Larry W. Moreland, *Rheumatoid Arthritis*, 2002; William McJefferies, *Safe Uses of Cortisone*, 1981.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

COXEY, JACOB SECHER (April 16, 1854–May 18, 1951), social reformer. Born in Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, Coxeys spent his life in Massillon, Ohio, as a businessman, most notably in sandstone quarrying. The depression of 1893 sparked his interest in unemployment and fiscal policies. He led a band of several hundred men to Washington, DC, to advocate public works underwritten by government bonds, a "radical" notion at the time. Carl Browne, a religious mystic, organized the trip, naming the group the "Commonweal of Christ." Coxeys's "army" was only one of several that marched to the nation's capital seeking relief from the economic damages of the 1893 panic. Coxeys was arrested for walking on the Capitol lawn and his army of 500 men was disbanded. A half-century later, in 1944, he was permitted to give a speech in Washington.

Coxeys was not a "crank." His ideas are now commonplace government fiscal policy. He advocated legal tender and rejected the gold standard. He served as a Republican mayor of Massillon from 1931 to 1933. He ran unsuccessfully for several major offices, including the presidency in 1932 and 1936.

Further Reading: Donald L. McMurry, *Coxeys Army: A Study of the Industrial Army Movement of 1894*, 1968; Carols A. Schwantes, *Coxeys Army: An American Odyssey*, 1985; Henry Vincent, *The Story of the Commonweal*, 1969.

DONALD K. PICKENS

CRIME Data from Boston, New York City, and Chicago show that crime declined between 1942 and 1945, perhaps because the armed forces conscripted young men, the cohort most likely to commit violations. Juvenile crime was an exception to this decline, however. In 1943 arrests leaped 20 percent. In San Diego, California, that year the arrest rate rose 55 percent for boys and tripled for teen girls. Apprehensions for prostitution increased 68 percent in 1943. Critics, looking for villains, castigated singer and teen idol Frank Sinatra for allegedly inciting lasciviousness and lawlessness in girls. More to blame, however, were high school dropout rates and poor job prospects for females. Other exceptions to the declining crime rate were murder and assault, both of which increased. The return of young men to civilian life in 1945 coincided with a spike in crime, perhaps because their age cohort group broke more laws than other citizens did and because the police, their ranks filled by returning soldiers, increased enforcement efforts.

Among violent crimes, rape tallied the sharpest postwar increase, from nine to eleven per 100,000 persons between 1946 and 1949. Arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct likewise rose, leading one sociologist to link increases in alcohol consumption and rape. The number of murders, robberies, and assaults all increased after World War II. Theft increased among blacks after V-J Day in several U.S. cities, but the evidence is not easy to interpret. In Birmingham, Alabama, for example, the number of burglary and theft arrests increased in 1947 and 1948 but dropped in 1949. A series of jewelry store heists in 1948 ended in the highly publicized capture of eight culprits; six were black. Yet white crime rates in Birmingham also rose after World War II and declined at decade's end. Despite an increase in violent crime, the number of manslaughters decreased between 1940 and 1949, a result of a decline in automobile fatalities.

Journalists emphasized the lurid fascination of violent crime, enthralling readers with accounts of the Black Dahlia and other spectacular murders of the decade. Curiously, the number of murders, after having increased from 1.5 to two per 100,000 between 1940 and 1948 declined in 1949. The number of robberies, burglaries, and assaults likewise fell in 1949.

Among nonviolent crimes, gambling thrived. Between 1946 and 1949, Chicago bookies tallied \$3.6 million in bets. One estimate cites 15 percent of Congress of Industrial Organizations members in Chicago as gamblers during these years.

Further Reading: Frank Browning and John Gerassi, *The American Way of Crime*, 1980; Eric H. Monkkonen, *Prostitution, Drugs, Gambling and Organized Crime*, 1992; Carl Sifakis, *The Encyclopedia of American Crime*, 1982.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

CROSBY, BING (May 2, 1901–October 14, 1977), singer, actor, radio personality. Born Harry Lillis Crosby in Tacoma, Washington, Bing Crosby successfully forged one of the most notable entertainment careers during the first decades of the twentieth century. By the 1940s, he was one of Hollywood's top box office stars, the highest-paid radio performer of the decade with his weekly Kraft Music Hall show, and the seller of more records than just about any other performer. In film, he was primarily a star of comedies and musicals, although he also occasionally performed in dramatic roles, notably in *The Country Girl* (1954). Some of his most popular movies of the 1940s were *Going My Way* (1944), in which he played a singing priest and for which he won an Academy Award; *Holiday Inn* (1942), in which he sang the Irving Berlin-penned "White Christmas," which became one of the most popular Christmas songs of the century; and the *Road* movies with comedian Bob Hope. The first of these, *Road to Singapore*, was the most popular film of 1940. During World War II, Crosby was active in entertaining the armed forces, performed overseas, and sold war bonds. Financially astute, he kept careful control of his career and earnings, with his business, Crosby Enterprises, ensuring that he was also one of the richest entertainers of the decade. He died in Madrid, Spain.

Further Reading: Timothy A. Morgereth, *Bing Crosby: A Discography, Radio Programme List and Filmography*, 1987; Charles Thompson, *Bing: The Authorized Biography*, 1975.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

CURRIE, LAUHLIN (October 8, 1902–December 23, 1993), economist. Born in New

Dublin, Canada, Currie moved to the United States for his education. After attending several institutions, he graduated from the London School of Economics in 1925. He then took his graduate degree from Harvard, where he learned Keynesian economics. He taught at Harvard until 1934.

The same year he became an American citizen and joined the U.S. Treasury, where he developed an ideal monetary system, parts of which were later used. He then joined Marriner Eccles at the Federal Reserve Board. Currie worked with Harry Dexter White, whom he knew from his days at Harvard. Currie contributed significantly to the 1935 Banking Act. By 1937 and 1938 he was directly advising President Franklin Roosevelt on fiscal policy along Keynesian lines to fight the 1937 recession. To this day there is still a dispute over the degree to which Roosevelt accepted and used the Keynesian prescription. Currie, named White House economist in 1939, soon began influencing policies in a number of areas.

During World War II he worked on domestic issues and contributed to the U.S. policy toward nationalist China. His suggestions and behavior would later come under questioning by the Red-hunters. By 1943–1944, Currie was head of the Foreign Economic Administration. He worked closely on the European bank issues and, with Harry Dexter White, prepared the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference. The results were the creation of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

During the Red Scare that followed World War II, Currie was charged with losing China to the Communists. Former Soviet spy Elizabeth Bentley, and others, accused Currie of treason, but he successfully rejected their charges. His troubles, however, were just beginning. Repeated allegations against him appeared in the newspapers, and he was always a good subject for the critics of the New Deal and its entire works. His name surfaced in the Venona project in which Soviet wartime messages were intercepted and eventually decrypted. Given his place in the Roosevelt White House, such a presence could have been anticipated.

By 1953 Currie worked for the Colombian government as an economic adviser. He raised cattle in his spare time. In the decade of the 1960s

he taught at a number of Canadian and European universities. By 1971, he returned permanently to Colombia, where he held various high-level jobs for the national government. He continued a steady line of publications and taught at several Colombian universities. On the day he died he received Colombia's highest civilian honor.

Further Reading: Lauchlin Currie Papers, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; Roger J. Sandlilands, *The Life and Political Economy of Lauchlin Currie: New Dealer, Presidential Adviser, and Development Economist*, 1990; Herbert Stein, *The Fiscal Revolution in America*, 1969.

DONALD K. PICKENS

CURTI, MERLE EUGENE (September 15, 1897–March 9, 1996), Pulitzer Prize winner and dean of American intellectual historians. Curti was born near Omaha, Nebraska. He received his doctorate from Harvard in 1927, where the progressive tradition of Charles Beard and Frederick Jackson Turner influenced his studies. Beginning in the late 1930s, Curti devoted his full attention to a broad synthesis of the history of American ideas. His *Growth of American Thought* (1943) put him atop his field. Curti attempted to explain the history of ideas within a social context, as did philosopher John Dewey. Instead of providing a detailed analysis of ideas themselves, the book extensively examined the environmental conditions within which the ideas had developed. Organizationally, Curti highlighted the conflict between forward-looking reform ideas and anti-reform views. The book offered wide-ranging views on numerous topics affecting the nation's ideological and social development. Although the book was encyclopedic, it did not offer an in-depth analysis of personalities and events. Some historians referred to it, instead, as a “seed catalogue.” Yet, despite its limitations, *The Growth of American Thought* provided suggestive insights that later historians would use in their own works. As a social history of American thought, the book was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1944.

During the war, Curti also noted the deleterious effects of military conflict on scholarly research in *The Roots of American Loyalty* (1946). It appeared after Curti had accepted the Frederick

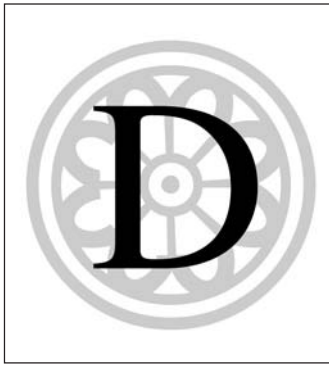
Jackson Turner Chair in history at the University of Wisconsin. The book explained the ideological underpinnings of nationalism and the powerful influence of patriotic allegiance during times of war. In the late 1940s, Curti, along with Vernon L. Carstensen, began writing a two-volume history of the University of Wisconsin.

During the 1950s, after serving as president of both the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Curti helped launch the “new social history” by publishing *The Making of an American Community* (1959). He retired from teaching in 1968, but continued to reside in Madison, Wisconsin, until his death. During his long, productive

scholarly career, Curti trained over eighty doctoral students and published some twenty scholarly books and more than fifty articles exploring numerous aspects of American life and thought. At age eighty-three he put out his final work, *Human Nature in American Thought* (1980). His reputation remains intact today.

Further Reading: Charles F. Howlett, “Merle Curti and the Significance of Peace Research in American History,” *Peace and Change* 25 (2000): 431–466; John Pettegrew, “The Present-Minded Professor: Merle Curti’s Work as an Intellectual Historian,” *History Teacher* 32 (1998): 67–76; Robert Allen Skotheim, *American Intellectual Histories and Historians*, 1966.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT



DARLAN, JEAN FRANÇOIS

(August 7, 1881–December 24, 1942), French admiral. Born in Nérac, Lot-et-Garonne, to a well-connected maritime family, Darlan was destined for a career at sea. He served as a naval artillerist on the Western Front during the Great War and rose through the ranks rapidly during the 1920s and 1930s, becoming admiral of the fleet in 1937 and commander of the entire navy two years later. He played only a small role in the military outcome of the Battle for France in May–June 1940, but the French fleet’s prominence as a bargaining chip in the ensuing armistice negotiations made his post politically important. A supporter of Marshal Philippe Pétain’s collaborationist government and a noted Anglophobe, Darlan was incensed by the British attack on the French naval base of Mers El Kébir in July 1940, but he was equally determined to keep his ships out of German hands and under independent Vichy control—an achievement for which he never really received due credit from the Allies.

During Pierre Laval’s brief fall from grace from February 1941 to April 1942, Darlan served as Pétain’s deputy and de facto prime minister. The traditional authoritarianism of Vichy suited his conservative temperament, but Darlan was no doctrinaire fascist and his belief that unoccupied France should treat with Axis powers as a sovereign state rather than a defeated supplicant rankled Hitler, forcing Darlan’s eventual removal to North Africa. It was there in November 1942 that he was swept up in the turmoil following Operation Torch, the Anglo-American landings in Morocco and Algeria. Darlan negotiated a surrender of the local Vichy forces, triggering his dismissal from Pétain’s government and his prompt reappointment by Eisenhower as high commissioner of Allied-occupied French North Africa. It briefly looked as though Darlan would become the new focus of Free French authority, displacing Charles De Gaulle, but on Christmas Eve 1942 a young royalist militant entered Darlan’s headquarters and assassinated him. An

air of conspiracy has surrounded this murder ever since, particularly given the murky intrigues taking place within the Free French camp at the time, but there is no reason to believe that Darlan’s killer was anything other

than an isolated fanatic. The murder left a power vacuum in North Africa that was briefly filled by General Henri Giraud before the more politically astute De Gaulle definitively consolidated his leadership.

Further Reading: Michael Curtis, *Verdict on Vichy: Power and Prejudice in the Vichy France Regime*, 2002; George E. Melton, *Darlan: Admiral and Statesman of France, 1881–1942*, 1998; Alec De Montmorency, *The Enigma of Admiral Darlan*, 1943.

ALAN ALLPORT

DAVIS, BENJAMIN OLIVER, JR. (December 18, 1912–July 4, 2002), U.S. Air Force general. Benjamin O. Davis Jr., son of Benjamin O. Davis Sr., was born in Washington, DC, and lived a typically difficult army family life complicated by acute racial discrimination. He entered West Point in 1932 and graduated in 1936, thirty-fifth in a class of 276, after four years of shunning. As he was the only black student there at the time, the other students would neither room with him nor talk to him except in the line of duty. In July 1941 Davis entered the experimental flying program for blacks, segregated from white flying programs, at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. In 1942 he became the first African American officer to solo an army air corps plane: the Tuskegee Airmen were aloft.

In 1943 Lieutenant Davis assumed command of the 99th Pursuit Squadron and served in the Mediterranean theater. In 1944 he commanded the 332nd Fighter Group flying out of Italy in support of Allied bombing raids over Germany. The 332nd, in 200 escort missions, never lost a bomber. Davis later flew combat missions in the Korean War.

Lieutenant General Davis retired from the Air Force in 1970 after thirty-three years of active

duty. His after-retirement positions included director of public safety in Cleveland, Ohio, director of civil aviation security, and assistant secretary at the U.S. Department of Transportation. In December 1998 President Bill Clinton promoted Davis to general and personally pinned the fourth star on Davis's right shoulder as his wife, Agatha, pinned the fourth star on his left. Davis died in Washington, DC, and is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

Davis was an aggressive soldier against the enemies of his country and against the evil of racial discrimination within his homeland. He suffered setbacks in his life and career but never defeat. Davis entered a military academy and an Army rifle with aggressive racial discrimination; he retired from an integrated air force with a black officer corps approaching respectable size. The changes did not take place quickly or without considerable pressure from the black community, behind the leadership of Davis Jr. and Davis Sr. The Davises helped black Americans in both the military and civilian sectors of society seize the rights of citizenship guaranteed them by the Constitution but denied them by civil and military authorities.

Further Reading: Katherine Applegate, *The Story of Two American Generals: Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., Colin L. Powell*, 1992; Benjamin O. Davis Jr., *Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., American: An Autobiography*, 1991; Marvin E. Fletcher, *America's First Black General: Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., 1880–1970*, 1989.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

DAVIS, BENJAMIN OLIVER, SR. (May 28, 1880–November 26, 1970), brigadier general. Benjamin Davis, born in Washington, DC, overcame entrenched racism to become the first black American to attain flag rank in the U.S. Army. During the Spanish-American War, Davis was commissioned in the volunteers and again in the regular army. Second Lieutenant Davis began a career of frustration and aggravation for himself and the military. Biographies of Dwight Eisenhower, George Patton, and Lewis “Chesty” Puller, white soldiers contemporary with Davis who also attained flag rank, testify to dismal treatment of American military men and their families in the years before 1940. Davis suffered all

the same indignities as his illustrious colleagues and racial discrimination as well.

The army would not place black officers in command of white troops and most troops were white, so black officers were often posted to black college campuses as instructors. Davis shuttled between Wilberforce University and Tuskegee Institute, had a command in the western United States and later in the Philippines, and held a diplomatic appointment to Liberia. He was not, however, assigned to the American Expeditionary Force in Europe during World War I. Life on a college campus was not always bland. The autobiography of Davis's son, Benjamin Oliver Davis Jr., tells of an evening when his father stood resplendent in dress whites on the front porch of their quarters in Tuskegee as the Ku Klux Klan paraded by. Blacks had been warned to stay inside. There were no incidents and some marchers acknowledged the black officer amid extremely heavy tension.

Davis was sixty years old in 1940, with his youth and prime behind him, yet that was the decade when his years of forbearance paid off. On October 25, 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt promoted Davis to brigadier general, making him America's first African American general. He retired in 1941 but was recalled and served until 1948 as a liaison between white and black troops. He succeeded in getting black troops into combat and helped in the fight to desegregate the blood supply. He retired in 1948 in a ceremony attended by President Harry Truman. Davis, who died in Chicago and is buried at Arlington National Cemetery, fought segregation in the military and laid groundwork for the civil rights crusade of the 1960s. His work was continued by his son, Benjamin O. Davis Jr.

Further Reading: *American National Biography*, s.v. “Davis, Benjamin Oliver, Sr.”; Benjamin O. Davis Jr., *Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., American: An Autobiography*, 1991; Marvin E. Fletcher, *America's First Black General: Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., 1880–1970*, 1989.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

DAVIS, BETTE (April 5, 1908–October 6, 1989), actor. Born Ruth Davis in Lowell, Massachusetts, Bette Davis established herself as a

major Hollywood star in the 1930s, winning two Academy Awards, notably for *Jezebel* (1938). However, her career peaked during the early 1940s, when the so-called woman's picture dominated Hollywood productions, with such films as *All This and Heaven Too* (1940), *The Letter* (1940), *The Little Foxes* (1941), and *Now Voyager* (1942). She was nominated for the Academy Award for several of these performances. She was perhaps the most popular female star of the war period, and the characters she played were strong and feisty, if sometimes neurotic and waspish. The war years also saw Davis make important contributions for the cause, including working for the Hollywood Canteen and fundraising. She also fought for the improvement of women's status within the movie industry, and she was the highest-paid woman in Hollywood in 1942. Davis's career dropped off considerably after the end of the war, but was revived with her performance in *All About Eve* (1950). She died in Neuilly-sur-Seine, France.

Further Reading: Bette Davis Web site www.bettedavis.com/; Barbara Leaming, *Bette Davis*, 2003; Gene Ringgold, *The Films of Bette Davis*, 1966.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

D-DAY Largest amphibious operation in history and the opening of the second front on the European continent on June 6, 1944. Throughout 1942 and 1943 Soviet leader Joseph Stalin thundered for an Anglo-American second front on the continent to take some pressure off Russian troops fighting Nazi Germany. The western Allies promised at the Teheran Conference in November and December 1943 to land in France in 1944. The operation was code-named Overlord under the command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

While American and British troops were training in Great Britain for a cross-channel invasion, the Germans under Field Marshal Erwin Rommel were busy fortifying the French coast for just such an attack. The German high command believed it would come at Pas-de-Calais, the narrowest point of the channel and the one beach closest to the German heartland. Few Nazi commanders expected an attack on Normandy beach, which the Allies chose because it offered

the best combination of ports, airstrips, and weather conditions.

Throughout the spring of 1944 Allied planes conducted an offensive to gain air control and destroy strategic targets. Bombing raids, however, were also used as subterfuge: the Allies destroyed targets to mislead the Germans about the coming landings. This was just one of many ways in which the Allies disguised their intentions. Across from Pas-de-Calais, General George Patton was given command of a fictitious army complete with thousands of cardboard trucks, planes, and tanks in an effort to reinforce German preconceptions of where the landings would take place.

After calling off the invasion the previous night because of inclement weather, Eisenhower issued the go order on June 5. Shortly after midnight, June 6, paratroopers from the 82nd and 101st American and 6th British airborne divisions landed behind German lines. Difficult landing conditions, gusting winds, intentionally flooded fields, and darkness all conspired to disperse the airborne landings and cause high casualties. Nonetheless, the airborne troops were able to capture the several small towns and bridges that were their objectives.

As the paratroopers were descending, the armada of over 5,000 ships made its way across the channel. The Americans were charged with capturing the two most westerly beaches, Utah and Omaha. The British and Canadians were responsible for the beaches code-named Gold, Juno, and Sword, running east of the American beaches. Most landings were achieved with little opposition. The situation at Omaha Beach, however, was the toughest. A newly arrived elite German division and the failure of American amphibious (duplex drive) tanks to overcome the surf caused a crisis. At one point it looked as if the American troops would have to withdraw. Only concentrated naval fire and a lack of German ammunition prevented disaster. Once American troops blew a hole in the German perimeter, a beachhead was secured and expanded.

German armored units were deployed behind the beach line to make them more versatile as a reserve or as a counterattack, but the tanks were under the direct control of Hitler in Berlin, not one of the field commanders. He insisted that the

Normandy airborne landings were only a diversion for the real assault at Pas-de-Calais. After twelve hours, Hitler finally conceded, but by that point it was too late to throw the Allies back into the sea. By nightfall of June 6, more than 175,000 Allied troops had been brought ashore. Reliable numbers of casualties are not available, but the Allies lost approximately 5,000 men during the landing.

Once the Allies were on the continent, the Germans lacked the means to dislodge them. No telling of the D-day invasion would be complete without mentioning the contribution that the French Resistance made to the success of the operation through its intelligence gathering and sabotage of German assets.

Further Reading: Stephen Ambrose, *D-Day: June 6, 1944*, 1994; Max Hastings, *Overlord: D-Day and the Battle for Normandy*, 1981; Cornelius Ryan, *The Longest Day: June 6, 1944*, 1959.

GREGORY DEHLER

DDT, insecticide. The Swiss firm J.R. Geigy Chemical derived dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) in 1939 as a by-product in its manufacture of explosives. One chemist discovered DDT's potency against insects, and in 1942 Geigy gave samples to the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), which agreed to furnish Geigy with data of DDT trials.

DDT was the first of a new generation of insecticides, one that a 1945 article in *Better Homes and Gardens* called "wonder boy" for good reason. Earlier insecticides killed an insect only if it ingested the toxin directly through feeding. DDT, however, killed insects on contact in brutal fashion. A fly that landed on a DDT-coated surface absorbed traces through its feet. The chemical spread through the fly's legs, which shook as the fly lost control of them. DDT then seeped into the thorax, paralyzing the lungs, thereby killing the fly. No less impressive was that, unlike earlier insecticides, DDT retained potency indefinitely.

In 1943 and 1944 the USDA, in coordination with the land-grant colleges and agricultural experiment stations, launched trials throughout the United States. They included

airplane application of DDT across thousands of acres in the Midwest and South. In amazement, farmers toured DDT-sprayed barns without seeing a single insect. In 1944 USDA entomologist Joseph B. Polivka published the first of a series of articles promoting DDT against the Japanese beetle. The magazine *Ohio Farmer* on February 2, 1946, enthused that DDT had captured the imagination of farmers everywhere. American farmers got the message. In 1939 they had spent \$9.2 million on insecticides. By 1949 the figure leaped to \$174.6 million.

Not evident during the 1940s was the Darwinian struggle between DDT and insects. DDT surely killed billions of insects that decade, but the larger the population exposed to any toxin, the greater the probability that a single organism, by genetic luck, will be resistant to that toxin. To borrow an analogy from medicine, researchers in recent years believe they have identified women in Africa resistant to the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). The question now is whether their children will likewise be HIV-resistant. With a single DDT-resistant insect the question vanishes. Because a resistant female insect gives birth to thousands of progeny, some will have her resistance. By using DDT farmers inadvertently caused the evolution of DDT-resistant insects. Worse, as a lipid-soluble chemical, DDT accumulates as a toxin in the fat of birds and mammals. Evidence mounted during the 1960s of its toxicity and potential risk to humans, prompting the Environmental Protection Agency to ban it in 1972.

Further Reading: T. Swann Harding, *Two Blades of Grass: A History of Scientific Development in the U.S. Department of Agriculture*, 1980; Kenneth Mellanby, *The DDT Story*, 1992; John Perkins, *Insects, Experts, and the Insecticide Crisis*, 1982.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

DE GAULLE, CHARLES (November 22, 1890–November 9, 1970), French Resistance leader. After a military career bringing him to a subsecretary of defense cabinet post during the early days of World War II, Charles de Gaulle entered French and world history on June 18,

1940. In a famous BBC broadcast from London, he refused to give up the fight against the Nazi invaders despite France's defeat. He denied the legitimacy of capitulation, Marshal Philippe Pétain, and the German puppet government of Vichy France. De Gaulle's resistance was at first rhetorical, supported only by the British government of Winston Churchill. It later gained strength from French colonies' joining De Gaulle's Free French and an ever-increasing resistance inside the occupied nation.

Prime Minister Churchill's main problem in recognizing De Gaulle's government came from U.S. foreign policy concerning France and especially President Franklin D. Roosevelt's personal dislike of De Gaulle. The United States, before entering the war, maintained links with the collaborationist Vichy government. Later it favored General Henri Giraud, who headed a minor French Resistance faction. A compromise was reached at the Allied Casablanca meeting in 1943, but De Gaulle soon emerged as the only legitimate leader of postvictory France. Confrontation occurred directly after June 6, 1944, when the Anglo-American Allies did not properly inform De Gaulle of the Normandy landings. The United States wanted to install an intermediate occupation administration. De Gaulle foiled the attempt by installing French Republican institutions immediately upon liberation. Only public support and Churchill's intermediary skills prevented conflict.

De Gaulle clashed several times with Allied and especially U.S. commanders during the liberation campaign. In 1944 and 1945 he refused to make tactical retreats from liberated soil in Alsace. Whereas the relationship between De Gaulle and Roosevelt was spoiled from the beginning, De Gaulle developed a good working relationship with General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

De Gaulle blamed the Americans and the British for having sold Eastern Europe to the Soviet Union in 1945 at the Yalta conference, where the French were not invited. De Gaulle left the political scene in 1946 because of an internal dispute in France. He returned, however, during the Algerian crisis in 1958 and stayed on as president until 1969. He gained what he would have

called France's full independence from the United States by developing a nuclear weapons capability, leaving the military integration of NATO, and banning all foreign troops from French soil.

Further Reading: Charles G. Cogan, *Charles De Gaulle: A Brief Biography with Documents*, 1995; Charles De Gaulle, *Complete War Memoirs*, 1964; Charles Williams, *The Last Great Frenchman: A Life of General de Gaulle*, 1997.

OLIVER BENJAMIN HEMMERLE

DELGADO V. BASTROP INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT This 1948 school desegregation court case in Bastrop, Texas, challenged the Bastrop Independent School District (ISD) and three other districts to desegregate. Mexican American leaders considered education important as an avenue for social and economic betterment, yet segregation policies in Texas school systems had curtailed learning opportunities for their children. In California the Ninth Circuit Court in 1947 ruled that segregation of Mexican American children, who were regarded as Caucasian, was not legal. The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the American GI Forum, both civil rights organizations founded by Mexican Americans in Texas, on June 15, 1948, initiated the *Delgado v. Bastrop ISD* court case. The landmark 1945 decision of *Mendez v. Westminster (California) School District* in 1945 was used by LULAC as precedent.

In *Delgado v. Bastrop* the federal court affirmed that it was illegal to segregate Mexican American schoolchildren. However, the ruling was countered by evasive tactics by local school districts for years. Although court decisions had clearly established segregation's unconstitutionality, LULAC and the American GI Forum continued to struggle for a decade.

Further Reading: Handbook of Texas Online, s.v. *Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District*, www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/DDD/jrd1.html; Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Ribera, *Mexican Americans/American Mexicans*, 1993; F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*, 1996.

SANTOS C. VEGA

DEMOCRATIC PARTY Franklin D. Roosevelt's election to the presidency in 1932 made him the leader of the whole Democratic Party, not merely its liberal wing. It became a national party appealing to diverse interests and winning important elections in states throughout the country. The New Deal coalition consisted of organized labor, farmers, middle-class intellectuals and reformers, urban immigrants, progressives, women, and African Americans. Still, conservative southern Democrats and northern political bosses exerted significant influence.

A continual confrontation occurred between the party's rural, conservative wing and the urban, liberal wing. Roosevelt's attractive majority following the 1936 congressional elections included many conservative Democrats, mostly southerners. The president mollified Dixie to keep it in his frangible coalition, but disaffected southerners began voting that same year with Midwestern Republicans.

Roosevelt became annoyed that distinctions existing between his party's two factions obscured the fundamental differences between the Democratic and Republican parties. For example, on February 5, 1937, the president sent to Congress a message on judicial reorganization that included the enlargement of the Supreme Court. Conservative Democrats like senators Carter Glass and Harry S. Byrd of Virginia opposed it. The bill was rejected in June 1937. On January 12, 1937, Roosevelt sent to Congress a special message on the reorganization of the executive branch of the federal government. Opposition by anti-New Dealers caused its defeat in 1938. The compromised small beginnings of government reorganization granted to Roosevelt would be extended between 1945 and 1949 in the Truman administration.

Roosevelt decided to make the New Deal itself the issue in the Democratic primaries of 1938. He called for the defeat of several conservative Democrats in congressional elections, but these efforts failed. In his annual message to the Seventy-sixth Congress on January 4, 1939, Roosevelt admitted the end of New Deal reform. He wanted to avoid political conflict during the war. Accordingly, the southern Democratic-Republican coalition, strengthened by the

congressional election of 1942, abolished several New Deal agencies.

An energized minority of southern Democrats spurned President Truman's liberal twenty-one-point domestic reform package of September 6, 1945. Truman termed his enlargement of the New Deal the "Fair Deal" in his inaugural address of January 20, 1949. Proposals such as national health insurance and federal aid to education met defeat. Truman appreciated Roosevelt's dilemma concerning the conservative southern Democratic-conservative Republican coalition. Civil rights issues were a major threat to Democratic Party unity throughout the Truman administration. Truman, however, in his first year in office took a passive approach on the race issue. In order to retain white southern votes, he did not challenge the South's position on a Fair Employment Practices Committee and on lynching and poll taxes. Therefore, many black Americans from northeastern and northwestern urban regions voted for the Republican Party, contributing to its triumphant victory in the congressional elections of 1946. In the same year, southern Democrats became alarmed about the developing liberal-labor alliance; they were hostile to attempts by northern union leaders to organize workers in their region.

At the start of the post-World War II era, the Democratic Party was becoming more urban, enhancing the political importance of liberal and labor groups. By the same token, the South's influence in the party was considerably diminished. By the end of 1946, the South had built a record of opposition to virtually every domestic policy Truman had enunciated since his succession to the presidency. He decided to move left (meaning progressive), especially on civil rights. In June 1947, to conciliate labor, black Americans, and northern liberals, he vetoed the southern-backed Taft-Hartley bill. In disowning the southern wing and its states' rights principles, Truman ended its dominance of the Democratic Party.

Further Reading: Gary A. Donaldson, *Truman Defeats Dewey*, 1999; Frank Freidel, *FDR and the South*, 1965; Alonzo L. Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism*, 1973.

BERNARD HIRSCHHORN

DESTROYERS FOR BASES Faced with the Nazi blitzkrieg, British prime minister Winston Churchill appealed to America for aid in May 1940. He asked President Franklin D. Roosevelt to either sell or give the United Kingdom (UK) World War I-era destroyers to protect the vital supplies carried by the Atlantic convoys. Roosevelt reluctantly refused to lend any assistance. Technically the United States was neutral in the conflict, and isolationist sentiment was politically strong. Roosevelt told Churchill that he personally did not have the constitutional authority to sell or give the destroyers and Congress would never approve such a violation of neutrality. The matter was revisited in June after France surrendered to the Nazis. The German navy would now have much greater access to the Atlantic from France's west coast. Roosevelt remained interested in helping Great Britain, but he was unwilling to run too far ahead of public opinion.

In July, as the presidential election approached, Roosevelt renewed discussions. Overruling his naval commanders, who felt that the United States needed the ships, he consented to give the UK fifty destroyers to replace losses suffered so far in the war. In exchange, he wished to acquire British bases in the Western Hemisphere. Roosevelt believed that the exchange would be accepted by the American public as an effort to enhance national security. Attorney General Robert Jackson offered an opinion that Roosevelt did have the constitutional authority to give the destroyers to Great Britain on the grounds that the action was defensive in nature and the ships had not been built specifically to be given to a belligerent power. Churchill was reluctant to trade some of the oldest parts of the British Empire for what essentially were obsolete ships. Instead, he suggested an outright gift of bases for an outright gift of destroyers. Roosevelt recommended a compromise. In the end, the British agreed to give bases on Bermuda and Newfoundland outright to the United States as gifts, while the fifty destroyers would be exchanged for a ninety-nine-year lease on bases in the Bahamas, Jamaica, Trinidad, St. Lucia, Antigua, and British Guiana. In addition, the British promised they would not surrender or scuttle their fleet under any condition.

The deal was finalized on September 2, 1940. The following day, at a press conference, President Roosevelt informed the American people. He used the exchange to show voters in the upcoming presidential election that he had experience in dealing with foreign affairs in a time of global crisis. He also touted the enhancement the bases provided to national security. He went so far as to claim the deal as the greatest advance in national security since the Louisiana Purchase secured American control of the Mississippi River in 1803. Mildly concerned by American partisanship, Germany, Italy, and Japan banded together later that month in Berlin to form the Tripartite Pact. Its purpose was the establishment of an alliance directed against powers not yet at war.

Most of the ships were in the Atlantic at the time, providing annual cruises to U.S. Navy reservists. On September 9, 1940, the first eight destroyers were delivered to the English navy in Nova Scotia, Canada. The others quickly followed. The British renamed the vessels and fitted them with sonar. Because of their age, however, little could be done to their basic structure. They turned very slowly, reducing their value as antisubmarine vessels. Over the course of the war, eight were lost in combat at sea and one during the commando raid on St. Nazaire in 1942. Nine were given to the Soviet Union in 1944.

Further Reading: Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945*, 1979; Robert A. Divine, *Foreign Policy and U.S. Presidential Elections, 1940–1948*, 1974; Justus Doenecke, *From Isolation to War, 1931–1941*, 3rd ed., 2003.

GREGORY DEHLER

DETROIT RACE RIOT OF 1943, one of the bloodiest riots in American history. Detroit, Michigan, had a long history of racial conflict: riots broke out in 1863 and 1941, and the Ku Klux Klan had established a stronghold there during the 1920s. Even before World War II began, large numbers of southern blacks and whites migrated to the city in search of jobs. Detroit had become the “arsenal of democracy,” with numerous defense plants. The city was not prepared for such

a population increase, and housing became the most pressing problem. Segregated, overcrowded housing was coupled with deficits in transportation, education, and recreational facilities. Furthermore, African Americans paid two to three times more in rent than whites in similar neighborhoods. Blacks also suffered from police brutality, and they were discriminated against in public accommodations. Fights and clashes between the races broke out in the summer of 1941 and persisted thereafter, with nonfatal riots in several black communities.

The 1943 riot began on June 20 at the Belle Isle amusement park, with typical fights between blacks and whites, including white sailors and white residents who gathered at the park entrance to attack black vacationers. The white police force tried to contain the violence, but by midnight it had spread into the city. Two rumors circulated, exacerbating the conflict. At a black nightclub, a man claimed that whites had thrown a black woman and her baby over the Belle Isle Bridge. Similarly, word spread that a black man had raped and murdered a white woman on the bridge. Black mobs and white mobs moved to retaliate by attacking anyone of the opposite race they could find. White mobs attacked, overturned, and burned automobiles driven by blacks. They stopped streetcars and attacked the black passengers inside, and they looted indiscriminately, often with the police standing idly by. Blacks also looted white-owned stores and attacked anyone who appeared white. The riot engulfed nearly the entire city in twelve hours. Blacks asked the mayor to request federal troops, but he did so only after thirty-six hours of rioting. More than 6,000 federal troops were sent to virtually shut down the city in order to quell the riot. Even then, sporadic violence continued, and the troops were required to stay for six months in order to keep the peace.

The riot took the lives of twenty-five African Americans and nine whites. Seventeen of the African Americans were killed by white policemen; some were shot in the back while looting. However, no white looters were killed. Over 700 people were injured and the property damage amounted to \$2 million. A fact-finding committee later appointed by the governor quickly laid

the blame on Detroit's black population. An all-white jury was unsympathetic to blacks accused in the riot. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, fearing protests from white southerners, refused to do anything to address the riot despite its interference with major defense industries.

Further Reading: Dominic J. Capeci Jr. and Martha Wilkerson, *Layered Violence: The Detroit Riot of 1943*, 1991; James H. Lincoln, *The Anatomy of a Riot: A Detroit Judge's Report*, 1969; Benjamin D. Singer, *Black Rioters: A Study of Social Factors and Communication in the Detroit Riot*, 1970.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

DEWEY, JOHN (October 20, 1859–June 1, 1952), philosopher and educator. Dewey was born in Burlington, Vermont, attended public schools, and received a BA from the University of Vermont in 1879. In 1884 he received a PhD in philosophy from Johns Hopkins University. That fall he became a philosophy and psychology instructor at the University of Michigan. In 1894 he rose to professor of philosophy and chair of the Department of Philosophy, Psychology and Pedagogy at the University of Chicago. In 1904 he moved to Columbia University, where he spent the next forty-seven years.

In 1919 Dewey joined historian Charles Beard and economist Thorstein Veblen in founding the New School for Social Research in New York City. It attracted British economist John Maynard Keynes, British philosopher and mathematician Bertrand Russell, and historian and activist W.E.B. DuBois. Dewey invited intellectuals who had fled Nazi Germany and fascist Italy to teach at the New School, easing their transition to the United States.

Dewey's commitment to the free exchange of ideas led him to criticize totalitarianism's rise in Germany, Italy, and the USSR. In 1940 he condemned the murder of Leon Trotsky, a founder of Soviet Communism, sure that Joseph Stalin had ordered Trotsky's death to silence his criticism of Stalin's tyranny. Dewey, in his distrust of the USSR, gave legitimacy to U.S. opposition to Soviet Communism after 1946.

Dewey came to see ideas as tools for solving problems. Humans judge an idea's merit by its

utility. This view is borrowed from the scientific method, whereby scientists gain confidence in hypotheses that are useful, that is, that explain several phenomena. They discard hypotheses that fail this test. Dewey called his philosophy instrumentalism, though many philosophers categorize it as a form of pragmatism.

In other ways, however, Dewey seemed out of step with modern science. He concentrated on an organism's response to the environment, ignoring the degree to which genes predispose one to a narrow set of behaviors. His faith in the ability of an individual to grow without bounds ignores that genes place a ceiling above which no amount of effort can elevate one. Dewey's faith in unlimited potential was closer to the eighteenth-century Enlightenment than to twentieth-century genetics.

His emphasis on the individual shaped his understanding of education. He disdained rote learning. He thought that education should empower students to develop their talents by pursuing their own interests and that a teacher should be more colleague in engaging students in inquiry than dispenser of facts. Dewey died in New York City.

Further Reading: Jay Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, 2003; Forrest H. Peterson, *John Dewey's Reconstruction in Philosophy*, 1987; Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, 1991.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

DEWEY, THOMAS EDMUND (March 24, 1902–March 16, 1971), prosecutor, governor of New York, presidential candidate. Dewey was born in Owosso, Michigan. After graduation from the University of Michigan and Columbia Law School, he began a legal career in New York, first on Wall Street and then as a prosecutor. Dewey became involved with the reform wing of the Republican Party in New York and acquired fame for “racket busting” Mafia members. Despite an unsuccessful run for governor in 1938, he arrived at the Republican national convention in 1940 as one of the leading candidates for the presidential nomination. The growing foreign crisis helped gain the nomination for the internationalist Wendell Willkie over both Dewey, who had little

foreign policy experience, and the isolationist Senator Robert Taft of Ohio.

Dewey was elected governor in 1942 and would serve three terms. Combining the progressive Republican tradition of Theodore Roosevelt with fiscal conservatism, he compiled a substantial record in the 1940s. He started the state university system in 1947, built the New York State Thruway, and established important public health programs. A strong advocate for the civil rights, he supported the 1945 New York civil rights law, the strongest antidiscrimination statute in the nation at that time. He also lowered state taxes.

On the national scene, Dewey led the Republican Party away from isolationism and back to competitiveness. He built a national organization aimed at securing the GOP nomination for himself in 1944. His excellent organizational skills, moderation, and internationalism all contributed to his winning the nomination over Ohio governor John W. Bricker, a favorite of the party's isolationist Old Guard. Dewey's campaign against Franklin D. Roosevelt in the fall saw the emergence of themes that would dominate postwar politics, including the use of independent committees, appeals to the women's vote, shrill anti-Communism, and the merger of show business, media, and politics. Although Dewey lost, his popular vote total was the best by a Republican since the 1920s.

Despite the defeat and the misgivings of conservatives within his party, Dewey won the nomination again in 1948. In the campaign against Harry S. Truman he seemed a clear favorite, since the Democrats were deeply divided with splinter candidates on both left and right. Dewey, however, somewhat stiff on the campaign trail, ran a complacent campaign. He also was hampered by the Republican Eightieth Congress. Its conservative and obstructionist tendencies allowed Truman to successfully make an issue of the “do-nothing” Congress. Truman's energetic campaign produced the greatest upset victory in presidential campaign history.

Even though Dewey lost, he remained active in politics, helping to engineer Dwight D. Eisenhower's nomination and victory in 1952. After his retirement as governor, he returned to private legal practice.

Dewey died in Bal Harbour, Florida.

Further Reading: Barry K. Beyer, *Thomas E. Dewey 1937–1947: A Study in Political Leadership*, 1979; Thomas E. Dewey Papers, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York; Richard Norton Smith, *Thomas E. Dewey and His Times*, 1982.

MICHAEL J. ANDERSON

DIES, MARTIN (November 6, 1901–November 14, 1972), congressman. Born in Colorado, Texas, the son of a U.S. congressman of the same name, Dies attended schools in Beaumont, Texas; Washington, DC; Grenville, Texas; and Cluster Springs, Virginia. After receiving a law degree from National University, Washington, DC, in 1920, he practiced law in the Texas towns of Marshall and Orange.

In 1930, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Texas's Second Congressional District, the very district his father had served. At first a New Dealer, he broke with Franklin Roosevelt in the mid-1930s over regulation of the coal industry, minimum-wage legislation, and the sit-down strikes that had made the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) powerful. In May 1938, he successfully sponsored a resolution creating the House Special Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), becoming its chairman until 1945. In the late 1930s, he conducted hearings and issued reports alleging Communist infiltration of major New Deal agencies and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Such charges were repeated in his book *The Trojan Horse in America*, ghostwritten by the committee's chief investigator and staff director J.B. Matthews. HUAC also investigated Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, and Silver Shirt founder William Dudley Pelley.

In May 1940, Roosevelt said publicly that he found the committee one of his chief sources on fifth columns, though he conceded that some its information was unreliable. (This comment had not prevented Roosevelt from having Dies investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.) In April 1941, upon the death of Texas senator Morris Sheppard, Dies made a bid for Sheppard's seat, only to lose to Governor W. Lee O'Daniel. Late that November, his committee issued a 938-

page document alleging that Communists were planning to sabotage American industry in time of war, yet this report contained no information on any contemporaneous activity. The committee also published a White Paper focusing on Nazi activities in the United States and raided offices in many cities. Just three days after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, Dies claimed that he had had fifty-two witnesses ready to testify concerning Japanese espionage on the West Coast and the Pacific Islands and that, had the Department of Justice not intervened, hearings would have occurred on schedule and the Pearl Harbor attack would have been avoided. (The relevant report, released in February 1942, lacked any concrete evidence.) Additional HUAC targets included Henry Wallace's Board of Economic Warfare, the Union for Democratic Action, and the Peace Now Movement. In May 1944, in the midst of a major battle with the CIO's political action committee, Dies announced he would not seek reelection.

In 1953 he returned to Washington as congressman at large from Texas, serving there until 1959. In 1963 he published his autobiography, *Martin Dies' Story*. He died in Lufkin, Texas.

Further Reading: Walter Goodman, *The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities*, 1968; Nancy Lynn Lopez, "Allowing Fears to Overwhelm Us: A Reexamination of the House Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938–1944," PhD diss., Rice University, 2002; August Raymond Ogden, *The Dies Committee: A Study of the Special House Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities, 1938–1944*, 1945.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

DiMAGGIO, JOSEPH (November 24, 1914–March 8, 1999), baseball player. Born in Martinez, California, DiMaggio was one of seven children reared by Italian immigrant parents. A rather aimless youth, he was not successful in school and did not take up the occupation of his father, a fisherman. Instead, as a teenager, DiMaggio gravitated toward athletics as a potential alternative to life on the docks. He soon realized that professional baseball could provide a lucrative income for an individual with his outstanding physical skills.

Although not overly fond of baseball as a young man, in 1932, at age seventeen, DiMaggio signed with the San Francisco Seals of the Pacific Coast League, a minor league so competitive that it was often referred to as a “third major league.” DiMaggio was an instant success as a hard-hitting center fielder, compiling a record sixty-one-game hitting streak in 1933 and batting nearly .400 in 1935 before making his major-league debut with the New York Yankees in 1936.

Nicknamed the “Yankee Clipper” because of his effortless appearance while patrolling the outfield, the stoic DiMaggio always seemed in control. He was viewed by many of his peers as the personification of class and professionalism. In 1936 DiMaggio enjoyed one of the greatest rookie seasons in history, batting .323 and driving in 125 runs on a team that won the World Series. For the next six years, DiMaggio was arguably the game’s dominant player, winning two Most Valuable Player (MVP) awards and recording a remarkable hitting streak of fifty-six consecutive games in 1941—a record many experts believe may never be broken. Following a relatively off year in 1942, when he barely hit over .300, DiMaggio joined the U.S. Army Air Force at the height of World War II and missed three complete seasons—resulting in somewhat modest career statistics for a player of his caliber. DiMaggio spent most of his time in the service playing on military baseball teams and socializing with officers eager to meet the Yankee Clipper. Upon his return from military service, DiMaggio was continually hampered by injuries and rarely displayed his prewar form, although he did have a stellar season in 1948, driving in 155 runs and winning his third MVP. By 1951, injuries forced him to retire. He was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1955. After his baseball career, DiMaggio entered into a short-lived marriage with Hollywood sensation Marilyn Monroe and became a commercial spokesman for a variety of products. He died in Jupiter, Florida.

Further Reading: Marty Appel, *Joe DiMaggio*, 1991; Joseph Brannon, ed., *Joe DiMaggio: An American Icon*, 2000; Richard Ben Cramer, *Joe DiMaggio: The Hero’s Life*, 2001.

STEVE BULLOCK

DISNEY, WALTER ELIAS “WALT” (December 5, 1901–December 15, 1966), film animation pioneer. Born in Chicago, Walt Disney drew on his artistic talent to create an empire based on animated films. Disney came to Hollywood in 1923; by 1928 he was devoting his energies to supervising and promoting his production company. Following the successful release of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* in 1937, Disney moved his studio to an expansive new compound in Burbank in 1939. Unrest among employees led to labor organizing efforts by the Screen Cartoonists Guild, and on May 28, 1941, about one-third of Disney’s employees declared a strike and set up a picket line. The strike was settled by mid-September, but left a lasting mark on Disney, who eventually blamed Communist influences. In 1944 he became vice president of the newly formed Motion Picture Alliance for Preservation of American Ideals. The organization’s stance against the leftist threat in the industry helped lead to the House Un-American Activities Committee investigation of Communist influences in Hollywood.

Meanwhile, the war crisis affected Walt Disney Productions. On the day after the attack on Pearl Harbor, a U.S. Army unit moved into Disney’s studio, and for the next eight months, soldiers stored ammunition and repaired equipment on the premises while Disney artists shared workspaces with the war effort. The studio’s contribution extended to making military training films, propaganda films, and educational films for the American public; consequently, its output of film feet increased tenfold during the war.

Commercially, Walt Disney Productions suffered during the 1940s. Disney’s films *Pinocchio* and *Fantasia* (1940) and *Bambi* (1942) reinforced his reputation as an innovative artist, but war pressures and the high production costs of such features limited him for the next several years, and he delayed plans to animate other classic stories. His commercial efforts during the war period, including *Victory Through Airpower* and *Saludos Amigos* in 1943 and *The Three Caballeros* in 1945 met lukewarm responses, although the studio did win an Academy Award for the 1943 *Der Fuhrer’s Face*, featuring Donald Duck. In the immediate postwar period, Disney experimented

with a combination of live action and animation in *Song of the South* (1946), followed by several films based upon musical pieces or short stories. None, however, achieved the commercial success of his prewar movies and some critics believed he had lost his creative spark. A return to expensive animated productions in the early 1950s, new experiments in live action films, and concentrated attention on amusement park development helped revive the Disney empire.

Further Reading: Bob Thomas, *Walt Disney*, 1976; Steven Watts, *The Magic Kingdom: Walt Disney and the American Way of Life*, 1997.

SUZANNE JULIN

DIXIECRATS, prosegregation southern Democrats who broke with the national party in 1948 over civil rights and served as a harbinger of changing major-party geographical alignment. The New Deal policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt created a new Democratic majority in the United States. There were, however, serious fractures in that alliance. By increasing the influence of big labor and the urban northeast in the party, Roosevelt pushed some southerners away. Roosevelt's Supreme Court "packing" scheme in 1937 was the most serious breach with the party's southern wing.

Unlike Roosevelt, who kept an arm's distance from the issue of African American civil rights, his successor, President Harry S. Truman, embraced the cause. In 1946 he created a Committee on Civil Rights. Two years later the committee published its findings and Truman recommended most of them to Congress for consideration. Instantaneously deep rumblings of discontent swept through the political leadership of the South. Several southern governors met with Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, to convince the party leadership that the South would not stand for Truman's civil rights policies.

In May 1948 the Mississippi state executive committee called for a conference of white Democrats to discuss the future of the party. Over 2,500 delegates responded. The conference passed a resolution announcing the intention of southerners to bolt the party if the Democrats

passed a civil rights plank at their national convention in Philadelphia that July. Unwilling to be cowed, at Truman's behest the party added the strongest civil rights plank to that date.

After the convention, southern delegates reconvened to formalize their bolt from the party and select candidates. A severe rift existed among southern Democrats on the move's advisability. Only Alabama and Mississippi sent full delegations. Georgia refused to send any. Many other delegations consisted of a handful of college students who could in no way be considered representative of the state's electorate. Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas went to the convention to persuade the delegates to abandon their foolish separatism. The convention adopted the name States' Rights Party and selected Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi as its candidates for president and vice president. The platform was a resounding endorsement of racial segregation. Many Dixiecrats—a reporter's name for them that stuck—believed that they did not have a chance to win the election, but might be able to steal enough votes from Truman to throw the contest into the House of Representatives. There Southerners hoped to gain concessions on the civil rights issue.

The States Rights Party did not offer any candidates in addition to Thurmond and Wright, and they did not appear on the ballot outside of the old Confederacy. For party machinery, the Dixiecrats relied on a scattering of discontented Democrats. Theirs was not a grassroots organizational campaign, but a top-down revolt by professional politicians financed almost exclusively by a few wealthy contributors. Thurmond campaigned vigorously and logged over 25,000 miles in the South. His campaign speeches did not mention much about either the Republican or the Progressive Party, but focused instead on Truman and the Democrats.

Thurmond and Wright polled 1,169,021 votes, or 2.4 percent of the national total. In the South the party garnered 19 percent of the vote and collected thirty-eight electoral votes from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee (one of Tennessee's electoral votes went to the States Rights candidates, but the re-

mainder went to Truman). The Dixiecrats failed in their goals; Truman won a resounding victory in the Electoral College, carrying all the Southern electors except those polled by Thurmond. Most Dixiecrats returned to the Democrats, but many more moved on to the Republicans in the 1960s, including standard bearer Strom Thurmond.

Further Reading: William D. Barnard, *Dixiecrats and Democrats: Alabama Politics, 1942–1950*, 1974; Leonard Dinnerstein, “The Progressive and States Rights Parties of 1948,” in Arthur Schlesinger Jr., ed., *History of United States Political Parties*, 1973, 3309–3428; Kari Frederickson, *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South*, 2001.

GREGORY DEHLER

DOBY, LAWRENCE EUGENE (December 13, 1923–), professional baseball player. Born in Camden, South Carolina, Doby attended Long Island University in New York and began his ascent to major-league baseball (MLB) in the Negro leagues. Between 1942 and 1947 Doby played second base for the Newark (New Jersey) Eagles, attracting the attention of Cleveland Indians’ owner Bill Veeck. The Indians were then an MLB contender, and Veeck wanted to add a left-handed slugger with speed, qualities Doby had. Veeck bought Doby’s contract from Newark on July 3, 1947, making Doby the second African American in the major leagues, after Jackie Robinson. Doby was the first black player in MLB’s American League.

As it did the rest of American life, racism poisoned baseball. North and South, restaurants refused to serve Doby and hotels would not rent him a room. He received hate mail and was subjected to racial epithets. Doby recalled that during one of his first games, the opposing shortstop spat on him as he slid into second base. The second base umpire called Doby out though the tag was late, leaving Doby little choice but to walk off the field as though nothing had happened. Reporters ignored Doby’s travails, so engrossed were they with Robinson’s.

Racism was not the only difficulty plaguing Doby. The Indians started him at second base, his natural position, but switched him to center-

field, hoping to use his speed to full advantage. Unaccustomed to the outfield, in 1948 Doby misjudged sharply hit balls and missed cutoff men, making fourteen errors, the most of any outfielder. Despite initial difficulties, he improved to rank first among centerfielders, ahead of even New York Yankees’ Joe DiMaggio and Brooklyn Dodgers’ Duke Snider, in 1950.

Doby also improved at the plate. In 1947 he batted only .156 with no home runs; the next year he hit .301 with sixteen homers. During the 1948 World Series he led the Indians by batting .318 and won game four with a dramatic home run.

Doby’s power was legendary. One of only five players to hit a ball out of Washington, DC’s Griffith Stadium, Doby homered in his final at bat in his last All-Star Game in 1954. He had come to the plate as a pinch hitter in the ninth inning, winning the game 11–9 with his blast. Twice, in 1952 and 1954, he led the majors in homers. He hit more than twenty in each season between 1949 and 1956, and he averaged twenty-seven over his seven years with the Indians. He batted in more than 100 runs (RBI) in five seasons; his 126 RBI led the majors in 1954. His excellence led to his 1998 induction into Baseball’s Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York.

Further Reading: Joseph Thomas Moore, *Pride Against Prejudice: The Biography of Larry Doby*, 1988; Russell Schneider, *The Boys of the Summer of ’48*, 1998; Russell Schneider, *The Cleveland Indians Encyclopedia*, 2001.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

DOBRZHANSKY, FEODOSY GRIGREVICH (THEODOSIUS) (January 25, 1900–December 18, 1975), biologist. Dobrzhansky was born in Nemirov, Ukraine, and attended the University of Kiev. In 1927 he won a Rockefeller Fellowship to study genetics with embryologist Thomas Hunt Morgan at Columbia University. The next year he followed Morgan to the California Institute of Technology. In 1940 he returned to Columbia as professor of zoology.

The next year he published the first of several papers on the rate of mutations and their accumulations in a population. He took special interest in the rate at which lethal genes accumulate in a population, showing for a species of fruit fly that all four

of its chromosomes had at least one lethal gene. This discovery underscored the advantage of heterozygosity in the fitness of an organism.

In 1946 he published *Heredity, Race and Society*, his first attempt to confront the problems of race and inequality in the United States. He deplored the tendency of Americans to divide people by race and had little sympathy for the notion of race, which he regarded as more a social than a biological construct, one that fostered inequality. Better to promote equal opportunity, Dobrzhansky wrote, as a means of allowing people, whatever their race or class, to maximize their talent and to further the ideal of a meritocracy. As a purely biological principle, equal opportunity ensured that humans reaped the most from their genes in each generation. In 1951 Dobrzhansky helped draft the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization policy in defense of racial equality.

Dobrzhansky was president of the Genetics Society of America in 1941 and of several other scientific societies between 1950 and 1973. His numerous awards included the Daniel Giraud Elliot Medal in 1946. In 1962 he moved to the Rockefeller Institute to pursue research in genetics, in 1971 becoming emeritus professor. The next year he became adjunct professor at the University of California, Davis. Dobrzhansky died in Davis, California.

Further Reading: Mark B. Adams, ed., *The Evolution of Theodosius Dobrzhansky: Essay on His Life and Thought in Russia and America*, 1994; Garland E. Allen, *Theodosius Dobrzhansky, the Morgan Lab, and the Breakdown of the Naturalist Experimentalist Dichotomy*, 1994; Louis Levine, ed., *Genetics of Natural Populations: The Continuing Importance of Theodosius Dobrzhansky*, 1995.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

DODGE, HENRY CHEE (1857–January 7, 1947), Navajo political leader. Born in Fort Defiance, Arizona, Dodge received formal instruction at the Fort Defiance Indian School and later worked as an interpreter. Holdings in lands and livestock made him wealthy. Among the first Navajos to purchase an automobile, Dodge had become by the 1920s the most prominent Navajo man of his time. He championed the rights of his

people and all Native Americans during the Great Depression and World War II. In 1941 he succeeded Jacob C. Morgan as chair of the tribal council, a position he held until his death on the Navajo reservation in Arizona, the most populous and largest geographic area of any Native community in the United States.

Further Reading: Peter Iverson, *The Navajo Nation*, 1981; Donald L. Parman, *The Navajos and the New Deal*, 1976; Robert W. Young, *A Political History of the Navajo Tribe*, 1978.

LEONARD SCHLUP

DOGS IN WAR By World War II, Germany, Japan, Russia, France, and England had rebuilt their war dog programs. Dogs for Defense recruited pets in America. K-9 soldiers served as sentries, scouts, messengers, mine-detection dogs—and morale boosters. General conditions and a static front made use of dogs invaluable in the Pacific. In New Britain, during December 1943, no men were killed in patrols with dogs along. K-9 soldiers led Marines on 550 patrols without an ambush in Guam.

The only officially decorated dog was Chips, who received the Distinguished Service Cross, Silver Star, and Purple Heart in 1943. He served with Patton's Seventh Army, Third Division. Unofficially, Chips was awarded the Theater Ribbon with arrowhead (indicating an assault landing) and eight battle stars. He died in 1946.

By 1946, all healthy war dogs were successfully detrained and discharged to civilian life. Only a few had to be destroyed. Every dog discharged still recognized its owner after an absence of over two years. By the decade's end, dogs were considered equipment, acquired exclusively through the Army Dog Association, Inc. A monument in Guam features a bronze Doberman pinscher on a granite base, inscribed with the names of the war dogs killed on Guam. The only other memorial dedicated exclusively to war dogs is in Lincoln, Nebraska.

Further Reading: Clayton G. Going, *Dogs at War*, 1944; Blythe Hamer, *Dogs at War: True Stories of Canine Courage Under Fire*, 2001; Michael G. Lemish, *War Dogs: Canines in Combat*, 1996.

PHYLLIS J. JOHNSON

DOUGLAS, HELEN GAHAGAN (November 25, 1900–June 28, 1980), actor, political activist, congresswoman. Born in New Jersey, Helen Gahagan pursued a career in the theater and achieved fame on Broadway by her early twenties. During the 1930s she left the stage, married actor Melvyn Douglas, and moved to California. Perhaps inspired by the suffering of the Great Depression, Helen Douglas became interested in social activism and politics.

She worked for the Farm Security Administration and by the 1940s became active in politics. Elected to the Democratic National Committee (DNC), she became part of a cadre that energized the party in an effort to attract more women as voters and activists. In 1944 Douglas ran for the House of Representatives in California's Fourteenth District, which included much of Los Angeles, and was a featured speaker at the Democratic National Convention. The 1944 election was notable for its emphasis on women as voters. For the Democrats, having Douglas as a featured speaker countered the influence of rising GOP star Clare Booth Luce, who had also moved from show business to politics and had spoken at the Republican convention. In the fall campaign, the DNC women's division, and candidates such as Douglas, waged a largely successful campaign to transform "Rosie the Riveter" into Rosie the voter and Rosie the campaigner, helping Roosevelt to an unprecedented fourth term and electing Douglas to the House.

In Congress, Douglas was a solid New Dealer. She worked hard for domestic programs, including price stabilization and rent control. She was also interested in postwar foreign policy. Douglas served on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and was an alternative delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations. She served three House terms, championing a variety of issues including federal control of oil drilling and the protection of the water rights of small farmers.

In 1950 Douglas sought election to the U.S. Senate. After winning a difficult primary, she faced Richard M. Nixon in one of the most infamous races in American political history. Taking advantage of the fears of the electorate during the Cold War, the Nixon campaign relentlessly and falsely

smear Douglas as a Communist. After her defeat, Douglas never again sought public office, though she remained an activist for liberal causes until her death in New York in 1980.

Further Reading: Helen Gahagan Douglas, *A Full Life: Helen Gahagan Douglas*, 1982; Helen Gahagan Douglas Papers, Carl Albert Center Congressional Archives, University of Oklahoma; Ingrid Winther Scobie, *Center Stage: Helen Gahagan Douglas, A Life*, 1992.

MICHAEL J. ANDERSON

DOUGLAS, PAUL HOWARD (March 26, 1892–September 24, 1976), economist, professor, U.S. Marine, and U.S. senator. In the museum at the U.S. Marine Corps Recruit Depot at Parris Island, South Carolina, there are thousands of photographs of recruit platoons at their graduation exercises. The change from civilian to marine has never been easy or careless and the faces of the young men show pride of accomplishment, fatigue, and anxiety. One black-and-white photograph made in 1942 stands out from the others. In the front row, extreme left, stands a marine obviously older than the others, a man of fifty, slightly bent, gray, and determined. Marine Corps boot camp at age fifty? It is not done. Yet there stands Paul H. Douglas, a former Chicago city council alderman. Douglas, a distinguished economist at the University of Chicago, ran for a U.S. Senate seat from Illinois in 1942 but lost. Committed to public service, he joined the war effort by enlisting as a private in the marines.

Born in Salem, Massachusetts, Douglas attended the public schools of Newport, Maine, graduated from Bowdoin College in 1913 (BA), and received an MA in 1915 and a PhD in economics in 1921 from Columbia University. Douglas taught at the University of Illinois in 1916–1917, Reed College (Portland, OR) in 1917–1918, the University of Washington in 1919–1920, and the University of Chicago from 1920 until he left for the marines. Douglas's research is reflected in his articles in *American Economic Review* and his books: *Real Wages in the United States* (1930) and *The Theory of Wages* (1934). In addition to teaching and economics research, Douglas put his knowledge to work with the Emergency Fleet Corporation in 1918–1919,

service on the Chicago city council, and various national commissions and committees.

The 1940s marked a pivotal decade for Douglas. In 1940 and 1941 he was a professor. In 1942 he ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate, then went to war and served at the front as a staff officer who took every opportunity for combat. By war's end Douglas was a combat-hardened lieutenant colonel who had won a Purple Heart (for a shoulder wound at Okinawa that cost him the use of his left arm and hand) and a Bronze Star. He left the Marines in 1945, returned to the University of Chicago, and launched another, and this time successful, race for the Senate in 1948. He won and served three terms. In 1947 the American Economic Association elected Douglas president.

Douglas lost his fifth bid for the Senate and returned to teaching, this time at the New School for Social Research in New York. He died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Roger Biles, *Crusading Liberal: Paul Douglas of Illinois*, 2002; Glen C. Cain, *A Tribute to Paul H. Douglas, 1892–1976*, 1977; Glenda Daniel, *Paul Howard Douglas*, 1992.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

DOUGLAS, WILLIAM ORVILLE (October 16, 1898–January 19, 1980), U.S. Supreme Court justice. Born in Maine, Minnesota, Douglas graduated in 1920 from Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington, and in 1925 received a Columbia University law degree. Work in a Wall Street law firm gave him firsthand knowledge of how large brokerage firms manipulated stock prices, a practice he fought after President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission in 1938. The two became friends in part because both had contracted polio, though Douglas had recovered completely to advocate the strenuous life.

Douglas spent little time as chairman, for on March 19, 1939, Franklin Roosevelt nominated him to fill a Supreme Court vacancy. Douglas allied himself with Justice Hugo L. Black, both zealous First Amendment defenders. Each believed in government's right to check corporate power when it threatened public welfare.

These issues intersected in 1941 when the *Chicago Tribune* tried to bar the upstart *Chicago Sun* from joining the Associated Press, an action that AP bylaws allowed. Douglas faulted these bylaws for permitting the *Tribune* both to suppress freedom of the press and to deny the public another news outlet. In 1945 he joined Black and three other justices in striking down the bylaws.

Douglas protected public welfare and defended civil liberties. Yet until the *Brown v. Board of Education* case of 1954 he rendered no decision favoring the rights of African Americans. Nor did he defend the rights of Japanese Americans, voting with the majority in the *Hirabayashi* case in 1943 and in the *Korematsu* case in 1944 to uphold Roosevelt's February 1942 executive order interning Japanese Americans living on the West Coast. Nor was Douglas consistent in his conduct toward Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who in 1950 were convicted of spying against the United States during World War II. Douglas protested their execution in 1953 though five times between 1950 and 1953 he had voted against a review of their case.

The emergence of the Cold War after World War II put Douglas on the defensive. He angered President Harry Truman in 1946 by advocating conciliation toward the Soviet Union. Truman believed that a Supreme Court justice should not try to shape foreign policy. Douglas believed that his service on the Court did not abridge his freedoms as a citizen. In particular, Douglas insisted that the First Amendment protected his right to speak his mind even when his views countered public opinion or the will of a president.

Douglas died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: William O. Douglas: *The Court Years, 1939–1975: The Autobiography of William O. Douglas*, 1981; James F. Simon, *Independent Journey: The Life of William O. Douglas*, 1980; Stephen L. Wasby, ed., *“He Shall Not Pass This Way Again”: The Legacy of Justice William O. Douglas*, 1990.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

DRUG ABUSE The cultural disapproval of drugs and the basic foundations of drug control were well established in the United States by 1940. The drug habit had come to be associated with both

immoral behavior and “unsavory” racial minorities. The public imagination was haunted with images of the heroin-addicted Chinese immigrant and cocaine-crazed African American. Governmental action both reflected and engendered these fears, as a body of legislative acts, backed up and often bolstered by Supreme Court decisions, brought opiates, cocaine, and marijuana under the watchful eye of the federal government between 1906 and 1937.

In the early 1940s, doctors and psychiatrists reached a general consensus that drug addiction was a side effect of already existing psychological problems inherent in the user’s personality. Thus, while maintaining a predominantly law-and-order approach to fixing the social ills caused by drug use, medical experts also worked to devise a system that could cure addicts of their unhealthy habits. The most prominent form of treatment between the 1930s and the 1960s was the placement of addicts into government-run “narcotic farms”—one in Lexington, Kentucky, the other in Fort Worth, Texas. The farms were designed to cure drug users by giving them a retreat from the rigors of modern life in the city, which was held to be a key factor in causing addiction. However, the farms ultimately proved more like prisons or labor camps than treatment facilities, where medical practitioners played a relatively minor role in what came to be a rather harsh program of rehabilitation.

The number of drug users in the United States dropped dramatically with America’s entry into World War II, when the state of national emergency allowed the government to tighten its controls over both the international traffic and domestic distribution of drugs. Authorities believed that the best way to curb addiction was to limit the supply of drugs available to the general population. By 1945, this strategy seemed successful and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN) claimed that drug addiction was no longer a significant threat to American society. Yet ultimately, the FBN was a victim of its own success: Congress no longer felt it necessary to increase the FBN budget even as new hotspots for smugglers and dealers emerged in the latter half of the decade. By the beginning of the

1950s, scares concerning heroin use in American cities, especially among African American and Puerto Rican populations, seized the attention of both the popular press and the government. Moreover, authorities, becoming increasingly wary of the connections between narcotics trafficking and organized crime, once again began to crack down on both drug users and dealers.

Overall, one can see the 1940s as a decade when many contemporary approaches toward addiction and drug control became cemented in the American mind-set. While medical theories concerning the nature of drug addiction would evolve in later decades, governmental authorities learned that vigilance in restricting the drug supply, and fiscal and political dedication to limiting the spread of drugs were keys in what President Ronald Reagan would later term the “war on drugs.”

Further Reading: Caroline J. Acker, *Creating the American Junkie: Addiction Research in the Classic Era of Narcotic Control*, 2002; David T. Courtwright, *Dark Paradise: A History of Opiate Addiction in America*, 2001; H. Wayne Morgan, *Drugs in America: A Social History, 1800–1980*, 1981.

HOWARD PADWA

DUBOIS, WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT (February 23, 1868–August 27, 1963), writer, intellectual, and political activist. Born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, W.E.B. DuBois was one of the most prominent African American intellectuals of the twentieth century. By the 1940s, he was in his seventies; his most influential work, such as the philosophy articulated in his famous *Souls of Black Folk*, which talked of the “double identity” of African Americans, was behind him. Yet he continued to exert influence.

He began the decade as a professor at Atlanta University. From the 1920s, DuBois had supported socialist and Marxist philosophies. In them, he believed, lay the future, especially for oppressed peoples of color around the world. He urged rejection of capitalism and supported Pan-African unity in order to promote change. He addressed some of these ideas in *Dusk of Dawn*, published in 1940.

When World War II began, DuBois saw an opportunity for imperialist nations such as the United States and Great Britain to be challenged by their oppressed peoples. He increasingly articulated, and campaigned for, a Pan-African political activism, dubbing the war the “war for racial equality.” The war offered hope of change, and DuBois pushed for racial equality to be written into international law after victory. He also argued for an International Bill of Rights that would address the color issue and pushed for the newly established United Nations to create an International Colonial Commission.

DuBois’s wartime politics were not seen as adequately patriotic, and Atlanta University forced him into retirement in 1944. He was subsequently offered a leading role in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which he accepted. He used this position to push for greater Pan-African cooperation, organizing a number of conferences to further this aim. He also actively supported the Soviet Union, visiting it in 1929, 1936, and again in 1949. However, his support for the USSR was deemed an increasing liability when the war ended and the United States came to view its former ally as its new enemy. DuBois was highly critical of the Truman Doctrine and the development of atomic weapons. Many anti-Communists within the NAACP began to push for his removal. In September 1948, the organization decided not to renew DuBois’s contract. DuBois continued supporting and campaigning for socialism and Pan-Africanism. He continued publishing and speaking widely. He also organized numerous gatherings, including the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in New York in March 1949. DuBois thus was one of the most significant thinkers and activists of the 1940s. He died in Accra, Ghana.

Further Reading: Shirley Graham DuBois, *His Day Is Marching On: A Memoir of W.E.B. DuBois*, 1971; Zhang Juguo, *W.E.B. DuBois: The Quest for the Abolition of the Color Line*, 2001; David L. Lewis, *W.E.B. DuBois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919–1963*, 2000.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

DUGGAN, LAURENCE (May 28, 1905–December 20, 1948), former U.S. State Department official accused of spying for the Soviet Union during the 1930s. Duggan joined the State Department in 1930 and headed its Division of the American Republics, which supervised U.S. relations with South and Central American nations, from 1935 to 1944. After leaving the department, Duggan became a diplomatic adviser to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and then president of the Institute for International Education. He also worked as foreign policy adviser to former vice president Henry Wallace during the late 1940s.

In December 1948, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) interviewed Duggan, whom former Soviet agents Hede Massing and Whittaker Chambers had identified as a Soviet sympathizer and possible spy, about whether he had passed information to the USSR in the 1930s. He confessed that Soviet officials had tried to recruit him for espionage work during his years in the State Department, but denied cooperation with them. Duggan maintained his innocence, yet could not convincingly explain why he had never informed his superiors about the recruitment efforts. Several days later, he plunged to his death from his sixteenth-floor office window. The death was officially ruled a suicide, but some contemporaries wondered if Duggan had been murdered by Soviet intelligence in order to ensure his silence. Many influential journalists and public officials defended Duggan’s reputation, casting him as a martyr to Cold War paranoia. Attorney General Tom Clark vouched for his loyalty even as Clark’s Justice Department continued investigating Duggan’s possible involvement with espionage.

Duggan’s death closed public access to investigatory files for several decades, but decrypted telegraph traffic (code-named VENONA) between U.S.-based Soviet spies and the Kremlin, intercepted by U.S. intelligence officials, later seemed to confirm his guilt. These cables, declassified in the mid-1990s, reveal that during World War II Duggan informed Soviet agents about Anglo-American plans for the invasion of Italy, a potential invasion of German-occupied Norway, the development of a joint policy toward Middle Eastern oil resources, and U.S.

diplomatic relations with Argentina. In 1999 scholars Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev, obtaining access to the files of the former KGB, reported that Soviet records discuss Duggan's sporadic and ambivalent cooperation with Soviet agents between 1934 and 1944. It is unclear how much damage Duggan's supposed activities may have caused American national security.

Duggan died in New York City.

Further Reading: John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America*, 1999; Allen Weinstein, *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case*, 2nd ed., 1997; Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev, *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America: The Stalin Era*, 1999.

VERONICA WILSON

DULLES, JOHN FOSTER (February 25, 1888–May 24, 1959), secretary of state. Born in Washington, DC, Dulles attended public schools in Watertown, New York, where his father was a Presbyterian minister. An intransigent Christianity would shape Dulles's lifelong tendency to see his cause as righteous and his opponent's position as heresy. Dulles graduated from Princeton University in 1908, attended the Sorbonne in Paris in 1908 and 1909, and received a law degree from George Washington University in 1911. That year he began practicing at the New York firm of Sullivan and Cromwell. His expertise in international law brought him to the attention of President Woodrow Wilson's administration, and in 1919 he served as counsel to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at the Versailles Conference.

In 1940 Dulles chaired the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, an arm of the Federal Council of Churches. On September 18, 1941, Dulles published a commission paper outlining his hope for an international organization to keep peace after World War II. The League of Nations had failed after World War I, Dulles believed, because the United States had not joined. The new organization, he hoped, would center on the American-British alliance, but include all nations. In 1943 he termed this dream the United Nations (UN). It would, Dulles wrote, draw vitality from the whole family of nations. After the war he began working on the UN charter.

But was the USSR to be part of the "family of nations"? In 1945 Dulles equated the United States with peace. Because America promoted peace, it had a moral responsibility not to limit its geographical influence, a condition that compromised the Soviet desire to protect its own interests in Europe and Asia. At a London conference Dulles reported by radio on October 6, 1945, his unease over Soviet ambitions. He wondered aloud why the USSR was suspicious of former allies. The building of a Soviet sphere of influence, he feared, might endanger peace.

Dulles polarized the relationship between the United States and the USSR by giving his speeches and papers the sanction of Christianity, implying that the Soviet position was at best unchristian. As early as 1939 he had warned against aligning oneself with God and one's enemy with Satan, but by 1945 he was moving toward this dichotomy.

Dulles staked his hope for making his views American policy on Thomas Dewey. The two had become friends in 1937, and Dewey had considered joining Dulles's law firm. With Dewey as the 1948 Republican presidential candidate and President Harry Truman unpopular, Dulles prepared to join the Dewey administration as secretary of state. Sure of victory, Dulles in August 1948 flew to Paris to strengthen his ties with European leaders with whom he expected to work after the election. Dewey's loss dashed Dulles's hope of a cabinet appointment, though Dewey, as governor of New York, named Dulles in 1949 to the U.S. Senate. Dulles's chance came in 1953 when President Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed him Secretary of State. He made a highly controversial officeholder, until cancer forced his retirement in April 1959. Dulles was *Time* magazine's Man of the Year in 1954 and a recipient of the Medal of Freedom in May 1959. He died in Washington, DC, and is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

Further Reading: Richard H. Immerman, *John Foster Dulles: Piety, Pragmatism and Power in U.S. Foreign Policy*, 1999; Ronald W. Pruessen, *John Foster Dulles: The Road to Power*, 1982; Mark G. Toulouse, *The Transformation of John Foster Dulles: From Prophet of Realism to Priest of Nationalism*, 1985.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE Officially known as the Washington Conversations on International Peace and Security Organization, this 1944 meeting of wartime diplomats at a Georgetown mansion drew up the first detailed proposals for what would the following year become the United Nations. The conference lasted from August 21 to October 7, with a break on September 28 when the Russian group left, to be replaced by a delegation from the Republic of China. This legalistic nicety was due to the Soviet Union's continued neutrality in the Pacific War. In all, spokesmen from thirty-nine Allied nations attended, but the representatives of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin dominated the proceedings. The Dumbarton Oaks negotiations had been mandated by the Teheran Conference in December 1943, at which the leaders of the "Big Three" powers had committed themselves to the founding of a postwar body for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Dumbarton Oaks conference resulted in the drafting of a set of guidelines for the formation of the UN. Membership in the new organization would be open "to all peace-loving states,"

but chief executive power would be vested in the five permanent members of the proposed Security Council—the United States, Great Britain, the USSR, China, and (following its return to normal civilian government) France. In effect, the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were intended to guarantee the primacy of the leading Allied nations in the postwar world, a decision with profound repercussions that continue to this day. In 1944, however, there was still no final agreement whether the permanent members would possess the right to veto Security Council resolutions. The Dumbarton Oaks blueprint provided the basis for the charter that was adopted at the United Nations Organization's founding conference in San Francisco on June 25, 1945.

Further Reading: Robert C. Hilderbrand, *Dumbarton Oaks: The Origins of the United Nations and the Search for Postwar Security*, 1990; Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, *FDR and the Creation of the U.N.*, 1997; Ernest R. May and Angeliki E. Laiou, eds., *The Dumbarton Oaks Conversations and the United Nations 1944–1994*, 1998.

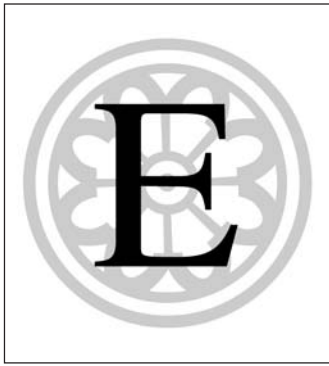
ALAN ALLPORT

EASTERN ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY

Much of the drama of Eastern Orthodox Church life in the decade related to overseas events with domestic consequences, mainly because of World War II and its immediate aftermath. The very names of the Orthodox churches included national references to troubled European homelands. The *Yearbook of American Churches* in any year signaled these: Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Syrian, and Ukrainian Orthodox churches worked to gather congregations, helping their members express loyalty to the United States while determining how to relate to churches “back home.”

When ten years after the war sociologist Will Herberg wrote *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* to describe the basic clusters in American religion, he did not include Orthodoxy. During the war the Orthodox had had great difficulty establishing their credentials and were originally excluded from the company of churches that benefited from ties to the military as well as civilian governmental policies. The exclusion was the result not of antagonism to Orthodox purposes but of ignorance concerning the Orthodox presence. Church bodies that claimed to agree with each other on creeds and liturgies but that were separated by ethnic and national loyalties were confusing to the public at large.

During the war years, when the Soviet Union was an ally, the enduring problems were already present because the Soviet government had either restricted or co-opted the church leadership in nations which Orthodox members had left as immigrants to America only decades before. Thus in 1946 the American Metropoliate, meeting in Cleveland, recognizing the Moscow Patriarchate, refused to recognize what had come to be called the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia. That body gained impetus through resistance to the Moscow leadership. Conflict over jurisdictions, confusing to the non-Orthodox, consumed much of the churchly energy of American Russian Orthodox. The divided and conflicted Russian Orthodox were less ready than the Greek



Orthodox to take advantage of the postwar “religious revival” among American churches.

The Greek churches, on the other hand, benefited from the fact that first Mussolini’s Italy and then Nazi Germany invaded

the Greek homeland, there to meet heroic resistance. These stands of the Greeks won favor in the American government and among the public. The Orthodox returned the favor. Led by the charismatic Archbishop Athenagoras, who became a personal friend of presidents Franklin Delano Roosevelt and then Harry S. Truman, the Greek-Americans applauded when in 1947 the Truman Doctrine led to American support of beleaguered Greece, now threatened by the expanding Soviet sphere of influence.

While the Greek churches, often lay-led, anti-clerical, and divided among themselves over various issues, did not resolve all their internal difficulties, the fact that they had common enemies—first Germany and then the Soviet Union—and that they needed to provide relief to sufferers in Europe led to the formation of groups like the Greek War Relief Association. Headed by theater chain-owner Spyros Skouras, the association raised millions of dollars and collected supplies for relief. Through the 1940s, the Greek parishes in the United States were the main agents for aiding refugees and immigrants.

The strengthening of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Divinity in Connecticut and later in Brookline, Massachusetts, in the late 1930s helped the churches produce better educated and better formed clergy than before to lead in new activities, such as the building of churches. Still, while in the 1940s about three-fourths of the ethnic Greeks in America identified with the Orthodox Church, and while it remained the chief symbol of Greek identity, attendance at worship was relatively low compared to that in prospering Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. Raising funds for the expansion of these churches after World War II remained a nagging problem. Despite all the travails, however, the war and the beginnings of the Cold War are remembered as a

time when the Orthodox became “Americanized” as never before and when other Americans became more aware of Orthodoxy as a congenial partner in serving the spiritual needs of citizens.

Further Reading: Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Understanding The Greek Orthodox Church: Its Faith, History, and Practice*, 1982; George Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan: The Greek Orthodox in America Under Athenagoras I*, 1976; Constance J. Tarasar, ed., *Orthodox America, 1794–1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America*, 1975.

MARTIN E. MARTY

EBONY MAGAZINE Dissatisfied with the coverage of events in the African American community, John H. Johnson, chair and chief executive officer of Johnson Publishing Company in Chicago, conceived two magazines and began the first, *Negro Digest*, in 1942. The high cost of paper during World War II led him to postpone the second until war’s end. He patterned it, a more ambitious venture than *Negro Digest*, after Henry Luce’s *Life* magazine in the lavish use of photographs to draw readers. The name, *Ebony*, derives from a black wood that polishes to a luster. Both hard and attractive, ebony symbolizes the toughness in adversity, resilience, and beauty of African Americans.

Johnson printed 25,000 copies of the *Ebony* first issue, November 1, 1945, and sold them all within hours. A second printing of 25,000 likewise sold out. Wary of the influence advertisers might exert, Johnson pledged not to accept ads until the number of subscribers reached 100,000. *Ebony* hit the mark in six months, with Johnson printing the first ad in the May 1946 issue. In May 1947 *Ebony* became the first African American magazine with a circulation large enough to be audited by the Audit Bureau of Circulations. The number of subscribers was then 309,715 and would surpass 500,000 by 1949.

Success stemmed from articles and editorials as much as from photographs. The first issue carried an article, “60 Million Jobs or Else,” that cut through the rhetoric of race. The author argued that the difference between blacks and whites was less color than economic opportunity; blacks did not want a handout from government, but jobs

with a living wage. Another article in that issue, “Catholics and Color,” debunked the myth that all African Americans were Protestants, most Baptists. It also transcended continents by reminding the reader that Catholicism was then growing fastest among black Africans.

Critics dismissed *Ebony* as glamour journalism, akin to *Star Magazine* today, which focused on entertainers and athletes. Glitzy photos and seductive covers, they said, were escapist. *Ebony* ignored the realities of black America: slums, crime, and welfare. Certainly photos of Jackie Robinson and other celebrities adorned the pages of *Ebony* in the 1940s but this was no fault. Poet Langston Hughes insisted that *Ebony* served African Americans by reminding them of their successes. No less important, Hughes believed, was *Ebony*’s influence on whites. Whether the *Ebony* cover featured a model, athlete, entertainer, or intellectual, it adorned newsstands across the United States, exposing whites to the lie of black inferiority. More than an exercise in journalism, *Ebony* was an affirmation of black pride and a counterweight against Jim Crow.

Further Reading: William E. Berry, *The Popular Press as Symbolic Interaction: A Socio-Cultural Analysis of Ebony, 1945–1975*, 1978; Lucille Falkof, *John H. Johnson, “The Man from Ebony,”* 1992; John H. Johnson, *Breaking Through the Ad Barrier*, 1999.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

ECONOMY World War II ended the Great Depression and stimulated the longest economic expansion in U.S. history. Between 1941 and 1973 the gross domestic product (GDP: the total value of goods and services) increased in all but five years, and both unemployment and inflation held below 5 percent. The most rapid expansion occurred during the war, which doubled the GDP between 1941 and 1945. Over these years, the armed forces bought nearly half of all goods and services.

As had been true during World War I, the federal government guided the expansion. Congress and President Franklin Roosevelt mobilized agriculture and industry. The agricultural boom came from government-funded science more than

from federal control of commodity prices. Nearly two decades of research at the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the land-grant colleges produced new varieties of corn that had higher yields and greater resistance to drought and insects than any type of corn previously grown. The new varieties increased U.S. corn yields 30 percent between 1940 and 1949. Cotton yields increased nearly 20 percent between 1944 and 1949, as dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) became the weapon against the boll weevil and innumerable other insects. New varieties of wheat increased yields, to a lesser degree, between 1940 and 1949. In 1947, pork, beef, and chicken production began an expansion that has not stopped. Much of the early increase was due to the use of antibiotics in livestock feed.

In contrast to agriculture, industry mobilized for war without science but with more overt federal management. When Ford and General Motors were slow to convert production from cars to matériel in 1940, afraid of losing a year of strong domestic sales, Congress took charge of labor and production by suspending antitrust laws, paying the cost of building defense plants and issuing cost-plus contracts that guaranteed profit. To halt the inflation that should have accompanied the expansion in production, the Office of Price Administration set prices for all consumer goods, though by 1943 a black market operated to sell gasoline, cigarettes, and meat.

U.S. corporations benefited most from wartime production. In 1940 the hundred wealthiest firms produced 30 percent of all manufactured goods. By 1945 that figure had reached 70 percent. Blue-collar workers also benefited. Unemployment, at 14 percent in 1940, crept below 3 percent in 1943. The demand for labor raised real wages 27 percent between 1939 and 1945. Net income grew more as a percentage of income for workers in the bottom fifth than in the top fifth of earnings, an achievement due to both the tight labor market and the New Deal's progressive income tax.

Gains accrued not merely to men. Between 1941 and 1945 the number of women working outside the home grew from 11 to 20 million. In 1940 only 5 percent of autoworkers were women; in 1944 they were 20. They enjoyed high wages,

medical insurance, and union protection. Indeed, by 1945 females were one-fifth of all union members. Less fortunate were Jewish and Italian women, who remained trapped in the sweatshops of the garment industry, and African American women, who worked as farm laborers and domestic servants.

The depression that had followed World War I did not recur after World War II. Americans who had little money to spend during the Great Depression and little to buy during World War II spent lavishly after peace returned in 1945. Auto sales surpassed 5 million in 1949, the best year since 1929. The boom fueled highway, restaurant, and suburban housing growth. At the same time, the Cold War kept defense industries busy and resumption of the draft in 1948 kept the labor market tight and wages high.

Further Reading: Jeremy Atack and Peter Passell, *A New Economic View of American History*, 1994; Miriam Frank, Marilyn Ziebarth, and Connie Field, *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter: The Story of Three Million Working Women During World War II*, 1982; Howell Harris, *The Right to Manage: Industrial Relations Policies of American Business in the 1940s*, 1982.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

EDUCATION (HIGHER) The expansion of higher education was a hallmark of the twentieth century. Between 1900 and 1940, U.S. college and university enrollment increased from 168,000 to 1.4 million. Students bore the brunt of financing college education. In 1940 tuition funded 28 percent of public college and university budgets, state appropriations 26 percent, and federal funds only 4 percent.

World War II demanded a greater commitment from the federal government to higher education on the premise that research at colleges and universities would contribute to victory. Campus administrators were quick to trumpet the value of research. Cornell University president Edmund Day told the public that colleges and universities were the best institutions to do the research that would defeat totalitarianism.

Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany inadvertently strengthened such research. Repression in Europe led scientists and other intellectuals

to flee to the United States, where colleges and universities welcomed them with professorial appointments with light or no teaching duties. Albert Einstein joined the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University, physicists Enrico Fermi and Edward Teller the University of Chicago, and political scientist Hans Morgenthau Brooklyn College, though he would later move to the University of Chicago. American scientists likewise made American higher education the world's envy. Thomas Hunt Morgan made the California Institute of Technology an international genetics research center; physicist Ernest Lawrence built the cyclotron at the University of California, Berkeley; and Robert Goddard pioneered rocketry at Clark University two decades before senior army and navy officers appreciated its value.

One cannot overstate the University of Chicago's contribution to victory. There Fermi gathered a group of physicists and engineers. Many, including Richard Feynman, would rise to prominence after the war. In 1942 they achieved the first controlled nuclear reaction with uranium atoms, proving the feasibility of an atomic bomb. Through the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Congress funded research in agriculture and applied chemistry at the land-grant universities. Congressional funding pushed the federal largess above 10 percent of college and university budgets in 1945.

Yet not everyone rejoiced. In 1942 Edgar Nelson Transeau, chairman of the Department of Botany at Ohio State University, complained that wartime funding promoted applied research at the expense of basic research. He reproached colleges and universities for dropping courses in botany and zoology on the grounds that the disciplines were esoteric in the midst of war. In 1945 a Harvard University report warned that higher education emphasized the sciences and engineering at the expense of the humanities and social science. Moreover, Transeau worried that the expansion of higher education might lead universities to overproduce PhDs, a fear that has haunted academe for the last thirty years.

Despite these criticisms, higher education emerged from World War II at the cusp of unprecedented growth, much of it due to the

Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (the GI Bill). Between 1944 and 1951 Congress invested \$14 billion in the collegiate education of 2.3 million veterans, spurring the expansion of college and university campuses and transforming regional universities into comprehensive, doctorate-granting institutions.

Minorities and the poor seldom had the money or opportunity to attend college; when blacks did enroll, they went to historically black colleges and universities. Higher education, like elementary and secondary education, was segregated in the 1940s. Despite their expansion during the decade, colleges and universities did not allow equal access to all Americans. Race, class, and gender barred many talented men and women from a college education.

Further Reading: Lawrence E. Gladieux and Gwendolyn L. Lewis, *The Federal Government and Higher Education: Traditions, Trends, Stakes and Issues*, 1987; Stefan Muthesius, *The Postwar University: Utopianist Campus and College*, 2000; Jacob Neusner and Noam M.M. Neusner, *The Price of Excellence: Universities in Conflict During the Cold War Era*, 1995.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

EDUCATION (PRIMARY) The debate over primary education in the 1940s centered on two issues: the number of grades and the curriculum. In 1900 elementary school comprised grades one through eight, but by 1940 challenges had emerged at both ends. The entrance of women into the workforce during World War II sharpened the focus on the education of children below age six. Since the 1910s, Progressives had advocated a preschool system for children as young as age two, and kindergarten as the bridge between preschool and first grade. Educational theorists conceded preschool and kindergarten as wartime expedients but quarreled over their value.

Critics feared that confining children so young to preschool and thereafter to kindergarten imposed the factory system on them. Preschool and kindergarten teachers would treat all children alike, as was too often true in grades one through twelve. They would impose a regime of tasks and deadlines with little latitude for variability in

interests and aptitudes. Such a routine would rob children of the spontaneity and play that were central to development, turning them into automata rather than individuals. Physicians warned that preschool and kindergarten would expose children to contagion at an age when the immune system was immature. Black intellectuals wondered whether the movement was an attempt to remove black children from the home, on the assumption that black families were too dysfunctional to raise children. Whites, after all, led this movement. Stay-at-home mothers wondered how an institution could give children the nurturing provided at home.

Supporters countered that the earlier children entered school, the more adept they became at interacting with children and adults outside the home. They pointed to the success in elementary school of children who had attended preschool and kindergarten. Perhaps most important to the preschool and kindergarten movement was the reaction against the hard-line hereditarians. Since the 1920s they had asserted that humans, like other organisms, were nothing but an aggregate of genes. That the Nazis embraced the genetic determinism doctrine discredited it in the 1940s. Environmentalists, now in the ascent, countered that children's surroundings, rather than genes, shaped them. Education, not heredity, determined one's success in life, and the earlier schooling began, the greater the success. By 1949, 300,000 American children attended preschool, and nearly 1 million kindergarten, though states made attendance compulsory in neither during the 1940s.

At the other end of the continuum, educational theorists debated where to mark the transition between primary and secondary education. Tradition placed the divide between grades eight and nine, with eight the end of elementary school. By 1940, however, nearly one-fifth of U.S. public schools used grades seven and eight as a transition between primary and secondary education. Those who created the junior high school believed that the development of children at these ages was unique and therefore merited their instruction separate from both elementary and high schools. Those districts with junior high schools ended primary

education at grade six rather than eight.

The curriculum was the second issue of debate. Elementary schools, particularly those in the countryside where money was scarce and tradition adamant, retained a focus on the three Rs: reading, writing, and arithmetic. Here again, progressives had criticized the status quo since the early twentieth century. Modern urban life demanded a more comprehensive education. In addition to the three Rs, progressives urged elementary schools to teach history, geography, civics, health, hygiene, physical education and music. The elementary school in the 1940s reflected the progressive agenda in the diversity of subjects. Less successful was the Progressive effort to dethrone learning by rote. John Dewey and Albert Einstein had united in the 1930s in condemning the memorization of facts as the antithesis of learning, but too few educators listened. Elementary school children in the 1940s learned as they always had, repeating a lesson ad nauseam.

Further Reading: Larry Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890–1980*, 1984; Gerald Giordano, *Wartime Schools: How World War II Changed American Education*, 2004; Joseph Watras, *Philosophic Conflicts in American Education, 1893–2000*, 2004.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

EDUCATION (SECONDARY) Attendance in U.S. public high schools grew at an unprecedented rate during the first half of the twentieth century, from 500,000 students in 1900 to 5.5 million in 1949. As high school became the norm, Americans came to regard it, rather than a job after eighth grade, as the conduit from adolescence to adulthood.

Accordingly, high school became, by the 1940s, the arena where students played out their social agendas. A hierarchy of cliques, and a girl's place therein, defined her status. Boys established their place through their prowess at sports, particularly football. This system dictated the pairing of quarterback and cheerleader, unrepentant outcast and promiscuous vamp, and everyone between. High school dances codified such relationships.

Alliances, hierarchies, and couplings came easily to the high school. Difficult was the attempt to define its purpose. The rationale that high school should prepare students for college held in 1900 when 75 percent of graduates attended college. By 1949, however, the percentage had dropped to 25. Since three-quarters of graduates went to work, advocates of vocational education believed that high school should train them for a career, with a curriculum rich in accounting, agriculture, auto mechanics, and related subjects. Such a regimen need not abolish college preparatory courses, but instead would establish two paths toward a diploma: the road for the many who wanted a job upon graduation and the trail for the few who aimed at a college degree.

Statistics suggest that college preparatory courses languished in the 1940s. A 1946 Harvard University report, *General Education in a Free Society*, classified only 59 of 274 courses at U.S. public high schools as college preparatory. Despite these numbers, World War II and the Cold War sharpened the focus on a precollege curriculum. The Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 (the GI Bill) helped more than 2 million veterans attend college, fueling the expectation that their children also would attend some day. Americans were beginning to see higher education as a rite of passage and so to demand that high school prepare students for college. Moreover, Cold Warriors wanted high schools to expand the number and rigor of science and mathematics courses in order to prepare students to major in engineering and physics in college. They hoped to enlarge these professions to meet defense industry demands. So important was physics that the most ambitious reformers in the 1940s wanted to invert the sequence of science courses in high school. The traditional sequence was and remains biology, chemistry, and physics, but by putting physics first the high school could eliminate freshmen with little aptitude, leaving only the talented to take chemistry as sophomores and biology as juniors. Seniors would take a capstone course integrating their knowledge of the three sciences as a foundation for majoring in one of the fields in college.

The 1946 Harvard report agreed that high schools should retain their college preparatory

role. It recommended that students be required to take three science courses, without specifying their sequence. It also recommended three courses in mathematics and English and two in the social studies.

But the shortage of science and mathematics teachers in the 1940s, particularly in rural districts, forced high school administrators to consolidate rather than expand their offerings. They merged biology, chemistry, and physics into a single general science course, and arithmetic, algebra, and geometry into general mathematics. Few high schools offered calculus, a prerequisite for college physics courses. Only the Soviet launch of *Sputnik* in 1957 would galvanize Americans to demand an increase in the number and rigor of science and mathematics courses in high school. Until then, scientists, engineers, and defense analysts fumed at high schools for their inadequate science and mathematics instruction, contributing in part to the public's low estimate of the quality of public education.

Further Reading: Larry Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890–1980*, 1984; Gerald Giordano, *Wartime Schools: How World War II Changed American Education*, 2004; Joseph Watras, *Philosophic Conflicts in American Education, 1893–2000*, 2004.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

EDWARDS V. CALIFORNIA (1941). This Supreme Court case examined the commerce clause and the privileges and immunities clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and the decision struck down state limits on individuals' ability to migrate to other parts of the nation. In the years following the Civil War, the U.S. Supreme Court held that citizens possessed an inherent right to individual travel between states. In an 1867 case, *Crandall v. Nevada*, the Court held unconstitutional a statute that imposed a tax on railroads for every passenger carried out of the state. Even the *Slaughter-House Cases* of 1873 recognized interstate travel as an attribute of national citizenship. They had dealt with an 1869 Louisiana law, in which Louisiana created a state corporation for slaughtering livestock. Various companies sued. The issue was whether the Thirteenth

and Fourteenth Amendments guaranteed federal protection against violations of individual rights by state governments. The Supreme Court ruled that states have proper police power to limit slaughterhouse operations for the health and safety of citizens. The years between the *Slaughter-House Cases* and World War II saw little change in the Court's opinion.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, however, California made bringing an indigent nonresident into the state a misdemeanor. The law was aimed at stemming the flow of dust bowl migrants from Oklahoma and Arkansas, often stigmatized as "Okies" and "Arkies." The *Edwards* case originated when the Edwards family of Marysville, California, invited Frank Duncan, a Texan and Mrs. Edwards's brother, to live with them. Duncan, who had worked briefly in New Deal relief programs, was presently unemployed. Edwards drove to Texas and returned with his idle brother-in-law, Duncan. Edwards was tried under California's anti-Oakie law. Convicted, he received a suspended sentence. The Edwards family sued, challenging the existing statute. During argumentation, the state of California maintained that the migration of poor persons had caused grave health and financial problems for its permanent residents. The Court's majority dismissed such a notion, noting that California's attempt to lock persons outside its borders was a classic trade barrier, falling under the Constitution's commerce clause. Justice Robert H. Jackson stressed the inherent right to travel and the fundamental constitutional principle that rights should not be allocated by wealth. He alluded to the general westward movement of U.S. civilization and added that indigence is neither a source of rights nor a basis for denying them. Justices William O. Douglas, Hugo Black, and Frank Murphy concurred, but argued further that the right to interstate travel is protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. The decision struck down the state law.

Further Reading: *Edwards v. California* 314 U.S. 160, 183–86, 62 S.Ct. 164, 1941; Steven Emanuel, *Constitutional Law*, 1987; John Nowak, Ronald D. Rotunda, and J. Nelson Young, *Constitutional Law*, 1986.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

EINSTEIN, ALBERT (March 14, 1879–April 18, 1955), physicist. Einstein was born in Ulm, Germany, and studied in Munich. His mother taught him to play the violin. One uncle stimulated his interest in science and another in mathematics. In 1894 Einstein left school without a diploma to enroll in the Polytechnic Academy in Zurich, Switzerland. In 1905 he earned a PhD from the University of Zurich.

That year, his most productive, Einstein published five papers that overthrew the mechanistic universe of nineteenth-century physics. German Nobel laureate Max Planck remarked in reading them that the discipline had been born anew. Yet physicists took so long to absorb their implications that only in 1921 did Einstein receive the Nobel Prize.

In October 1933 he joined the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University. By 1940 his productivity had ebbed, though he put out several papers that decade that summarized his ideas. In 1946 Einstein published "An Elementary Derivation of the Equivalence of Mass and Energy," in which appears his famous equation of 1905, $E = mc^2$ (energy equals mass times the speed of light squared). Because the speed of light squared equals 186,000 miles per second squared, a tiny mass contains enormous energy. In 1932 physicists demonstrated that a disintegrating element releases energy from its nucleus in accord with Einstein's equation, making possible construction of the first atomic bomb in 1945.

In 1949 Einstein published "The Theory of Relativity," summarizing both his special and the general theories of relativity. The special theory of relativity (1905) asserts that the speed of light is the only constant in the universe. Our experience of space and time as constants is incorrect. They vary with the velocity of the observer.

The general theory of relativity (1916) replaced British physicist Isaac Newton's theory of gravity. Einstein proposed in the general theory of relativity that an object curves the space surrounding it, as a bowling ball warps a mattress on which it rests. The greater the mass, the greater the curvature. Because the sun curves the space around it, earth and the other planets must orbit the sun. Space is not linear, as everyone since Euclid had supposed, but curved. In

the general theory of relativity lies our understanding of black holes.

Einstein died in Princeton, New Jersey.

Further Reading: Denis Brian, *Einstein: A Life*, 1996; Peter A. Bucky and Allen G. Weakland, *The Private Einstein*, 1992; Michael White and John Gribbin, *Einstein: A Life in Science*, 1994.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

EISENHOWER, DWIGHT DAVID (October 14, 1890–March 28, 1969), army general, and thirty-fourth president of the United States. Dwight “Ike” Eisenhower was born in Denison, Texas, and grew up in Abilene, Kansas. A 1915 West Point graduate, Eisenhower had an unchallenging army career before World War II. His strengths as a staff officer played favorably for superiors; they made good use of his writing and organizational skills. In the 1930s, Eisenhower worked for General Douglas MacArthur in Washington, DC, and later in Manila, Philippines. The experience of building a Filipino army with the scantiest resources and of working for an accomplished, egocentric senior officer equipped Lieutenant Colonel Eisenhower for the responsibilities he undertook in Europe in World War II.

During the 1940s Eisenhower was the leading Allied general and in the 1950s he was president of the most powerful nation on earth. Once his star began to rise, it soared. Five days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Chief of Staff General George Marshall placed Eisenhower at the head of the War Plans Department (Operations Division) in Washington. Five months later Major General Eisenhower assumed command of U.S. forces in England. In July 1942, Eisenhower was promoted to lieutenant general and put in charge of Operation Torch, the Allied invasion of North Africa. Torch began in November 1942 and ended with the expulsion of Axis forces from North Africa in May 1943, just two months before the Allies invaded Sicily and four months before the Allied invasion of Italy. In February 1943 Eisenhower added his fourth star.

The North African and Mediterranean operations showcased Eisenhower’s unique capacity for keeping the ill-fitting parts of a massive military coalition together and functioning effec-

tively. For that reason, he was chosen to lead Operation Overlord, the invasion of Europe. Perhaps Eisenhower’s greatest achievement was the successful D-day landing at Normandy on June 6, 1944. Once coalition forces were ashore in France, Eisenhower drew on his impressive organizational and leadership skills to keep the Allied momentum going all the way to unconditional German surrender. American general George Patton and British general Bernard Montgomery were esteemed leaders and strategists who argued for their own plans to bring a quick end to the European war, plans that called for the allocation of all resources to their armies and defensive postures for everyone else. It fell to Eisenhower to keep Montgomery and Patton in action without giving way to their demands, while at the same time coordinating the operations of less visible generals such as American Omar Bradley and British Miles Dempsey.

December 16, 1944, brought Eisenhower his fifth star and promotion to general of the armies and the opening shots of the Battle of the Bulge. By mid-January 1945, the German attack was over and the broad-front Allied offensive was resumed. On May 7, 1945, the Eisenhower-led Allied armies brought an end to the war in Europe. Eisenhower remained in Europe until November, when he took over as chief of staff of the U.S. Army from General George Marshall. In 1948 he retired from the army and became president of Columbia University.

The 1950s found Eisenhower back on the world stage. In 1951 he returned to Europe, where he helped organize NATO, and in 1952 he was elected president of the United States on the Republican ticket. Eisenhower’s presidency was hallmarked by an armistice in Korea, the launching of the interstate highway system, the McCarthy era, the Egyptian seizure of the Suez Canal, the anti-Communist uprising in Hungary, racial integration of U.S. schools, the Soviets’ launching of the first satellite, *Sputnik*, Fidel Castro’s takeover of Cuba, “Atoms for Peace” (a call before the United Nations urging constructive usage of atomic energy), and the U-2 incident, in which an American spy plane crashed in the USSR and the pilot, Francis Gary Powers, was captured.

Although Eisenhower died in Washington, DC, more than thirty years ago, historians continue to argue his accomplishments and failures. There may never be agreement on Eisenhower's place in history beyond the unquestionable conclusion that he was one of the most important men alive in the 1940s and 1950s.

Further Reading: Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower: Soldier, General of the Army, President-Elect, 1890–1952*, 1983; Michael R. Beschloss, *MAYDAY: Eisenhower, Khrushchev, and the U-2 Affair*, 1986; Carlo D'Este, *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*, 2002.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1946 Politicians began planning for the postwar economy before World War II ended. Would the nation return to depression with the cessation of war spending, as it did in 1938 when New Deal spending was reduced? Could America tolerate additional depression years and high unemployment on the heels of a devastating war and its sacrifices? The preeminent market economy, the United States, had led the world in victory against the Axis powers, but Communism flourished on the other side of the globe. With enormous aid from the United States, the USSR had won impressive victories against the Third Reich but now threatened to counter the United States in the postwar years. Could America afford to allow unemployment to soar in the face of what might be viewed as a successful alternative economic system?

The U.S. response was embodied in the full employment bill of 1945, proposed legislation that would make the U.S. government responsible for full employment, price stability, and prosperity. Americans were ready to commission the federal government to maintain national economic health, but not ready to demand full employment, so the full employment bill gave way to the Employment Act of 1946. Congress did not accept responsibility for full employment, but did assume the lead in monitoring economic conditions and determining what legislation might improve employment and prevent mass unemployment. The new law established machinery to monitor economic conditions and

assess options. The Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) was created as the president's economic arm: its three members (appointed by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate—the president designates one of the members as chair) and their staff evaluate legislation for economic implications and ramifications and make recommendations to the president for its disposal. The CEA also suggests economic legislation to the president and offers supporting information for the annual Economic State of the Union address specified by the Employment Act. On the legislative side, the Employment Act provided for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, which, supported by a staff, does for Congress what the CEA does for the president. Harry S. Truman was the first president to appoint a CEA.

The Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1978 (Humphrey-Hawkins Act) amended the Employment Act of 1946 and required the Federal Reserve System to show how monetary goals fit the president's economic policy. The Fed must submit its monetary policy goals to Congress, with an explanation of how they relate to the short-term objectives of the president's *Economic Report* within thirty days after the president transmits it to Congress.

Further Reading: S. Jay Levy, *The Employment Act of 1946: 50 Years Later*, 1996; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Government Operations, *Amending the Employment Act of 1946*, 1961; U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Employment Act of 1946*, 1985.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

ENOLA GAY, bomber that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. By early 1944, U.S. factories geared up to produce thousands of copies of a new aircraft, the B-29, called the Superfortress. It was 25 percent faster than its predecessor, the B-17, and it had a 4,000-mile range, far greater than that of previous planes. It could carry a 20,000-pound bomb load and, with its pressurized cabin, fly at 36,000 feet, which was above the reach of Japanese fighters. The B-29 became the second most expensive weapons project of World War II, trailing only the atomic bomb. The U.S. government united its two most

costly war projects in dropping atomic bombs on Japan in August 1945.

In December 1943, U.S. Army Air Force headquarters issued orders to prepare B-29 aircraft to carry the first atomic bombs. The Boeing Aircraft Co. manufactured a model B-29-45-MO, serial number 44-86292. It had a wingspan of 141 feet, 3 inches and stood 27 feet, 9 inches high and 99 feet long. The four Wright R-3350 Cyclone engines gave a top speed of 357 miles per hour. At the Glenn L. Martin Co. plant in Omaha, Nebraska, in May 1945 Colonel Paul W. Tibbets chose this first plane for his 509th Composite Group, U.S. Twentieth Army Air Force. The military had requested special modifications for a group of B-29s code-named Silverplate. Martin outfitted this plane (officially aircraft "82") and fourteen other B-29s with Curtiss electric propellers and faster-acting pneumatic bomb bay doors that would accommodate either of the planned configurations for the atomic bomb. The development of the B-29 was as important to the mission as the bomb itself; an undeliverable weapon is no weapon at all.

The plane flew to Wendover Army Air Base, Utah, where Colonel Tibbets and his 509th trained, in June 1945. In early July, the plane arrived at North Field on Tinian Island in the Marianas, an air base strategically located for bombing missions over Japan. A crew flew training missions and practice bombing missions during July, although only Tibbets knew the true mission. The 509th was told on August 4 what the payload would be and what kind of explosion would ensue. Tibbets chose aircraft "82" and named the plane *Enola Gay* after his mother on August 5.

The *Enola Gay* took off around 2:45 AM on August 6 with an unarmed bomb. The crew armed the weapon in flight because of fears of an explosion if there were a crash on takeoff. The crew dropped the bomb, nicknamed "Little Boy," on Hiroshima around 8:15 AM. At least 70,000 Japanese died instantly, with 30,000 following in the next few days. The devastation wrought by the atomic bomb dropped from the *Enola Gay* made it clear that any future war could mean complete annihilation. The plane thus contributed to the tension and atmosphere of the Cold War that developed after World War II.

After the war, air force crews flew the *Enola Gay* in the Operation Crossroads atomic test program. The air force donated the plane to the Smithsonian Institution in 1949 for restoration and display. The plane remained in various storage facilities until restoration began in 1984. The Smithsonian temporarily displayed the fuselage of the plane in the National Air and Space Museum in 1995. The complete plane went on display at the Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center of the Smithsonian in 2002.

Further Reading: Bob Greene, *Duty: A Father, His Son, and the Man Who Won the War*, 2000; Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan Witts, *Enola Gay*, 1977; Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan Witts, *Ruin from the Air: The Enola Gay's Atomic Mission to Hiroshima*, 1977.

LINDA EIKMEIER ENDERSBY

ENTERTAINERS AT THE FRONT After the United States entry into World War II, the government and military rapidly recognized that maintaining the armed services' morale would require organized entertainment. Accordingly, the United Services Organization (USO) was formed in February 1941, combining the resources of the YMCA, YWCA, National Catholic Community Service, National Jewish Welfare Board, Travelers Aid Association, and Salvation Army. The USO coordinated most of the entertainment sent to the front.

The foremost USO entertainer in World War II was Bob Hope, comedian and movie star. He performed his first camp show in May 1941 in California and went on to do many more shows overseas from 1942 onward. A number of entertainment troupes were sent overseas. The first one was the "Flying Showboat," which included Chico Marx, of the Marx Brothers, and Laurel and Hardy. The USO staged 428,521 live shows during the war. Entertainers in these shows included Jack Benny, Bing Crosby, Al Jolson, and Marlene Dietrich, the stalwarts of many USO tours. But numerous other actors, singers, and comedians also served. For many, entertaining the services was their contribution to the war, and they took it very seriously.

Some stars, including Douglas Fairbanks Jr.,

James Stewart, Henry Fonda, Tyrone Power, and Clark Gable, enlisted, however. Their contribution was seen to be enormously valuable to the war effort. Their regular military work was not without its own dangers: they were given officer's rank in case of capture. The threat was genuine, as some performers were close to active front lines.

Another important part of the USO's work that entertainers actively participated in were the "canteens." The Hollywood Canteen, set up in Los Angeles early in the war, involved stars serving the troops in a large social gathering. After American armies landed in Europe in 1943, a USO canteen was set up in Rome, where a number of stars participated. Hollywood's contribution to the war also included rallies and drives to market war bonds. The most famous of these drives were the "Hollywood Victory Caravan" and "Stars Over America."

USO entertainment was as segregated as the military services themselves. African American servicemen were entertained by entertainers of their own race, and stars such as Hattie McDaniel and Lena Horne performed at black army camps.

Entertainers played an important role in America's World War II experience. They boosted morale and reminded many soldiers of the America that they felt they were fighting for, their home.

Further Reading: Roy Hooper, *When the Stars Went to War: Hollywood and World War II*, 1994; United Services Organization Web site, www.uso.org.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

EVANGELICALISM A new evangelical movement emerged during the 1940s. It rejected traditional fundamentalist Christianity because of its overtones of anti-intellectualism, indifference to social justice issues, and intolerance of different religious creeds. The evangelists of this new movement called themselves neo-evangelicals, to distinguish themselves from the Fundamentalists, but the term evangelicals became the common reference for both the movement and its spokesmen. The evangelicals sought to propagate their message through an organizational network of Evangelical colleges and conferences, Christian publications, mass rallies in large cities, and the effective use of

the modern mass medium, television.

Fundamentalist Christians strove to protect a literal interpretation of the scriptures, but found themselves under attack by science, social science, and humiliating episodes such as the Scopes monkey trial. Numerous groups founded to protect the fundamentalist point of view, such as the Bryan Bible League and the Bible Crusaders, were unable to prevent a split between the modernists and the conservatives, or separatists, which emerged by the 1940s. When the fundamentalists lost control of church boards and colleges, they separated themselves and began to found new institutions in line with their religious views. The separatists believed that acceptance of any aspect of modernism was heresy or even anti-Christian.

In 1942 the evangelicals created the National Association of Evangelicals in order to give organizational unity and coherence to the movement. The evangelicals remained true to the fundamentalist Christianity that had energized their religious faith, but proclaimed a willingness to accept modern education, science, and society within the limits of their own faith. The evangelicals, unlike the separatists, sought respectability and acceptance from the intellectual community, the liberal churches, and the public at large. The evangelicals set a high standard for intellectual thought and education with a publication, *Christianity Today*; a ministerial training school, Fuller Seminary; and a liberal arts institution, Wheaton College, in Chicago's western suburbs.

The separatist fundamentalists did not remain dormant during the 1940s. Carl McIntire furthered the growth of the cause by propagating the message through regularly scheduled radio programming and helped found the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC) and the International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC). McIntire's speaking style was an effective voice for fundamentalism, warning against evil and sin in all segments of American society, a society with liberal views that went against the Word of God. McIntire's oratory recalled the old fire and brimstone revivalists, and it polarized listeners. Within two decades a schism developed in ACC-ICCC, and McIntire lost his leadership to a television evangelist, Jerry Falwell.

The evangelical movement grew as a result of its organizational strength and its leaders' charisma. The most widely acclaimed spokesman of the evangelicals was Billy Graham. Graham, a fervent Baptist in his youth, never gave up his fundamentalist beliefs, but learned a more moderate version at Wheaton College. Graham reached a huge audience through mass rallies in the United States and Europe, documentary-style films of his rallies and sermons, and eventually through televised rallies.

Further Reading: David Edward and John Stott, *Evangelical Essentials*, 1989; James D. Hunter, *American Evangelicalism*, 1983; Peter W. Williams, *America's Religions: Traditions and Cultures*, 1989.

NORMAN E. FRY

EVANS, LUTHER HARRIS (October 13, 1902–December 23, 1981), librarian of Congress. Born on a farm near Sayersville, Texas, Luther Evans was a political scientist and library administrator. After the resignation of Archibald MacLeish, librarian of Congress from 1939 to 1944, and following the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, President Harry Truman, on June 18, 1945, nominated Chief Assistant Librarian of Congress Luther Evans to replace MacLeish. Approved by the American Library Association and confirmed without objection by the U.S. Senate on June 29, Evans took the oath of office the next day. He served until July 1953. Evans assumed leadership of a library whose holdings exceeded 7 million volumes and whose staff of 1,200 was on a \$4 million payroll. Advancing his predecessor's global themes, Evans sought an expansionist program in acquisitions, cataloging, and bibliographic services, but a cautious postwar Congress resisted many of his appeals. On July 1, 1953, Evans was elected the third director general of UNESCO. He was succeeded as librarian of Congress by Cleveland Public Library Director L. Quincy Mumford. Evans died in San Antonio, Texas.

Further Reading: Luther H. Evans, *Annual Report of*

the Library of Congress for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1949, 1950; Luther H. Evans, *The Virgin Islands: From Naval Base to New Deal*, 1945; *Librarians of Congress, 1802–1974*, 1977.

LEONARD SCHLUP

EVOLUTIONARY BIOLOGY The focus of biology in the 1940s was the rate at which species evolve. Nineteenth-century British naturalist Charles Darwin had provided the canonical answer: species evolve in a series of gradual changes that span innumerable generations. American biologists challenged Darwin's gradualism during the 1930s and modified it in the 1940s. The culmination came in 1944 when George Gaylord Simpson, curator of the American Museum of Natural History, published *Tempo and Mode in Evolution*. Simpson inverted Darwin's focus on the origin of species by giving priority to extinction. Because species exist in interdependent relationships with each other, extinction is a cascade. During the last 600 million years, five major extinctions have depopulated Earth. The greatest catastrophe, the Permian extinction 230 million years ago, devastated more than 95 percent of all species. The few survivors must have been isolated in tiny communities in what Harvard University zoologist Ernst Mayr called "founder populations." Genetic novelty, so long as it provides a survival or reproductive advantage, spreads more rapidly the smaller the population, argued geneticist Sewell Wright. After a mass extinction, therefore, genetic novelty sweeps rapidly through the founder populations of the small number of surviving species, which radiate into myriad new species that repopulate Earth. Once repopulated, Earth has few unfilled niches, and populations are too large to evolve except at the gradual rate that Darwin had supposed the norm.

Further Reading: Niles Eldredge, *Reinventing Darwin: The Great Debate at the High Table of Evolutionary Theory*, 1995; Stephen Jay Gould, *The Book of Life*, 1993; Ernst Mayr, *The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution, and Inheritance*, 1982.

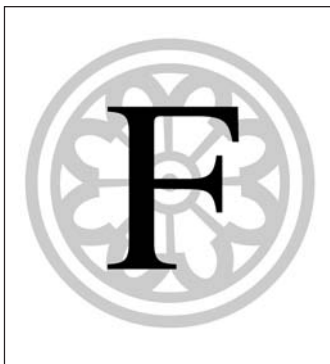
CHRISTOPHER CUMO

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE (FEPC),

agency established in 1941 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his Executive Order 8802. The order banned racial discrimination in defense industries that received federal contracts and empowered the FEPC to investigate complaints and take action against alleged employment discrimination. It was an embattled committee during the 1940s because of powerful resistance from southern legislators and northern conservatives.

The FEPC was established in reaction to a threat made by a coalition of groups led by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. With firm support from the NAACP and other civil rights groups, Randolph organized a March on Washington Movement to protest racial discrimination in defense industries and segregation in the military. He threatened to bring 250,000 African Americans to Washington to demonstrate against congressional resistance to fair employment. Roosevelt agreed to prohibit discrimination in defense plants, but refused to address the issue of segregation in the military. His compromise occurred just four days before the scheduled march, which would have been the largest demonstration in the capital's history.

World War II encouraged a large migration of African Americans who were eager to escape oppression and deprivation in the South. With the lure of unprecedented job opportunities, blacks came north and were elated to be hired even in only menial jobs. But many employers in the defense industries refused to fully comply with the executive order, which banned job discrimination but made no provision to integrate the workforce. Employers argued that hiring blacks even in menial jobs would force integration in their workforce. White workers often protested the hiring or promotion of blacks. When eight porters of color were promoted to become drivers by the Philadelphia Transit Company, white workers launched a strike that required intervention by the U.S. Army. Thirty-one national



unions openly discriminated against African Americans, refusing to change their practices despite FEPC orders and court rulings. The result was an underutilization of several minority groups despite a critical man-

power shortage in the defense industries. These conditions largely contributed to a series of racial clashes and riots throughout the nation during 1943.

Upon learning how some employers violated the spirit of the order, Roosevelt strengthened the FEPC by increasing its budget and establishing a full-time professional staff distributed throughout the nation to replace what had been only a part-time staff in Washington, DC. By the end of World War II, African American employment reached record levels. Before the war, blacks held only 3 percent of the nation's defense industry jobs; afterward they held 8. Also, by war's end, the number of African Americans employed by the government more than tripled. Most of those employed held menial jobs, however.

Roosevelt's death in 1945 spelled disaster for the fledgling FEPC. His successor, Harry Truman, vacillated in support for the committee and the U.S. Congress split over whether to extend FEPC for a few years or not renew its charter. One of the most active supporters to make FEPC a permanent commission was Roosevelt's widow, Eleanor Roosevelt. Despite her tireless efforts, a congressional bill creating a permanent FEPC failed twice. After Truman received recommendations from his Commission on Civil Rights, he sent a civil rights package to Congress calling for a permanent FEPC. It was approved in the House but southern senators filibustered to kill the bill in 1950. The 1940s ended with FEPC in limbo, but the American employment community had had a taste of what was yet to come. In 1961 a Fair Employment Practices Commission was established, marking an important step toward a government commitment to racial equality in the workforce.

Further Reading: Allida Black, *Casting Her Own Shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Shaping of Postwar*

Liberalism, 1996; David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*, 1999; William L. O’Neil, *Democracy at War*, 1993.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

FALA (April 7, 1940–April 5, 1952), first dog. Fala, the Roosevelt family’s best-known dog, was loved by both President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his wife, Eleanor. Fala, a Scottish terrier born in Westport, Connecticut, was a gift from a Roosevelt cousin, Margaret Suckley. Fala arrived at the White House on November 10, 1940. The president named him “Murray of Fala Hill” in honor of an outlaw Roosevelt ancestor whose home was Fala Hill in Scotland. The president and the dog were inseparable; Fala accompanied Roosevelt on trips both foreign and domestic. During the 1944 political campaign, a false story spread that a destroyer had been sent at great expense to bring Fala back from the Aleutian Islands, where he had been left by mistake. Roosevelt responded with a speech that became famous. Declaring that the dog’s Scottish soul had been outraged, he made Fala a symbol of the Roosevelt administration’s ability to deflect criticism and speak personally to voters. Eleanor Roosevelt surmised that a bored Republican headquarters worker had connived the fabrication. After the president’s death, Eleanor Roosevelt and Fala became close companions. Although Franklin had bequeathed Fala to Suckley, she agreed to yield the dog after Eleanor asked to keep him. She bathed Fala, had him do tricks, and wrote about him in her newspaper and magazine columns. On a trip to Campobello Island, New Brunswick, in 1946, she was refused a hotel room because Fala was with her; she stayed in a cabin that welcomed pets. Fala died at Hyde Park, New York, just before he was twelve years old and, as Franklin Roosevelt had requested, was buried in the rose garden at Hyde Park near his master’s grave. Although she had not shed tears in public at her husband’s funeral, Eleanor Roosevelt cried openly when Fala was interred.

Further Reading: Joseph P. Lash, *Eleanor: The Years Alone*, 1972; Roy Rowan and Brooke Janis, *First Dogs: American Presidents and Their Best Friends*, 1997; Geoffrey Ward, *Closest Companion*, 1995.

LEONARD SCHLUP

FARLEY, JAMES A. (May 30, 1888–June 9, 1976), Democratic Party strategist. Born in Grassy Point, New York, Farley was throughout his life a political individual. After graduating from high school in 1905, he worked as a bookkeeper and salesman. In 1926, he set up his own General Building Supply Corporation. Always active in politics, he served in a number of offices in New York, including town clerk, Rockland County Democratic chairman, member of the New York Assembly, and chair of the New York State Athletic Commission. In 1928 Farley made a major move on the national level when he supported Al Smith’s presidential campaign. Farley became chair of the New York State Democratic committee in 1930 and, in the 1932 presidential election, served as Franklin D. Roosevelt’s campaign manager.

A typically old-style, hands-on politician, Farley used his personality and acquaintances to secure Roosevelt’s nomination at the Democratic convention. During the race that followed, Farley chaired the Democratic National Committee and ran Roosevelt’s campaign against President Herbert Hoover. After the election, Farley was appointed postmaster general, a position in which he caused some controversy over assigning mail delivery to the army air corps. His primary job, however, was to distribute Democratic Party patronage.

Farley supported Roosevelt’s reelection bid in 1936. But, as time wore on, he developed his own political ambitions that, in turn, began to cause friction. By 1940, in fact, Farley refused to support Roosevelt’s bid for a third term, instead seeking to gain the presidential nomination for himself. This completed his break with Roosevelt; Farley was always lukewarm in his support of New Deal programs.

Thereafter Farley became chair of Coca Cola Export Corporation. He continued his political machinations by challenging Roosevelt’s control of the New York State Democratic Party. In 1943, moreover, Farley cultivated relationships with those who opposed Franklin Roosevelt. He even received a few votes at the 1944 Democratic convention. In the end, however, Farley lost and he resigned his position as chair in 1944, although he did remain a loyal

Democrat. After this, Farley tended to be seen in political events more as a speaker or host than as a political power broker.

Always a politician, Farley nevertheless continued to be active in seeking public office. In 1958 and 1962, he unsuccessfully ran for the governorship of New York. Later, during the 1960s, he managed campaigns for such New York notables as Abraham Beame. Farley never won a major election. He died in New York City.

Further Reading: James Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 1938; James Farley, *Jim Farley's Story*, 1948; obituary in *New York Times*, June 10, 1976.

MICHAEL V. NAMORATO

FARRAND, MAX (March 29, 1869–June 17, 1945), historian. Farrand was a successful teacher, writer, and director of a major research library. Born in New Jersey, he graduated from Princeton University and did postgraduate studies at the Universities of Leipzig and Heidelberg. He later taught at Wesleyan, Stanford, Cornell, and Yale.

At Yale Farrand edited three volumes of *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (1923) in which he claimed to have placed every scrap of information accessible upon the drafting of the Constitution of the United States. A fourth volume was added in 1937 and in 1987 James H. Hutson completed the project with his *Supplement to Max Farrand's Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*. Farrand edited numerous works of original material dealing with the founding generation and the westward movement. His approach was traditional and generally did not stress any hidden motives. The results were solid historical scholarship, but with a limited reputation outside the historical profession.

In 1927 Farrand became director of research at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. Four years later he became the director of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery. He continued his research and publishing in the American Revolution and early federal period. He convinced Frederick Jackson Turner (1861–1932) to join the library staff. Farrand retired in 1941 and died four years later. His editing skills secured a permanent place for him in American scholarship and historiography.

Further Reading: Max Farrand Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; obituary in *New York Times*, June 18, 1945; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 1988.

DONALD K. PICKENS

FASCIST ITALY At the end of World War I, Italy was a fractured, unstable nation. Its humiliating battlefield defeats and its failure to advance its irredentist ambitions at the Paris peace conference combined with long-term structural problems—a divided polity, a corrupt bureaucracy, and a centuries-old legacy of poverty, inequality, and economic backwardness—to create all the conditions for revolution. The opportunity was not lost on Benito Mussolini, an autodidactic blacksmith's son with a knack for raw demagoguery, who had spent the war reinventing himself as a romantic, bellicose ultranationalist. Together with his black-shirted militias of disgruntled veterans and former socialists, Mussolini began to wield de facto control over large parts of Italy through a combination of violence and rabble-rousing propaganda. On October 24, 1922, he announced a march on the capital and demanded the surrender of parliamentary power; five days later, much to his own surprise, he got his wish when a chastened King Victor Emmanuel III asked him to form a government. For the next twenty-one years Mussolini's Fascist Party had a dominant place in the political and social life of Italy, providing the template for extreme right-wing movements from Spain to Romania.

Fascism was never a coherent ideology, but rather a muddle of barely reconcilable prejudices, with an underlying tension between its revolutionary rhetoric and its compromises with traditional conservative elites. Mussolini proclaimed the remodeling of Italy's economy on corporatist lines, with fascist trade unions working alongside employers to settle wage levels and resolve labor disputes. In practice, however, power remained in the hands of the country's established cliques. Similarly, the quasi-nationalization of much of Italy's manufacturing base via the state-owned Institute for Industrial Reconstruction only exacerbated the old, bad habits of monopoly price-fixing and cronyism. Attempts to modernize agriculture, such as the much-lauded "battle

for wheat,” were hampered as the cyclical migratory patterns that had long acted to reduce overpopulation in the southern countryside were attenuated; rural Italy remained feudal, squalid, and sullen. The regime was more successful in its dismantling of the rights to free publication, speech, and assembly, as well as glorification of military virtues and the growth of a personality cult of “Il Duce” Mussolini. The Fascists also secured a final settlement between the Vatican and the secular state in the Lateran Treaty of 1929, which resolved many of the ecclesiastical controversies that had dogged Italian politics since the Risorgimento.

Mussolini yearned to create an Italian empire in North Africa and the Mediterranean. The conquest of Abyssinia in 1935–1936 brought the opprobrium of the Western democracies but this only encouraged the Italian dictator to seek partnership with Nazi Germany, the result being the May 1939 “Pact of Steel” alliance. Fascist munitions and volunteers went to Spain to support Franco’s Falangists, and in April 1939 Italy occupied the useful Balkan bridgehead of Albania. But the outbreak of World War II that September left Mussolini with a stark choice: inglorious neutrality or intervention with potentially catastrophic results. He chose the latter on June 10, 1940, when he declared war on France and Great Britain in an attempt to profit from the rapid German advance in the west. His own expeditions into Egypt and Greece proved disastrous, however, and by 1941 Italy’s feeble war effort was being visibly propped up by Germany. The expulsion of Italo-German forces from Africa in spring 1943 sealed the fate of Il Duce’s increasingly detested regime. On July 24 the Fascist Grand Council convened to ask the king to reclaim full constitutional powers; Victor Emmanuel promptly appointed Marshal Pietro Badoglio as premier, Mussolini was arrested, and negotiations for an armistice with the Allies began. The latter resulted in Italy’s surrender on September 8. Mussolini’s career had a brief epilogue when he was rescued by German paratroopers and installed as the puppet ruler of a northern Italian Fascist state under Nazi control, but in April 1945 he was captured by partisans and publicly executed near Milan.

Further Reading: Alan Axelrod, *The Life and Work of Benito Mussolini*, 2001; Richard Bosworth, *Mussolini*, 2002; Alexander De Grand, *Italian Fascism: Its Origins and Development*, 2000.

ALAN ALLPORT

“FATHER DIVINE” (GEORGE BAKER) (1879–September 10, 1965), religious cult leader, best known as “Father Divine.” His birthplace has been highly disputed, with some reporting Savannah, Georgia, and others suggesting Rockville, Maryland. He repeatedly refused to reveal his background to the public. Divine began his ministry in the South, where he was jailed for “dangerous preaching,” and in 1919 began to gain national prominence after he purchased a home in an all-white New York City suburb. He built his reputation during the Great Depression by feeding masses of people, and by the 1940s, with headquarters in Harlem, New York, he was known for encouraging self-improvement and providing extensive job-placement services for his impoverished followers. He purchased several hotels in Harlem where he established a communal style of living. He also established a network of businesses that provided high-quality goods and services at reasonable prices as well as jobs for his followers. His Peace Mission Movement was an early advocate for racial equality. It had many white followers among a membership estimated at 10,000, divided among seventy-five branches called “heavens,” located in several parts of the United States and in many foreign nations.

Father Divine preached that he fulfilled the second coming of Jesus Christ and that he was the personification of God in bodily form. He convinced his followers that he had divine powers and that he would never die, and he required them to accept all his teachings as truth. He preached against racism, hunger, and segregation and installed a strict code of conduct for his followers. His followers demonstrated an intense desire to move close to some supernatural power on earth, since they felt that both state and other religious institutions had failed them.

The concepts of race and gender were not recognized in the Peace Mission Movement. Father Divine required his followers to be celibate, but

surrounded himself with beautiful young women of different races. After his African American wife died in 1943, he married a white Canadian convert who had been one of his secretaries. She became known as Mother Divine and their relationship was claimed to be entirely spiritual and celibate. Nevertheless, the marriage drew great criticism nationwide.

Father Divine moved his headquarters to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1942 because of an unfavorable court ruling against him in New York. He fought a series of court battles generated by some followers who became disillusioned with his movement. After amassing a fortune in the millions, he died in Philadelphia under a cloud of secrecy.

Further Reading: Kenneth Bucham, *God Comes to America: Father Divine and the Peace Mission Movement*, 1979; Sarah Harris, *Father Divine*, 1971; Jill Watts, *God, Harlem, U.S.A.: The Father Divine Story*, 1992.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

FAULKNER, WILLIAM CUTHBERT (September 25, 1897–July 6, 1962), novelist. Faulkner was born in New Albany, Mississippi. He dropped out of high school in 1915 and enlisted in the British Royal Flying Corps during World War I. Although he never saw combat, he returned to Oxford, Mississippi, in 1919 with a limp from what he alleged was a war wound. That year he enrolled at the University of Mississippi in Oxford but dropped out in 1920.

He drifted through a series of jobs, visited New Orleans, and toured England, France, and Italy. He published a book of poetry in 1924 and four novels between 1926 and 1929.

The fourth, *The Sound and the Fury*, was a landmark of twentieth-century fiction. In it Faulkner established the style of his mature fiction. Rather than the simple declarative sentence, Faulkner favored long, ornate prose as a way of extracting meaning from events. Events often rooted in a timeless past echo through the memories of characters. The iteration of memories layers them with a complexity that blurs the events themselves from focus. Out of this web of memories Faulkner's characters construct a mythology that becomes their reality. This is the mythology

of Yoknapatawpha County, the fictional universe in which Faulkner's characters, full of lust and violence, live with the memories of incest and suicide and a preoccupation with race. Chronology fragments into a series of random episodes. Logic disintegrates into hatred and passion.

Such fiction did not immediately attract Faulkner a large audience. To supplement the income from sales of his novels and short stories, he worked as a Hollywood scriptwriter from 1932 to 1937, 1942 to 1945, in 1951, and in 1954. Alongside this work he published *Light in August* in 1932, *Absalom, Absalom* in 1936, *The Hamlet* in 1940, and *Go Down Moses* in 1942. The literary critic Malcolm Cowley in 1946 brought out *The Portable Faulkner*, an anthology that enhanced Faulkner's popularity. In 1948 he published *Intruder in the Dust*, and in 1949 he won the Nobel Prize in literature.

In his Nobel lecture Faulkner confronted the fear of living in the shadow of nuclear weapons. The writer's task, he believed, was to forget this fear and instead to write about the universals of human existence, of "love and honor and pity and pride and compassion and sacrifice." The writer faithful to these universals affirms the dignity of human existence.

The Nobel Prize cemented Faulkner's fame. To his writing he added speaking engagements at colleges and universities and a brief stint as writer-in-residence at the University of Virginia. He became the South's spokesman against federal attempts to end segregation. Race was a problem for the South to solve without interference from Northern liberals. Yet he sympathized with blacks, claiming a middle ground that pleased neither conservatives nor liberals.

Faulkner died in Byhalia, Mississippi.

Further Reading: Harold Bloom, ed., *William Faulkner*, 2000; Clarice Swisher, ed., *Readings on William Faulkner*, 1998; Kiyoko M. Toyama, *Faulkner and the Modern Fable*, 2001.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI) As it had during the Red Scare of 1919 and 1920, the FBI increased its power with the rise of external threat, this time from Nazism and

fascism. Crisis in Europe led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to increase surveillance at home even before the United States entered World War II. He urged the FBI in May 1940 to compile the names and addresses of Americans who wrote him letters critical of his domestic and international policies. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover went beyond the directive by creating a file on each person, listing critical remarks and membership in organizations. The FBI recorded membership not only in Communist and fascist groups, but in labor unions and civil rights organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union. Roosevelt's approval of these efforts led to a surreal atmosphere in which the FBI monitored the activities of first lady Eleanor Roosevelt among others.

Particularly egregious was the campaign against scientists and academics that the FBI suspected of leftist sympathies. Manhattan Project physicist Julius Robert Oppenheimer would be the most conspicuous casualty. As early as 1942 the FBI investigated his ties to the American Communist Party though he was by then no longer a member. During the McCarthy era, the FBI would use this information to revoke Oppenheimer's security clearance. German and Italian nationality likewise made physicists and Nobel laureates Albert Einstein and Enrico Fermi the focus of FBI investigation during the 1940s.

This example suggests the FBI's lack of scruples. Although the U.S. Supreme Court had in 1937 and 1939 banned wiretapping, Roosevelt authorized the FBI on May 21, 1940, to begin doing just that. Roosevelt required Hoover to clear wiretaps with Attorney General Robert Jackson, but Jackson's refusal to keep a written record of cases Hoover chose to wiretap left the FBI free to wiretap whomever it wished. That summer the FBI began opening the mail of Italian, German, and Japanese diplomats and delaying their telegrams by twenty-four hours. The practice gave FBI agents time to transcribe the contents. Even these measures were not enough to suit Hoover, who in 1942 directed agents to install bugs in the homes and offices of men and women whose loyalty he doubted. That agents had to break into these places to install bugs led Hoover to direct

agents to destroy all records of such activities. Only in 1951 would he inform President Harry S. Truman of the break-ins and installation of bugs.

No less sinister was Hoover's June 1940 decision to compile the Custodial Detention Index. In the name of national security, FBI agents amassed the names of American citizens and aliens whom the FBI and other federal agencies suspected of disloyalty. Hoover envisioned a government roundup and detention of suspects for the duration of the war. The result was Roosevelt's 1942 executive order mandating the internment of Japanese Americans. In July 1943 Attorney General Francis Biddle belatedly ordered Hoover to discontinue the index. Hoover simply renamed it the Security Index and directed agents not to divulge its existence to the Justice Department. Whether Roosevelt knew of Hoover's insubordination is unclear.

One cannot doubt Roosevelt's complicity in expanding FBI authority with little or no legal pretext. In June 1940 he authorized the FBI to infiltrate government and business in Central and South America in hopes of unmasking Axis sympathizers. Hoover created the Special Intelligence Service for this purpose and deemed spying on Central and South America a corollary of the Monroe Doctrine.

Further Reading: Cartha DeLoach, *Hoover's FBI*, 1995; Jim Hargrove, *The Story of the FBI*, 1988; Ronald Kessler, *The FBI*, 1993.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

FERMI, ENRICO (September 29, 1901–November 29, 1954), physicist and mathematician. Fermi was born in Rome. At age seventeen he entered the University of Pisa, where he received a PhD in physics by age twenty-one. After holding a fellowship in 1923 at the University of Gottingen and teaching mathematics between 1924 and 1926 at the University of Florence, Fermi in 1927 became professor of theoretical physics at the University of Rome.

In 1938 Fermi received the Nobel Prize in physics for a deceptively simple experiment. He split uranium atoms by firing neutrons at them. The neutron is an uncharged particle less than half percent of the mass of a uranium atom. The

achievement was akin to splitting a billiard ball by tossing a feather at it. Fermi calculated that the splitting of a uranium atom converted a tiny amount of the atom into energy in accord with Albert Einstein's equation $E = mc^2$, where E stands for energy, m is mass, and c^2 is the speed of light squared. Because c^2 equals 90 billion billion meters per second squared, a tiny mass yields enormous energy.

Fermi immigrated to the United States in 1938. A pair of German and Austrian physicists duplicated Fermi's achievement with a similar experiment and the outbreak of World War II in 1939 raised fears that Germany might unleash atomic energy in a bomb. The American response was the Manhattan Project: a program to beat Germany to the bomb. In 1942 Fermi established a laboratory beneath the University of Chicago's football field. To borrow the billiard ball analogy again, Fermi now had to toss a feather at a billiard ball, splitting it so that each half collides with two more billiard balls, splitting both in turn. Those four halves split another four balls in a geometric increase in the number of balls split. Each ball (atom) releases tremendous energy when split. The result would be an explosion of a magnitude humans had never before witnessed. In December 1942 Fermi caused a small chain reaction in which neutrons split uranium atoms in a sequence of geometric increase, demonstrating the feasibility of a uranium bomb.

The culmination of his work came in 1945. In July Fermi joined other physicists in the Manhattan Project and U.S. Army engineers to test the first uranium bomb in Alamogordo, New Mexico. In August the U.S. Army Air Corps dropped a uranium bomb on Hiroshima, Japan, and a plutonium bomb on Nagasaki, forcing Japan's surrender and ending World War II.

After the war, Fermi remained at the University of Chicago to study the origin and behavior of cosmic rays, research truncated by his death in Chicago one month after turning fifty-three.

Further Reading: Dan Cooper, *Enrico Fermi and the Revolution in Modern Physics*, 1999; Laura Fermi, *Atoms in the Family: My Life with Enrico Fermi*, 1987; Daniel J. Kevles, *The Physicists: The History of a Scientific Community in Modern America*, 1995.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

FEYNMAN, RICHARD PHILLIPS (May 11, 1918–February 15, 1988), physicist. Feynman was born in New York City and attended public schools. His undergraduate thesis in 1939 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology derived new equations for calculating the forces between atoms in a molecule. That year he received a BS from MIT and in 1942 a PhD from Princeton University.

In 1940 and 1941 he had been a research assistant at Princeton. There he resumed his investigation of time, an interest since his undergraduate days. He derived a set of equations for two electrons, one oscillating a wave in all directions as a rock tossed in water radiates waves in concentric circles, and the second receiving the wave as it spreads through space. In one form the equations specified that the second electron received the wave before the first sent it, as though concentric circles flowed back through the water toward a rock, a possibility only if time regresses. Counterintuitive as it seems, the regression of time was a feature of both Feynman's and Einstein's physics.

In 1942 Feynman joined the Manhattan Project, the code name for the program to build an atomic bomb, working at Princeton University and the University of Chicago before settling at the laboratory of the Manhattan Project's civilian leader, Julius Robert Oppenheimer, in Los Alamos, New Mexico. There Feynman was the theoretical division's youngest group leader. He collaborated with division head Hans Bethe in deriving equations that predicted the energy of a nuclear explosion. Feynman witnessed the detonation of the world's first atomic bomb in Alamogordo, New Mexico, on July 16, 1945. Like Italian-born physicist and Nobel laureate Enrico Fermi, Feynman celebrated the detonation as a triumph of physics, though he later drifted toward Albert Einstein's position in opposing nuclear weapons as a threat to the survival of life on Earth.

In 1945, his work with the Manhattan Project at an end and on the recommendation of Bethe, Feynman became assistant professor of physics at Cornell University. In 1947 he derived a new set of quantum mechanical equations to describe the behavior of subatomic particles. His focus was

the positron, the antiparticle of the electron. The positron was then a hypothetical construct. Like string theorists today, Feynman had no way of generating the particle in the laboratory and so no way of testing his equations.

In 1950 he became visiting professor at the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena. In 1959 the university elevated him to Richard Chace Tolman Professor of Theoretical Physics.

Feynman was a member of the American Physical Society, American Association for the Advancement of Science, National Academy of Sciences, and Royal Society of London. In 1954 he received the Albert Einstein Award from Princeton University and the Einstein Award from Yeshiva University's College of Medicine in New York. In 1962 Feynman won the Lawrence Award and in 1965 shared the Nobel Prize in physics with Harvard University physicist Julian Schwinger and Tokyo University of Education physicist Sin-Itiro Tomonaga. Feynman died in Los Angeles, California.

Further Reading: Laurie M. Brown and John S. Ridden, *Most of the Good Stuff: Memories of Richard Feynman*, 1993; John R. Gribbin and Mary Gribbin, *Richard Feynman: A Life in Science*, 1997; Christopher Sykes, *No Ordinary Genius: The Illustrated Feynman*, 1994.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

FIELDS, W.C. (January 29, 1880–December 25, 1946), American comic and film star. William Claude Dukenfield was born in Philadelphia. After developing an early interest in juggling, Fields ran away from home. From 1915 to 1925, as W.C. Fields, he juggled in Florenz Ziegfeld's *Follies* on Broadway. He took the stage as a comic in 1923 and then moved to Hollywood, where he wrote and played in films. His first starring film role was in D.W. Griffith's *Sally of the Sawdust* (1925), and he also starred in a serious role as Mr. Micawber in *David Copperfield* (1935). Fields went on to lead in *The Bank Dick* (1940), *My Little Chickadee* (1940), which he cowrote with costar Mae West, and *Never Give a Sucker an Even Break* (1941). His book *Fields for President* (1940) did not sell well. He died in Pasadena, California.

Further Reading: James Curtis, *W.C. Fields: A Biography*, 2003; W.C. Fields and Ronald Fields, *W.C. Fields by Himself: The Intended Autobiography*, 1973; Simon Louvish, *Man on the Flying Trapeze: The Life and Times of W. C. Fields*, 1997.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

FIREMOUNT CHATS, presidential messages to the public. On March 12, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt conducted the first of many fireside chats. These were radio addresses in which the president talked to the people and reassured them that everything would turn out well. As many as 60 million people listened to these broadcasts. Roosevelt was the first president to use the radio in such manner. He spoke in such calm, yet animated tones that many people thought he was talking directly to them. Others felt that the president was speaking as a father might to his children.

During the Depression years the chats were about the economy and the need to have confidence in the financial system. After Pearl Harbor, the topics were related to World War II and the reasons why the United States had to fight. As the conflict progressed, the president reassured Americans that victory would eventually come. Roosevelt gave twelve radio addresses from 1933 to 1938. Between 1939 and 1944 he made fifteen more. On February 23, 1942, the darkest year of the war, the president made several references to the problems faced by George Washington's revolutionary army at Valley Forge. This chat was considered his most effective.

The talks were typically broadcast about every five months and were thirty minutes in length. The president read from a prepared script but he frequently talked without the script if he felt he needed to. The chats were broadcast on Sunday evenings, when radio audiences were largest. Roosevelt's last radio chat occurred on June 12, 1944. The fireside chats remain a symbol of the Roosevelt administration.

Further Reading: Waldo W. Braden and Ernest Brandenburg, "Roosevelt's Fireside Chats," *Speech Monographs* (November 1955): 290–307; William E. Leuchtenburg, *In the Shadow of F.D.R.*, 1983; Franklin D. Roosevelt, *Nothing to Fear: The Selected Addresses of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1932–1945*, 1946.

MARK E. ELLIS

FLANAGAN, HALLIE MAE FERGUSON (August 27, 1890–July 23, 1969), playwright and director. Born in Redfield, South Dakota, Ferguson received in 1911 a BS from Grinnell College, married in 1912 John Murray Flanagan, and earned in 1924 an MA from Radcliffe College. She directed Vassar College's Experimental Theater from 1925 until 1935, when she was appointed to run the Federal Theater Project (FTP). After Flanagan left the FTP in 1939, she returned to Vassar.

With a Rockefeller Foundation grant, she recounted in *Arena* (1940) her work at the FTP. She came in 1941 to classify drama as a variant of cinema, prodding actors to pace their dialogue to the cadence of film actors. She favored rapid transitions between scenes and a terse script. That year she staged Thornton Wilder's *Our Town* and T.S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*. In her 1941 address to Vassar's graduates, Flanagan touted competition among individuals as the spur of progress, a tenet of social Darwinism. Darwin had disavowed this idea, though America's managerial elite clung to it as an underpinning of capitalism and a type of secular Calvinism. Flanagan's allegiance to social Darwinism aligned her with the conservatism of the 1940s rather than the liberalism of the 1930s.

In 1942 Flanagan left Vassar for Smith College. Its president, Herbert Davis, appointed her dean without consulting the faculty, embittering them toward her. Davis gave her the duties he disliked, leaving her with the tedium of meetings and faculty quarrels. Her lack of a doctorate led enemies to brand her a lightweight. Flanagan recruited allies among junior faculty, who needed her support to obtain tenure, and reasserted her theater role. In 1943 she published *Dynamo*, an account of her work at the Vassar Experimental Theater. In 1946 she became professor of drama. The next year she wrote $E = mc^2$, a play that mused over the potential of the atom for good and ill. Flanagan envisioned a future in which the atom lightened toil, freeing people for leisure. This optimism was easier to maintain before than after 1949, when China fell to Communism and the USSR detonated its first uranium bomb. Flanagan followed the premiere of $E = mc^2$ at Smith with a staging in 1948 by the

American National Theater and Academy in New York City. That year she was hospitalized for two weeks for Parkinson's disease. A sabbatical in 1949 did not abate her symptoms. She taught and wrote little after 1950 and died in Old Tappan, New Jersey.

Further Reading: Joanne Bentley, *Hallie Flanagan: A Life in the American Theatre*, 1988; Patricia L. Ridge, *The Contributions of Hallie Flanagan to the American Theatre*, 1971; Cheryl D. Swiss, *Hallie Flanagan and the Federal Theatre Project*, 1982.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

FLYNN, JOHN T. (October 25, 1882–April 13, 1964), columnist, author, radio commentator, and political activist. Flynn was born in Bladensburg, Maryland, to an Irish-Catholic family. He attended Georgetown Law School, but opted to pursue a career in journalism. He began writing a column, "Plain Economics," for the Scripps-Howard papers in the 1920s and submitted articles on a freelance basis for *Collier's*, *Harper's*, and many other national magazines. His scathing critiques of Wall Street won him the attention of prominent liberals, and during the early 1930s he wrote a column, "Other People's Money," in the *New Republic*.

After initial enthusiasm for Franklin D. Roosevelt, Flynn soon soured on the New Deal, and by the late 1930s he had emerged as its leading liberal critic. His 1940 book *Country Squire in the White House* portrayed the president as a dilettante with no understanding of economics and an inordinate love of the military. However, Flynn's anti-Roosevelt stance led many liberals to distance themselves from him, and in November 1940 he was dismissed from the *New Republic*. Shortly thereafter he became chair of the New York City chapter of the anti-interventionist America First Committee, which led to stronger ties with conservative individuals and organizations.

After Pearl Harbor, Flynn found himself in desperate straits, as the Japanese attack had discredited anti-interventionism and his ties to liberal media outlets had been destroyed. He managed to rebuild his career as a spokesman for the right, packaging his attacks on the New Deal in a manner that conservatives were willing

to accept. He was instrumental in developing the theory that Roosevelt had provoked the attack on Pearl Harbor, suggesting that this was part of a larger conspiracy to destroy American democracy. In 1944 he published *As We Go Marching*, which claimed that the country was moving inexorably toward fascism even as it fought against Nazi Germany.

During the postwar era Flynn became even more firmly entrenched on the political right, expressing his opinions in a weekly radio broadcast called *Behind the Headlines*. His 1948 book *The Roosevelt Myth* became a favorite on conservative reading lists, and in the following year he published *The Road Ahead: America's Creeping Revolution*, which suggested that "Fabian socialists" had infiltrated most of the country's institutions, including the schools, the media, and even mainline Protestant churches. In the early 1950s he was one of the first to endorse the anti-Communist crusade of Joseph McCarthy, and by the end of his career Flynn backed a political agenda that was virtually indistinguishable from that of the John Birch Society.

Further Reading: Richard Clark Frey, "John T. Flynn and the United States in Crisis, 1928–1950," PhD diss., University of Oregon, 1969; John E. Moser, *Right Turn: And the Transformation of American Liberalism*, 2005; Michele Flynn Stenehjem, *An American First: John T. Flynn and the America First Committee*, 1976.

JOHN E. MOSER

FOOD AND DIET In 1949 the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) surveyed 6,060 American families. Predictably, diet diversified with income. As income increased, so did consumption of milk, meat, poultry, fish, and fresh, frozen, and canned fruits, vegetables, and juices. Low-income Americans (families that earned less than \$3,000 a year) subsisted on flour, cereals, and pasta. One might infer that as incomes declined so did consumption of nutrients. This inference seems safe for consumption of protein and minerals but is difficult to assess for consumption of carbohydrates and vitamins. The answer depends in part on the classification of the potato, a food rich in carbohydrates and vitamins. The USDA stated that it did not classify the potato

with fruits and vegetables, leaving flour, cereals, and other starches as the likely category. If low-income families consumed more fresh potatoes than middle-income (between \$3,000 and \$6,000) and high-income (above \$6,000) Americans, then the quality and quantity of carbohydrates and vitamins may not have declined with income, at least not precipitously.

The cost of food increased with family size. In 1949 families of two spent 26 percent of income on food, of three 35 percent, of four 39 percent, of five 46 percent, and of six 48 percent. Simultaneously, per-person food expenses decreased as the size of families increased, from \$11.54 per week in families of two to \$7.10 per week in families of six.

Food costs varied by region. In 1949 families in the Northeast and West spent on average \$32 per week on food, families in the North Central states spent \$30, and families in the South spent \$23.

In 1949 U.S. families ate on average only one of ten meals at restaurants, though they spent 18 percent of their food budget there, showing the high cost of avoiding a grocer. In 1949 the average family spent 35 percent of its food budget on meat, poultry, fish, and eggs, 18 percent on fruits and vegetables, 14 percent on milk and cheese, 12 percent on oils and butter, 11 percent on flour, cereals, bread, and baked goods, and 10 percent on sweetened and alcoholic beverages. Of the money families spent on meat, poultry, fish, and eggs in 1949, 69 percent on average went to beef, pork, veal, and lamb, 14 percent to poultry, 11 percent to eggs, and 6 percent to fish.

In 1949 American families in cities consumed more meat, poultry, fish, and vegetables but less milk and fewer grains than did rural families. Urban families in the North Central states consumed more milk; fresh, frozen and canned fruits and vegetables; processed fruits and vegetables (tomato sauce and vegetable soup, for example); meat; poultry; fish; baked goods and potatoes; including sweet potatoes; but less sugar, flour, and butter and fewer oils, sweets, eggs, cereals, and pasta than did urban families in the South. North Central rural families consumed more sugar; sweets; milk; fresh, frozen, canned, and processed fruit and vegetables;

meat; poultry; fish; eggs; baked goods and potatoes, including sweet potatoes; but less fat and flour and fewer cereals and pasta than did rural families in the South.

Age and education influenced consumption patterns. In 1949 families whose homemaker was younger than age fifty spent less money at restaurants on average than families whose homemaker was at least fifty, implying that older families ate out more often than younger ones. Families whose homemaker had attended college ate more vegetables, fruits, and juices than families whose homemakers had not attended college.

U.S. families had a greater variety of food from which to choose in 1949 than at any previous time, asserted Janet Murray and Ennis Blake of the Agricultural Research Service, a division of the USDA. They warned, however, that inequalities in income and education left some families undernourished. The postwar prosperity and the abundance of food did not eliminate malnutrition.

Further Reading: Barbara Haber, *From Hardtack to Home Fries: An Uncommon History of American Cooks and Meals*, 2002; Elaine N. McIntosh, *American Food Habits in Historical Perspective*, 1995; Waverley L. Root, *Eating in America: A History*, 1995.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

FOOTBALL (COLLEGE) From the inception of college football, the same eleven men played the entire game on both sides of the ball. A coach could substitute a player only after an injury. In 1941, however, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) permitted coaches to substitute players at will except during the last two minutes of the first half. Coaches did not grasp the significance of this rule until a game on October 13, 1945, between the University of Michigan and Army. Pundits favored Army by a wide margin. Michigan coach Fritz Crisler countered with different squads on offense and defense to keep his men fresh. Although Michigan lost, it had clung to a 7–7 tie into the fourth quarter, stunning oddsmakers. Crisler’s success led other coaches to tailor the use of players to circumstances on the field, a prosaic but effective innovation. Third down and short, for example,

encouraged substitution of blocking tight ends for the wideouts, and perhaps an extra fullback instead of a halfback. The defense might respond to the anticipated running play with extra linemen and linebackers as substitutes for the secondary.

As college football evolved into a game of specialists, the quarterback gained status as a conductor adept at using a changing ensemble of players. The T formation, a 1940 innovation by Stanford University coach Clark Shaughnessy, lined three running backs parallel to scrimmage behind the quarterback, giving him the option of pitching out to either side, running a back up the middle, or throwing a screen pass. In 1945 the NCAA abolished the requirement that the quarterback be at least five yards behind scrimmage to throw a pass. During the course of a putative pass play, an agile quarterback could now put the defense on its heels by dashing toward scrimmage, giving him the option of running the ball himself, passing downfield after having drawn in the linebackers and secondary, or, if a running back remained behind him, pitching out even after he crossed scrimmage. The NCAA in 1945 affirmed the quarterback’s enhanced status by increasing the penalty for roughing the passer from ten to fifteen yards.

The referees themselves gained greater control of college football during the 1940s. Previously, they had signaled infractions by blowing a whistle or horn, an action that caused confusion and danger. Players who heard the whistle hesitated or stopped in the midst of a play, becoming vulnerable to injury when hit by opponents oblivious to the sound. To solve the problem, officials in a game between Youngtown State University and Oklahoma City College on October 16, 1941, used a red and white cloth, the first penalty flag, to mark the spot of an infraction. The flag was conspicuous enough to alert coaches on both sides of a penalty without interrupting the game.

Further Reading: Robert M. Ours, *College Football Encyclopedia: The Authoritative Guide to 124 Years of College Football*, 1994; Tom Perrin, *Football: A College History*, 1987; John S. Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy*, 2000.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

FOOTBALL (PROFESSIONAL) Professional football did not ingratiate itself with Americans during World War II. The decision by the National Football League (NFL) to play its 1941 title game two weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor struck many Americans as unpatriotic. The International Olympic Committee had, after all, canceled the 1940 Games, noted sports journalists. Why had the NFL put football above a national emergency? Only 13,341 spectators attended that year's championship between the New York Giants and the Chicago Bears, whereas 58,000 thronged the 1946 title game between the same teams. With revenues from fans and advertisers in decline, professional football struggled during the war. Scouts drafted players they would have bypassed in prosperity, and recruited players they had cut in previous years. Unable to meet payroll, the Cleveland Rams folded in 1943 and the Pittsburgh Steelers and the Philadelphia Eagles merged as the Phil-Pitt Eagles. The next year the St. Louis Cardinals followed suit, creating the Card-Pitt team. Austerity begat austerity; in 1941 the average professional player earned \$150 a game, whereas in 1949 the pay more than tripled to \$500 a contest.

The wartime contraction left intact the urban and working-class essence of professional football. Cities in the Northeast and industrial Midwest fielded the powerhouses, with New York, Chicago, and Detroit perennial contenders. The fact that factory workers in Pittsburgh and other cities united behind their teams despite economic travail probably saved professional football, pared to only eight teams in 1944, from extinction.

Postwar expansion marked professional football's emergence from its cocoon in the Northeast and around the Great Lakes. The new All-American Football Conference (AAFC) challenged the NFL to bring football south and west. In 1946 the AAFC founded franchises in Los Angeles and San Francisco and the NFL countered by resurrecting the Rams, but in Los Angeles rather than Cleveland. The next year the AAFC unveiled the Dolphins in Miami before insolvency forced the conference to merge with the NFL.

The move south and west had no analog in the geographic diversity of college football. Whereas large public universities anywhere in the

United States could rely on alumni and state legislators to sustain their football teams in lean times, professional teams needed to profit in order to survive. In staking three teams in California and a fourth in Florida, the NFL and defunct AAFC underscored that the South and West would be the centers of postwar economic expansion, the repositories of money that would allow owners to pay for advertisements and workers to fill the stands on Sundays. The 1940s made clear what fans prefer to forget: professional football is less an idyllic game than a commercial enterprise.

Further Reading: Phil Barber, *Football America: Celebrating Our National Passion*, 1996; Paul Fichtenbaum, *The World of Pro Football*, 1987; Peter King, *Football: A History of the Professional Game*, 1993.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

FORD, GERALD RUDOLPH (July 14, 1913–), Congressman and president of the United States. Gerald R. Ford was born Leslie King Jr. in Omaha, Nebraska, as the only child of Leslie and Dorothy Gardner King. His parents divorced in 1915, and two-year-old Leslie was renamed after his stepfather. After graduating from the University of Michigan in 1935, he coached football and boxing at Yale University, where he decided to become a lawyer. In 1941 Ford graduated from Yale Law School in the top third of his class. He then returned to Grand Rapids, Michigan, to practice law with Philip A. Buchen, later his White House counsel.

Ford enlisted in the Navy in April 1942 and served until February 1946. His duties included being athletic director and gunnery officer aboard the *Monterey*, a light aircraft carrier. The *Monterey* sailed into nearly all the major battles of the South Pacific, including those at Wake Island, Okinawa, and the Philippines. Ford rose from ensign to lieutenant commander, receiving ten battle stars. His last assignment was at the Naval Reserve Training Command in Glenview, Illinois.

Ford returned to Grand Rapids and began a political career in 1948. Michigan's Republican senator Arthur H. Vandenberg encouraged him to enter the primary in the state's Fifth

Congressional District against the incumbent Republican, Bartel J. Jonkman, an isolationist in foreign policy. Ford's service during the war had made him an internationalist. He accepted Vandenberg's offer and defeated Jonkman by over 9,000 votes. In the general election, he won a landslide victory over his Democratic opponent, Fred J. Barr, and began the first of thirteen terms in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Ford described himself as a moderate in domestic affairs, an internationalist in foreign affairs, and a conservative in fiscal policy. He supported President Harry Truman's Point Four program to aid underdeveloped countries, the Marshall Plan, and funding for the defense budget. Ford voted for tax cuts and other measures to reduce the size of the federal bureaucracy. He gained a reputation as a moderate Republican congressman, a clean politician, and an honorable man. This reputation served him well in 1974 when the Republican Party needed a replacement for the disgraced president, Richard M. Nixon.

Further Reading: James Cannon, *Time and Chance: Gerald Ford's Appointment with History*, 1994; Carol B. Fitzgerald, ed., *Gerald R. Ford*, 1991; Kenneth W. Thompson, ed., *The Ford Presidency*, 1988.

NORMAN E. FRY

FORRESTAL, JAMES VINCENT (February 15, 1892–May 22, 1949), first secretary of defense. Forrestal was born in Matteawan, New York, to Irish-Catholic parents. Throughout his life he had a difficult time with issues of class and status. He attended Dartmouth and Princeton, but left without graduating to work in Wall Street investment houses. He served in the Aviation Division of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations during World War I.

During the 1920s he became one of the top executives on Wall Street. In 1938 he was president of Dillon, Read & Co. In the early days of the Great Depression, he worked with the Roosevelt administration to bring order and reform to the stock market. In 1940 he became an assistant in the Roosevelt White House. The next nine years were filled with Forrestal's contributions to changing policies and institutions. Within a year he was an undersecretary of the navy and

he set to work reorganizing the department in preparation for a two-ocean war. He challenged and changed the bureaucracy, freeing the department to move on military contracts and greatly increased war production. Forrestal also maintained civilian control over the navy, much to the navy's irritation. By May 1944, he was secretary of the navy.

Forrestal's greatest challenges were ahead. The issue was the shape and character of the defense establishment in a world marked by the Soviet Union and the emerging Cold War. His close friend, Ferdinand Eberstadt, helped with Forrestal's plan for coordinate agencies. The National Security Act of 1947 was the result and Forrestal became the first secretary of defense, responsible for establishing clear command, cost cutting, and cooperation between the armed services. It was a difficult task and he experienced personal abuse. The goal was achieved.

It came at a great cost to Forrestal. Long hours and drinking caused his physical and mental health to suffer. His anti-Communism turned into mania. When President Harry Truman asked for his resignation, he committed suicide and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery. His organizational achievements have endured and his support of Truman's containment policy was vital to its ultimate success. Forrestal brought sound business organizational ideas to government and laid the foundations for the victory of the United States in the Cold War. Unfortunately he has not been celebrated or remembered except by the circumstances of his death.

Further Reading: Robert G. Albion and Robert H. Connery, *Forrestal and the Navy*, 1962; Jeffery M. Dorwart, *Eberstadt and Forrestal: A National Security Partnership*, 1992; Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, *Driven Patriot: The Life and Times of James Forrestal*, 1992.

DONALD K. PICKENS

FOUR FREEDOMS, political philosophy. For differing reasons and motives, both the New Deal's critics and defenders saw World War II as an opportunity to "globalize" the New Deal's philosophy. Modern war is innately revolutionary. Prior to the United States's entry into the

conflict, President Franklin D. Roosevelt supported the Allied cause. On January 6, 1941, in a major speech to Congress, he envisioned a future world based on four freedoms or universal rights to be enjoyed by every person on the planet. A rights revolution was under way.

The four freedoms were freedom of speech (or expression), freedom to worship in one's own way, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Unwittingly, the four freedoms expressed a Cold War liberal internationalism that also drew on the idealism of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points. Realists questioned the philosophy, but it demonstrated the best nature of American foreign policy in the twentieth century. It is also basic to post-Cold War nation building. And many reformers around the world endorsed its idealism as essential for postwar reconstruction. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, did not destroy this basic belief in just international order. In fact, U.S. policy was now committed to a world without fear in which all would share in the benefits of domestic and international security.

Freedom from want and fear are also cited in the Atlantic Charter, which articulated the official war aims of the United States and the United Kingdom. The Atlantic Charter foresaw an international order that included Africa and Asia. The four freedoms underscore the importance of ideas in human history.

Further Reading: Jerald A. Combs, *American Diplomatic History: Two Centuries of Changing Interpretations*, 1983; Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 1991; Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 1987.

DONALD K. PICKENS

FRANCO, FRANCISCO (December 4, 1892–November 20, 1975), Spanish dictator. Franco was born in El Ferrol, Galicia, the son of a boorish naval officer and a smothering, overprotective mother; the similarity to Hitler's family dynamic is striking. Franco joined the army as an infantry cadet, securing a posting to Morocco at the earliest opportunity. The protracted war of colonial pacification taking place in the Spanish protectorate provided a dangerous fast track to

promotion that Franco, an unusually competent subaltern, was able to exploit; a series of dramatic military campaigns made him a national hero, and by 1926 he was the youngest general in any European army. The 1931 republican revolution set off sweeping military reforms and Franco was placed on the inactive list for two years until the resurgence of parliamentary conservatism brought him back to active command; in 1934 he brutally suppressed a miners' uprising in Asturias and was promoted to chief of the general staff for his pains.

Although Franco remained a staunch monarchist, he had up to this point taken a pragmatic attitude toward the republic, but the creation of the Popular Front in early 1936 and the apparent disintegration of central authority tempted even this cautious careerist to mutiny. On July 18 he proclaimed a military coup and attempted a quick march on Madrid; the rebellion only partially succeeded and Spain was embroiled in three years of bloody civil war. During the conflict, Franco was acknowledged as generalissimo and head of state of the Nationalist government and leader of the quasi-fascist Falange movement. His dogged strategy, greatly assisted by Italian and German aid, brought victory in April 1939: Franco was undisputed dictator of Spain for the next thirty-six years.

El Caudillo ("the Leader") mimicked a few of the ideological trappings of Hitler and Mussolini, but he was politically unimaginative and had no real desire to create a party-led state in the Nazi style; Franco's Spain was a traditional authoritarian despotism in which reverence for long-established virtues, particularly Catholic piety and love of country, were paramount. His personality fused childish petulance with peasant cunning. An unprepossessing figure—he was portly, sweaty, and short, with a squeaky voice and little personal charisma—he nonetheless staved off any effective opposition to his rule through cold-blooded efficiency and an intuitive grasp of others' weaknesses. Franco preferred to remain detached from day-to-day government, partly because the practical business of administration bored him and partly because such withdrawal fostered his self-image of aloof royalty. His role as a pseudo-monarch became constitutionally

entrenched in 1947 when the Bourbon dynasty was again recognized as the ruling house of Spain, the generalissimo acting as temporary regent, but his jealous refusal to even name an official successor lasted until the closing years of his life.

Franco was openly contemptuous of Europe's liberal democracies and rhapsodized over the early Axis victories in World War II, but his instinctive risk aversion stood him in good stead. While indicating to the Germans that he was willing to bring Spain into the conflict against the Allies, opening up the possibility of capturing Gibraltar and closing the western Mediterranean to the British, he supplied a list of material preconditions so extensive as to be quite unrealistic, until the war was as good as won anyway. At his celebrated meeting with Hitler at Hendaye in France on October 23, 1940, Franco proved such an intractable haggler that the irate Nazi leader was only prevented with difficulty from storming out of the negotiations. The possibility of Spanish involvement in the war thereafter evaporated, although for the next three years Franco provided limited logistical support to the Axis and permitted the dispatch of a Spanish volunteer division to the eastern front. After 1945, he was declared *persona non grata* by the victorious Allied powers, but the exigencies of the Cold War soon overturned old suspicions and in 1953 the United States signed a ten-year military assistance pact with Spain. Two years later Franco's dictatorship was admitted to the United Nations and his diplomatic rehabilitation was complete.

Further Reading: Gabrielle Ashford Hodges, *Franco: A Concise Biography*, 2000; Paul Preston, *Franco: A Biography*, 1993; Filipe Ribeiro de Menses, *Franco and the Spanish Civil War*, 2001.

ALAN ALLPORT

FRANKFURTER, FELIX (November 15, 1882–November 15, 1965), legal scholar and Supreme Court associate justice. Frankfurter was born in Vienna, Austria, in 1882 and moved to New York with his parents. He completed a combined high school-college course at New York's City College in 1902 and received his law degree from Harvard in 1906. He then served as assistant United States attorney (1906–1910) in New

York and legal officer of the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department. A distinguished scholar, Frankfurter became the first Byrne Professor of Administrative Law at Harvard. He taught there from 1914 to 1939. During these years he also assumed special government posts, argued for the release of Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, helped found the American Civil Liberties Union, promoted the Zionist cause, and helped staff many New Deal agencies with former students. Frankfurter was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1939, replacing Benjamin N. Cardozo.

Frankfurter was a legal realist who made his mark in three areas: the history and role of the Supreme Court, public utilities law, and administrative law. A protégé of Justice Louis Brandeis, Frankfurter had been highly critical of the Court's opposition to government regulation. Although a liberal, he was also a firm adherent of judicial restraint. On matters involving church and state and Fourth Amendment rights, Frankfurter stood firm. On the Court from 1939 to 1962, he upheld legislation limiting civil liberties, insisting that the government has a right to protect itself through investigative committees and legislation and that the justices must exercise self-restraint when interfering with the popular will. After 1941, the justices divided sharply over how far the Court should go in striking down restrictions on free expression and imposing upon the states uniform standards of criminal procedure. Frankfurter did little to unite the Court. He and Justice Hugo Black were constant antagonists. Frankfurter favored a balancing approach to First Amendment issues, in contrast to Black's absolutism. Black also favored nationalization of the criminal law provisions of the Bill of Rights, whereas Frankfurter did not. Between 1942 and 1946, Frankfurter's views did not prevail. Afterward, his judicial opinions were regularly accepted. Frankfurter's most significant contribution was his crucial role in promoting unanimity in the 1954 case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*.

Frankfurter wrote more concurring opinions than any other justice during his tenure. Very few of his separate opinions were cited in subsequent cases. He wrote *The Public and Its Government*

(1930) and *Of Law and Men* (1956). He retired in 1962. He died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Clyde Jacobs, *Justice Frankfurter and Civil Liberties*, 1961; Michael E. Parrish, *Felix Frankfurter and His Times: The Reform Years*, 1982; Mark Silverstein, *Constitutional Faiths: Felix Frankfurter, Hugo Black, and the Process of Judicial Decision Making*, 1984.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM President Roosevelt wanted to establish a repository library at Hyde Park, New York, to collect, collate, and preserve the papers, materials, and mementos from his administration for future use by historians and others pursuing research on his era. Believing in the past as well as the future, Roosevelt contended that through knowledge of the past people could learn better how to create and judge their future. He laid the library's cornerstone on November 19, 1939. The Library was officially dedicated on June 30, 1941, when it opened to the public. In keeping with the architectural style of the surrounding area, the building is a one-story Dutch colonial of natural fieldstone with a high-pitched roof.

The museum's presidential gallery affirms Roosevelt's activist philosophy and shows how he interpreted and executed the duties of his office. His life, from birth to death, is portrayed as well. Roosevelt's 1936 Ford Phaeton, equipped with special hand controls, is one of the museum's most popular displays. His White House desk, collection of sea pictures, and items dealing with New Deal legislation and World War II are also among the exhibits. In 1972 the Eleanor Roosevelt Gallery was added to the original library building to honor the first lady's life and accomplishments. Located on the grounds just behind the Roosevelt Library and Museum is the president's lifetime home, which his father, James Roosevelt, purchased in 1867. On January 15, 1944, Roosevelt's home was designated a national historic site. A gift from the president, it consisted of thirty-three acres encompassing the house, its outbuildings, and the gravesites of Franklin, Eleanor, and their dog Fala (all chosen before their deaths) in the family rose garden.

The area now spans 290 acres. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum is currently one of ten presidential libraries administered by the National Archives and Records Administration.

Further Reading: Pat Hyland, *Presidential Libraries and Museums*, 1995; Curt Smith, *Windows on the White House: The Story of the Presidential Libraries*, 1997; Fritz Veit, *Presidential Libraries and Collections*, 1987.

LEONARD SCHLUP

FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM Coauthored by John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom* is generally accepted as the most definitive history of African Americans. The book provides a detailed narrative of African Americans from their origins in African civilizations and their years of slavery in the New World to their successful struggle for freedom and first-class citizenship in the United States, the West Indies, and Latin America. *From Slavery to Freedom* contains a wealth of information based on the recent findings of many scholars, and it displays the tragedies and triumphs of African Americans in a readable volume that is indisputably the most authoritative, comprehensive book of its kind. It is currently published in its eighth edition.

From Slavery to Freedom was first published in 1947 by John Hope Franklin, who solely authored the first five editions. Franklin is acclaimed as one of America's greatest historians, and his scholarly research and vivid descriptions quickly established *From Slavery to Freedom* as a standard textbook for high schools and colleges in several disciplines. It became a best-selling textbook, his best-known work, and the most popular history ever written about African Americans. It largely contributed to his becoming a notable historian in the international community and has been translated into Japanese, German, French, Portuguese, and Chinese.

African American faculty and staff from several disciplines at Duke University searched for ways to pay a lasting tribute to the book. The result was the establishment of the John Hope Franklin Center for interdisciplinary and international studies at Duke in 2001. The center has

grown to accommodate a broad range of disciplines that converge to explore intellectual issues and the most pressing social and political problems of our time. Its mission is to bring together humanists and social scientists in a setting that inspires vigorous scholarship and networking.

Moss became the coauthor with the publishing of the sixth edition; he labeled the book a “work in progress.” Other scholars inspired by the book have participated in that progress. They have published books and articles that further examine the growing diversity of interests and the increasing complexity of problems facing African Americans. Franklin and Moss have noted these and other excellent works in African, Caribbean, and Latin American history and have judiciously summarized their findings in subsequent editions. This dynamic approach ensures that *From Slavery to Freedom* will continue to be a most honored textbook for many years to come.

Further Reading: Elsie Y. Cross, *Managing Diversity: The Courage to Lead*, 2000; Thomas J. Durant, *Plantation Society and Racism*, 1999; Lea A. Williams, *Servants of the People: The 1960s Legacy of African American Leadership*, 1996.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

FROST, ROBERT (March 26, 1874–January 29, 1963), poet. Born Robert Lee Frost in San Francisco, Frost developed an interest in writing poetry while in high school. In 1892 he graduated from a public secondary school in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Although he enrolled at Dartmouth College and later at Harvard, he never earned a formal degree. Frost drifted through a string of occupations after leaving school, working as a teacher and cobbler and editing the Lawrence *Sentinel*. His first professional poem appeared in print in 1894 in the New York newspaper *The Independent*. He farmed in New Hampshire, lived in England for a time, endured health problems, and taught, all the time continuing with his poetry. By the 1920s he had become the most celebrated poet in America. One of his poems, “Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening,” was extremely popular; it ended on the optimistic note of having promises to keep and miles to

go before sleep. With interruptions, he taught at Amherst College from 1917 to 1963, Harvard University from 1939 to 1943, and Dartmouth College from 1943 to 1949. A Pulitzer Prize winner, Frost acquired an international reputation. Although his work was associated principally with the life and landscape of New England, Frost, a poet of traditional verse, was not a regional writer. He surfaced as a quintessentially modern poet in his adherence to spoken language, the psychological complexity of his portraits, and the degree to which his works were infused with irony and ambiguity. The death of his beloved wife in 1938 and the earlier loss of two children devastated Frost, and his world collapsed momentarily.

The 1940s brought him additional personal grief: his son’s suicide in 1940 followed in 1947 by the institutionalization of his daughter in a mental hospital. Yet during the same turbulent decade he published four books: *A Witness Tree* (1942), *A Masque of Reason* (1945), *A Masque of Mercy* (1947), and *Steeple Bush* (1947). Over the next several years, Frost received numerous honorary degrees, toured nations on good-will missions, accepted a congressional medal, and in 1961 read a poem at the presidential inauguration of John F. Kennedy, who dedicated the Robert Frost Library at Amherst, Massachusetts, nine months after Frost’s death in Boston.

Further Reading: Stanley Burnshaw, *Robert Frost Himself*, 1986; M.S. Richardson, *The Ordeal of Robert Frost: The Poet and His Poetics*, 1997; Lawrance Thompson, *Robert Frost*, 3 vols., 1966–1976.

LEONARD SCHLUP

FRY, VARIAN (October 15, 1907–September 13, 1967), refugee worker. Born in New York City, Varian Fry was an unsung hero when he died in Easton, Connecticut. He did not seem to be the sort of man to take on a daring rescue mission to Vichy France. A classicist by training, with a degree from Harvard, he was editor of the Foreign Policy Association’s *Headline Books* when he undertook his mission. After the defeat of France by Germany, a group known as the Emergency Rescue Committee had raised \$3,000 to bring refugees from Nazi Germany to America. Fry’s

knowledge of European politics and culture, and his fluency in several European languages, got him the mission.

The thirty-two-year-old Fry traveled to Vichy, France, on August 3, 1940, with a list of 200 people he was to help escape. Among them were Jews, writers, socialists, trade unionists, and scholars who had been blacklisted by the German government and were certain to be sent to a concentration camp and death if caught. Fry set up his rescue mission in Marseilles, where he sought the help of the American consulate and French authorities. The American consular officers refused to meet with him, and the French offered him nothing. From that point on, Fry had to create a covert mission to smuggle the political refugees out of France. He enlisted an idealistic cadre of young Americans living in France to work for his cover organization, the American Relief Center. Without any official support, Fry surreptitiously raised money, forged passports and visas, and mapped out escape routes. French authorities arrested Fry in December 1940, released him, and finally expelled him in September 1941. By then, however, he had accomplished his mission.

Fry had gone to France prepared to save 200 lives, but he quickly discovered that refugees from Hitler's Germany numbered in the thousands. It is likely that he helped 1,500 refugees to escape. After he returned to America, he continued to speak and to write on the impending massacre of dissidents and Jews in Europe, but his message was ignored. His memoir of his mission to France, *Surrender on Demand*, (1945) was well received, but not widely read. The United States government did not officially acknowledge Fry's mission, but he received recognition for his refugee work in 1967 when the French government awarded him the Croix de Chevalier, France's highest civilian honor. This prestigious award brought belated international fame.

Further Reading: Varian Fry, *Assignment: Rescue*, 1968; Varian Fry Papers, Columbia University, New York City; Andy Marino, *A Quiet American: The Secret War of Varian Fry*, 1999.

NORMAN E. FRY

FUCHS, KLAUS (December 29, 1911–January 28, 1988), scientist and Communist spy. Klaus Fuchs's was the first major atomic espionage case following World War II. Fuchs was born in Germany, became involved with the Communist Party in his youth, and fled to Britain shortly after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. He earned a doctorate in physics from the University of Bristol and went to work in the field of quantum mechanics. The government recruited him to work with the United States as part of the British contingent of the Manhattan Project. Fuchs was assigned to the weapons laboratory at Los Alamos, where he assisted under Hans Bethe. Fuchs is credited with authoring several monographs on imploding the bomb's core, which led to the development of a higher blast yield.

Fuchs had made contact with the Soviet Union shortly after his assignment to the British delegation. He began passing weapons details to the Soviets through a courier named "Raymond." According to the Venona papers, Fuchs met "Raymond" on February 5, 1944, and several other occasions throughout his tenure at Los Alamos. "Raymond" was Harry Gold, a Swiss-born chemist who also worked there. Fuchs's involvement with Gold ultimately led the Federal Bureau of Investigation to arrest David Greenglass and the Rosenbergs on espionage charges.

After the war, Fuchs became head of the physics department at the Harwell Atomic Research facility in Great Britain, where he continued his work on developing an initiator for the hydrogen bomb with mathematician John von Neumann. In September 1945, the defection of Igor Gouzenko, a Soviet military intelligence clerk at the embassy in Ottawa, revealed that Soviet operatives had penetrated the Manhattan Project. Evidence provided by Gouzenko led British Intelligence (MI5) to interrogate Fuchs starting in 1949. Fuchs later admitted engaging in espionage from 1942 through 1949 and passing information on the atomic weapons program of the Allies to the Soviet Union. In a two-hour trial, he was convicted in 1950 and sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment. After serving nine years, Fuchs was released and fled to East Germany, where he served at the Central Institute for Nuclear Research in Rossendorf. Fuchs's conviction, along

with that of the Rosenbergs, is credited with initiating the fervor of McCarthyism in the 1950s.

Fuchs died in East Germany.

Further Reading: Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Agency, *Venona: Soviet Espionage and the American Response, 1939–1957*, 1997; National Security Agency, *VENONA Historical Monograph #3: The 1944–45 New York and Washington-Moscow KGB Messages*, <http://nsa.gov/docs/venona/monographs/monograph-3.html>; Robert D. Novak, “The Origins of McCarthyism,” *Weekly Standard*, June 30, 2003.

O.D. “BOB” ARYANFARD

FULBRIGHT, J. WILLIAM (April 9, 1905–February 9, 1995), U.S. senator and internationalist. Born in Sumner, Missouri, J. William Fulbright died in Washington, DC, where he had gained his fame. He held a BA from the University of Arkansas and a law degree from George Washington University and was a Rhodes Scholar in 1925. First elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1941, Fulbright sponsored a resolution that created a postwar international organization. In 1944, at a conference in London, he proposed a four-point program for reconstructing the educational system of Europe. This report was the basis for what later became the United Nations (UN) Economic and Social Council.

Just as he supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s internationalist perspective in foreign policy, Fulbright also supported the president’s domestic agenda. Fulbright backed tax breaks and money incentives for farmers, the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation, and rural electrification. However, he consistently opposed the administration on legislation that helped unions or threatened segregation. He opposed legislation outlawing the poll tax and sided with sponsors of antiunion legislation such as the Hobbs antiracketeering bill and the Smith-Connally antistrike bill.

After Fulbright won election to the U.S. Senate from Arkansas in 1944, he remained a strong internationalist throughout President Harry Truman’s administration. Fulbright supported the Trade Agreements Act, the UN Charter, and a UN participation bill in 1945. He similarly supported the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, and the North Atlantic Security Pact. On domestic

issues, Fulbright was a moderate, although he still opposed legislation that helped unions or undermined segregation. He voted to override Truman’s veto of the Taft-Hartley bill, seen as antilabor by unions, and he opposed ending segregation in public housing. Ironically, he supported an equal rights amendment to the constitution guaranteeing equality of rights under the law without regard to gender.

Fulbright’s greatest fame came with his sponsorship in 1945 of legislation establishing an international exchange program for scholars and students. The Fulbright Act was signed into law on August 1, 1945. It stipulated that funds acquired by the sale of U.S. surplus properties overseas would be used to finance an exchange program for students and professors in order to promote international understanding. The fund provided grants to American scholars for graduate studies and research. It also offered traveling expenses for foreign students who wanted to study at an American college or university. The Fulbright Exchange Program made Fulbright’s name famous in the international community.

Further Reading: Betty Austin, *J. William Fulbright: A Bibliography*, 1995; J. William Fulbright Papers, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas; Randall Bennett Woods, *Fulbright: A Biography*, 1995.

NORMAN E. FRY

FULDHEIM, DOROTHY (June 26, 1893–November 3, 1989), radio and television journalist. Dorothy Violet Snell was born in Passaic, New Jersey, grew up in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, attended Milwaukee College, and entered teaching. Following her marriage to Milton H. Fuldheim, she moved to Cleveland, Ohio, in the 1920s. Dorothy Fuldheim pursued a career in lecturing and began doing a historical biographical series for a local radio station. She excelled in interviewing guests. She interviewed Adolf Hitler during the 1930s.

World War II brought her increased prominence, as she met world leaders and people from around the globe. Joining Cleveland’s first television station, WEWS, two months before it aired in December 1947, Fuldheim emerged as the first woman with her own news show. Unhindered

by any rigid format, she worked commentary and interviews into the news summary. After colleagues assumed the anchor roles, Fuldheim concentrated on analysis and interviews and cohosted an afternoon show. By 1974 she had logged over 15,000 interviews, and her status as a roving reporter was legendary. Fuldheim, named one of America’s most admired women, won numerous awards. She died in Cleveland.

Further Reading: Dorothy Fuldheim, *I Laughed, I Cried, I Loved: A News Analyst’s Love Affair With the World*, 1966; Dorothy Fuldheim, *A Thousand Friends*, 1974; Patricia M. Mote, *Dorothy Fuldheim: First Lady of Television News*, 1997.

LEONARD SCHLUP

FULTON, BAIN ECARIUS “SHORTY” (January 5, 1892–February 28, 1979), aviator, airport manager, and community leader. Born near Kenton, Ohio, Fulton spent time after high school in Texas, where he engaged in dirt track auto and motorcycle racing. He returned to Ohio to attend Ohio State University, and later worked as a salesman. He relocated to Akron in 1916 and found jobs in the engineering department of both the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. and the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co.

Interested in flying, he built his own airplane and opened the Fulton Flying Service, which provided passenger hopping, instruction, and charter

flights. In 1927 Fulton became manager of the Akron Municipal Airport. Fulton actively promoted the local airport, the Rubber Bowl football stadium, and Derby Downs, where children race engineless cars down a large hill. Known as “Shorty” because of his stature, he was commissioned a major in the army air force in 1942; his height posed no problems in the military during World War II. He was assigned to the national headquarters of the Civil Air Patrol and later the Air Transport Command. His service took him to South America, Africa, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and India. Fulton was then dispatched to England with the Eighth Air Force, attached to the 339th Fighter Group.

While on his fifth mission over Germany as a combat observer, Fulton was shot down over Parshim in April 1945. Confined to a German prison camp in Stalag I in Barth, Fulton was liberated by the Russians in May. His actions earned him numerous ribbons and honors, including the Purple Heart, Air Medal, and Presidential Unit Citation. Following discharge on January 5, 1945, he returned to Akron and resumed management of the city’s airport. After his retirement, the airport was renamed in his honor. Fulton died in Akron.

Further Reading: Bain E. Fulton Papers, Special Collections, Akron-Summit County Public Library, Akron, Ohio; Elynore Fulton Hambleton, *They Broke the Mold*, 2002.

LEONARD SCHLUP



GABLE, CLARK (February 1, 1901–November 16, 1960), actor. Born in Cadiz, Ohio, Clark Gable was the top box office star of the 1930s, dubbed the King of Hollywood. His career probably peaked with the enormously popular 1939 film *Gone with the Wind*, in which he played Rhett Butler; he made several films in the early 1940s, including *They Met in Bombay* with Lana Turner. In 1942, Gable's wife, comedic actress Carole Lombard, was killed in an airplane accident en route back to California after selling war bonds in Indiana. Gable was devastated. He joined the army, serving in the army air corps, where he was mainly responsible for filming recruitment and training pictures. Against instructions, Gable flew on bombing missions over Europe to film the raids. Chief of the German *Luftwaffe* Hermann Göring put a price on Gable's head. At the end of World War II, Gable returned to Hollywood. His first film, *Adventure* (1945), costarred Greer Garson, but flopped. Gable never reestablished his preeminent position at the box office, nor was he able to regain his persona as the ultimate romantic leading man. Still, he continued to be popular and did star in one film of note during the 1940s, *The Hucksters* (1947), a pointed attack on the advertising industry. Gable died in Los Angeles after filming *The Misfits*, which costarred Marilyn Monroe and Montgomery Clift.

Further Reading: Gabe Esso, *The Films of Clark Gable*, 1970; Warren G. Harris, *Clark Gable: A Biography*, 2002; Christopher J. Spicer, *Clark Gable: Biography, Filmography, Bibliography*, 2002.

AMANDA LAUGESEN

GALBRAITH, JOHN KENNETH (October 15, 1908–April 29, 2006), economist and public official. Born in Iona Station, in Ontario, Canada, Galbraith received his BS from the University of Toronto (1931) and PhD from the University of California at Berkeley (1934). He became a United States citizen in 1937. One of the nation's most famous economists, Galbraith is known for

his contributions to Keynesianism, advocating government spending for public services and to reduce unemployment.

During the 1940s, Galbraith worked for the government in a number of capacities. He joined the National Defense Advisory Council in 1940. The following year, he was appointed deputy administrator of the Office of Price Administration. In 1943 Galbraith resigned to join the editorial board of *Fortune* magazine. Before the war's end, he returned to government service, working as director of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey (1945) and in the Office of Economic Security (1946). For his government service, he received the Medal of Freedom in 1946. In 1949 Harvard University appointed him professor of economics. During the 1950s and 1960s, he was active in the Democratic Party, serving as President John F. Kennedy's ambassador to India (1961–1963) and national chair of Americans for Democratic Action (1967–1969).

Galbraith wrote several eloquent and popular economics books, including *American Capitalism* (1952), *The Affluent Society* (1958), *The New Industrial State* (1967), and *Economics and the Public Purpose* (1973). Galbraith was elected president of the American Economic Association in 1972.

Further Reading: John K. Galbraith, *A Life in Our Time: Memoirs*, 1981; Peggy Lamson, *Speaking of Galbraith: A Personal Portrait*, 1991; Andrea Williams, ed., *The Essential Galbraith*, 2001.

MAX LOUIS KENT

GANDHI, MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND (October 2, 1869–January 30, 1948), leader of Indian independence and social justice movements from 1915 to 1948. Gandhi was born in Gujarat, western India, into a family of mid-level social status. From 1885 to 1891, he studied in London and completed legal studies at the Inner Temple. In May 1893, he moved to South Africa, where he was hired to settle a lawsuit involving Indian laborers. He remained until 1914. While

there, he helped form the Natal Indian Congress, to resist oppression of Indian laborers by the white South African government. He coined the term *satyagraha* (“truth-force”—pressure for social and political reform through friendly passive resistance) and popularized the use of nonviolent civil disobedience.

In 1915, Gandhi returned to Bombay, India. Considered a national hero, he was given the title *Mahatma* (“Great Soul”). Between the world wars he began organizing an effective noncooperation campaign to end British rule. Throughout this period he experimented with symbolic, small-scale modes of *satyagraha*, such as refusing to wear foreign cloth, selling banned books, and making salt illegally.

The coming of war in 1939 led to further calls for India’s independence. In these struggles, Gandhi’s “constructive program” was premised on three functions of civil disobedience: to redress a local wrong; to rouse consciousness of it; and, in the struggle for political freedom, to concentrate on a particular issue such as freedom of speech. In October 1940, Gandhi conducted a number of “individual *satyagrahas*” against conscription. In 1942, he, along with other Indian National Congress leaders, was jailed for promoting a “Quit India” campaign. His nonviolent efforts netted him a total of 2,338 days in South African and Indian prisons.

Independence was finally achieved in 1947. It was accompanied by partition of the subcontinent, when Muslim Pakistan separated from predominantly Hindu India. Gandhi insisted that both belonged to one nation. Because of Gandhi’s sensitivity to India’s Muslim minority, he was blamed for the partition. In January 1948, in New Delhi, he was assassinated by Nathuram Vinayak Godse, a militant Hindu nationalist.

Gandhi’s influence in America was dramatically illustrated by the creation of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Chicago in 1942 by an interracial group of six pacifists who believed that the kind of nonviolent direct action developed by Gandhi could be employed to eradicate America’s racial problem. Gandhi’s ability to demonstrate effectively the strength of nonviolent civil disobedience found many disciples in the United States, including A.J. Muste, Bayard

Rustin, and Martin Luther King Jr. Indeed, Gandhi’s views shaped the parameters of the peace and social justice movements during the 1950s and 1960s in America.

Further Reading: Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*, 1989; Erik Erikson, *Gandhi’s Truth: On the Origins of Nonviolent Action*, 1969; B.R. Nanda, *Gandhi and His Critics*, 1985.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

GASTON, ARTHUR GEORGE (July 4, 1892–January 19, 1996), African American entrepreneur. One of Alabama’s foremost business and civic leaders, Gaston, born in poverty in Demopolis, Alabama, attended Tuggle Institute in Birmingham. He served in World War I and worked in a coal mine before entering the business world. There he achieved success, earning a reputation as a careful planner and shrewd apostle of business that spread locally, regionally, and nationally. Gaston purchased and then renovated shoddy buildings and turned them by frugality and prudent management into useful places, a form of private entrepreneurial renewal. Buying lands neglected by others, Gaston erected thriving business communities.

Without question, by the 1940s Gaston symbolized a black Horatio Alger success story. During his long and productive life, Gaston served as board chair and president of several corporations; his business interests included insurance, business colleges, motels, communications, and real estate. Several universities awarded him honorary degrees. He displayed sound business acumen and served as a good example for African Americans seeking better lives. Instrumental in founding programs for black youth, Gaston contributed greatly to civic endeavors in Birmingham and throughout the state before, during, and after the 1940s. He fervently supported the Birmingham YMCA and the A.G. Gaston Boys and Girls Club. Gaston regularly received awards, plaques, and deserved recognition for his contributions in the fields of business and civil rights. A philanthropist who directed monetary gifts to create opportunities for young people, Gaston surfaced as a heroic figure whose wealth and influence bore comparison, to some extent, to J.P. Morgan

and Andrew Carnegie. In 1992 *Black Enterprise* named him entrepreneur of the century. When he died in Birmingham, Gaston left a fortune worth well over \$130 million and an extended business empire. By becoming one of the wealthiest African Americans in the country, Gaston proved that it was possible to overcome staggering odds to secure a place for himself as a captain of industry.

Further Reading: Tom Bailey, *A.G. Gaston: Visionary Businessman*, 2003; Carol Jenkins and Elizabeth Gardner Hines, *Black Titan: A.G. Gaston and the Making of a Black American Millionaire*, 2003.

LEONARD SCHLUP

GAYS AND LESBIANS Prior to World War II, despite the urbanization of the United States, most gays and lesbians led secluded lives. During the 1940s, however, the influence of the war, the first of the Kinsey studies, and the beginning of the Communist scare, led to more visibility for gays and lesbians, but also to greater public scrutiny.

Beginning in 1940, the military began screening for homosexuality as an innate personality trait, rather than focusing only on sexual behavior when it was discovered. Psychiatrists specifically asked male recruits if they were sexually attracted to women. Being labeled homosexual had serious consequences beyond being rejected by the army, because future employers had the right to view a person's draft record. Many gay recruits, made aware of the screening process by the press, hid their sexual orientation during their interviews.

According to historian Allan Berube, the Women's Army Corps attracted many lesbians, especially because recruiters concentrated on single, childless women. Unlike male recruits, female recruits faced superficial screening. Lesbians were generally ignored in society, and the military did not view homosexuality among female recruits as a serious problem. There was some pressure to conduct more thorough screening, but the shortage of female recruits and the need for them to perform in jobs previously held by men led the military to ignore the issue.

War mobilization provided gays and lesbians with many opportunities to meet other

homosexuals in the military and in the large cities. For gay men, it was easy to develop relationships because men naturally formed bonds in a gender-segregated environment. The military also made the Women's Army Corps a gender-segregated environment to avoid the possibility of pregnancy.

Many gays and lesbians, having experienced the freedom to be themselves, did not return home after the war, but moved to large cities. Gay bars emerged, where people could experience a feeling of community.

Gay visibility increased when Alfred Kinsey and his associates stunned America with the publication of their study on male sexual behavior in 1948 (followed by a study of female sexual behavior in 1953). Their report, based on studies of the sexual behavior of over 10,000 men and women, announced that 37 percent of males and 13 percent of females had experienced orgasmic, same-sex sexual activities. They concluded that homosexuality was not abnormal.

Such increased societal awareness of homosexuality led to public fear. The press and the government fostered the fear by linking homosexuals with Communists: both lived in neighborhoods undetected and both threatened the American way of life. Throughout the country, new, so-called sexual perversion laws were enacted. They mandated prison sentences, commitment to mental institutions, and registration as sex offenders for those people adjudged to be gay or lesbian. The military increased its rate of discharges for homosexuality, now including women.

Increased visibility led to further strain for gays and lesbians during the McCarthy era of the next decade but would also lead them to form groups such as the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis to fight prejudice and challenge stereotypes. It would not be until the Stonewall riots in 1969 and the 1973 American Psychiatric Association's removal of homosexuality from its list of mental disorders, however, that lesbians and gays would emerge as a minority group fighting for equal rights.

Further Reading: Barry D. Adam, *The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 1987; Allan Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World*

War Two, 1990; John D' Emilio, *The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970*, 1983.

JOHN F. MARSZALEK III

GERMAN ALIENS The internment of German “enemy” aliens in the United States is one of the least-known features of World War II. Although the treatment of Japanese Americans has been well publicized, that of German Americans and German aliens has been neglected. The 1798 Alien Enemies Act gave the president discretionary control over resident enemy nationals during time of war or national emergency. Franklin D. Roosevelt made use of this act to apprehend and intern enemy aliens (Germans, Italians, and Japanese). The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) became interested in German Americans and German aliens by 1939; arrests followed U.S. entry into the war and continued until V-E Day.

American policy took three avenues in dealing with potentially dangerous people of enemy ancestry: internment of individual aliens, exclusion from the army, and relocation en masse from West Coast security zones. Internment of Germans as enemy aliens should not be confused with the program of relocation. Relocation was initially voluntary for all enemy aliens. After Executive Order 9066 in February 1942, which gave control to the army, permanent relocation fell solely on Japanese Americans. While German Americans were not sent to relocation camps, at least 11,000 German aliens were detained. Such internees could not leave their camps voluntarily except through repatriation to their home country. The camps were organized by the Justice Department and later the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The issue of German aliens was a difficult one, as the government had to balance the intimidation of a possibly disloyal German element without alienating the German American population as a whole. In addition, officials feared reprisals against Americans held in German hands if German aliens were treated harshly. The administration also wished to avoid the anti-German excesses of 1917–1918. American concerns about German aliens mixed with fears of a fifth column (people willing to cooperate with an aggressor against

their own country). Such discomforts were further aggravated by the existence of groups such as the *Deutsch Amerikanisches Bund* (German-American Bund), a pro-Nazi, quasi-military American organization that was most active in the years immediately preceding the U.S. entry into World War II. Bund members were mostly citizens of German ancestry, and the organization received covert guidance and financial support from the German government, although leader Fritz Kuhn exaggerated the tie and the Nazis eventually abandoned him.

Further Reading: Susan Canedy, *America's Nazis: A Democratic Dilemma: A History of the German American Bund*, 1990; Stephen Fox, *America's Invisible Gulag: A Biography of German American Internment and Exclusion in World War II*, 2000; Arnold Krammer, *Undue Process: The Untold Story of America's German Alien Internees*, 1997.

WENDY TOON

GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND, cultural and political organization for Americans of German ancestry. The group was founded in 1936 at a Buffalo, New York, convention. Its leader—appropriately titled “führer”—was Fritz Kuhn, an engineer who had immigrated to the United States after World War I. The Bund made no secret of its support for Nazism. It operated on the “führer principle,” under which the leader had unquestioned control. “Aryan blood” was a membership prerequisite, and at its meetings the swastika was proudly displayed alongside the Stars and Stripes. Nazi songs such as the “Horst Wessel Lied” played along with the American national anthem. The group circulated German propaganda in many forms, particularly through its chief newspaper, the *Free American and Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*. The Bund also organized several summer indoctrination camps. The largest, Camp Siegfried, was located on Long Island in New York.

While Kuhn claimed a wildly exaggerated 25,000 members and 100,000 “sympathizers,” the Justice Department estimated that the Bund had roughly 6,500 members in 1937. At its peak in 1938, membership probably did not exceed 8,500, organized in roughly eighty active cells

concentrated in eastern and midwestern cities with large German American populations.

Americans assumed that the Bund had close connections to Germany. But while Kuhn liked to suggest that he was in regular contact with the Berlin government and the Bund received some German money until 1938, Kuhn more or less did what he wanted and overstated his importance. Except for a hurried audience with Adolf Hitler during the 1936 Olympics, there is no evidence that Kuhn ever met any ranking Nazis. In fact, in 1937 the German ambassador to Washington recommended that government officials had nothing to do with the Bund, claiming that the organization's activities merely promoted anti-German feelings.

Nevertheless, the Bund's image as a Trojan horse remained powerful, and in 1937 the Dies Committee, charged with investigating subversive activities, began probing the organization. In 1939, the committee made the fantastic claim that Kuhn had 480,000 loyal followers, leading Congress to authorize \$100,000 for a full-scale investigation into Bund activities. This revelation did not prevent the group from staging in February its most dramatic public event—a mass rally at Madison Square Garden to celebrate Washington's Birthday. It attracted an audience of more than 20,000; few were Bund members. The stage was decorated with a giant image of the first president flanked with swastikas, and the evening's speeches were full of Nazi rhetoric, replete with virulent anti-Semitism. Men in paramilitary uniforms set upon hecklers, making the whole affair eerily reminiscent of the infamous Nazi Party rallies of Nuremberg.

Three months after the rally, Kuhn was arrested for misusing the organization's funds, convicted of grand larceny and fraud in December, and sentenced to prison. The group's newspaper decried anti-German persecution, but the organization withered as most members resigned in disgust.

Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze, appointed as the new Bund leader, tried to promote an idea of a "safer" organization, doing away with uniforms and publicly pledging support for the U.S. Constitution. He soon found himself under investigation for subversive activities and fled to Mexico. His successor, George Froboese, committed suicide soon

after taking office. The Bund continued to lose members until December 1941, when its remaining chapters formally disbanded in the wake of the German declaration of war on the United States.

Further Reading: Sander A. Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924–1941*, 1974; Alton Frye, *Nazi Germany and the American Hemisphere, 1933–1941*, 1967; Francis McDowell, *Insidious Foes: The Axis Fifth Column and the American Home Front*, 1995.

JOHN E. MOSER

GERMAN AMERICANS World War II was the major event for Americans of German heritage during the 1940s. Their colonial migration had begun in Pennsylvania during the 1680s. A century later their number reached 375,000, increasing after the Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815), passed 976,000 by the time of the Civil War, and reached its peak in the 1880s with 1.4 million. In religion, many German Americans belonged to three sects created out of the upheavals of the Reformation and religious wars. Their assimilation in the United States was nearly complete. During the years after the Civil War, German Americans contributed significantly to both the Republican and the Democratic Party. Their contributions in many different areas of American life were abundant. Many German Americans were farmers and skilled workers in the nineteenth century; a century later they were assimilated into a wide range of jobs and occupations.

A bare majority were Roman Catholics, with Lutherans close in number. About 100,000 Jews entered the United States under the German quota. Walter Lippmann, the famous journalist, came from this group. Along with other Germans, they joined the American mainstream.

Persecution of German Americans appeared during World War I. All things German were denounced as "un-American." Mistreatment ranged from the silly, such as renaming sauerkraut "victory cabbage," to serious, such as removing German as a field of study from universities and physically attacking persons with German surnames and socialists with German backgrounds. Some German Americans opposed the United States' entry into the European conflict, but that opposition in no way merited brutal assaults.

By the late 1930s, Americans of German heritage were part and parcel of national life. The German ethnic press was highly pluralistic, expressing many points of view. Culturally Germans were quite active in the development of classical music organizations and audiences. In 1936, a naturalized American citizen named Fritz Kuhn became leader of the German-American Bund, a front organization for the Nazi government. Membership estimates vary widely, but what the organization lacked in numbers it made up in noise. The Bund demonstrated, held rallies, and published hate literature against Jews. The Nazis supported the Bund until 1938. A year later Kuhn went to prison, convicted of embezzling the Bund's funds. The Bund's activities were ineffective. Few Americans of any ethnic background supported the Nazis. Some German Americans were interned during World War II, either as political suspects or as enemy aliens. By 1950, a modest German immigration had begun. In the 1990 census, 58 million American residents identified themselves as of German ancestry.

Further Reading: Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I*, 1974; Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845–1880*, 1990; Don H. Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 2000.

DONALD K. PICKENS

GI BILL OF RIGHTS (SERVICEMEN'S READJUSTMENT ACT OF 1944) Public Law 346, one of the twentieth century's most significant pieces of legislation, was signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on June 22, 1944. The act provided millions of veterans of World War II and later military conflicts with access to higher education and low-interest loans. The measure provided for tuition and living expenses while attending college. Between 1945 and 1950, over \$10 billion was spent. More than 1 million veterans used the GI Bill, with 1947 being its peak year.

When the GI Bill first became law, many members of Congress and university leaders questioned its wisdom. Some thought that the act was too expensive, while others, especially educators, feared that it would lower standards in

higher education. Many also sensed that the notion of learning for learning's sake would be sacrificed for the more pragmatic goal of job training that would enable veterans to seek a high-paying job. Fear of widespread unemployment among returning veterans, which had occurred after World War I, guaranteed the measure's enactment, however.

As early as 1942, the National Resources Planning Board, a White House agency, had begun studying postwar manpower needs. In 1943, the board recommended a series of programs for education and training of the nation's soldiers. The American Legion was in the forefront in supporting Roosevelt's call for a universal bill of economic rights. John Stelle, a former governor of Illinois and leader in the American Legion, drew up the first draft that eventually became the Servicemen's Readjustment Act. On March 24, 1944, the Senate passed the bill by a vote of 50–0. On May 18, the House approved its own version, 370–0. During a conference committee debate on the differences between both versions, the proposed bill nearly died when the House delegation split 3–3. The bill was rescued when Representative John Gibson of Georgia cast the tie-breaking vote in favor of the bill's passage.

The GI Bill of Rights was aimed at regulating the flow of demobilized soldiers returning to the job market. In addition to offering vocational training and college education, it also provided low-interest loans for buying homes and starting businesses. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 changed the face of higher education, despite earlier reservations among educators. The act raised the nation's educational level and the productivity of the workforce. Within ten years, some 8 million veterans took advantage of the law's educational programs. The act also transformed the majority of Americans from renters to homeowners, leading to the enormous growth of suburbs in the postwar era.

Further Reading: Arthur M. Cohen, *The Shaping of American Higher Education: Emergence and Growth of the Contemporary System*, 1998; David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*, 1999; Keith Olson, *The GI Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges*, 1974.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

GIBSON, JOSH (December 21, 1911–January 20, 1947), professional baseball player. Born in Buena Vista, Georgia, Gibson moved to Pittsburgh when his father took a job at a steel mill. Breaking free from a childhood of delinquency, Gibson took up baseball at age eighteen. Known as the “black Babe Ruth” because of his size and strength, Gibson became one of the fiercest home run hitters in the history of baseball. In two seasons in the 1930s, he was credited with seventy-five and eighty-nine home runs.

Like many African American players, Gibson took his talents to Puerto Rico and Mexico in the early 1940s. In 1941, he won the Puerto Rican batting title with a monumental average of .480; given his dominating performance at the plate and behind it, he was, not surprisingly, named Most Valuable Player. In Mexico, he earned \$6,000 with a team from Vera Cruz, which was over \$2,000 more than he earned with the Homestead Greys, a U.S. team. His stint in Mexico, however, was ephemeral. After the Greys’ owner sued Gibson in 1942 for \$10,000, he returned to the Greys as the starting catcher. In 1942, 1943, and 1946, Gibson won the Negro League home run crown; in 1943, he won a batting title, hitting a whopping .521. That year was an especially prodigious year for Gibson. He bashed ten home runs out of the very spacious Griffith Stadium in Washington, DC. During the course of that year, fewer than ten major-league players accomplished this feat in almost eighty games.

In 1942, shortly after returning from Mexico, Gibson fell ill. He began to suffer recurring headaches and dizzy spells. On New Year’s Day 1943, Gibson was hospitalized after he was diagnosed with a brain tumor. Later that year, he was committed to a mental hospital following a nervous breakdown in Washington, DC. Although Satchel Paige, Jackie Robinson, and others broke him out of the hospital to play in an all-star game against the New York Yankees, Gibson’s later life success was continually limited by illness, excessive drinking, drug use, and high blood pressure. In 1946, Gibson’s health worsened. Still hoping to join the major leagues, Gibson kept playing, drinking heavily to deal with the pain and anxiety of his impending death. Although his skills

declined precipitously, Gibson concluded his seventeen-year career with 926 homeruns and a .391 lifetime average.

Three months before Jackie Robinson joined the Brooklyn Dodgers, Gibson died at age thirty-five. Although he was never able to fulfill his dream of playing in the major leagues, Gibson was eventually inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1972.

Further Reading: William Brashler, *Josh Gibson*, 2000; Robert Peterson, *Only the Ball Was White: A History of Legendary Black Players and All-Black Professional Teams*, 1970; Art Rust Jr., *Get That Nigger Off the Field: The Oral History of the Negro Leagues*, 1992.

DAVID J. LEONARD

GLEASON, JACKIE (February 26, 1916–June 24, 1987), entertainer. Reared in a hard-pressed broken home in Brooklyn, New York, Jackie Gleason turned his angst into comedy. He got his big break as a stand-up comic in 1940 at Club 18 in Manhattan, a locale known for its irreverent, hard-edged humor. Later that spring he made his Broadway debut in *Keep Off the Grass*. In 1941 Jack Warner signed Gleason to a contract with Warner Brothers studios. After playing a number of supporting roles in a string of unmemorable movies and starring in one flop, Gleason left Hollywood bitter and disappointed. Throughout the decade he appeared on radio shows and in commercials, but spent most of his professional time doing stand-up comedy. Gleason was exempted from military service because he was a father and physically unfit.

In 1949 he made the jump to television, the medium for which he is most remembered. It was better suited to Gleason’s physical and expressive style of humor. His first big role was as Chester A. Riley in the series *Life of Riley*. Gleason achieved great success in 1950 with the *Cavalcade of Stars*, and, later in the decade, lasting fame as Ralph Kramden of *The Honeymooners*. He died in Florida.

Further Reading: James Bacon, *How Sweet It Is: The Jackie Gleason Story*, 1985; William A. Henry III, *The Great One: The Life and Legend of Jackie Gleason*, 1992; William J. Weatherby, *Jackie Gleason: An Intimate Portrait of the Great One*, 1992.

GREGORY DEHLER

GODDARD, ROBERT HUTCHINGS (October 5, 1882–August 10, 1945), rocketry pioneer. Born in Worcester, Massachusetts, Goddard received a BS in physics from Worcester Polytechnic Institute in 1908, an AM in physics from Clark University in 1910, and a PhD in 1911. He spent most of his career there as a physics professor.

His “Method of Reaching Extreme Altitudes” in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* in 1919 laid a foundation for rocketry. Goddard was the first physicist to transcend the traditional focus from the substance to be ignited to oxygen, the element necessary for combustion. A substance will ignite only in the presence of oxygen. A rocket relying on atmospheric (gaseous) oxygen can never fly in space, where the absence of oxygen will extinguish combustion. An internal, liquid stream of oxygen could propel a rocket through space and even, Goddard predicted, despite the mockery of journalists, to the moon.

Goddard also understood that the amount of oxygen dictates the rate of combustion. The speed of a rocket varies in direct relation to the amount of available oxygen. Because a liquid contains more molecules per unit volume than does a gas, a rocket will fly farther and faster in the presence of liquid oxygen than with an equal volume of gaseous oxygen.

Goddard’s *Smithsonian* article sold some 1,700 copies abroad. Wernher von Braun, a German physicist and admirer of Goddard, founded the German Rocket Society a year after Goddard’s March 16, 1926, launch of a rocket propelled by gasoline and liquid oxygen. In 1931 the German army began research to develop a long-range missile using liquid propellants. Goddard unwittingly aided the program by answering telephone queries from German engineers, but by 1939 Nazi aggression alarmed him. Between May and July 1940 Goddard briefed U.S. Army and Navy officials on the German threat and the need for the United States to fund its own long-range missile development. War planners rebuffed Goddard, certain that Germany could not launch a missile across the Atlantic.

Despite the rebuff, Goddard served the navy between 1942 and 1945 as director of research in the Bureau of Aeronautics, developing ex-

perimental engines. In 1943 he added to his duties as consultant for Curtiss-Wright Corporation, an aircraft firm. The next year he became director of the American Rocket Society. He died in Baltimore, Maryland.

Further Reading: David A. Clary, *Rocket Man: Robert H. Goddard and the Birth of the Space Age*, 2003; Milton Lehman: *Robert H. Goddard: Pioneer of Space Research*, 1988; Tom Streissguth, *Rocket Man: The Story of Robert Goddard*, 1995.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

GOLDWATER, BARRY MORRIS, SR. (January 1, 1909–May 29, 1998), American politician, photographer, and pilot. Born in Phoenix, Arizona, Goldwater was heir to a department store chain. He attended Staunton Military Academy and the University of Arizona. After only ten hours of aircraft instruction, Goldwater soloed and obtained his pilot’s license in 1930. Goldwater’s interests in radio and photography began in his youth. His photographs, many of which appeared in *Arizona Highways*, highlighted his state’s beauty.

At the outbreak of World War II, Goldwater was working in his father’s business. As a young businessman in Phoenix, Goldwater abhorred his hometown’s corruption and vice. In 1947 he and others of like mind formed the Charter Revision Committee. The committee’s efforts resulted in a reworking of the city charter under a strong city manager–council form of government, and he was one of the first council members elected under it.

In 1940 Goldwater floated from Green River, Utah, down the Colorado and Green Rivers through the Grand Canyon to the mouth of the Virgin River, making him the seventieth person to ever float through the Grand Canyon. During that trip he took photographs, made a short film, and wrote a small, self-published book titled *Delightful Journey* (1941). In showing his film and giving lectures throughout Arizona, he prepared himself for running later for the U.S. Senate.

Goldwater began his military service as an instructor in the gunnery command and later in India as a pilot in the U.S. Army Air Corps in

1941. In 1945 he was discharged as a lieutenant colonel. Responsible for organizing the Arizona National Guard from 1945 to 1952, he made brigadier general in the Air Force Reserve in 1959 and was promoted to major general in 1962. He retired from the military in 1967 with twenty-six years of service.

Between 1948 and 1950 Goldwater served as a member of the advisory committee on Indian Affairs to the Department of Interior. Opposing prostitution and gambling, he was a member of the Phoenix City Council from 1949 to 1952, the year he was elected to the U.S. Senate. Goldwater served in the Senate from 1953 to 1965 and from 1968 to 1987. He succeeded Robert Taft as champion of the Republican Party's conservative wing. In 1964 Goldwater ran for the presidency and lost to Lyndon Johnson. Goldwater's defeat, though massive, did not stop his party from moving steadily to the right over the succeeding decades. Goldwater died in Paradise Valley, Arizona.

Further Reading: Robert Alan Goldberg, *Barry Goldwater*, 1995; Barry Morris Goldwater and Jack Casserly, *Goldwater*, 1988; Peter Iverson, *Barry Goldwater: Native Arizonan*, 1997.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

GONE WITH THE WIND, fiction. A best-selling book of the 1930s and one of the most popular movies of all time, Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* became a fixture in the American consciousness of the 1940s. The story shows antebellum plantation life, the southern home front during the Civil War, and the Reconstruction period from the view of plantation owners. The book and the movie were highly praised by most Americans, but insightful blacks saw them both as unremittingly racist. Both argue that the South, complete with slavery, was a good place to live and condemned northern interference. They refuse to admit that slavery was wrong, and they portray blacks as creatures of small intelligence. Also, they thoroughly justify the rise of the Ku Klux Klan.

Sophisticated marketing strategies for the film were countered by concerted African American efforts to assure that the ultraracism of the book

was not manifested in the film. In the late 1930s, the black press and national black organizations debated with the movie producer, David O. Selznick, about how black characters should be depicted in the movie. These groups, recognizing the book as a glorification of slavery, the Confederacy, and racism, were concerned that such messages would be amplified in the motion picture. When *Gone with the Wind* was first shown in movie theaters, black activists expressed their displeasure with words and action. One black newspaper called the movie a "weapon of terror against black America." In some large cities, organized blacks picketed against the movie in peaceful but noisy demonstrations.

Enjoying a wider audience, the film surpassed the book as it romanticized slavery and the South's lost cause. Like most American writers of her time, author Margaret Mitchell relegated legitimate African American chronicles to obscurity through distortions and omissions, reinforcing negative stereotypes. Nevertheless, *Gone with the Wind* is often considered the most enduring, popular film of all time: it won eight Academy Awards and is accepted as a classic. Its compelling love story set in a pivotal period of American history continues to attract film audiences.

Further Reading: Leonard J. Leff, *Gone with the Wind and Hollywood's Racial Politics*, 1999; Lincoln Museum, *Gone with the Wind: Myths and Memories of the Old South*, 2002; Alice Randall, *The Wind Done Gone*, 2001.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY In 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt pledged the United States to act as a more tolerant and less aggressive regional neighbor to Central and South American nations. The policy suggested that U.S. military involvement harmed not only other countries but U.S. economic interests as well. Secretary of State Cordell Hull signed a convention in Montevideo, Uruguay, in December 1933, forbidding all regional powers from intervening in the internal or external affairs of signatory countries. The convention was enforced almost immediately. In 1934, Roosevelt withdrew troops from Haiti, ending nineteen years of occupation, and abrogated

the 1901 Platt Amendment, thereby ceding U.S. control over Cuba. When, in 1938, Mexico nationalized U.S. investments in oil, Roosevelt held firm to his commitment. He refused to send troops, instead allowing the World Court to negotiate acceptable compensations for the firms involved.

In the 1940s, the United States shifted its goals to include regional defense and collective security against, first, the Axis powers and, then, the Soviet Union. At the Eighth Pan-American Conference, held in Lima, Peru, in 1938, a joint declaration promised collective action should one nation be threatened by the Axis powers, in spite of the profascist states of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. By the time of the 1942 conference, held in Rio de Janeiro, only Chile and Argentina retained even diplomatic relations with Axis countries. The Rio conference formally broke all commercial Axis ties, formed inter-American defense alliances (notably between the United States, Mexico, and Brazil), and allowed temporary U.S. military bases in Brazil, Panama, Cuba, and Ecuador. While the United States was interested in raw materials, such as rubber, tin, tungsten, and quartz (sales of which significantly eased the trade imbalance between North and South America), regional cooperation and mutual defense were of greater aid to a country engaged in a two-front war. The 1947 Rio Pact, also called the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, created permanent military alliances between the signatory nations and pledged that aggression against any one country would be viewed as an attack on all—a model for the future North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The culmination of this movement came in March 1948, in Bogota, Colombia, with the creation of the Organization of American States (OAS). The OAS cemented the Latin Americans' goal of U.S. nonintervention. For its part, the United States found sympathetic Cold War allies. The changes wrought by the Good Neighbor Policy were significant, but anti-Communism undermined many of the basic principles of these agreements. When the United States acted to overthrow the Guatemalan government in 1954, the policy was largely at an end.

Further Reading: Irwin F. Gellman, *Good Neighbor Diplomacy: United States Policies in Latin America, 1933–1945*, 1979; Frederick B. Pike, *FDR's Good Neighbor Policy: Sixty Years of Generally Gentle Chaos*, 1995; Bryce Wood, *The Making of the Good Neighbor Policy*, 1961.

DAVID BLANKE

GOODMAN, BENNY (May 30, 1909–June 13, 1986), jazz musician. Born on Chicago's West Side, Benny Goodman died in New York City still honored as a big band leader from 1935 to 1945. His training for such a reputation had been in his synagogue orchestra and at Chicago's Hull House. Goodman brought jazz, an African American musical idiom, to the larger culture in a blend of sound and performance known as *swing*, a word first used to describe his band's product. Goodman's group was the first white band to get the relaxed tonal sound of black bands, and he was the first white bandleader to integrate his band.

By 1945 the era of the big bands and swing was over, and Goodman began to redefine himself as a classical clarinetist. He had performed his first classical piece, *Rhapsody for Clarinet and Violin*, by Béla Bartók, at Carnegie Hall in 1939. Goodman played with several symphonies during the 1940s. In 1949 he took lessons from Reginald Krell, a leading clarinetist, to acquire the classical technique, but he never lost his reputation as the master of the jazz clarinet.

Further Reading: James Lincoln Collier, *Benny Goodman and the Swing Era*, 1991; Chip Deffaa, *The Swing Legacy*, 1989; Benny Goodman, *The Kingdom of Swing*, 1939/1987 reprint.

NORMAN E. FRY

GORE, ALBERT ARNOLD, SR. (December 26, 1907–December 5, 1998), congressman and U.S. senator. Born near Granville, Tennessee, Gore earned a BS from Middle Tennessee State Teachers College (now Middle Tennessee State University) in 1932 and a law degree from the night law school at the Nashville YMCA in 1936. He practiced law, taught school, and became superintendent of schools for Smith County. A friend

of fellow Tennessean Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Gore entered Democratic politics and served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1939 until his resignation in 1944 to join the army and again from 1945 to 1953. An internationalist, he supported lend-lease, the Truman Doctrine, and the Marshall Plan. More independent than his party's leaders on domestic concerns, Gore endorsed the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. His was a southern voice of moderation on civil rights. He also strongly endorsed the Tennessee Valley Authority. Gore served in the United States Senate from 1953 to 1971, where he favored the Federal Highway Aid Act of 1956, Medicare, civil rights legislation, and generally most of the New Frontier and Great Society programs. He was an early, outspoken opponent of the continuation of the nebulous Vietnam War policies. Gore's son, Albert Gore Jr., won election to the U.S. Senate before serving from 1993 to 2001 as vice president of the United States, an office his father had sought in 1956. The elder Gore died in Carthage, Tennessee, two years before his son, a spokesman for southern progressive politics, lost the presidency despite winning the national popular vote.

Further Reading: Albert Gore Sr., *Let the Glory Out: My South and Its Politics*, 1972; Albert Gore Sr. Papers, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro; Leonard Schlup, "Senator Albert Gore and the 1956 Vice Presidential Contest," *Tamkang Journal of American Studies* 10 (1994): 13–28.

LEONARD SCHLUP

GOUZENKO'S DEFECTION Igor Gouzenko was a cipher clerk on the staff of the Soviet military attaché in Ottawa, Canada. In September 1945 Gouzenko defected, bringing along Soviet intelligence reports and the memory of messages upon which he had been working. His information revealed that the USSR had a vast espionage network in Canada, despite the wartime alliance.

An architect by profession, Gouzenko had joined the military. Assigned to military intelligence (GRU), he received training in ciphering and in June 1943 came via Siberia and the Northwest Staging Route to Canada. After Canada and

the USSR officially recognized each other that spring, he received a junior position in the Soviet diplomatic mission. His wife and son joined him in October.

After two years in Canada, Gouzenko realized the differences between the Soviet Union and Canada, and he began considering defection. A contributing factor was the appearance of NKVD (Soviet secret police) personnel in Ottawa and the tensions between them and Gouzenko's GRU. Pressed by Moscow, both agencies competed, but the NKVD was also responsible for the embassy's security and counterintelligence. The resulting atmosphere of suspicion and distrust eventually became unbearable for Gouzenko. Plans to send him back to the Soviet Union were the precipitating cause of his final decision.

On September 5, 1945, Gouzenko, his pregnant wife, and their young son defected. They first tried to interest the Ministry of Justice, and then the *Ottawa Journal*, in documents he had taken from the embassy. Unsuccessful in both cases, they hid in the flat of a neighbor, who contacted the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The Mounties took the Gouzenkos out of town and then sorted and translated his 105 papers.

The Kellock-Taschereau Royal Commission was set up to evaluate Gouzenko's cache. From February 6 to 13, 1946, the commission held secret hearings and on September 15 arrests began. Those named as allegedly participating in a spy ring were twelve officials and scientists from the National Research Council, the Department of Munitions and Supply, and the Wartime Information Board. Also arrested were Fred Rose, a Labour-Progressive Party (Canadian Communist Party) member of Parliament, and party leader Sam Carr. Hearings led to the arrest of Alan Nunn May in 1946 and Klaus Fuchs in 1950, physicists employed in the British nuclear program. Both May and Fuchs had worked on atomic research for the Manhattan Project and had provided information about it to the Soviets, at that time working on their own nuclear bomb. The Gouzenko defection put the Federal Bureau of Investigation on the trail of Soviet spies in the United States and aided the Venona code-breaking project.

Further Reading: Robert Bothwell and J.L. Granatstein, *The Gouzenko Transcripts*, 1982; Igor Gouzenko, *This Is My Choice*, 1948; John E. Haynes, *Red Scare or Red Menace?*, 1996.

WŁODZIMIERZ BATOG

GRACE, CHARLES MANUEL (January 25, 1881–January 12, 1960), religious cult leader. Best known as “Sweet Daddy Grace,” Grace was born in Brava, Cape Verde Islands. He immigrated to the United States in 1904, proclaimed himself a bishop in 1929, and by the 1940s was a major religious leader claiming followers in the millions. He founded his first church in West Wareham, Massachusetts, in 1919, received substantial monetary contributions from his primarily poor black followers, and by the 1940s had founded sixty-seven churches, called the United House of Prayer for All People, based on the Apostolic faith. He also established churches in nations as far away as Egypt.

One of the most colorful religious figures to mount a pulpit in America, Grace had no realistic platform for social progress and offered no logical plan for improving the worldly status of his followers. However, he nurtured the possibility of self-improvement, upward social mobility, and respectability. He was a charismatic figure who delivered highly emotional sermons against fornication, lying, and stealing, accompanied by faith healings. He dressed flamboyantly with fancy jewelry and two- to three-inch long fingernails painted red, white, and blue. He wore long black hair down to his shoulders, sported a green moustache, and claimed that he was a Portuguese prophet sent from Heaven to minister to black people. Grace convinced his congregations that he, not God, was the most important element in their lives and they gleefully showered him with dollars that made him wealthy. During his services, ushers competed in reaping the most money during his frequent collections, with the winner honored by sitting at his right side. Many followers felt that the collections were a small price to pay for the void he filled in their lives. Grace led a very private life but earned his followers’ adoration despite being jailed occasionally as a charlatan.

Grace also received a substantial income from a line of products such as “Daddy Grace” coffee, tea, soaps, and hand creams, which he claimed to have healing properties. He also ran a home-buying association and an insurance burial society. He thus used his popularity to establish a financial empire that reached its apogee in the 1940s. His personal style, wealth, and flamboyance brightened dull lives and provided hope for many frustrated and emotionally starved poor blacks. Although back taxes depleted much of his wealth after he died in his Los Angeles mansion, his legacy is preserved in more than one hundred churches that claim Sweet Daddy Grace as their founder.

Further Reading: Lenwood G. Davis, *Daddy Grace: An Annotated Bibliography*, 1992; Edward Frazier, *The Negro Church in America*, 1974; Charles Edwin Jones, *Black Holiness*, 1987.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

GRAHAM, WILLIAM FRANKLIN “BILLY” (November 7, 1918–), evangelical revivalist. Graham was born in Charlotte, North Carolina. After graduating from the Florida Bible Institute, a fundamentalist school, he became an ordained Southern Baptist minister in 1939. Graham’s decision to attend Wheaton College in Illinois introduced him to a brand of fundamentalism that sought a broad audience across denominations.

Graham quickly gained an opportunity to reach a large audience when Torrey Johnson invited him to speak on the radio program *Songs in the Night*, which was broadcast from 1943 to 1945. From 1944 onward Graham was the chief preacher at Youth for Christ (YFC) Rallies, originated by William W. Wilson, the eventual director of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. Torrey Johnson, who became the organizational leader of Youth for Christ, put Graham on a schedule that took him to Europe, Canada, and all over the United States, preaching at rallies and organizing YFC chapters.

The results of Graham’s rallies were disappointing until a rally in November 1949 in Los Angeles brought him national fame. William Randolph Hearst used the power of his newspaper network to promote Graham’s gathering. As

a result, Graham's three-week crusade became an eight-week tent meeting, where he preached to more than 350,000 people and won 6,000 converts to Christ. From this time onward, Graham's rallies drew large crowds.

Another chance encounter furthered Graham's mission as an evangelist. In 1947, William Riley, the founder and president of Northwestern Schools, persuaded Graham to take over the presidency of the fundamentalist schools. Graham did so reluctantly, but after Riley's death, he recruited the faculty and staff to work for his evangelistic organization. When Graham resigned from the YFC in 1948, the Northwestern Schools became the organizational structure for the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.

Further Reading: Marshall Frady, *Billy Graham: A Parable of American Righteousness*, 1979; Billy Graham Papers, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois; John Pollock, *Billy Graham: Evangelist to the World*, 1979.

NORMAN E. FRY

GRAY, PETER J. (March 6, 1915–June 30, 2002), baseball player. Born Pete Wyshner in Nanticoke, Pennsylvania, Gray changed his name once he began to compete in organized baseball in order to help professional scouts remember him easily. At a young age, the right-handed Gray lost his right arm in an automobile accident that seemingly dashed his athletic dreams. However, perseverance allowed Gray to accomplish the truly extraordinary feat of eventually reaching the major leagues on his other arm.

As a teenager and young adult, Gray competed for local semi-pro teams until he was able to obtain a professional contract in 1942, when an increasing number of professionals were being summoned for military service. Despite his disability, Gray performed remarkably well in three minor-league seasons as an outfielder, being named the outstanding player of the Southern Association in 1944 when he batted .333 and stole over sixty bases. Along with his offensive skills, Gray developed an amazing technique for fielding. He would catch the ball in a specially designed glove, toss the ball into the air, whip the glove off his hand, and snatch the ball out of the air before relaying it to the infield.

By 1945, the number of major-league players serving in the military was approaching 90 percent of prewar rosters, so owners were actively seeking talented players or interesting characters who might draw fans to the ballpark. With Gray's unique ability and market potential, he satisfied both demands. The St. Louis Browns eventually purchased Gray's contract from his minor league Memphis team and began utilizing him as a regular player during the 1945 season. Gray played in more than seventy games and, though he hit only .218, performed capably in the field, providing inspiration to disabled veterans returning from the war. Despite the warm feelings lavished upon him by many Americans, some of his teammates took exception to the one-armed outfielder. Gray's introverted personality and the failure of the Browns to repeat their unprecedented success of the previous year (they had won the only pennant in the franchise's history) caused some to openly blame Gray for the team's reversals. Gray's major-league career ended in 1945 when the Browns did not include him on the 1946 roster. Gray continued to compete sporadically on minor-league teams into the 1950s, however. Upon his retirement from baseball, he moved back to his hometown of Nanticoke and became something of a recluse before dying there.

Further Reading: William Kashatus, *One-Armed Wonder: Pete Gray, Wartime Baseball, and the American Dream*, 1999; Tony Salin, *Baseball's Forgotten Heroes*, 1999.

STEVE BULLOCK

GREAT RIVER ROAD The Great River Road is a 3,000-mile scenic tourist highway that follows a winding path along the Mississippi River from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. It is the longest and oldest scenic byway in North America. Construction of the road was the responsibility of the Mississippi River Parkway Commission, which was formed in 1938 with the cooperation of ten river states. The U.S. House of Representatives held hearings in 1939 and 1940 to discuss the bill that would have authorized the feasibility study of the parkway concept. The idea soon lost out to the more pressing demands of World War II, and it was not until 1949 that Congress finally approved a feasibility

study. The Bureau of Public Roads, the predecessor to the Federal Highway Administration, completed the study in 1951.

Although the construction of the road would take thirty years, the plan for the road was a unique example of federal and state cooperation. Because building a new parkway would have been too expensive, the project was designated a scenic route. Existing riverside roads were used to create it. New construction was limited to building the connecting links between established routes. Poor-quality roads were upgraded to bear heavier traffic. Since existing highways, towns, and railroads had already taken many scenic locations along the river, this approach allowed the Great River Road to annex sites. Not owned by the National Park Service, it was a nationally coordinated route owned and operated by ten states and the federal government.

Further Reading: Bureau of Public Roads, *Report on Recommendations for Land Acquisition, Scenic Easement and Control of Access for the Great River Road*, 1963; U.S. Congress, *House Committee on Public Works*, 1952; U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Public Lands, *To Authorize a National Mississippi River Parkway and Matters Relating Thereto*, 1939.

NORMAN E. FRY

GREEN, THEODORE FRANCIS (October 2, 1867–May 19, 1966), governor and U.S. senator. Born into a wealthy, established family in Providence, Rhode Island, Green earned degrees from Brown University and Harvard Law School. Active in Democratic politics, business enterprises, and cultural activities, he captured the governorship of Rhode Island in 1932 and held it from 1933 to 1937. The Democratic landslide of 1936 catapulted Green into the U.S. Senate, where he remained until 1960, an unabashed liberal. Loyal to Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, Green labored for social measures, a strong national defense, international understanding, unemployment relief, and economic recovery. He also struggled to make lynching a federal crime. He early became known as an internationalist, favoring the United Nations, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the 1940s. Green died in Providence.

Further Reading: Theodore F. Green Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Erwin L. Levine, *Theodore Francis Green*, 2 vols., 1963; obituary in *New York Times*, May 20, 1966.

LEONARD SCHLUP

GREENWAY, ISABELLA SELMES FERGUSON KING (March 22, 1886–December 18, 1953), hotelier, congresswoman, and cattle ranch owner. Born in Boone County, Kentucky, Selmes attended local schools and Miss Chapin's School in New York City. She homesteaded in New Mexico and relocated to Tucson, Arizona, in 1923, after the death of her first husband, Robert M. Ferguson. She married Rough Rider colonel John C. Greenway, and she steadily increased her political activity. She served as Democratic national committeewoman for Arizona in 1928 and, four years later, persuaded the state convention to endorse New York governor Franklin D. Roosevelt for the Democratic presidential nomination. Greenway seconded Roosevelt's nomination at the party's national convention. During this time Greenway also operated a cattle ranch in Arizona, owned Gilpin Air Lines in Los Angeles, and established the Arizona Inn, a resort hotel in Tucson.

In 1933, when President Roosevelt selected Arizona congressman Lewis W. Douglas to fill the position of director of the budget, Greenway campaigned successfully to fill his legislative seat. Reelected in 1934, she served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1933 to 1937, becoming Arizona's first congresswoman. Citing personal reasons, she declined to seek another term in 1936.

During the 1940s, Greenway resumed her work, managing the Arizona Inn, establishing it as one of the first-rate hotels in Arizona, where first lady Eleanor Roosevelt stayed on several occasions. In 1940 Greenway opposed Franklin Roosevelt's bid for a third term as president and threw her support to Republican Wendell Willkie, whose proposed reemployment program sparked her interest. Greenway's defection embittered President Roosevelt but failed to end the close friendship she had enjoyed and maintained with Eleanor Roosevelt for nearly half a century. Their

families had long been intertwined, and Eleanor Roosevelt refused to allow temporary political differences to destroy personal feelings. Both women shared much in common. Greenway died in Tucson, Arizona.

Further Reading: Isabella Greenway Papers, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson; Joseph P. Lash, *A World of Love: Eleanor Roosevelt and Her Friends, 1943–1962*, 1984; Kristie Miller, “A Volume of Friendship: The Correspondence of Isabella Greenway and Eleanor Roosevelt, 1904–1953,” *Journal of Arizona History* 40 (1999): 121–156.

LEONARD SCHLUP

GRUENING, ERNEST (February 6, 1887–June 26, 1974), senator and territorial governor. Born in New York City, Gruening graduated from Harvard Medical School in 1912, but sought a career in journalism. He reported for several newspapers before editing the *Nation* and the *New York Post* in the 1920s and early 1930s. A New Deal Democrat, he directed the Department of the Interior’s Division of Territories and Island Possessions (1934–1939), as well as the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Commission, under President Franklin Roosevelt.

Denouncing what he called the territories’ colonial status, he brought modern infrastructure to rural outposts. Gruening took a special interest in Alaska’s economic development and was a lead member of the Alaska International Highway Commission from 1938 to 1942, the year that the Alaska-Canada Highway opened.

In 1939, Roosevelt appointed Gruening the territorial governor of Alaska. Gruening spent the 1940s lobbying for increased federal aid, highway construction, and, above all, statehood. During World War II, he ensured the passage of bills banning racial discrimination and aided the elections of the legislature’s first Native Americans. In later years, he reformed the tax system that had favored outsider-owned industries over local laborers. His book, *The State of Alaska* (1954), reiterated his arguments for statehood and helped earn him the title “Father of Alaska.”

In anticipation of statehood, in 1958, Gruening won election to the U.S. Senate. He began his first term on January 3, 1959, the day Alaska joined the Union. Senator Gruening sup-

ported the Civil Rights Act of 1960 and worked to limit funding for foreign aid, calling for Congress to focus on domestic needs instead. In 1964, he was one of two senators to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which escalated the war in Vietnam. His antiwar stance hurt his standing in the Democratic Party. Although extremely popular in Alaska, he lost his Senate seat during the 1968 primary election. Gruening died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Ernest Gruening, *The Battle for Alaska Statehood*, 1967; Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles: The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*, 1973; Claus Naske, “Governor Ernest Gruening, the Federal Government, and the Economic Development of Territorial Alaska,” *Pacific Historian* 28 (Winter 1984): 4–16.

JANE M. ARMSTRONG

GUADALCANAL, BATTLE OF Guadalcanal, an island in the Solomon chain, epitomizes World War II in the Pacific: savage combat on land, sea, and in the air, and death, suffering, courage, and tenacity. Guadalcanal bears the imprimatur of the eagle, globe, and anchor of the U.S. Marine Corps (USMC). Abandoned by naval and air support shortly after landing on August 7, 1942, the First Marine Division supplied itself with captured rations and weapons. The marines drove off fierce Japanese assaults and completed building Henderson Field with abandoned enemy machinery. The airfield made the difference between survival and destruction. When nineteen Grumman F4Fs and twelve Douglas SBD-3s landed there on August 20, 1942, American forces gained a reasonable chance of remaining. On October 13, the U.S. Army’s 164th Infantry arrived.

Japan’s attack on the U.S. Navy at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, gave Japan the Pacific war initiative. The Allies lost to Imperial naval, air, and land forces until victory at the battle of Midway in June 1942 stalled the juggernaut. U.S. admiral Ernest King sent troops to assault Guadalcanal before the Japanese forces there could complete the airfield under construction and use it to cut Allied supply lines supporting Australia and New Zealand. King reasoned that Japanese losses in men, matériel, and morale at Midway offered American forces

an advantage in the contest for Guadalcanal and its strategic airfield. Pitting untried American forces against enemy veterans with air and naval superiority, King displayed great faith in the fighting skill and spirit of U.S. marines, soldiers, sailors, and airmen.

Japanese and American forces grappled in the air and at sea as well as on Guadalcanal and adjacent islands. The contest extended over half a year, with six major sea battles and about fifty unnamed exchanges between ships and between ships and aircraft. Finally, on February 8, 1943, Major General A.M. Patch declared Guadalcanal completely in possession of American forces. Marines, soldiers, sailors of the U.S. Navy and Coast Guard, and flyers and support crews had combined to win an American victory in the tradition of the battles at Princeton, Trenton, Ticonderoga, Yorktown, and Midway.

Japan lost an estimated 30,000 men in the battle for Guadalcanal while the Allies lost about 10 percent as many. Matériel losses were heavy and nearly equal for the contestants. Allied forces lost two aircraft carriers, eight cruisers, and fourteen destroyers for a total of 126,240 tons. The Japanese Imperial Navy also lost twenty-four ships: two battleships, five cruisers, eleven destroyers, and six submarines for a total of 134,893 tons. Destroyed Allied war matériel was quickly

replaced and supplemented by a U.S. industrial machine eager to produce after a decade of depression. Japan, by contrast, had been at war for over a decade. Its war machine dwindled with every day of fighting, and trained soldiers, sailors, and airmen to man its equipment became increasingly difficult to secure.

Japanese leaders had no real hope of besting an Allied war machine powered by technology and expansive productivity. Japan's only superiority was in numbers of men in uniform, and that advantage melted before Allied firepower. Hard fighting that exacted heavy human losses on the Allies was how Japanese leaders expected to win the war. The battle for Guadalcanal left little doubt among the Allies that the conflict was going to be long, hard, bitter, and expensive in lives and property. It also left little doubt that the Allies could fight the Japanese on their own terms and win. Guadalcanal proved that the demand for Japan's unconditional surrender was more than an Allied battle cry: it was an attainable goal.

Further Reading: Richard B. Frank, *Guadalcanal*, 1990; Samuel B. Griffith, *The Battle for Guadalcanal*, 1979. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Struggle for Guadalcanal: August 1942–February 1943*, vol. 5, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, 1948.

DAVID O. WHITTEN



HAND, LEARNED (January 27, 1872–August 18, 1961), federal judge. Born Billings Learned Hand in Albany, New York, Hand earned an undergraduate degree in 1893 and an MA in 1894 from Harvard College. Two years later he received a law degree from Harvard Law School. In 1902 he moved to New York City to practice his profession. President William Howard Taft in 1909 appointed Hand, a political maverick and independent, to the federal bench as a district judge. An active participant in Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose Progressive movement under the New Nationalism banner in 1912, Hand later sought to avoid involvement in public disputes unrelated to his judicial position. In 1924 President Calvin Coolidge promoted Hand to the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. He became the court's chief judge in 1939, where he served until 1951. Counted among the leading American judges of the twentieth century, along with Oliver Wendell Holmes, Louis D. Brandeis, and Benjamin N. Cardozo, Hand presided as judge for over fifty years and wrote nearly 4,000 opinions. Considered too old in the 1940s for nomination to the Supreme Court, Hand gained nationwide attention for his published opinions and mastery of law. An innovative jurist rather than a crusader, Hand played a prominent role in shaping constitutional theory and free speech. In May 1944, he delivered a concise but moving address in New York City's Central Park on the occasion of I Am an American Day. Hand died in New York City, leaving a rich legacy in American jurisprudence.

Further Reading: Kathryn P. Griffith, *Judge Learned Hand and the Role of the Federal Judiciary*, 1973; Gerald Gunther, *Learned Hand: The Man and the Judge*, 1994; *Learned Hand Papers*, Harvard Law School Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

LEONARD SCHLUP

HANNEGAN, ROBERT EMMET (June 30, 1903–October 6, 1949), political strategist and postmaster general. Born in St. Louis, Missouri,

Robert Hannegan became involved in politics soon after his graduation from St. Louis University in 1925. He rose to Democratic leader of the traditionally Republican twenty-first ward. Instrumental in helping

Bernard F. Dickmann become mayor, Hannegan was elected chairman of the St. Louis County Central Democratic Committee in 1934. Soon he led what became known as the Dickmann-Hannegan machine.

Hannegan arrived on the national political scene in 1940. Despite the St. Louis County Democratic Central Committee's endorsement of Governor Lloyd Stark for the U.S. Senate nomination, Hannegan supported incumbent Harry S. Truman. Hannegan organized the effort that brought Truman's narrow victory in the primary. Senator Truman secured for Hannegan a post as federal revenue collector for eastern Missouri. Hannegan's performance there persuaded President Franklin Roosevelt to appoint him commissioner of internal revenue in October 1943. Three months later Roosevelt named him Democratic National Committee (DNC) chair. His main task was to secure Roosevelt's reelection in 1944. To do this, Hannegan had to carry out Roosevelt's desire to replace Henry A. Wallace as vice president. In order to deny the Republicans an issue for the fall, this move had to appear to be the result of a contentious open contest at the party convention. Hannegan managed this task with aplomb, carrying out Roosevelt's wishes in such a way that the party secured a vice presidential candidate, Truman, with wide political appeal, while those unhappy with the result, including Wallace, did not blame Roosevelt and remained in the party fold. Under Hannegan's leadership, the DNC managed a campaign resulting in Roosevelt's election to a fourth term.

When Truman became president upon Roosevelt's death in 1945, he appointed Hannegan postmaster general. Hannegan instituted a series of reforms designed to modernize the service and to standardize airmail rates worldwide. In 1947 health problems forced his

retirement from government and politics. He returned to his hometown to become part owner of the St. Louis Cardinals baseball team. In 1948 Hannegan played no role in Truman's dramatic reelection campaign and died shortly thereafter in St. Louis.

Further Reading: Bert Cochran, *Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency*, 1973; Harold F. Gosnell, *Truman's Crises: A Political Biography of Harry S. Truman*, 1980; David McCullough, *Truman*, 1992.

MICHAEL J. ANDERSON

HARLEM RACE RIOT OF 1943 The Harlem riot of 1943 was ignited in a Harlem hotel on the night of August 1 when a black military policeman, visiting New York with his mother, questioned a white officer's rationale for arresting a black woman for disorderly conduct. When the soldier allegedly seized the officer's nightstick and struck him in the face, the officer shot him in the shoulder. The wound was not life threatening; however, the word quickly spread that "a white cop had killed a black soldier who was trying to protect his mother." For the next twelve hours, angry black crowds overturned automobiles, smashed windows, looted stores, and fought police. Thousands of police, military personnel, and deputized black volunteers worked to calm the streets. The disturbances resulted in six dead blacks, 185 injuries, 550 arrests, and a quarter million dollars in property damages.

Unlike riots in several other American cities in 1943, the Harlem riot was started by blacks and targeted white-owned property, police, and other symbols of white power. It was the first riot confined to the inner city, reflecting an increasing isolation of blacks from whites as well as a subtler, impersonal, and bureaucratic racism. This pattern suggested a state complicity against blacks, but it strengthened their resolve to challenge white supremacy through an unprecedented black assertiveness. The violence also marked a transitional phase in the evolution of urban race riots. Underlying causes, unleashed by World War II, included accelerated black migration, discriminatory employment, overcrowded housing and recreation facilities, and wartime profiteering.

The ill treatment of American black servicemen all over the world fed the anger of the Harlem riot. While most white newspapers virtually ignored the fact that scores of black servicemen in uniform were being killed or wounded by white mobs and white policemen, black newspapers in Harlem provided graphic accounts of racial violence against black men who sought to serve their country. The hotel rumor reflected the popular outrage over attacks on black servicemen, and the heroic figure of the black military policeman reinforced notions of black masculinity and patriotism, crystallizing racial resentments. The power of the rumor was thus based on the fury resulting from repeated, unchecked, and often unreported violent assaults against black servicemen. Generally, speculation posited that if the hotel altercation had described the shooting of a black civilian—however prominent—instead of a black soldier, there would have been no riot.

Despite the widespread property damage, the New York City police force quickly moved to quell the violence, with Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia playing a major role in keeping disorder from spreading. The police were well prepared and had learned much from a Detroit riot a month earlier, establishing a pattern of procedure that would guide cities in future conflagrations. But law enforcement officials and black leaders affirmed that stopping the riot quickly and efficiently only partly solved the problem; more important was the elimination of unbridled racism and the evils attendant upon segregation and discrimination against black Americans.

Further Reading: Joseph Boskin, *Urban Racial Violence in the 20th Century*, 1976; Nat Brandt, *Harlem at War: The Black Experience in World War II*, 1996; Alex L. Swan, "The Harlem and Detroit Race Riots of 1943," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 16 (1971–72).

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

HARRIMAN, WILLIAM AVERELL (November 15, 1891–July 26, 1986), businessman, diplomat, and governor. Born in New York City, Harriman attended Groton School and Yale Uni-

versity, engaged in railroading and shipbuilding, and established an investment firm. He also assumed an active role in Democratic politics. In 1941 he joined the Office of Production Management. After the passage of the lend-lease legislation, Harriman served as President Franklin D. Roosevelt's special representative to London. From 1943 to 1946, Harriman was U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union. He also was present at the Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam conferences. After serving briefly as ambassador to Great Britain in 1946, Harriman became secretary of commerce. In 1948, he emerged as the Democratic spokesman in the Economic Cooperation Administration. Over the years he functioned as a special assistant and troubleshooter for Presidents Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson. Harriman never obtained the secretaryship of state, the position he most desired. He was elected governor of New York in 1954, unsuccessfully sought the Democratic presidential nomination in 1956, and lost his gubernatorial reelection bid in 1958 to Nelson A. Rockefeller. Harriman held the posts of undersecretary of state for political affairs and ambassador-at-large in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. He proved more skilled in foreign policy and international undertakings than in domestic politics. He died in Westchester County, New York.

Further Reading: Rudy Abramson, *Spanning the Century: The Life of W. Averell Harriman, 1891–1986*, 1992; W. Averell Harriman Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; obituary in *New York Times*, July 27, 1986.

LEONARD SCHULP

HAWAII Hawaii in the 1940s was a possession of the United States. Annexed in 1898 and made a territory in 1900, its status was debated and contested. Hawaii became the focus of attention for the entire nation, however, when Japan attacked naval bases and ships at Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu on December 7, 1941. The fighting signaled America's entry into World War II, and several years of fierce combat in the Pacific followed.

After Pearl Harbor, martial law was declared in Hawaii and Lieutenant General Walter H. Short was made military governor. The military took

over the operation of the justice system and enforced censorship throughout the islands—there was much concern that fifth columnists (people working for the enemy) would undermine the American cause. Japanese people living in Hawaii were the obvious target. There were demands for internment, but this never eventuated on a large scale, as it did on the West Coast of the mainland. Nevertheless, many Japanese experienced considerable hostility and discrimination, although many young Japanese males joined the U.S. armed forces and served with distinction. This state continued until October 24, 1944, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt restored civilian rule.

Hawaii played an important role during the war—besides the symbolic significance of Pearl Harbor, it was a strategically important area for the American effort in the Pacific. Many servicemen from the mainland were sent through Hawaii, and often their experience in the more ethnically diverse Hawaiian community was life changing, especially for African American troops.

After the war, several issues were important for Hawaiians. Unionism was significant; during the war it had been largely suppressed. But from 1944 onward, a demand for labor gave more opportunity and power to the workers. Sugar industry workers went on strike in 1946 in an attempt to improve their working conditions. Another large-scale strike occurred in 1949, when 2,000 longshoremen walked out for 178 days. However, the strike resulted in violence and an economic downturn that led to public disapproval and a setback for unionism in Hawaii. Issues surrounding Communism played a role in local politics and also impacted negatively on workers' movements by the end of the decade.

The 1940s saw Hawaii receive increased public attention and made the issue of statehood inevitable. A statehood bill was debated in 1947, and a Hawaiian Statehood Commission formed. However, not until 1959 did Hawaii become the fiftieth state.

Further Reading: Ray Jerome Baker, *Scenic Hawaii*, 1943. Graham Daws, *Shoals of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 1968; Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: "Hawaii the Excellent": An Ethnic and Political History*, 1961.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

HAYDEN, CARL TRUMBULL (October 2, 1877–January 25, 1972), U.S. representative and senator. Born in Hayden's Ferry (now Tempe), Arizona, Hayden graduated from Temple Normal School in 1896, and then attended Stanford University but left before completing his degree. Active in Democratic politics, he held several local positions. In 1912, upon the admission of Arizona to the Union, Hayden won election as the state's first congressman. He remained in the House until 1927, when he moved to the Senate. There he remained until retirement in 1969. With over fifty years of continuous service in both chambers of the national legislature, Hayden earned his mark as a legislative giant. He was an important figure in reclamation, water issues, transportation, and road and highway construction. In 1947 he introduced legislation for the Central Arizona Project, a system designed to bring water from the Colorado River to the arid regions of central and southern Arizona. Because of intense opposition from California lawmakers and other political and legal problems, the legislation did not receive congressional approval until 1968. Hayden persisted until victory. Basically a Democratic stalwart who supported the policies of his party's presidents, he identified with the conservative wing of the party, especially in civil rights. In 1948 Hayden voted against the elimination of poll taxes. He also declined to help end filibusters. Hayden was generally supportive of labor and voted against the Taft-Hartley measure in 1947. Dean of the Senate and for many years its president pro tempore, Hayden spent his final years working on histories of Arizona's pioneers. He died in Mesa, Arizona.

Further Reading: Obituary in *Arizona Republic*, January 26, 1972; Ross R. Rice, *Carl Hayden: Builder of the American West*, 1994; Carl T. Hayden Papers, Hayden Library, Arizona State University, Tempe.

LEONARD SCHLUP

HAYES, GEORGE FRANCIS "GABBY" (May 7, 1885–May 29, 1969), actor. Born in Wellsville, New York, Hayes did vaudeville and burlesque in his teens. Starring as the sidekick in eighteen Hopalong Cassidy films, Hayes played Uncle Ben in *Hopalong Cassidy* (1935), Spike

in *The Eagles Brood* (1935), Windy in *Bar 20 Rides Again* (1935), and Shanghai in *Call of the Prairie* (1936). Hayes appeared in forty-one films with Roy Rogers, from *Southward Ho* (1939) to *Heldorado* (1946). Other films of the 1940s included *Melody Ranch* (1940), *Tucson Raiders* (1944), *Marshall of Reno* (1944), *In Old Oklahoma* (1943), *Tall in the Saddle* (1944), *The Bells of Rosarita* (1945), *The Man from Oklahoma* (1945), *Don't Fence Me In* (1945), and *Albuquerque* (1948). From 1943 to 1944, Hayes appeared as Gabby Whittaker in ten films with Wild Bill Elliott, including two Red Ryder films. Hayes and Smiley Burnet usually ranked as the most popular sidekicks in western films during the forties decade. During the 1950s, Hayes hosted his own *Gabby Hayes Show* on NBC-TV. In 1954, he also substituted for Buffalo Bob Smith on *The Howdy Doody Show* while Buffalo Bob recovered from a heart attack. Hayes even appeared in his own comic book series. He died in Burbank, California.

Further Reading: Mario DeMarco, *George "Gabby" Hayes: The Royal Jester of the B Westerns*; Brian Garfield, *Westerns: A Complete Guide*, 1982; Ann Snuggs, *Riding the Silver Screen Range*, 1999.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

HEALTH AND DISEASE During the 1940s Americans benefited from improvements in nutrition, antibiotics, and vaccines. The discovery of vitamins after 1914 and the vitamin fortification of milk, bread, and cereals diminished the number of deaths from dietary inadequacies. Mortality in the United States from pellagra, caused by a deficiency in the vitamin niacin or the amino acid tryptophan, fell from 3,543 per hundred thousand in 1935 to 321 in 1949. Nearly all the victims were poor people in the rural South, whose cornmeal and pork-fat diet contained little of either nutriment. Fatalities from scurvy, a vitamin C deficiency disease, declined from 30 in 1935 to 22 in 1949, a one-third reduction. Deaths from rickets, the result of a lack of vitamin D or inadequate exposure to sunlight, diminished from 261 in 1935 to 65 in 1949.

Vaccines and antibiotics caused a significant decline in deaths from infectious diseases, though

the reader should keep in mind three caveats. First, penicillin was not widely available before 1943. Even then it was ineffective against tuberculosis. Streptomycin, widely available only after 1945, was the first antibiotic useful against tuberculosis. Second, antibiotics may kill billions of bacteria, but by the luck of the genetic draw a small number of bacteria may be immune to an antibiotic, conferring immunity to that antibiotic on all bacteria that replicate from the original stock of immune bacteria. Antibiotics thus hasten the evolution of antibiotic-resistant strains of bacteria. Third, antibiotics are effective only against bacteria. They are useless against viral infections. Vaccines, though not perfect, avoid the shortcomings of antibiotics by stimulating the immune system to manufacture antibodies against a bacterium or virus.

In 1900 influenza and pneumonia killed 203 of every 100,000 Americans. In 1949 the rate dropped to 27. Between these years, deaths caused by tuberculosis declined from 202 to 9 of every 100,000; by diarrhea from 133 to 4.7; by typhoid, smallpox, measles, scarlet fever, and whooping cough from 116 to 0.4; by nephritis from 89 to 9.6; and by bronchitis from 45.7 to 1.7.

The conquest of plague and yellow fever was complete by 1940. In 1901 an outbreak of plague killed more than 100 people in San Francisco, and as late as 1907 yellow fever claimed 100,000 lives in the South. In 1940 no American died from either disease. The U.S. Army and public health officials deserve credit for eradicating from the United States the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito, the carrier of the yellow fever flavivirus. (A flavivirus is a type of virus that infects both arthropods, such as insects, and vertebrates, such as mammals.) Credit likewise goes to Rockefeller Institute physician Max Theiler for developing a yellow fever vaccine. Antibiotics are effective against the three types of plague—bubonic, pneumonic, and septicemic—though the last two require high doses and multiple courses of antibiotics.

These gains were offset by the rise of heart disease and cancer as the first and second leading killers of Americans during the 1940s. In 1949 heart disease killed 360.5 of every 100,000 Americans. Men were one-third more likely than

women to die from heart disease. Deaths from cancer rose from 63 per 100,000 in 1900 to 146 per 100,000 in 1949. Cancer killed men and women in nearly a 1:1 ratio.

The lethality of heart disease and cancer kept Americans from making large gains in longevity. In 1900 9 percent of American men reached age 70. In 1949 the percentage had risen only to 10.3. Women did better, from 9.6 percent in 1900 to 12.2 percent in 1949. The greater longevity of women stemmed from a lower mortality from heart disease.

Yet women did not outlive men in all categories. In 1949 diabetes killed one-third more American women than men. Women also died in greater numbers from diseases of the central nervous system and from arteriosclerosis, an oddity that does not square with the fact that fewer women than men died of heart disease.

Further Reading: Frederick Cartwright, *Disease and History*, 2000; Kenneth F. Kiple, ed., *Cambridge Historical Dictionary of Disease*, 2003; *Professional Guide to Diseases*, 2001.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH (April 29, 1863–August 14, 1951), publisher. The son of a mining millionaire, Hearst graduated from St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, and from 1882 to 1885 attended Harvard University. He began his newspaper career in 1887, when he acquired the *San Francisco Examiner*. At its zenith, the Hearst chain owned twenty-seven newspapers in such cities as Los Angeles, New York, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, and Milwaukee; two news services; a features syndicate; eight radio stations; and thirteen magazines. Between 1910 and 1920 Hearst ran for various high offices in New York City and the state; his politics were strongly progressive. He began the 1930s as a major backer of Franklin D. Roosevelt, but by 1935 had become a strong opponent.

In 1940, after experiencing severe financial setbacks, he possessed only seventeen papers, though at least two of them, the *New York Journal-American* and the *New York Mirror*, each had a circulation well above half a million. Beginning in late February 1940, Hearst wrote his own

front-page column, "In the News," commenting on matters ranging from Cleopatra's role in history to contemporary military strategy. A strong foe of American intervention in World War II, Hearst called for a negotiated peace that would insure the survival of Britain's colonies, empire, and navy. Opposing conscription, he sought a citizen army based on the Swiss model. Though long an alarmist concerning "the yellow peril" in general and Japan in particular, by 1941 he was defending Japan's conquest of China and calling for accommodation with Japan. Though endorsing the anti-interventionist America First Committee, he established a separate organization, the National Legion of Mothers of America. Hearst's public image received a setback in 1941 with the appearance of the movie *Citizen Kane*, a thinly veiled portrait produced and directed by Orson Welles. In 1943 Hearst still claimed that the major issue facing the nation lay in "American nationalism" versus "the internationalization of the United States." During the early Cold War, he crusaded against Communist expansion and backed Chiang Kai-shek in China. Hearst continually downgraded the United Nations, stressed the dangers of domestic Communism, and sought universal military training. In 1948 his newspaper chain led a movement to nominate General Douglas MacArthur as Republican candidate for president. At his death, Hearst controlled sixteen dailies, two Sunday papers, and nine magazines; he dominated 10 percent of the nation's circulation.

Further Reading: Ian Mugridge, *The View from Xanadu: William Randolph Hearst and United States Foreign Policy*, 1995; David Nasaw, *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst*, 2000; W.A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst*, 1961.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

HEMINGWAY, ERNEST MILLER (July 21, 1899–July 2, 1961), novelist and short story writer. Hemingway was born in Oak Park, Illinois, a Chicago suburb, and graduated from public schools in 1917. Instead of attending college, he became a reporter for the *Kansas City Star*. During World War I he became a Red Cross

volunteer ambulance driver in Italy. Hit by shrapnel in July 1918, Hemingway nevertheless managed to carry a wounded soldier to the ambulance. The heroism won Hemingway a citation for bravery. While in a Milan hospital, he fell in love with a nurse.

Such experiences provided material for the novels *The Sun Also Rises* in 1926 and *A Farewell to Arms* in 1929. Other novels and short stories followed, interspersed with journalistic stints. Restless, Hemingway lived in Paris and Cuba, served as a correspondent during the Spanish Civil War, and hunted in Africa.

In 1940 he distilled his Spanish experience in publishing *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Robert Jordan, an American idealist, joins a group of peasants and intellectuals fighting a war in Spain that pitted their Republican forces against General Francisco Franco's Nationalists. Jordan falls in love with Maria; her submissiveness contrasts with his vigor. Jordan blows up a bridge near Segovia, but is wounded too badly to retreat and prepares for death at enemy hands.

During World War II Hemingway offered to watch for German submarines off the Cuban coast. He served as a correspondent in London and flew missions with the Royal Air Force. On D-day he landed at Normandy with U.S. troops. He wrote of the carnage at Normandy and at the Battle of the Bulge and of life among the soldiers in the Twenty-second Regiment of the Fourth Infantry Division. Hemingway despised war yet insisted on being in the thick of action. He viewed combat as both senseless and a test of masculinity.

After the war he returned to Cuba, where in 1952 he published *The Old Man and the Sea*. It won the 1953 Pulitzer Prize. The next year he won the Nobel Prize in literature. Hemingway never recovered from a plane crash in October 1953 while on an African safari. Despair led him twice to the Mayo Clinic, where he endured electroshock therapy. Two days after his second release, he killed himself in Ketchum, Idaho, where he had settled after the Cuban revolution.

Further Reading: Harold Bloom, ed., *Ernest Hemingway*, 2003; Anthony Burgess, *Ernest Hemingway*, 1999; Michael S. Reynolds, *Ernest Hemingway*, 2000.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

HEPBURN, KATHARINE HOUGHTON (May 12, 1907–June 29, 2003), film actor. Born in Hartford, Connecticut, Hepburn was home-schooled and encouraged to be outspoken by her suffragist mother. After taking up drama at Bryn Mawr, she performed on Broadway and was discovered by Hollywood. Her third film, *Morning Glory*, garnered an Academy Award for best actress, but after screen success in the early 1930s Hepburn suffered a string of flops and was labeled “box office poison.”

She returned to the theater in 1939 with *The Philadelphia Story*. Knowing it would be a hit, Hepburn bought the film rights and starred in the much-lauded celluloid version. In 1942’s *Woman of the Year*, she began her twenty-five-year professional and personal relationship with Spencer Tracy. They made six films together throughout the 1940s, notably *State of the Union* and *Adam’s Rib*. Wearing slacks and forsaking makeup, she refused to live up to the industry’s glamorous expectations, which led to her elevation as a feminist icon.

Hepburn continued performing on stage until 1981. She wrote an autobiography as well as a memoir of her experiences making 1951’s *The African Queen*. Her final film and television appearances were in 1994. Over the course of her career she was nominated for twelve Academy Awards. Her four wins is a record that still stands. Hepburn died in Old Saybrook, Connecticut.

Further Reading: A. Scott Berg, *Kate Remembered*, 2003; Katharine Hepburn, *Me*, 1991; Charles Higham, *Kate: The Life of Katharine Hepburn*, 1975.

BARBARA A. MACDONALD

HICKENLOOPER, BOURKE BLAKEMORE (July 21, 1896–September 4, 1971), governor and senator. One of Iowa’s most prominent politicians, Hickenlooper was born in Blockton. Following his return to Iowa from military service in World War I, he earned a bachelor’s degree in industrial science in 1920 from Iowa State College and received a law degree two years later from the State University of Iowa. Urging voters to think of him as “Hick” instead of trying to relate to his long surname, Hickenlooper successfully used this political ploy and won elections

in landslides. His years of service in the Iowa General Assembly and the lieutenant governorship propelled him into the gubernatorial office (1943–1945) and the U.S. Senate (1945–1969). In 1943 Governor Hickenlooper attended a Republican conference in Michigan, where he helped to persuade many midwestern leaders to abandon their party’s isolationist values. Throughout the 1940s, he maintained committees, emphasized a strong national security, favored fiscal responsibility, and resisted the encroachment of the large federal bureaucracy. An important member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Hickenlooper engaged in bipartisanship by supporting the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. During the Cold War he bitterly attacked what he perceived as a monolithic Communist conspiracy centered in the Soviet Union. Hickenlooper died at Shelter Island, New York.

Further Reading: Obituary in *Chicago Tribune*, September 5, 1971; Bourke B. Hickenlooper Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa; Edward Schapsmeier, “A Strong Voice for Keeping America Strong: A Profile of Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper,” *Annals of Iowa* 47 (1984): 362–376.

LEONARD SCHLUP

HILLMAN, SIDNEY (March 23, 1887–July 10, 1946), labor leader. A Russian immigrant, Hillman became president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in 1914. Over the next twenty years, Hillman made the Amalgamated one of the nation’s largest and most successful unions, helped found the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), and became part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Labor Advisory Board in the 1930s. Beginning in May 1940, Hillman served on the National Defense Advisory Council (NDAC), an agency designed to prepare the country for war. In December of that year, when Roosevelt created the Office of Production Management (OPM) to replace the NDAC, Hillman became the associate director of the OPM. In these government positions, he attempted without success to win greater business respect for labor laws. As part of the OPM, he alienated many of his former labor allies when U.S. troops

forcefully ended the North American Aviation strike in the spring of 1941. Hillman was equally unsuccessful finding support for any sort of racial integration of American industry until the passage of Executive Order 8802, which created the Fair Employment Practices Committee within Hillman's labor division of the OPM. After Pearl Harbor, the more powerful War Production Board replaced the OPM, and Hillman was demoted from associate director to the head of the Labor Division. Additionally, Hillman continued to antagonize powerful labor leaders such as John L. Lewis, who opposed the government's increasingly active role in the movement. Lewis and others accused Hillman of appeasing big business and of corruption. As a result, during the spring of 1942, Hillman was dismissed. Frustrated by what he saw as an increasingly conservative economic and social policy emerging from Washington, he returned to the CIO, and in 1943 he created the CIO's political action committee (CIO-PAC). Under Hillman's leadership, CIO-PAC became a powerful force in national politics, supporting issues such as the formation of the United Nations, guaranteed full employment, the GI Bill, and civil rights legislation. As the war ended, Hillman increasingly sought an international labor movement that was devoted to liberal reform; in order to pursue this goal, he represented the CIO delegation at the founding convention of the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1945. That same year, Hillman's health grew worse. He died in Point Lookout, New York.

Further Reading: Steven Fraser, *Labor Will Rule: Sidney Hillman and the Rise of American Labor*, 1991; Jean Gould, *Sidney Hillman, Great American*, 1952; Matthew Josephson, *Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor*, 1952.

DANIEL OPLER

HIROHITO (April 29, 1901–January 7, 1989), Emperor of Japan. Born in the Aoyama Palace in Tokyo, Hirohito was raised within an imperial ideology that incorporated ancestor worship and Shinto and expected complete loyalty and service from its subjects. He received his education first at the Peer's School (1908–1914), established

for the education of children of the Imperial family, then at the Togu-Ogakumonjo (1914–1921) specially constructed for his instruction, with teaching staff drawn from the Japanese military and academic hierarchy. Hirohito's education was a curious mixture of the ancient and the modern. Upon its completion, he took a short European tour. He was made regent for his father, the Taisho emperor, on November 25, 1921, and succeeded him on the throne on December 25, 1926, as the 124th emperor of Japan. His reign, Showa ("Enlightened Peace"), was the longest and one of the most turbulent in Japan's history. As emperor, he was supreme commander of the Japanese forces as Pearl Harbor was attacked and World War II raged. His personal responsibility for these events is the subject of intense historiographical debate. While most historians have viewed him as a figurehead removed from the decision-making process, more recent studies assert that Hirohito bears a great deal of personal responsibility for Japanese conduct in World War II. Some even suggest that he should have been tried as a war criminal.

On August 15, 1945, after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Hirohito made an unprecedented radio address to the people of Japan announcing Japan's unconditional surrender. Again, his personal involvement in the decision to surrender is a matter of historical debate. The issue of the postwar position of the emperor had been controversial and difficult for American policy planners during the war. The final decision was that the emperor would remain on the throne to prevent unrest but renounce his divine status. Under the Allied occupation of Japan (1945–1952), Hirohito thus retained the throne but was transformed from imperial sovereign to democratic symbol. His new status was outlined in the American-inspired constitution of Japan, adopted on November 3, 1946. For the remainder of the 1940s Hirohito cooperated with U.S. general Douglas MacArthur and the occupation authorities. In particular, he undertook national tours, transforming the monarchy's image and his relationship with the Japanese people. He died in Tokyo.

Further Reading: Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, 2000; Daikichi Irokawa, *The Age*

of Hirohito, 1995; Paul Manning, *Hirohito: The War Years*, 1986.

WENDY TOON

HIROSHIMA On August 6, 1945, Hiroshima was decimated by an American atomic bomb. Research on the weapon, code-named the Manhattan Project, began in the laboratories of Los Alamos, New Mexico, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee, under scientists such as J. Robert Oppenheimer, Enrico Fermi, Arthur Compton, and Ernest Lawrence. None of the scientists knew how the first atomic bomb would turn out, and some feared greater destruction than predicted. On July 16, 1945, the atomic bomb testing at New Mexico (code-named Trinity) turned out to be successful and plans were made to put the bomb to combat use. However, some American scientists, including Leo Szilard, began to oppose the use of the bomb, and eighteen of them signed a petition to stop it from being deployed on the battlefield. A second petition turned up sixty-seven signatures. The concerns of the signatories were overridden. The German surrender meant that the Pacific theater would be the place where these technologies would be used. The initial sites selected, including Kokura in Kyushu, had to be abandoned because of cloud conditions and other weather issues. The decision was finally fixed to bomb Hiroshima (a traditional Japanese naval and military base) in southern Honshu, the main island. In the atomic attack, about one-third of the city's population died. Before the bombing, Hiroshima's population had been an estimated 300,000.

After the war, some analysts considered the atomic bombing to be a well-calculated event to convince the Soviet Union of U.S. power and to increase U.S. bargaining leverage. U.S. president Harry Truman told Joseph Stalin at the Potsdam Conference, shortly before the bombing, that the Americans had a weapon of incredibly destructive power. Stalin was vague in his response. The extent of Stalin's knowledge of the atomic bomb through Soviet espionage networks, his early reaction to the weapon's use, and its impact on Stalin's relationship with U.S. leaders remain objects of study and speculation.

A popular argument was that the bomb prevented American bloodshed that would have occurred if the marines had invaded the Japanese mainland. The Pacific battles, including Okinawa, saw heavy casualties on both sides. The Americans were shocked by the persistent doggedness of the Japanese fighters and by the large numbers of kamikaze raids on U.S. aircraft carriers (especially in the Battle of Midway).

The atomic bombing continues to be controversial. Annual peace ceremonies in Hiroshima are also controversial, accused of casting the Japanese as victims without portraying Japanese aggression during World War II. A memorial museum near the site and a domed building partially destroyed by the atomic bomb have been retained as a symbol of postwar peace and a reminder of the bombings. Commemoration of the atomic bomb on U.S. postal stamps in 1995 was opposed by the Japanese government as well as civilian groups. Exhibits at the Smithsonian Institution that same year included models of the bomb and the bombers involved, also drew protests in an era of nuclear peace after the end of the Cold War.

Further Reading: Federation of American Scientists, *Nuclear Weapons Program* (www.fas.org/nuke/guide/japan/); Alan Isaacs, *Oxford Dictionary of World History*, 2003; James McClain, *A Modern History of Japan*, 2002.

LIM TAI WEI

HISPANIC AMERICANS, ethnic minority group. Hispanic Americans are a significant component of the United States' population. They come from, or are descendants of immigrants from, the many Spanish-speaking countries of the Americas. Originally, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic were the most prominent of the areas of origin and ancestry. Before World War II, the number of Hispanic immigrants remained low. In 1940, about 69,967 Puerto Ricans and 65,714 Cubans were living on the U.S. mainland.

World War II, however, transformed the situation. The combat effort created enormous manpower needs on the home front. Mexican Americans and other Hispanic Americans, among other groups victimized by the Great Depression and scapegoating, were suddenly needed. The

United States looked to Mexico for labor needs, and Spanish-speaking immigrants from elsewhere came to the United States to enjoy unprecedented opportunity.

Participation in the military was another avenue for social and economic improvement. Most Hispanic Americans supported the war against fascism; they also saw the opportunity offered by serving their country. Puerto Ricans, who were United States citizens even when living on the island, contributed the 295th and 296th Infantry Regiments of the Puerto Rican National Guard (serving in Asia and the Pacific) and also joined the U.S. unit, the 65th Infantry Regiment. An estimated 65,000 Puerto Ricans served, supplemented by resident Cubans and Central and South Americans, as well as Spaniards. Many of these men served with distinction.

The war's impact was largely beneficial for those not killed or wounded, although Mexican Americans seemed to fare better than other Hispanics. Puerto Ricans, for example, remained near the bottom in socioeconomic status. After the war ended, larger numbers of migrants from Puerto Rico came to the mainland. Many went to New York, where a sizable Puerto Rican community established itself. Employment opportunities were the main attraction, as Puerto Rico itself remained economically disadvantaged. Puerto Ricans worked in a variety of semiskilled and unskilled occupations. Cuban Americans, by contrast, did better economically in the 1940s and 1950s. Until political upheavals in the 1950s, the number of Cuban immigrants remained low. The number of immigrants from other Latin American countries also remained small, though steady, through the 1940s.

The Hispanic American experience featured continued general discrimination and economic marginalization. Since the communities remained small, any impact on politics was minimal. However, the various Hispanic communities drew strength from rich cultural traditions that they brought with them to the United States. The Catholic religion and church formed an important basis for community, remaining the core of social and cultural life. Discrimination and prejudice also reinforced Hispanic American identity, although there was some attempt to assimilate

into the mainstream. Tensions would grow after the 1940s ended, especially as larger numbers of immigrants arrived.

Further Reading: James D. Cockcroft, *Latinos in the Making of the United States*, 1995; L.H. Gann and Peter J. Duignan, *The Hispanics in the United States: A History*, 1986; Karl A. Lawrence, *Hispanic Americans: Issues and Bibliography*, 2002.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

HISS, ALGER (November 11, 1904–November 15, 1996), New Dealer and Cold War alleged Soviet spy. Born into an affluent Baltimore family, Alger Hiss became a symbol of alleged betrayal and treason for the critics of the New Deal and Roosevelt's foreign policy. His guilt or innocence is still a point of contention. Because he was born to privilege and its many benefits, his "disloyalty" suggested an indifference to the concerns of everyday Americans. Some observers, noting the humble origins of his critics, such as Richard Nixon, Whittaker Chambers, and Joseph McCarthy, saw a class struggle that indicted the New Deal and its works as un-American.

After graduating from Harvard Law School, Hiss served as a clerk for Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. Hiss later practiced law in Boston and New York City. From 1933 to 1935 he worked in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. In 1936 he joined the Department of State and rose quickly in the ranks as an adviser at various international conferences and a coordinator of American foreign policy. Hiss went to Yalta with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and served at the founding session of the United Nations in San Francisco.

In 1947 Hiss was president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The next year, former Soviet spy Whittaker Chambers, in congressional testimony, claimed that he knew Hiss from the espionage underground. Chambers alleged that Hiss had passed secret documents to Soviet agents. Chambers later repeated the charges on the television program *Meet the Press*, where he enjoyed no immunity from civil action. Hiss thereupon sued for libel.

The statute of limitations prevented the government from trying Hiss for espionage, but in

December 1948 he was charged with two counts of lying to a federal grand jury. A first trial resulted in a hung jury; the government pressed the case again and jurors found Hiss guilty. He received a five-year sentence and served four. For the remainder of his life, Hiss claimed that he was innocent, a victim of governmental and political enemies. His 1957 book, *In the Court of Public Opinion*, asserted his innocence. The opening of Soviet spy files in 1995 convinced some people of his guilt but for others the material did not provide definitive proof.

Regardless of the truth, Hiss served as a symbol. To the political right he represented the reason why the United States was losing the Cold War. For the left, Hiss was a victim of organized fear and political knavery by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. President Ronald Reagan gave Chambers the Medal of Freedom, while the Supreme Court denied Hiss a hearing. Undoubtedly the Hiss case will always attract attention for various reasons and motives.

Further Reading: Whittaker Chambers, *Witness*, 1952; Alger Hiss, *Recollections of a Life*, 1988; Allen Weinstein, *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case*, 1978.

DONALD K. PICKENS

HISTORIANS The events of the 1940s affected the historical profession significantly and led to its dramatic expansion. Historians involved themselves in the war effort to a limited extent as historians. The American Historical Association helped prepare pamphlets for servicemen, and others worked as official chroniclers documenting the war. Samuel Eliot Morison, for example, authored the multivolume *History of the United States Naval Operation in World War II*. Historians were more likely, however, to support the war effort in other capacities; many worked as intelligence analysts for the Office of Strategic Services. During the postwar years, many historians continued to identify strongly with government operations and objectives, working, for instance, with the Central Intelligence Agency or the State Department. Even those historians who were not directly employed by the government generally supported the aims of the United States in the move toward the Cold War and anti-Communism.

Area studies proliferated in the effort to understand the new “enemies,” with a strong focus on Russia and Asia. By 1950, twenty-nine integrated area studies programs existed in American universities. Russian history was of course boosted after 1945, as were European studies. Most historians used their work to reflect and defend the dominant politics of the day. For example, Western Civilization courses began to proliferate and promoted a view of European and “Western” history that emphasized unity and democracy.

The politics of the postwar years also ensured a general lessening of radicalism and dissidence within the historical profession as a whole. Those embracing radical views, for example, choosing to remain within the Communist Party, had little chance of securing work within the academy. Herbert Aptheker and Philip S. Foner are examples of historians who continued to hold their radical ground despite the push for consensus. Neither secured a regular academic position for decades. By the early 1950s, consensus was the word that best described the mainstream of historical work; few scholars dared to speak out or write history that challenged the dominant view.

The 1940s saw a growth of the historical profession. The American Historical Association increased its membership more than 60 percent between 1940 and 1950. The beginnings of the expansion of the university system in the years after the war account for this increase, as does the importance of history in providing intellectual support for the Cold War. It is important to note, however, that this expansion of the profession consisted mainly of an increase in the number of male historians. Women were less represented in the profession than they had been before the war, and their numbers would not increase again until later decades.

Further Reading: Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession*, 1988; William Palmer, *Engagement with the Past: The Lives and Works of the World War II Generation of Historians*, 2001; R.A. Rutland, ed., *Clio’s Favorites: Leading Historians of the United States, 1945–2000*, 2000.

AMANDA LAUGESEN

HITCHCOCK, ALFRED JOSEPH (August 13, 1899–April 29, 1980), film director. Born in London, Hitchcock studied engineering at St. Ignatius College and art at the University of London. After brief stints in the telegraph and advertising industries, he got his first job in film, drawing title cards, in 1920. Hitchcock worked in art direction, editing, and screenwriting before moving to direction. His 1930s thrillers such as *The Thirty-Nine Steps* showed the development of his distinctive, influential suspense style, which included the use of mysterious plot devices—“MacGuffins”—and the presentation of information to the viewer that was withheld from the characters.

Hitchcock went to Hollywood in 1939 and his first stateside production, *Rebecca*, won the Academy Award for Best Picture in 1940. While most of his work in the 1940s relied on psychological drama, Hitchcock also made a comedy, *Mr. and Mrs. Smith*, and a documentary on the Dumbarton Oaks plan and the formation of the United Nations, *Watchtower Over Tomorrow*. During the 1940s, another characteristic feature in his work, the icy “Hitchcock blonde,” appeared in such films as *Notorious* (played in this case by Ingrid Bergman) in 1946.

Hitchcock continued making films into the early 1970s. He also lent his name and likeness to a television show, a magazine, and a book series. He died in Los Angeles.

Further Reading: Patrick McGilligan, *Alfred Hitchcock: A Life in Darkness and Light*, 2003; Donald Spoto, *The Dark Side of Genius: The Life of Alfred Hitchcock*, 1983; John Russell Taylor, *Hitch: The Life and Times of Alfred Hitchcock*, 1978.

BARBARA A. MACDONALD

HITLER, ADOLF (April 20, 1889–April 30, 1945), German dictator. Hitler was born in Braunau am Inn, on the upper Austrian border with Bavaria, the son of a middle-ranking customs inspector. As an adolescent, he developed an interest in painting, but, unable to secure professional training, he drifted to Vienna, working as an itinerant producer of cheap postcards. In 1913 he moved to Munich, where at the outbreak of World War I he received dispensation to join a Bavarian regiment heading for the western front. He proved a courageous sol-

dier. The comradeship of the trenches, moreover, provided Hitler with an idealized model of fraternity through martial sacrifice, which he adopted as his personal credo. Hospitalized late in the war, he was distraught to hear news of the Armistice, which he blamed on Jewish plutocrats and Communists stabbing Germany in the back. In September 1919 he joined a small Munich-based party (originally as an army spy) and soon became its leader. Renamed the National Socialist German Worker’s Party (NSDAP, or “Nazis”), the group attempted a foolhardy putsch in November 1923 that resulted in Hitler’s imprisonment for nine months. There he wrote his political testament, *Mein Kampf* (“My Struggle”). The Nazis remained a fringe movement of the far right until a startling electoral breakthrough in 1930. In January 1933 Weimar president Paul von Hindenburg offered Hitler the chancellorship; two months later an enabling bill made him effective dictator. After Hindenburg’s death in August 1934, Hitler abolished the presidency and titled himself Führer (“Leader”) of the new Third Reich.

It is difficult to reconcile the Hitler of history—the petty bourgeois Austrian of the fin de siècle, with his tastes for cream cakes and Wagnerian kitsch—with the quintessential figure of evil that so haunts popular culture today. And yet this apparent nonentity, this upstart “Bohemian corporal” so initially despised by the Army High Command, exercised a fanatical hold over millions of otherwise rational Germans. Hitler’s personal magnetism was legendary; colleagues spoke of the charismatic mystery of *Führerkontakt*, the frisson of excitement generated by his presence within a room. He embellished this enigmatic reputation by distancing himself from daily management of his empire, preferring to issue vague statements of intent that competing functionaries were encouraged to turn into practical policy. This system of “working toward the Führer” created a self-perpetuating cycle of extremism in which ambitious Nazis jostled to anticipate their leader’s thoughts; Hitler, rarely required to commit orders to paper, oversaw this “cumulative radicalization” without implicating himself in the outcome of any specific policy. It is fruitless to search, for example, for an explicit statement of Hitler’s intent to carry out the “Final

Solution” of Germany’s “Jewish problem”; such documents were alien to the Third Reich’s leadership principles.

Hitler’s goals, as laid out in *Mein Kampf*, were the overthrow of the Versailles Treaty system, the establishment of colonial “living space” (*lebensraum*) in European Russia under German hegemony, and the quarantining of Aryan racial stock from what he regarded as the associated contaminations of Judaism and Bolshevism. The first of these he accomplished in a series of audacious foreign policy initiatives from 1935 to 1939. The second became a brief reality when German forces invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, inaugurating the largest single conflict in world history; the third resulted in the murder of at least 11 million people, including 6 million Jews. Hitler, having narrowly escaped his own death after a failed assassination attempt in July 1944, witnessed the slow but inexorable collapse of his empire from a series of fortified command posts across the Third Reich, his final redoubt being the *Führerbunker* that lay beneath the Reich Chancellery gardens in Berlin. It was there, just hours after marrying his long-time mistress Eva Braun—and with Soviet troops within yards of the complex’s entrance—that Hitler took his own life, leaving others to clear up the ruins that his Third Reich had heaped upon Germany and Europe.

Further Reading: Joachim Fest, *Hitler*, 1973; Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889–1936: Hubris*, 1999, and *Hitler 1937–1945: Nemesis*, 2000.

ALAN ALLPORT

HOBBY, OVETA CULP (January 19, 1905–August 16, 1995), director of the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) and secretary of health, education, and welfare. Born in Killeen, Texas, Culp attended Mary Hardin Baylor College for Women and, after graduating, worked as a reporter. Becoming interested in politics and law, she earned a degree from the University of Texas Law School and worked as parliamentarian for the Texas House of Representatives and assistant city attorney in Houston. Throughout the 1930s, Hobby helped her husband run the *Houston Post*, until 1941, when she left for Washington, DC, to

head the War Department’s Women’s Interest Section in the Public Relations Bureau.

In 1942, Hobby helped persuade Congress to establish the WAAC. Secretary of War Henry Stimson appointed her the WAAC’s first director; she was assigned the rank of major. She established the standard of service in the WAAC as a “serious job for serious women.” In 1943, the WAAC became the Women’s Army Corps (WAC) and Hobby was commissioned to colonel. As the WAC’s first commanding officer, she became known as the “Little Colonel.” Hobby was responsible for finding, training, and equipping a corps of 100,000 from scratch; the members of this first women’s auxiliary corps of the U.S. Army were the first women other than nurses to serve within the ranks. More than 150,000 eventually served in the corps. They filled non-combatant jobs ranging from clerical positions such as file clerks, typists, telephone and switchboard operators, and stenographers, to more challenging positions including weather observers and forecasters, cryptographers, radio operators, electricians, aerial photograph analysts, and control tower operators.

Hobby had to fight to furnish the women’s corps with basic necessities because the women were not given official army sanctioning. For example, when Hobby requested that army engineers draw up plans for WAAC barracks, she was told that the engineers worked only for the army and the WAAC was not army. Therefore, she and her staff had to do the job. When the comptroller general’s office refused to pay women doctors in the WAAC, because it could only pay military people, she had to ask Stimson for a special act of Congress so the doctors could get paid.

Hobby directed the WACs until 1945 and was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. Throughout the decade, she served on the board of various organizations, including the American National Red Cross, the American Cancer Society, and the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

In 1953, President Dwight Eisenhower appointed her head of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Upon her husband’s death in 1955, she resigned to edit the *Houston Post* and then chair the newspaper’s board, a position she held until her death in Houston.

Further Reading: Oveta Culp Hobby Papers, Rice University; Al Shire, ed., *Oveta Culp Hobby*, 1997; Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, 1954.

JUDITH B. GERBER

HOLDEN, WILLIAM (April 17, 1918–November 16, 1981), actor. Holden, born in O'Fallon, Illinois, began his Hollywood career in 1939, debuting in Rouben Maumoulian's *Golden Boy*. He served an important apprenticeship in acting through the 1940s, but was not yet a major star. Contracted to Paramount in 1938, he was part of a group being groomed for stardom, known as the "Golden Circle." It included Robert Preston, Susan Hayward, and Evelyn Keyes. Holden's work in this early period included roles in *Texas* (1941), starring alongside Glenn Ford, and *Rachel and the Stranger* (1948). In World War II, Holden enlisted in the army and served in the army air force, where he was assigned to entertainment duty, public relations, and working on training films. This was a source of guilt for Holden, whose brother was killed while serving in the U.S. Navy. Holden returned to Hollywood at the end of the war. His path to stardom began at the very end of the decade with his role in Billy Wilder's *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), opposite Gloria Swanson. His career continued for several decades until his death in Santa Monica, California.

Further Reading: Lawrence J. Quirk, *The Films of William Holden*, 1973; Bob Thomas, *Golden Boy: The Untold Story of William Holden*, 1983; obituary in *New York Times*, November 17, 1981.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

HOLLAND, SPESSARD LINDSEY (July 10, 1892–November 6, 1971), governor and U.S. senator. Born in Bartow, Florida, Holland received an undergraduate degree from Emory College in 1909 and a law degree seven years later from the University of Florida. After military service in World War I, he entered politics as a Democrat and held various local offices until his election in 1940 as governor of Florida. As chief executive during World War II, Holland established the state's civil defense system, favored an expanded

program in building roads, worked to create the State Parole Commission, and emphasized the necessity of developing Everglades National Park. Elected in 1946 to the U.S. Senate, Holland served there until retirement in 1971. He endorsed President Harry Truman's foreign policies, including the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, the Korean War, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. A moderate conservative who supported the Taft-Hartley Act and the interstate highway system, Holland opposed civil rights legislation, school integration, Medicare, and federal aid to education. Yet he adamantly fought against the poll tax; in 1949 and thereafter he introduced a constitutional amendment to outlaw poll taxes nationally. His proposal achieved fruition in 1964 with the Twenty-fourth Amendment. Holland, a powerful political figure and nationalist who concentrated primarily on domestic concerns during his senatorial tenure, was one of the most respected and popular politicians in Florida's history. He died in Bartow.

Further Reading: Spessard L. Holland Papers, P.K. Yonge, Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; obituary in *New York Times*, November 7, 1971; *Tampa Tribune*, November 7, 1971.

LEONARD SCHLUP

HOLLYWOOD ACTORS The 1940s continued the studio contract system, which had been in place since the motion picture industry's early days. Studios turned their actors into "stars." The 1940s signified, in some ways, the last hurrah of this system; with the advent of television in the 1950s, Hollywood would lose its status as the preeminent entertainment in the United States, and the studio system would begin breaking down.

The war years saw Hollywood focus on films that either emphasized patriotism or provided welcome distractions and escapes from the war. Hollywood stars supported the American effort by promoting bond sales and entertaining troops through the United Service Organizations (USO). Some actors, including Clark Gable, James Stewart, Mickey Rooney, Robert Taylor, Tyrone Power, and Henry Fonda, enlisted. These stars thereby sacrificed potential career benefits

in order to actively serve their country, and not all returned to as good a position as when they left. Clark Gable, for example, was the top box office actor before the war; after the war, he remained popular but was no longer at the peak.

The war years perhaps benefited women in Hollywood more than men. Spencer Tracy, for example, who had won two Academy Awards in the late 1930s, found it difficult to get the right roles in a Hollywood where escapist entertainment predominated. But women such as Barbara Stanwyck, Joan Crawford, Bette Davis, Greer Garson, and Ingrid Bergman boosted their careers by starring in the popular “women’s pictures” of the period.

In the postwar years, Hollywood came under challenge from strikes, increased production costs, and the impact of anti-Communism. Some actors were suspected of alleged Communist sympathies, and others actively supported the witch-hunting. John Wayne, Adolphe Menjou, and Ward Bond all supported the investigations of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Other actors, including Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall, were outraged at the witch-hunting and went to Washington to support those targeted, but this support did not last long. Many actors were blacklisted.

The late 1940s found many new stars for Hollywood, including Gregory Peck, Elizabeth Taylor, Robert Mitchum, Frank Sinatra, and Lana Turner. The 1940s are thus an important decade in the story of Hollywood and its star actors. Despite their apparently glamorous lives, however, Hollywood actors were not immune to the forces that shaped the United States in that decade.

Further Reading: Charles Higham and Joel Greenberg, *Hollywood in the Forties*, 1968; Roy Hooper, *When the Stars Went to War: Hollywood and World War II*, 1994; Tony Thomas, *The Films of the Forties*, 1980.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

HOLLYWOOD FILMS Hollywood films remained popular during the 1940s, the last decade before mass television. *Citizen Kane* (1941), regarded by many as the greatest film ever made, led the output, but its originality and daring were

an exception. World War II and the postwar era divided Hollywood into distinct periods.

The war years saw the popularity of the “women’s picture”—melodramas designed for a predominantly female audience. They featured strong female characters, played by such actors as Joan Crawford, Bette Davis, and Barbara Stanwyck. Examples of such films were *Now Voyager* (1942) and *Mildred Pierce* (1945). Hollywood also produced war and propaganda pictures. A classic was *Casablanca* (1942), starring Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman, which appealed to the spirit of sacrifice as well as romance. More overtly political was *Mrs. Miniver* (1942). This type of film peaked in 1943. Escapist pictures were also big business. One of the most popular was *Going My Way* (1943), starring Bing Crosby. Animated features such as Walt Disney’s *Bambi* (1942) sought to distract viewers from the war’s impact and demonstrated leaps in animation technology.

The postwar period saw a dramatic shift. The genre of film noir, such as *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1946) and *Double Indemnity* (1947), differed greatly from earlier productions, conveying cynicism, world-weariness, and ambiguous morality. Despite the war’s impact on American culture, few films about returning veterans were produced—the aim perhaps being to move on from the experience. William Wyler’s *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946) was a notable exception. It won the Best Picture Academy Award.

Musicals were popular right through the decade and would continue to be into the 1950s. Notable examples included *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), starring Judy Garland, and *Anchors Aweigh* (1945), featuring Frank Sinatra and Gene Kelly. Message movies—those that dealt with social issues—were also important during the 1940s. Within the limitations of audience appeal, they addressed such issues as alcoholism (*The Lost Weekend*, 1945), racism (*Intruder in the Dust*, 1949), and anti-Semitism (*Crossfire* and *Gentleman’s Agreement*, both 1947).

Changing attitudes toward the USSR were reflected in Hollywood’s productions, with anti-Soviet sentiment coming to predominate. Off-screen, numerous Hollywood workers—most

notably screenwriters—were targeted as members of the Communist Party and investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee. Many were put on a blacklist that denied them Hollywood employment. Hollywood was also plagued by economic problems, including strikes, after the war's end. Industry earnings dropped from \$1.75 billion in 1946 to \$1.375 billion in 1949. By the decade's close, then, it was clear that Hollywood's position in American popular culture was under siege.

Further Reading: Otto Friedrich, *City of Nets: A Portrait of Hollywood in the 1940s*, 1997; Charles Higham and Joel Greenberg, *Hollywood in the Forties*, 1968; Tony Thomas, *The Films of the Forties*, 1980.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

HOLLYWOOD TEN, ten members of the American entertainment community who refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in October 1947. The committee was investigating Communist influence in Hollywood during the Cold War and all of the ten were suspected of being current or former members of the Communist Party (CPUSA). The group consisted of screenwriters Dalton Trumbo, Ring Lardner Jr., Sam Ornitz, Alvah Bessie, Lester Cole, John Howard Lawson, and Albert Maltz, film directors Edward Dmytryk and Herbert Biberman, and writer-producer Adrian Scott. The ten appeared before the committee, but refused to reveal their political affiliations. They claimed protection under the First Amendment's right to freedom of association but Congress and the courts were not convinced. As a result, HUAC found all to be in contempt of Congress. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the contempt citations and the ten were sent to prison for terms ranging from six months to a year. Upon their release, they were blacklisted, making it impossible for them to find work in the entertainment industry. One of the ten, director Edward Dmytryk, went to England upon his release, where he directed a number of films. He returned to the United States in 1951 in dire financial straits as a result of a recent divorce. In order to resume work, he cooperated with HUAC. He appeared before the committee and identified twenty-six members of the Hollywood community with ties

to left-wing and subversive groups. He was allowed to resume his career almost immediately. Some members of the ten left the United States and were able to submit material to Hollywood under assumed names, but at greatly reduced salaries. Dalton Trumbo became the first of the Hollywood Ten to finally break the blacklist when he received public credit for writing screenplays for the movies *Exodus* and *Spartacus*, which were both released in 1960.

Further Reading: Eric Bentley, *Are You Now or Have You Ever Been: The Investigation of Show Business by the Un-American Activities Committee, 1947–1958*, 1972; Walter Bernstein, *Inside Out: A Memoir of the Blacklist*, 2000; Richard A. Schwartz, *Cold War Culture: Media and the Arts, 1945–1990*, 1997.

JOHN MORELLO

HOMOSEXUALITY IN NAZI GERMANY

The persecution of homosexuals under the Third Reich generally remained in the shadows of the larger extermination of Jews in concentration camps during World War II. Even today, nearly sixty years after Adolf Hitler's crushing defeat, the gay bashing of the Nazi regime has not received full scholarly attention, though recent studies have sought to remedy this neglect.

Nazi henchmen attempted the systematic destruction of homosexuals, gypsies, and other non-conformists. Gays, marked by pink triangles that they were forced to wear, constituted a small minority in the death camps and constituted the lowest level in the camp hierarchy, but sustained a proportionately higher mortality rate than the more numerous political prisoners. They were also scheduled for medical experiments. Even persons only suspected of same-gender relationships faced torture and death.

Persecution of gays, considered as subhumans to be weeded out, occurred under Paragraph 175 of the German penal code. On June 28, 1935, Germany enacted strict antihomosexual laws that remained a part of German jurisprudence until 1969. On September 4, 1941, new decrees were enacted against "deviant criminals" who could be put to death if they threatened the health of the German people. Later that year, on November 15, Schutzstaffel (SS) head Heinrich Himmler

issued a decree relating to “purity” in the SS and police; any officer caught engaging in indecent behavior with or allowing himself to be abused by another man would be executed. In February 1942, an amendment to the 1941 law extended the death penalty to any German male participating in homosexual activity. Rudolf Hess, a high Nazi official, attempted to reeducate and redirect gay orientation by assigning homosexuals to the toughest work details and by forcing them to visit female prostitutes. Himmler also shared an obsession to eliminate homosexuals. In some cases loudspeaker systems broadcast noisy music while SS troops stripped gays naked, shoved tin pails over their heads, and allowed ferocious German shepherd dogs to devour them. Their shrieks of pain were amplified and distorted by the pails on their heads. Altogether the Nazi crusade against homosexuals resulted in tens of thousands of arrests and thousands of deaths.

Because SA (Sturmabteilung) chief Ernst Röhm was admittedly an active homosexual, the illogic of the Nazi homophobia was clearly evident. Regrettably, gays remain the only minority group persecuted in Nazi concentration camps that has been omitted from remuneration by the German government. The desire of the Nazis to “cure” homosexuality, dismissed by credible mental health professionals, finds its adherents in the twenty-first century. The antigay agitation of right-wing extremists, and the failure of Congress to enact hate crime legislation persist in the United States even after the Supreme Court delivered a positive opinion on homosexual rights in 2003. Today the pink triangle, a badge of empowerment and remembrance, is one of the symbols of the gay rights movement throughout the world.

Further Reading: Gunter Grau, *Hidden Holocaust? Gay and Lesbian Persecution in Germany, 1933–1945*, 1995; Richard Plant, *The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War Against Homosexuals*, 1986; Heinz Heger, *Men with the Pink Triangle: The True, Life-and-Death Story of Homosexuals in the Nazi Death Camps*, 1994.

LEONARD SCHLUP

HOOVER, HERBERT CLARK (August 10, 1874–October 20, 1964), president. Hoover was born in West Branch, Iowa. An engineering gradu-

ate of Stanford University, he was nicknamed “The Great Engineer.” After his presidency, Hoover became an active critic of the New Deal, Roosevelt’s foreign policy, and the chief spokesman of conservative Republican Party ideology. At the 1940 Republican Convention, Hoover was still well liked enough for talk of a Hoover-Lindbergh ticket. Hoover blamed the New Deal government for establishing a perpetual depression and creating a dependency on government that undermined individualism and responsible behavior. In other words, he continued to preach the values of rugged individualism that he had advocated since early adulthood.

Hoover was an isolationist in foreign policy. He favored greater aid to Britain as the surest way to stop the Germans and warned that if the Allies decided to invade Hitler’s Europe it would take ten years to build and equip an army large enough to conquer the continent. Hoover also wrote two books on American foreign policy. *America’s First Crusade* (1942) criticized America’s role at the Paris Peace Conference after World War I, and *The Problems of Lasting Peace* (1942) identified the dynamic forces that caused war and the stages for settling disputes that led to war. Hoover saw free enterprise and economic freedom as primary conditions for peace in the world. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, he supported the war and advocated giving Roosevelt dictatorial economic powers. Hoover frequently spoke publicly, testified before Congress, and wrote articles on the war that were sent out over the three major news services. At heart, Hoover remained an isolationist. As an adviser to the Republican Postwar Advisory Council, he came out against military alliances and any postwar international organizations that involved the surrender of America’s national sovereignty.

Hoover was called upon to act as both food philanthropist and elder statesman during the 1940s. He headed the European Food Distribution Committee, which negotiated with Britain and Germany in 1940 to supply food to conquered nations. At the request of President Harry Truman, Hoover served as an adviser on post-World War II relief and coordinated the world food supplies for thirty-eight countries during 1946. He also took part in a study of the economic

situation in Germany and Austria in 1947. Truman also made use of Hoover's experience by appointing him chair of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government (1947–1949). Hoover died in New York City.

Further Reading: Gary D. Best, *Herbert Hoover: The Postpresidential Years, 1933–1964*, 2 vols., 1983; David Burner, *Herbert Hoover: A Public Life*, 1984; Herbert Hoover Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa.

NORMAN E. FRY

HOOVER, J. EDGAR (January 1, 1895–May 2, 1972), director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Born John Edgar Hoover in Washington, DC, Hoover attended Washington public schools and graduated from National University Law School in 1916. A year later he was hired by the Department of Justice's Alien Enemy Bureau and soon headed the department's new Radical Division, keeping records on alleged American socialists and Communists. In 1921 he became assistant director of the Department's Bureau of Investigation (officially renamed the FBI in 1935), and became director in 1924, heading the bureau's criminal investigations. In the 1930s Hoover resumed political surveillance activities, authorized by President Franklin Roosevelt to monitor extremist organizations on the right and left. With the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, Roosevelt placed Hoover in charge of all domestic counterintelligence operations. Hoover, a master at public relations, successfully convinced most Americans that the FBI kept the United States safe from dangerous criminals, spies, and saboteurs. During the war, the FBI primarily focused its efforts on combating German secret agents and American Nazi sympathizers, but Hoover's hatred of Communism never abated. Throughout the late 1930s and 1940s, the FBI continued to secretly gather intelligence on supposed Communist activities and by the late 1940s had become the U.S. government's primary weapon against domestic Communism. With the outbreak of the Cold War in the mid-1940s, Hoover allied himself with the House Un-American

Activities Committee (HUAC) and focused FBI efforts increasingly on the issue of Communists in government. Under Hoover's direction, in 1948 FBI agents gathered information that the Truman administration used to successfully prosecute former State Department official Alger Hiss, for lying about his alleged Soviet espionage, and American Communist leaders under the Smith Act, on charges of advocating the overthrow of the U.S. government. In the late 1940s the FBI launched numerous investigations of alleged Soviet espionage in the United States, culminating in the 1951 convictions and 1953 executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on charges of atomic espionage. Throughout the Cold War, Hoover willingly shared information with loyal conservative journalists and congressional allies, secretly belying the FBI's public reputation for nonpartisan, professional conduct. He promoted his anti-Communist crusade through numerous public appearances and publications, including his widely read *Masters of Deceit* (1958). Hoover continued monitoring and harassing political dissidents long after the American Communist Party's demise. His efforts included the infamous Counterintelligence Program, or COINTELPRO, and investigations of civil rights, black power, and New Left organizations from the late 1950s through the 1960s. Hoover ruled the FBI ruthlessly. He died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets*, 1991; Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover*, 1987; Athan Theoharis and John Cox, *The Boss: J. Edgar Hoover and the American Inquisition*, 1988.

VERONICA WILSON

HOOVER DAM The Hoover Dam is a prime example of modern ingenuity and technology with respect to large-scale engineering projects. Herbert Hoover, secretary of commerce during Calvin Coolidge's presidency, proposed its construction in 1921 to control flooding. The Boulder Canyon Project Act was signed in 1928, and building began on July 7, 1930. By this time, Hoover was president of the United States. His secretary of the interior, Ray L. Wilbur, called

the project “Hoover Dam,” though most people called it “Boulder Dam” throughout the 1930s and 1940s, because of its location in the Black Canyon near Boulder, Colorado. The project created Lake Mead, which today still provides water for irrigation of California’s crops and for the burgeoning populations in the western United States. The lake also stops sediment from forming and threatening further flooding in the area. The dam has indeed created an oasis out of a desert, making the American Southwest habitable and prosperous and providing electricity to millions of homes in California, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming. The project could not have come at a more opportune time, for the Great Depression had sent unemployment skyrocketing. The dam became a public works project under Hoover, employing up to 5,000 workers.

Harsh working conditions prevailed at first, however. Squalid camps, such as “Ragtown,” popped up around the construction site. In protest, workers struck on August 8, 1931, against Six Companies, Inc., the contractor. Six Companies relented and built a more habitable township called Boulder City. Working conditions were still dangerous; more than 200 employees died from falls, electrocution, collapsing debris, or heat prostration in the shafts below the dam.

Hoover Dam’s power plant began to send electricity to Los Angeles in 1936. The power plant and the dam are under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of the Interior’s Bureau of Reclamation. In 1941, more housing was needed in Boulder City to accommodate workers from the Defense Plant Corporation, who were building a magnesium plant to contribute to the war effort. The Davis Dam, about 67 miles downstream, was also started in 1942, but wartime shortages halted construction. Building resumed in 1946 and the project was completed in 1953. In 1947, President Harry Truman signed legislation making the designation “Hoover Dam” officially permanent. **Further Reading:** Bureau of Reclamation, *Construction of Hoover Dam*, 1976; James C. Maxon and Gweneth Reed DenDooven, eds., *Lake Mead–Hoover Dam: The Story Behind the Scenery*, 1980; U.S. Department of the Interior, *The Story of Hoover Dam*, 1971.

CYNTHIA A. KLIMA

HOPKINS, HARRY (August 17, 1890–January 29, 1946), New Dealer and presidential adviser. Hopkins was born in Iowa and graduated from Grinnell College in 1912. Committed to progressive ideals, he then worked for the New York Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor. Later he spent time with the Board of Child Welfare and, during World War I, the Red Cross. By the 1920s, Hopkins became president of the American Association of Social Workers and director of the New York Tuberculosis Association. In these capacities, he helped the needy and honed his administrative skills.

In 1931, Hopkins became Governor Franklin Roosevelt’s director of temporary relief programs for New York’s unemployed. Once Roosevelt won the presidency, Hopkins’s star truly began to shine. Perhaps one of the closest friends Roosevelt ever had, the cigarette-smoking and poker-playing Hopkins often had the president’s ear. Hopkins served in numerous New Deal capacities, including as director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Civil Works Administration, and Works Progress Administration. Hopkins also was secretary of commerce in Roosevelt’s cabinet. Committed to helping needy people maintain their dignity while on relief, Hopkins was sometimes criticized for his spending. He frequently clashed with a rival New Deal administrator, the irascible Harold Ickes. Hopkins frequently was an intermediary for those seeking Roosevelt’s attention, even to some extent for Eleanor Roosevelt and the president’s close friend and personal secretary, Louis Howe.

Family and health problems plagued Hopkins. He was operated on for stomach cancer in 1937 and nearly died in 1939. After World War II erupted, Hopkins made an excellent emissary for the president, visiting Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin. Roosevelt appointed Hopkins to organize lend-lease and attend the Atlantic charter conference. He was at the Arcadia meeting, which decided how American aid to the Allies would be distributed. Through lend-lease, Hopkins developed a small group of subordinates known as the “Hopkins Shop.” Including secretary of state Edward Stettinius, they played major roles throughout the war and postwar years.

Hopkins often attended Allied military conferences. As his health deteriorated, he used subordinates to influence policy. He recovered enough, however, to play an active role in creating the United Nations, and he worked with Stalin on a number of problem areas. After Roosevelt's death, Hopkins returned to New York City. He mediated disputes in the garment industry, before dying there prematurely.

Further Reading: Searle Charles, *Minister of Relief: Harry Hopkins and the Depression*, 1963; George McJimsey, *Harry Hopkins: Ally of the Poor and Defender of Democracy*, 1987; Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History*, 1948.

MICHAEL V. NAMORATO

HORNE, LENA MARY CALHOUN (June 30, 1917–) entertainer and civil rights advocate. Lena Horne was born in Brooklyn, New York. When she was sixteen, her mother arranged an audition for her at the legendary Cotton Club. She was accepted into the chorus line, but soon expanded into singing acts with bands such as Cab Calloway's. In 1935, Horne began singing with the Noble Sissle Orchestra and soon became a veteran entertainer on the nightclub circuit. She began to receive movie offers when she moved to Los Angeles and appeared in a new nightclub opening there. Minor roles in movies followed but her classic performance was in *Stormy Weather* in 1943. In 1944, she became the first black entertainer to be featured on the cover of *Motion Picture Magazine*. In addition to being one of the hottest black entertainers during the 1940s, she became an advocate for civil rights. This was due in part to her many experiences with segregation while she toured on the road.

Further Reading: Belinda Luscombe, "The Twenty Most Beautiful Stars of the Twentieth Century," *Time*, June 14, 1999, 140–144; Lynn Norment, "A Century of Black Beauty and Style," *Ebony*, September 1999, 36–45; Leslie Palmer, *Lena Horne*, 1989.

MARK E. ELLIS

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HUAC) HUAC was originally established in 1938 as the Special Committee on

Un-American Activities, headed by Representative Martin Dies (D-TX). Predecessors included the Special Committee to Investigate Communism in the United States (1930–1931), chaired by Hamilton Fish (R-NY), and the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (1935–1938), under Samuel Dickstein (D-NY). HUAC consisted of seven (later nine) members who were supposed to investigate "un-American propaganda" activities on U.S. soil by foreign countries and domestic sources. Such inquiry was expected to lead to necessary legislation.

In January 1945 HUAC became a standing committee, initially headed by John Rankin (D-MS). Its permanent status was confirmed by subsequent legislation; later chairs included Edward J. Hart (1945; D-NJ), John S. Wood (1945–1946, 1949–1952; D-GA), and John Parnell Thomas, (1947–1949; D-NJ). Several other investigators, counsels, and congressmen were affiliated with the committee, including Joseph B. Matthews, Frank Tavenner, Robert Stripling, Richard Nixon (R-CA), and Karl Mundt (R-SD). Technically, Matthews, who knew Communists from his own experience in the 1930s, was not a member, but cooperated closely.

Originally, HUAC was not well funded, but in 1943 it received \$150,000. From 1944 to 1947 its budget was only \$50,000, but by 1949 it had grown to \$200,000. The money was spent on investigations and publishing numerous propaganda materials; most famous was the series of five booklets entitled "One Hundred Things You Should Know about Communism."

Targets of HUAC investigations ranged far: the Federal Theater Project (1938); the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the Communist Party USA (1938–1941); the American Youth Congress (1939); German fascists (1940). The clear slant against organizations of the left stemmed from Dies's desire to discredit the New Deal. He sought to blur the distinction between antidemocratic, conspiratorial organizations and those radicals not seeking to overturn the U.S. Constitution.

HUAC's most notorious hearings, in Washington in 1947, looked into the activities of German exiles Gerhard and Hanns Eisler, and Hollywood screenwriters and directors (the Hol-

lywood Ten). Congressman J. Parnell Thomas, who played a starring role, became the main enemy for the press. Journalists discovered that he was taking salary kickbacks from his staff. As a direct result, Thomas was tried and convicted; ironically, he served his sentence at the federal prison in Danbury, Connecticut, with one of the Hollywood Ten defendants.

HUAC later investigated labor unions. In 1948 two of its members, Richard Nixon and Karl Mundt, proposed a bill to curb Communist activities. Hearings in 1948, featuring testimony by Soviet spy defectors Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, concentrated on possible espionage by officials high in the Roosevelt administration. The sessions led to the indictment of Alger Hiss for perjury late in 1948, two trials, and a January 1950 conviction.

HUAC existed until 1969, when it was reorganized into the House Internal Security Committee. In 1975 its duties were taken over by the Judiciary Committee.

Further Reading: Robert Carr, *The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1945–1950*, 1950; Walter Goodman, *The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities*, 1968; August Raymond Ogden, *The Dies Committee: A Study of the Special House Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities, 1938–1944*, 1945.

WŁODZIMIERZ BATOG

HOWDY DOODY, American television marionette. Freckle-faced, big-eared, twenty-seven-inch Howdy Doody originated in a child character's voice on radio's *The Triple B Ranch Show*. Buffalo Bob Smith (1917–1998) introduced Elmer, who used the greeting "Howdy Doody." Elmer provided the voice for the puppet, Howdy Doody. Howdy Doody first appeared on television in December 1947 on NBC's *The Puppet Playhouse*. In 1948 Howdy's face was redesigned because of a merchandising franchise dispute. *The Howdy Doody Show* (1949–1960), complete with its own "Howdy Doody Theme Song" and set in Doodyville, included both puppet characters, like Phineas T. Bluster, Dilly Dally, and Heidi Doody, and human characters, like Clarabell the Clown, Oil Well Willie, and Chief

Thunderthud. Princess Summerfall Winterspring started out in the early shows as a marionette but later became a human character. Early shows featured live variety acts and vintage movies. Children filled the forty-member spectators' Peanut Gallery. The *Mickey Mouse Club's* ratings beat those of *The Howdy Doody Show* in the 1950s, so that the show aired on Saturdays only, videotaped and featuring cartoons, like *Gumby*. *The New Howdy Doody Show* appeared briefly in 1976. The *Howdy Doody Show* was the first television program to complete a thousand broadcasts, the first regular color television program, and the first program to use split-screen technology.

Further Reading: Stephen Davis, *Say Kids! What Time Is It?* 1987; Bob Smith, *Buffalo Bob's Kids Are Kids*, 2000; Bob Smith and Donna McCrohan, *Howdy and Me*, 1990.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

HUGHES, CHARLES EVANS (April 11, 1862–August 27, 1948), chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and 1916 Republican Party presidential candidate. Hughes was born in Glen Falls, New York, and graduated from Brown University in 1881 and Columbia University Law School in 1884. He earned national recognition when he served as chief counsel for two New York State legislative committees investigating illegal rate making and fraud in gas utilities (1905) and insurance companies (1906). In 1906, he defeated Democrat William Randolph Hearst for governor of New York. He served on the U.S. Supreme Court from 1910 until 1916, when he resigned to run for president. He lost to incumbent president Woodrow Wilson by twenty-three electoral votes. After a brief return to private law practice, Hughes served as secretary of state from 1921 to 1925. In this post he organized the Washington Naval Conference (1921–1922) and pushed for Japanese security in the Far East. He also served in The Hague as a U.S. delegate to the Permanent Court of Arbitration from 1926 to 1930.

In 1930 President Herbert Hoover appointed Hughes chief justice of the Supreme Court, despite strong opposition from Democrats who considered Hughes too closely attached to corporate America. Hughes's opinions were moderately

conservative. He was often a swing vote on a philosophically divided court composed of conservative and liberal factions. The Hughes Court developed the “modern” notion of freedom of speech through decisions such as *Near v. Minnesota* (1931). Hughes wrote the opinion in *Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States* (1935) that declared important New Deal legislation unconstitutional, leading to President Franklin Roosevelt’s unsuccessful court-packing scheme. The chief justice nevertheless led the Court in upholding the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act and Social Security. Hughes guided the Court from opposing much of the New Deal to supporting Roosevelt’s program for a new national economy. Two of his final decisions were *Cantwell v. Connecticut* (1940), involving the free exercise of religion, and *Cox v. New Hampshire* (1941), which upheld a city requirement for a fee and license for parades or processions.

A master of consensus, Hughes authored twice as many constitutional opinions as any other member of his court. He also wrote *Foreign Relations* (1924), *The Pathway of Peace* (1925), *The Supreme Court of the United States* (1928), and *Pan-American Peace Plans* (1929). On June 30, 1941, Hughes retired from the Court. He died in Osterville, Massachusetts.

Further Reading: Paul A. Freund, “Charles Evans Hughes as Chief Justice,” *Harvard Law Review* (November 1967): 4–43; Charles Hendel, *Charles Evans Hughes and the Supreme Court*, 1951; Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes*, 2 vols., 1951.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

HULL, CORDELL (October 2, 1871–July 23, 1955), secretary of state. Born near Byrdstown, Tennessee, Cordell Hull was a Democratic lawyer and congressman who served as secretary of state under President Franklin D. Roosevelt from 1933 to 1944. Before World War II, Hull was noted for his emphasis on free trade, establishment of positive relations with Latin American nations, and attempts to use diplomacy to avert war with Japan. Once the United States entered World War II, Hull’s influence diminished markedly. This decrease was partly due to

Roosevelt’s assumption of control over foreign affairs, but also because of Hull’s increasingly poor health, which led the president to depend more on Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, a family friend.

Hull did play an important role, however, in the creation of the United Nations. The cautious Hull wanted to take a conservative approach to uniting the postwar, English-speaking world. He agreed with the principles outlined in the Atlantic Charter (1941) but had strong reservations about the speed with which Welles was pushing the Roosevelt administration toward establishing an international governing organization. Hull wanted to ensure that the vast majority of Americans supported the plan before making firm commitments for the United States. When, against Hull’s wishes, Welles began making public pronouncements in favor of permanently abandoning America’s isolationism following the war, Hull conspired with other disaffected politicians to force Welles out because of his rumored homosexuality.

Once Welles was gone, Hull enjoyed a period of accomplishment. In late 1943, his presence at the Moscow summit meeting resulted in the Four Power Declaration, which pledged the cooperation of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China in creating an international peace organization after the war. The agreement allowed Hull, in December 1943, to submit to Roosevelt an outline for the proposed United Nations. According to Hull’s plan, each of the Big Four would retain veto rights over any recommendations passed by the General Assembly, thus preserving American power and sovereignty. Many of his recommendations later appeared in the United Nations Charter.

Hull’s poor health, however, gradually worsened in 1944 and led to his resignation. The “Father of the United Nations,” as Roosevelt anointed him, won the 1945 Nobel Peace Prize for his work. Hull died in Bethesda, Maryland.

Further Reading: Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, *FDR and the Creation of the U.N.*, 1997; Edgar E. Robinson, *The Roosevelt Leadership, 1933–1945*, 1955; Ruth B. Russell, *A History of the United Nations Charter: The Role of the United States, 1940–1945*, 1958.

MARK R. CHEATHAM

HUMPHREY, HUBERT HORATIO JR., (May 27, 1911–January 13, 1978) mayor, U.S. senator, and vice president. Humphrey was born in Wallace, South Dakota, and died at his home in Waverly, Minnesota. After graduating with an MA in political science from the State University of Louisiana, he decided on a life of public service. Humphrey joined the Works Progress Administration in Minnesota in 1941 as the assistant state supervisor of adult education, and over the next two years he rose quickly in the ranks of New Deal administrators. He became the chief of Minnesota's War Service Program by 1942 and, within a year, was named the assistant area director of the War Manpower Commission.

Humphrey's reputation as an ardent New Dealer and as a dynamic speaker launched his political career. He ran for the office of mayor of Minneapolis in 1943 and lost by 4,900 votes. Undeterred, he worked the next year to unite the Minnesota Democratic and Farm-Labor parties. After their 1944 merger, he became their state party leader. This political coup brought Humphrey the attention of the national party, and in 1944 he was the state manager of the Roosevelt-Truman campaign. Humphrey's skills as a political organizer brought him a 30,000-vote majority in the 1945 Minneapolis mayoral campaign.

Humphrey carried the New Deal spirit into office. He established the Mayor's Council on Human Relations to combat racial discrimination. He also established the city's first Fair Employment Practices Commission in 1947. Humphrey encouraged citizen participation in government by meeting regularly with a Council of Ministers to get reaction to his programs. His efforts to build public support got him a 52,000-vote majority in the mayor's election of 1947 and the opportunity to become the Democratic senatorial candidate in the 1948 general election.

Humphrey's rise to national prominence began at the Democratic National Convention in 1948. In an impassioned speech, he convinced the assembly to override the platform committee and include President Harry Truman's civil rights proposals. A year earlier, Humphrey had been a charter founder of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), an organization

founded by New Dealers to rebuild the liberal movement free of totalitarian influences from either the left or the right. Senator Humphrey supported Truman's Marshall Plan and other foreign policies that took on the challenge of Communism, but he remained a liberal Democrat devoted to social and economic justice in domestic politics. He was elected vice president of the United States in 1964. The Democratic presidential nominee in 1968, Humphrey lost to Republican Richard Nixon in one of the closest contests of the twentieth century.

Humphrey died in Waverly, Minnesota.

Further Reading: Charles L. Garrettson III, *Hubert H. Humphrey and the Politics of Joy*, 1993; Hubert H. Humphrey Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota; Carl Solberg, *Hubert Humphrey: A Political Biography*, 1984.

NORMAN E. FRY

HYDROGEN BOMB RESEARCH The relationship between science and the federal government, a connection with roots in the eighteenth century, intensified during World War II. The most spectacular result of this collaboration was the testing of a uranium bomb in July 1945 and the use of uranium and plutonium bombs against Japan in August to end the war. This first and only use of atomic weapons in war to date alarmed the USSR, which developed and tested its first uranium bomb in 1949, locking the United States and the USSR into a race to develop atomic weapons even more destructive than uranium and plutonium bombs.

As early as 1943, Edward Teller had tried to convince Enrico Fermi, both physicists at the University of Chicago, that they and their colleagues in the Manhattan Project should develop a hydrogen bomb rather than a uranium bomb because of the former's greater capacity for destruction. Fermi disagreed and only in 1946 did Teller have the freedom to pursue his own research.

The problem was lack of money. The Soviet detonation of a uranium bomb in 1949 led Teller to press the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to commit as much money as necessary to develop a hydrogen bomb in the shortest time, but J. Robert Oppenheimer opposed the request.

Although Oppenheimer had directed the Manhattan Project, the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki turned him against atomic weapons. As head of the Atomic Energy Commission's General Advisory Committee, Oppenheimer convinced the commission to reject Teller's request.

In 1950 physicist Klaus Fuchs, who had worked on the Manhattan Project, confessed that he had funneled atomic secrets to the USSR since 1943. The revelation solidified federal support behind Teller, but the technical obstacles were formidable. Both uranium and plutonium bombs detonate by fission, the splitting of atoms. As early as 1938 Fermi had split uranium atoms by shooting neutrons at them. Fermi had wisely chosen the neutron as the particle of impact because it has no electrical charge and cannot therefore be repelled by the negatively charged electrons that encase all atoms.

A hydrogen bomb, however, would work by fusion, the joining together of two atoms. But both atoms would repel one another with their negatively charged electron envelopes. (Like charges repel whereas opposite charges attract.) The attempt to fuse two atoms would be akin to hurling two negatively charged magnets at each other. They would veer away from each other rather than join together.

If a hydrogen bomb were to succeed, Teller would need to hurl hydrogen atoms at each other at a speed that would give each enough energy

to pierce the electron shield of the other. Teller had no idea how to propel hydrogen atoms to such speeds until 1951, when, in consultation with physicist Stanislaw M. Ulam, the two realized that a conventional fission bomb would yield enough energy to fuse hydrogen atoms. The fusion of hydrogen atoms, the secondary detonation, would be far more destructive than the initial fission. Two hydrogen atoms that fuse create one helium atom that is lighter than the two hydrogen atoms, with the difference (0.63 percent of the mass) being converted into energy in accord with Albert Einstein's equation $E = mc^2$, where E stands for energy, m for mass, and c^2 for the speed of light squared. Because c^2 is nearly 90 million billion meters per second squared, a tiny mass yields enormous energy.

The fusion of hydrogen atoms yields the very energy that powers the sun. The detonation of a hydrogen bomb is akin to searing earth with a miniature sun, causing destruction of a magnitude that dwarfs the detonation of any fission bomb. This conceptual breakthrough led Teller, Ulam, and their colleagues to test the first hydrogen bomb on November 1, 1952, on Enewetok Atoll in the Pacific Ocean.

Further Reading: Richard Rhodes, *"Dark Sun": The Making of the Hydrogen Bomb*, 1996; Jonathan B. Stein, *From H-Bomb to Star Wars: The Politics of Strategic Decision Making*, 1984; Edward Teller, *Memoirs: A Twentieth-Century Journey in Science and Politics*, 2001.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

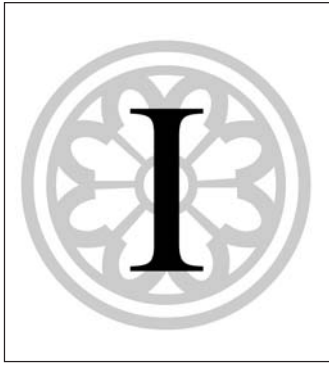
ICKES, HAROLD LECLAIRE

(March 15, 1874–February 3, 1952), presidential adviser and New Deal administrator. Ickes received his undergraduate degree at the University of Chicago in 1897. He worked as a newspaper reporter, and then attended law school. By 1907, Ickes was a politically involved city attorney who worked for progressive reform. His career continued in World War I abroad with the YMCA and then, in 1920, at the Republican convention, where he campaigned against Warren Harding's nomination. Throughout the 1920s, Ickes was involved in Chicago reform crusades.

In 1932 New York governor Franklin D. Roosevelt invited him to a conference on economic problems. Ickes attended and thereafter campaigned for Roosevelt. His reward was appointment as secretary of the interior. During the New Deal, Ickes was involved in a host of activities, including conservation, protecting Native Americans under the Wheeler-Howard Act, and directing relief programs such as the Public Works Administration. A difficult individual, Ickes often had conflicts with other New Dealers, especially Harry Hopkins.

In 1940, Ickes openly supported Roosevelt's election to a third term. Moreover, Ickes, formerly a midwestern isolationist, became vocal in warning about the rise of Nazism and fascism in Europe. After the United States entered World War II, his role changed. Given the need to preserve natural resources, Ickes was appointed head of the Petroleum Administration and to numerous conservation committees. Originally referred to as an oil czar, he soon became a champion of the producers. Ickes clashed with another strong-willed individual, John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers. The result was the application of the Little Steel formula for a 15 percent wage-and-benefits increase. By agreeing to this, Ickes, in effect, was enforcing the terms of the 1935 Wagner Act, which guaranteed workers the right to have unions.

With Roosevelt's death in 1945, Ickes clashed openly with President Harry Truman over the



appointment of Edwin Pauley as undersecretary of the navy. Accusing Truman of courting big business, Ickes resigned in protest. Thereafter, he wrote prolifically for newspapers on a variety of topics. He continued his support for

the United Nations and backed the president on the Korean War. He also worked on his secret diary, which discussed everyone in his political life, often in sarcastic terms, and which was published posthumously. Ickes died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Harold Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold Ickes*, 3 vols., 1953–1954; T.H. Watkins, *Righteous Pilgrim: The Life and Times of Harold Ickes*, 1990; Graham White and John Maze, *Harold Ickes of the New Deal: His Private Life and Public Career*, 1985.

MICHAEL V. NAMORATO

ILLINOIS EX REL. McCOLLUM V. BOARD OF EDUCATION (1948). This Supreme Court case involved religion and public schooling. In the early twentieth century, religious instruction was a common practice in most school districts. Weak enforcement of the First Amendment's establishment clause had not been challenged. In 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court considered a challenge to a practice whereby religious teachers came into public schools expressly to provide instruction. In Illinois, the mother of Vashti McCollum, a student in the Champlain School District, challenged the school board's religious policy. It provided for released time, during which Protestant teachers, Catholic priests, and a Jewish rabbi taught courses in their respective religions one day per week. Those minors not wishing to attend went to another part of the building to pursue their regular subjects. Because compulsory attendance laws required all students under age seventeen to be in school, authorities diligently kept tabs on their whereabouts. Absence notices were sent back to the secular teachers. The school district defended the practice, arguing that the students were not compelled to attend the religious classes and that all religious faiths were treated equally.

In its ruling, the Supreme Court found that the practice constituted a direct aid to religion. The justices struck down the practice of using state tax-supported facilities to promote religious doctrines. The opinion noted that such practice removed any “wall” between church and state. The Illinois compulsory attendance statute aided religious instruction in that it brought the children to a central location, thus capturing their attention. Normal classroom activities came to a halt, interrupting the daily educational program.

Even though all religions might benefit from the program, the Court ruled that the First Amendment forbade advancing religious beliefs over nonreligious ones or favoring one sect over another. Any such instruction would now have to take place outside the schoolhouse gates, as it applied to public education.

Further Reading: Kern Alexander and M. David Alexander, *The Law of Schools, Students, and Teachers*, 1984; Jerome A. Barron and C. Thomas Dienes, *First Amendment Law*, 1993; *Illinois ex rel. McCollum v. Board of Education* 333 U.S. 203, 68 S. Ct. 461, 1948.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

IMMIGRATION Between 1940 and 1949, 856,608 immigrants, 61 percent of whom were women, entered the United States. The figure is less than the number of immigrants in any decade between 1841 and 1930. In the 1930s, the decade of worldwide depression, more people left the United States than entered. During the 1950s, the decade following World War II, 2,499,268 immigrants entered the United States. Sixty percent were of European background, the large majority from the northern and western parts. Slightly over one-third were from Canada, Mexico, and other Western Hemisphere countries.

During World War II, in response to a labor shortage, Congress established a bracero program that offered temporary residence to foreign agricultural laborers from Mexico, British Honduras, Barbados, and Jamaica. The Chinese Exclusion Act, which dated from 1883, was repealed.

In 1946 Congress passed a war brides’ act, which admitted about 120,000 alien wives and children of U.S. servicemen on a nonquota basis. Two years later, Congress passed a displaced

persons act, which admitted 280,000 people over a two-year period. Regular immigration quotas were reduced by 50 percent each year for as many years as it would take to compensate for the number of immigrants admitted under this act.

How did the American public feel about immigrants coming to this country during the 1940s? In September 1944, a national poll asked citizens which groups should be permitted to immigrate to the United States. The English, Swedes, and Russians ranked highest, followed by Chinese, Mexicans, Jews, Germans, and Japanese. Italians did not appear on the list. The two groups enjoying the lowest support were the major enemy nationalities, with the Japanese faring much worse than the Germans. Mexicans and Jews were clustered together below America’s wartime allies, the Russians and the Chinese. The neutral Swedes were second only to the British, who enjoyed the double advantage of having the correct racial-ethnic characteristics and being an ally during the war.

In January 1946, the public was asked whether annual immigration should be increased, kept the same, or reduced. Slightly more than half of respondents favored admitting fewer persons or none at all. Only 5 percent sought to increase the number and 32 percent favored keeping things as they were before the war.

Seven months later, in August 1946, the public’s opinion on U.S. responsibility for European refugees—displaced persons or DPs—was polled. Only 10 percent favored admitting all DPs who were well and strong. Forty-three percent insisted that the United States take in only its “share,” while demanding that other countries do likewise. Twenty-three percent sought to close the doors entirely, while persuading other nations to take DPs in. Seventeen percent felt that DPs were Europe’s problem. Seven percent of respondents had no opinion.

In November 1947, people were asked if they would vote yes or no on a bill in Congress to let 100,000 selected European refugees come to this country in each of four years in addition to the 150,000 immigrants then permitted to enter annually under the existing quota. Seventy-two percent said they would vote no.

The anti-immigrant sentiments expressed during the 1940s continued throughout the rest of the century. Even though the United States proudly proclaims itself a country of immigrants, on any national survey negative or anti-immigrant sentiments far outweigh positive feelings.

Further Reading: Lawrence Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture*, 1990; Nathan Glazer, *Clamor at the Gates: The New American Immigration*, 1985; James P. Lynch and Rita J. Simon, *Immigration the World Over: Statutes, Policies, and Practices*, 2003.

RITA J. SIMON

INFLATION Inflation, an increase in prices, is inevitable when demand for a good or service increases faster than supply. In 1940 Congress created the Office of Price Administration (OPA) to set prices for all goods and wages, in order to avert inflation, preserve purchasing power, and ensure stable prices for defense contractors and the military. Most Americans, galvanized by Pearl Harbor, supported the war and therefore obeyed OPA regulations. Even so, a black market grew in 1943 to meet the demand for gasoline, meat, and cigarettes.

At war's end, President Harry Truman proposed retaining OPA price controls to keep consumers happy. Business leaders countered that the free market rather than government should set prices, although they had benefited from defense contracts and stable wages. This pressure from business interests swayed Truman to end price controls in 1946. As he had feared, the action, coupled with the release of pent-up demand for goods and services, shot inflation to 18 percent that year, cutting purchasing power by nearly one-fifth. Seeking to regain purchasing power, more than 1 million workers, the largest number that decade, went on strike in 1946 for higher wages.

Congress intervened to contract the money supply and thereby cut prices, and by selling the defense plants it had built during the war. Acting in concert with Congress, the Federal Reserve Board raised interest rates, attracting capital to further contract the money supply. These actions dropped inflation below 5 percent by 1947.

The low inflation of the late 1940s benefited Americans. Stable wages encouraged businesses to hire workers, holding unemployment below 5 percent. Stable prices made U.S. exports affordable, particularly in Europe, where the Marshall Plan encouraged European nations to repay loans by buying U.S. goods. Farmers in particular benefited from low inflation, which allowed them to buy new tractors and combines. With export markets open, U.S. farmers became the world's leading exporters of soybeans by the mid-1950s. More broadly, low inflation made possible economic expansion between 1947 and 1973, the longest expansion in U.S. history.

Further Reading: Jeremy Atack and Peter Passell, *A New Economic View of American History*, 1994; Milton Freedman and Anna Jacobson, *From New Deal Banking Reform to World War II Inflation*, 1980; Simon N. Whitney, *Inflation Since 1945: Facts and Theories*, 1982.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

INTELLECTUAL LIFE By 1940, American progressives had lost much of their fascination with international Marxism. Earlier, to many radicals the Soviet experiment had seemed the very embodiment of an egalitarian society, contrasting boldly with the failed capitalism of the United States during the Great Depression. The USSR's appeal was reduced by the effectiveness of the New Deal, Communism's anti-Semitism, news of the Moscow Trials and the revelation of Joseph Stalin's purges, the experience of the Spanish Civil War, and finally the Nazi-Soviet pact.

The United States' entry into World War II led to the enlistment of many American intellectuals. Through service in federal wartime agencies such as the Office of Strategic Services and the Office of War Information, or in regular Army units as either soldiers or journalists, many intellectuals began to feel a greater identification with America than ever before. Those who remained in the universities were joined by European émigrés fleeing Nazism, including those who formed the Frankfurt School, producing a new influx of antitotalitarian ideas. By war's end, many American intellectuals had become institutionalized. The rising costs of living in New York City had made the bohemian intellectual's

position of the 1930s untenable. Requiring some form of dependable income, intellectuals found unparalleled opportunities in both academia and publishing. A decline in anti-Semitism and an expansion of higher education opened important doors for many. The free-floating intellectual of the prewar era was replaced by the tenured professor (even for those without PhDs), and the magazine or publishing house editor.

As a consequence, their critical function as intellectuals began to decline, and the alienation of an earlier era was replaced by celebrations of America, as exemplified by Mary McCarthy's *America the Beautiful* (1947). Whereas intellectuals had hoped to transform America in the 1920s, 1930s, and the first part of the 1940s, now they had reached accommodation with it. As the Cold War intensified from 1947 onward, intellectuals became embroiled in anti-Communist and pro-Communist campaigns. A key moment was the Waldorf Conference, held in New York City in 1949, which split the opposing sides into polarized camps, redefined the nature of liberalism, and, some would say, provided the basis for the emergence of neoconservatism two decades later.

During this period, intellectuals grouped around a series of little magazines and journals. Anti-Stalinists read and wrote for *Partisan Review*, an independent publication of Marxist opinion, which attracted Trotskyist intellectuals who had abandoned the Communist Party. It constructed its own peculiar discourse based around notions of modernism: alienation, marginalization, detachment, separation, and independence. In 1943, Dwight Macdonald left the *Partisan Review* staff when his pacifism caused a split with the editors. He founded a new journal, *Politics* using his own savings. It adopted an anti-Stalinist, pacifist, antistatist, Trotskyist "Third Camp" position. *New Leader*, which had been in existence since the 1920s, was characterized by hard-line anti-Communism and liberal reformism. Another journal was *Commentary* magazine, founded in 1945 by the American Jewish Committee, and also committed to anti-Stalinism but with a Jewish slant. Other left-of-center intellectuals could be found reading the preeminent liberal journal, *New Republic*, or *The Nation* and *PM*.

Ironically, for what has been remembered as such a conservative age, conservative intellectuals were few in number. Some of them read *Commentary* while others looked at *Human Events*, launched in 1944.

Further Reading: Thomas Bender, *New York Intellectual: A History of the Intellectual Life in New York from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time*, 1987; Richard Pells, *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age: American Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s*, 1985; Hugh Wilford, *The New York Intellectuals: From Vanguard to Institution*, 1995.

NATHAN ABRAMS

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION (ILGWU)

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was almost destroyed by factionalism during the 1920s, but had rebounded as a major political and trade union power by the 1940s. The ILGWU had originated from a tradition of unionism that mixed the socialist idea of class-consciousness with practical unionism that placed a priority on collective bargaining and job control. By the 1940s the ILGWU had developed a program for the social welfare of its members that became a pattern for other unions and a model for government regulation. The ILGWU negotiated contracts that provided medical insurance, pensions, disability insurance, and unemployment compensation. Industry-wide collective bargaining provided stability by dramatically reducing the number of strikes.

The ILGWU was saved from the brink of ruin by David Dubinsky, elected president in 1932, who reduced the ILGWU debt from \$2 million to \$1 million. By 1935 the union had 200,000 members and assets of \$850,000. Dubinsky continued to push for the social welfare benefits pioneered by the ILGWU, but also broadened the ILGWU's goals. Under his leadership, the ILGWU rejoined the AFL and played a major role in establishing trade unions in Europe. The ILGWU purposively gained considerable political influence as a primary contributor of money and volunteers to the Democratic Party.

By the 1940s, the wealth and organization of the ILGWU allowed it to achieve many of its social welfare goals. In 1941 the ILGWU founded

the New York Dress Institute, a joint venture with apparel companies to help them run their businesses more efficiently. Shop-floor grievances under this agreement were settled by an impartial chairman, a process that resulted in the absence of major strikes for fifteen years. The greatest setback for the ILGWU was the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allowed injunctions against strikes, mandatory cooling-off periods, and fact-finding boards. It also disallowed industry-wide bargaining and mandatory union membership. However, an exemption on secondary boycotts helped the ILGWU to continue recruiting members. In 1949, after sixteen years of Dubinsky's leadership, ILGWU ranks numbered over 400,000. This large membership gave the union the economic base to maintain health centers in New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities. The union also had an 850-acre recreational camp in the Pocono Mountains, a well-respected education department, scholarship programs for Harvard and the University of Wisconsin, and a cooperative Hillman housing project in New York.

Further Reading: David Dubinsky and A.H. Raskin, *David Dubinsky: A Life with Labor*, 1997; Philip S. Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement*, 1982; Gus Tyler, *Look for the Union Label: A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*, 1995.

NORMAN E. FRY

INTERNATIONALISM, concept in United States diplomacy. The definition of internationalism changes with developments in American foreign policy. Until World War II, the definition was generally negative, given the "betrayal" of idealism over the results of the Great War. From George Washington's Farewell Address until the Spanish American War, many Americans believed that it was in the national interest to avoid entangling alliances with European powers. They usually also sought to avoid any race for overseas colonies and empire, because the United States was a republic. The nation's westward expansion added to the assumption of manifest destiny that the United States was economically and militarily freed from any obligations to other countries. The United States might trade with them for

mutual benefit but it would fight no wars on behalf of their foreign policy interests. The successful expansion from ocean to ocean seemed to be a providential process that reflected the virtue of American national character and honor. The United States developed and other hemispheric peoples retreated.

An expanded interest in internationalism came with the Treaty of Paris at the end of the Spanish American War, when the United States acquired the Spanish colonies. A wide range of arguments for and against holding the lands emerged but in the end the United States kept them and slowly disposed of most of them over the course of the twentieth century. Theodore Roosevelt was the president who made popular the idea that America had a leadership role in the world. The Panama Canal, the Great White Fleet, and the end of the Russo-Japanese War were all indications that Roosevelt enjoyed being on the stage of world diplomacy.

Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points were the immediate basis for a century-long discussion over the merits and demerits of internationalism. At the center of Wilson's vision was the League of Nations, a policy and institutional commitment to collective security, the essence of the contemporary definition of internationalism. Since the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, most observers had assumed that all nations desired peace, and only rogues and knaves sought international advantage via war rather than trade. Wilson drew on that belief, and the consequences cast a policy shadow to this very day.

By the 1920s, many Americans were inclined to let Europe solve its own problems. The popular result was the Roaring Twenties, when popular culture ruled. As Europe generally and Germany in particular slid toward totalitarianism, many Americans disapproved of all parties concerned. With the advent of the Great Depression and Nazism, the debate often grew shrill and irrational. President Franklin Roosevelt's responses and policies drew considerable criticism. Historian Charles Beard believed that Roosevelt was solving the domestic economic crisis through overseas adventurism. Political conservatives such as Robert Taft detected a worldwide spread of New Dealism.

World War II changed the debate and the definition of internationalism. The establishment of a new international organization, the United Nations, came out of the war. So did the Cold War with the Soviet Union, which precluded any attempts to return to diplomatic attitudes that marked the 1920s. The American victory in the Cold War meant that the isolationist's dream of a "fortress America" was not possible. The postmillennial war on international terrorism underscores that situation. Within limits, often difficult to recognize, the United States is now the only nation with the material capacity and will to exercise world leadership. It is in America's self-interest to do so.

Further Reading: A.J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*, 2002; C. Vann Woodward, "The Age of Reinterpretation," *American Historical Review* 66 (October 1960); David M. Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety From the Old West to the New Deal*, 1993.

DONALD K. PICKENS

INVASION OF ITALY If the Allied liberation of France was an example of wartime organization at its best, then the campaign in Italy from September 1943 to May 1945 was a bittersweet lesson in the dangers of uncoordinated leadership, poor planning, and a reliance on material strength rather than sound strategy. The Anglo-American Combined Chiefs of Staff agreed to the invasion plan at the May 1943 conference in Washington, code-named TRIDENT, but there were fundamental differences in objective. U.S. commanders saw the campaign as a useful means of distracting the Axis while they prepared for the offensive against Normandy, whereas the British—entranced by the prospect of striking at what Prime Minister Winston Churchill called the "soft underbelly" of mainland Europe—hoped a successful attack against Italy might render a cross-channel invasion unnecessary.

After the preliminary occupation of Sicily in July, the Allies spent some weeks in secret negotiation with the Italian government, which wanted to withdraw from the war. Hitler, however, used this breathing space to send in sixteen divisions of his own troops, and by the time Rome finally

announced its surrender on September 8, the German forces under Field Marshal Albert Kesselring were well ensconced in the excellent defensive terrain of the Appenines. What followed was not the rapid advance up the Italian boot that Allied planners had originally envisaged, but rather a grueling slog through torrential rains and mud that resembled the horrendous battles of attrition of World War I. The American Fifth Army, commanded by General Mark Clark, landed south of Naples at Salerno the day after the Italian surrender, but was almost thrown back into the sea by a ferocious German counterattack that set the tempo for the remainder of the campaign. Together with the British Eighth Army, Clark's force had by January 1944 managed to advance as far north as the ancient monastery town of Cassino, but there it was held in check by Kesselring's redoubtable Gustav Line, and both Allied armies spent four bloody months trying to extract the Germans from their defensive positions. An attempt to outflank the enemy by an amphibious assault at Anzio became hopelessly bogged down, and it was not until June 4—two days before D-day—that the Allies finally entered Rome. Even then the Germans had retired in good order and brutal fighting continued up the peninsula for the next ten months. In all, the Italian campaign cost the Allies over 300,000 casualties, and while it did tie up German divisions badly needed elsewhere, it is arguable that it became more of a burden for the Americans and British than it ever did for the Axis.

Further Reading: Douglas Alanbrook, *See Naples: A Memoir*, 1995; William Breuer, *Agony at Anzio: The Allies' Most Controversial Operation of World War II*, 1984; Edwin Hoyt, *Backwater War: The Allied Campaign in Italy, 1943–1945*, 2002.

ALAN ALLPORT

"IRON CURTAIN" SPEECH Former British prime minister Winston Churchill gave this speech on March 5, 1946, at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. Churchill stated, "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain had descended across the Continent." His words signaled the beginning of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the West.

Churchill toured the United States after World War II, presenting lectures. Westminster College awarded him an honorary degree with 40,000 people, including President Harry Truman, in attendance. The president of Westminster College spoke, followed by Truman, who introduced Churchill. While the speech came from a prepared text, Churchill ad-libbed at points. Thus, audio versions of the speech depart from the speech's prepared text.

The speech, originally named "The Sinews of Peace," became known as the "iron curtain" speech because of Churchill's use of the term and its subsequent employment throughout the Cold War. Churchill noted the end of an era of wartime collaboration between the West and the Soviet Union. He called for closer U.S.-British cooperation in light of a new relationship that had arisen. In 1946, many people still believed that the Western democracies and the Soviet Union could live in peace and partnership. Churchill's words reminded the public that true friendship must be reserved for countries sharing a common love of liberty. The Soviet Union, behind its "iron curtain," did not appear to practice this.

The term *iron curtain* had been used prior to Churchill's speech. One writer used it as early as 1920 to describe conditions in Russia. (Since Churchill had a wide interest in world affairs, it is possible that he took the term from his reading.) Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels had used the term in 1945 to describe the fate of Eastern and Southeastern Europe after the war because of the agreements between Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill. Churchill himself used the term *iron curtain* in a telegram to Truman in May 1945.

Although Churchill's speech initially provoked controversy, the term slowly came to define the nature of the postwar relationship between the West and the Soviet Union. Soviet historians often date the beginning of the Cold War to this speech. The term, though not entirely original, received wide circulation as a result of Churchill's eloquent and classic speech. The public was now able to describe succinctly the division that was rising in Europe between East and West. The Soviet Union had spread its revolution through puppet states in Eastern Europe.

Truman and other politicians quickly began to use Churchill's term to describe a divided Europe and its captive peoples. It played well for anti-Communist propaganda in the West, spurring actions such as the Marshall Plan and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The Berlin Wall, erected in 1961, became the physical symbol of the iron curtain until its destruction in 1989 signaled the end of Soviet dominance and the Cold War.

Further Reading: Fraser J. Harbutt, *The Iron Curtain: Churchill, America, and the Origins of the Cold War*, 1986; Steven James Lambakis, *Winston Churchill, Architect of Peace: A Study of Statesmanship and the Cold War*, 1993; James W. Muller, ed., *Churchill's "Iron Curtain" Speech Fifty Years Later*, 1999.

LINDA EIKMEIER ENDERSBY

ISOLATIONISM, American political movement favoring strict neutrality in World War II. During the late 1930s the isolationist movement was strong, and a series of neutrality acts were passed designed to keep the United States out of a European conflict. Isolationists were a diverse group comprised of genuine pacifists, anti-big government conservatives, old progressives who saw World War I as a mistake that only benefited big business, and ethnic minorities, such as Germans, Italians, and the Irish. The Fall of France in 1940 and the ferocious assault on London by the German Luftwaffe during the Battle of Britain undermined the isolationist position.

Sensing the change in public opinion, isolationists banded together in the America First Committee, an organization that fused university students and wealthy anti-Roosevelt Chicago businessmen. The committee organized itself in September 1940 after President Franklin D. Roosevelt agreed with the British to exchange fifty American destroyers for British bases in the Western Hemisphere, an act that the isolationists decried for its overt partisanship. The America First Committee claimed over 800,000 members and boasted an active speakers' bureau that included famous aviator Charles Lindbergh. Its members conducted large rallies on college campuses, wrote numerous articles and pamphlets, and appeared at hearings before

congressional committees. Despite its large membership and impressive list of celebrity speakers, the America First Committee could not turn the tide in public opinion. The group lost every important political battle before Congress, including lend-lease, expansion of the draft, occupation of Greenland, and repeal of certain provisions of the Neutrality Acts. Isolationists paid little attention to events in the Pacific theater. Isolationism disintegrated with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and the America First Committee dissolved itself only days later. Some diehard isolationists did not give up so easily and accused Roosevelt of having purposefully provoked the attack. These intransigents, such as historian Charles Beard, were viciously attacked in the press as anti-American, anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi dupes. Others were fired from their jobs.

When the war ended in 1945, some people returned to the isolationist fold, opposing American entry into the United Nations and, later, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The war's galvanizing effect on American society, a genuine sense of a Soviet Communist threat to the United States, and the looming presence of hugely destructive atomic weapons prevented the isolationist movement from achieving even the modicum of support it had enjoyed during the 1930s.

Further Reading: Selig Adler, *The Isolationist Impulse: Its Twentieth-Century Reaction*, 1957; Wayne Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932–1945*, 1983; Justus D. Doenecke, *Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939–1941*, 2000.

GREGORY DEHLER

ITALIAN AMERICANS Almost 7 million residents of the United States in the 1940s, 5 percent of the population, were either born in or traced their ancestry to Italy, making Italian Americans one of the largest ethnic groups in the country. During the decade, a generation of Italian Americans came of age with relatively little direct connection to Italy. Federal law and the Great Depression discouraged immigration in the 1920s and 1930s, so by 1940 Italian Americans were increasingly native-born English speakers—the children and grandchildren of members of the

large immigrations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the 1940s, most Italian Americans still lived in the places that had drawn their immigrant forebears. New York City and its suburbs accounted for approximately 36 percent of the total, six times more than the next largest concentration of Italian Americans, who resided in and around Philadelphia. Some six out of ten lived in the Northeast, and nine in ten lived in metropolitan areas, placing Italian Americans among the most urbanized ethnic groups.

Changes in their educational and occupational attainment enabled Italian Americans of the 1940s to redefine their place in society. Italian Americans in their late teens and early twenties were three times more likely to attend school in the 1940s than they had been in the 1920s. Partly as a result, young Italian Americans found better employment than previous generations; while the largest number held industrial jobs in 1950, they gravitated to well-paid, skilled positions. Increasing numbers also sought jobs in services, sales, and management. By 1960, more than two-thirds owned a home.

As Italian Americans' economic positions changed, so too did their social standing. Italian Americans who came of age during the 1940s were less likely than their predecessors to marry a spouse of Italian origin or to live in a predominantly Italian neighborhood. Although connections between people of Italian descent endured, in the 1940s these bonds competed with other allegiances. The Congress of Industrial Organizations and large, diverse unions recruited Italian American workers, and political aspirants in both national parties courted them. Italian Americans participated in a wide range of political activity, providing support for and leadership in both fascist and Communist movements and, by the end of the decade, voicing strong support of Senator Joseph McCarthy. In their political engagements, people of Italian origin increasingly shared interests and platforms with other Americans.

World War II exemplified the shifts in Italian American life in the 1940s. By 1950, almost 60 percent of Italian American males between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-four were military

veterans. As they fought Italy and its allies, young Italian Americans participated in an integrated social milieu; rewards for fighting included student grants and loans as well as guaranteed home mortgages. Also during the war, Italian American women joined the labor force, often participating in integrated and politicized settings of their own. World War II thus symbolized the changing status of Italian Americans within the nation and provided an engine of further economic and social integration.

Italian Americans divided in the 1940s, as the younger and wealthier among them departed from the traditional areas of Italian settlement. Although generation and class were often bridged at family occasions, feasts, and holidays in the old neighborhood, fissures between Italian Americans grew. Some partook of the prosperity and luxury of the suburbs, while others remained concentrated around Catholic institutions in city centers, where they came into increasing conflict with African American members of the Great Migration. The 1940s were pivotal for Italian Americans; the trends that emerged during the decade—economic attainment, social integration, and internal division—would cast the meaning of Italian American identity into question in the half century that followed.

Further Reading: Dino Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco: The Immigrant Experience*, 1982; Jennifer Guglielmo and Salvatore Salerno, eds., *Are Italians White? How Race Is Made in America*, 2003; Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950*, 2002.

JORDAN STANGER-ROSS

IVES, ELIZABETH DAVIS STEVENSON (July 16, 1897–June 27, 1994), first lady of Illinois, political activist, and social organizer. She was born in Bloomington, Illinois, the daughter of Lewis Green Stevenson, former Illinois secretary of state, and the granddaughter of Adlai E. Stevenson, vice president of the United States from 1893 to 1897. Ives received her education at Washington School in Bloomington, University High School in Normal, Illinois, Lake Shore Drive School for Girls in Chicago, and Miss Wright's School in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. In

1927 in Naples, Italy, she married Ernest L. Ives, a career diplomat in the U.S. Foreign Service. They lived in several countries over the next twenty years. During World War II, Elizabeth Ives organized and then served as captain of the Red Cross Motor Corps for Moore County, North Carolina. She considered first lady Eleanor Roosevelt an outstanding woman who had achieved her position in the world through her own qualities. Ives, having been raised in a political family, was active in Democratic politics all her life. In 1948 she campaigned with and for her brother, Adlai E. Stevenson II, the Democratic gubernatorial nominee. Elected governor of Illinois in a landslide, Stevenson embarked on a reform administration. Because he was divorced, he asked his sister to function in the social role of first lady of the state. Moving into the executive mansion in Springfield, Ives ably fulfilled these duties and responsibilities with grace and dignity. She hosted gatherings, addressed groups, planned parties, supervised dinners, and managed the daily operations of her position. A strong supporter of the New Deal and Fair Deal, Ives backed President Harry Truman's domestic and international policies during the postwar era, including the creation of a United Nations, which she welcomed as a platform for peace and the improvement of living conditions in poor countries. Ives vigorously campaigned for her brother in his unsuccessful campaigns for president in 1952 and 1956. When he died in 1965, while serving as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Ives oversaw his funeral arrangements and worked to advance his major goals and beliefs, most of which were later adopted by the Republican Party. Active in social activities, clubs, groups, genealogical research, and historic preservation, Ives restored the Scott house in Chenoa, Illinois, where her paternal grandparents had been married in 1866. She died in her Bloomington home, now a historic site.

Further Reading: Elizabeth Stevenson Ives and Hildegarde Dolson, *My Brother Adlai*, 1956; Elizabeth Stevenson Ives Papers, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield; Leonard Schlup, "First Lady of Illinois: Elizabeth Stevenson Ives and Her Letters," *Manuscripts* 48 (1996): 23–32.

LEONARD SCHLUP

IWO JIMA, BATTLE OF The U.S. Marine Corps put its marque on the battle for Guadalcanal but the battle for Iwo Jima put its imprimatur on the Marine Corps. Joseph Rosenthal's photograph of marines raising the Stars and Stripes atop Mount Suribachi, taken on February 23, 1945, is known the world over as a symbol of American fighting spirit, perseverance, and cooperation displayed by the Marine Corps but representative of the entire nation, military and civilian. Although the flag raising is certainly symbolic of marine esprit de corps, its widespread popularity springs from its wider embrace of national values.

A small volcanic island in the Ryukyus chain, Iwo Jima had a key role in the Japanese war plan when the U.S. Navy began its preinvasion bombardment in 1945. Japanese planners anticipated the final battles of the war being fought in the home islands. They sought to delay an Allied invasion by fortifying islands between the enemy and themselves. By 1944 it was clear that Japanese forces could not stop the Allies, but there was hope that increased casualties and prolonged battles for outlying islands might sap Allied morale and permit an armistice rather than the vaunted unconditional surrender.

The island also had a key role in American plans. The United States wanted the Iwo Jima airfields, because Japanese planes were using them as a springboard to harass B-29 aircraft on the ground at Saipan, B-29s destined to bomb Japan. Moreover, the U.S. Army Air Corps needed an emergency landing facility for B-29s damaged in bombing raids over Japan and unable to complete their return to Saipan.

Before the marines landed at Iwo Jima on February 19, 1945, the island was subjected to heavy air and naval bombardment. Expectations were that three days would bring the fortress down. Allied planners, however, did not anticipate the depth of the fortifications that the Japanese had prepared. Damage done by the explosives dumped on Iwo Jima was limited to the surface, while caves, bunkers, and gun emplacements dug deep into Mount Suribachi and obvious attack zones remained largely untouched. The 20,000 defenders were determined to hold their positions or die trying and 95 percent of them perished; they killed over 6,000 marines in the process. The

three days turned into a month of intense combat—the island was not secured until March 16—that not only killed and mutilated thousands on both sides, but also did so with tremendous violence that ripped bodies into small pieces and scattered them over the landscape. The battle for Iwo Jima, among the most savage in U.S. history, was prologue to another vicious island battle at Okinawa, where U.S. Army, Navy, and Marine Corps losses were double those on Iwo Jima and Japanese losses were five times greater at 100,000.

Further Reading: Joseph H. Alexander, *Closing In: Marines in the Seizure of Iwo Jima*, 1994; James R. Dickenson, *We Few: The Marine Corps 400 In the War Against Japan*, 2001; Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, vol. 14, *Victory in the Pacific, 1945, 1960*.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

IWO JIMA MONUMENT (MARINE CORPS WAR MEMORIAL) On the morning of February 23, 1945, U.S. Marines of Company E, Second Battalion, climbed rough terrain to the top of Mount Suribachi, an extinct volcano rising 550 feet. The mountain formed the southern part of Iwo Jima, a small island in the Pacific Ocean located 660 miles south of Tokyo, and was still under Japanese control. That afternoon, when the area had been cleared of Japanese resistance, a large U.S. flag was raised by five marines and a navy hospital corpsman: Michael Strank, Harlon H. Block, Franklin R. Sousley, Rene A. Gagnon, Ira Hayes, and John H. Bradley. Joseph Rosenthal, a news photographer, caught the inspiring flag-raising scene, a photograph that won him a Pulitzer Prize.

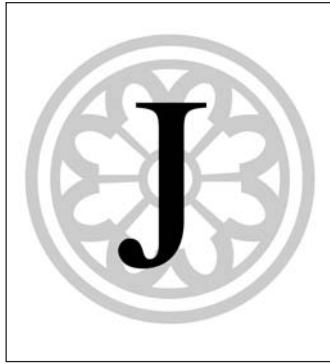
Sculptor Felix W. De Weldon, who was serving in the army, was moved by the photograph and constructed a scale model of the picture. A larger statue, trucked in a convoy to Brooklyn and Washington, DC, over the next several years, was cast in bronze by experienced artisans. They finished it, cleaned it, and treated it with preservatives. Erection of the memorial, designed by Horace W. Peaslee and financed by private donations, began in 1954. Located in Washington, DC, it was officially dedicated by President

Dwight D. Eisenhower on November 10, 1954, the 179th anniversary of the U.S. Marine Corps. Administered by the National Park Service in Arlington, Virginia, the Marine Corps War Memorial, a favorite tourist attraction, not only depicts one of the most famous occurrences of World War II but also serves as a monument dedicated to all marines who gave their lives defending the United States since 1775. In 1968 the

United States returned the island of Iwo Jima to Japan.

Further Reading: George Gentile, *History of the Iwo Jima Association and the National Iwo Jima Memorial*, 1997; Karal A. Marling and John Wetenhall, *Iwo Jima: Monuments, Memories, and the American Hero*, 1991; Bernard C. Nalty and Danny J. Crawford, *The United States Marines on Iwo Jima*, 1967.

LEONARD SCHLUP



JACKSON, ROBERT HOUGH-
WOUT (February 13, 1892–
October 9, 1954), U.S. Supreme
Court associate justice. Jackson
was born in Spring Creek, Penn-
sylvania, and grew up in upstate
New York. After high school, he
attended Albany Law School for one year. There-
after he clerked and studied in a Jamestown, New
York, law office. He was admitted to the state bar
in 1913, the last member of the U.S. Supreme
Court to have served without graduating from law
school. In 1934, Jackson was appointed general
counsel of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. From
1936 to 1938, he worked as assistant attorney
general in charge of the antitrust division.

A dedicated, savvy country lawyer, Jackson
was a strong advocate of the New Deal, espe-
cially its nationalistic principles. In 1940, when
President Franklin Roosevelt appointed Attorney
General Frank Murphy to the Supreme Court,
Jackson replaced Murphy. A year later, Jackson
was nominated to the same bench to fill a seat
vacated by Harlan Fiske Stone.

Jackson wrote the Court's opinion in *Wickard
v. Filburn* (1942), which put to rest more than
fifty years of claims that Congress had violated
the commerce clause. Jackson's best-known de-
cision was *West Virginia State Board of Educa-
tion v. Barnette* (1943), which struck down the
mandatory flag salute and expanded the scope of
free speech. During his tenure, Jackson's feud
with Justice Hugo Black became legendary. The
conflict began with the 1945 case *Jewell Ridge
Coal Corp. v. Local No. 6167, United Mine Work-
ers of America*. At issue were the hours and wages
dictated by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.
Jackson had requested that Black excuse himself
because Black's former law partner represented
the employers. Black refused. As a result, Jus-
tice Murphy, instead of Jackson, wrote the ma-
jority opinion. Ideologically, Black adhered to a
literal interpretation of the Constitution, while
Jackson insisted that the power of judicial review
be employed sparingly. The feud cost Jackson
the chief justice's position.

In 1945, President Harry Truman asked Jack-

son to serve as the United States' chief
prosecutor at the Nurem-
berg war trials. To do so, he took
leave of the Court from 1945 to
1946. An eloquent writer, Jack-
son penned *The Struggle for Ju-
dicial Supremacy* (1940), *The*

Case against the Nazi War Criminals (1945), and
The Supreme Court in the American System of

Government (1955). He died in Washington, DC.
Further Reading: Eugene C. Gerhart, *America's Advo-
cate: Robert H. Jackson*, 1958; Jeffrey D. Hockett, *New*

Deal Justice: The Constitutional Jurisprudence of Hugo

L. Black, Felix Frankfurter, and Robert H. Jackson, 1966;

Glendon Schubert, *Dispassionate Justice: A Synthesis of*

the Judicial Opinions of Robert H. Jackson, 1969.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

JAPAN UNDER MILITARISM On September
18, 1931, mid-level officers of the Kwantung
Army, acting without the knowledge or authori-
zation of their government in Tokyo, staged a fake
attack along the Japanese-run South Manchurian
Railway line near Shenyang (Mukden) in
northern China. Using the contrived "incident"
as their justification, Japanese forces promptly
seized the whole province of Manchuria from the
Kuomintang and established the puppet regime
of Manchukuo, with its figurehead the former
Qing (Ch'ing) emperor Henry Pu Yi. The Man-
churian Incident not only signaled the beginning
of Japan's quest for territorial aggrandizement in
East Asia; it also marked the effective collapse of
civilian authority within the Japanese state. Al-
though a veneer of parliamentary control per-
sisted throughout the next fourteen years, Japan's
military elite made little secret of its contempt
for party politicians and its willingness to use any
means, including assassination and coup d'état,
to enforce its will. The result was a hybrid form
of government, reactionary and intolerant but
lacking the cohesion to really be called dictato-
rial, in which power shifted desultorily from one
cabal to the next and in which erratic, extreme,
and ultimately disastrous foreign policy decisions
were the norm.

The 1889 Meiji Constitution made Emperor Hirohito the supreme head of the civilian and military arms of the Japanese state and the fount of all political legitimacy. But while Hirohito was venerated by his subjects to a quasi-religious degree, his very aloofness from day-to-day matters robbed him of any power: army and navy ministers justified their decisions under imperial prerogative, free from civilian interference, but never actually sought or considered the emperor's opinion. If a dominant generalissimo had emerged from within Imperial General Headquarters (Japan's chiefs of staff organization) during the 1930s, then the result might have been a strong, centrally controlled military dictatorship, but the army and navy remained bitterly divided and mutually resentful. Both services agreed on the need for an aggressive foreign policy, yet had irreconcilable aims. The army wished to pursue a "northern strategy" of aggression against China; the navy argued for a "southern strategy," seizing instead the resource-rich colonial territories of France (Indochina), Britain (Malaya), and the Netherlands (Indonesia). What emerged from this intraservice debate was not compromise but expedient logrolling: Japan would go north *and* south, setting itself a list of strategic objectives that its modest industrial base was quite incapable of achieving. Worse, its leaders declared themselves willing to go to war against the United States in pursuit of these fantastic goals, deluding themselves that America's crude economic might would be no match for Japanese spiritual fortitude.

The result was catastrophic. In 1937 Japan provoked another, much more extensive war with the Nanking regime, occupying large swaths of eastern China but at the cost of an expensive, ongoing campaign of attrition. With the fall of France and the Netherlands in 1940 and the apparently imminent defeat of Britain by Germany, Tokyo saw its opportunity in Southeast Asia: in December 1941 it routed the European colonial powers, simultaneously launching surprise attacks on American forces in Hawaii and the Philippines. Pitched against a weak, confused Allied defense, the excellently trained and equipped Japanese forces had by mid-1942 carved out an empire (the "Great East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere") stretching from the Solomon Islands to the border of India. But this

regional dominance was fleeting; U.S. industrial capacity alone virtually guaranteed the collapse of Japan's Pacific fortress line and, despite fanatical resistance at every step, by early 1945 the Allies possessed overwhelming military superiority. The traditional deference and stoicism of the Japanese peasant masses, supplemented by a relentless campaign of ultranationalist propaganda, maintained loyalty on the home front and battlefield to the end. But the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945, forced Japan at last to "endure the unendurable"; on September 2 the document of unconditional surrender was signed aboard the USS *Missouri*, anchored in Tokyo Bay.

Further Reading: T.R.H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War II*, 1978; Saburo Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945*, 1977; Peter Wetzler, *Hirohito and War: Imperial Tradition and Military Decision Making in Prewar Japan*, 1998.

ALAN ALLPORT

JAPANESE AMERICANS The plight of Japanese Americans during World War II is a dark episode in American history. The voluntary and then mandatory removal of Japanese Americans from West Coast security zones into "relocation centers" was based on a conscious policy of racial discrimination and contravention of the constitutional rights of citizens. The "evacuation" of citizens of Japanese ancestry was complicated by euphemistic official terminology and the classification of the Japanese American or *Nikkei* community into distinct groupings. In the government's terminology, the army operation was called an "evacuation," "relocation," or "internment." Those affected were "evacuees" or "internees." Citizens affected were called "non-alien" and inmates of the relocation centers were "residents." Interestingly, relocation centers were also referred to as "concentration camps." Japanese Americans were subject to complex classification as sansei, issei, nisei, and kibe. Issei, considered to be resident aliens, were the first generation of Japanese in the United States. They were born in Japan but immigrated to the United States, where discriminatory laws, such as those embodying the national origins quota system, prevented their becoming

naturalized citizens. Nisei were the second generation and U.S. citizens by birth. Kibei were born in the United States but experienced a period of education in Japan. Sansei were the third generation, children of nisei. These groups were identified in the Munson Report to President Franklin D. Roosevelt (November 1941) regarding Japanese Americans living on the West Coast. Although the report was essentially positive about their loyalty, these groups were nevertheless still relocated and imprisoned. Japanese Hawaiians, however, were never removed en masse during World War II.

General internal fears regarding potentially “dangerous enemy aliens” allowed the relocation and internment of over 110,000 Japanese Americans, who became entangled in the restrictions placed on enemy aliens and were not afforded the rights of citizens. Many Americans feared the presence of a fifth column, espionage, and sedition, especially in West Coast states, which pushed the federal government to legislate. A list of “dangerous” enemy aliens and citizens had been compiled in 1939. In June 1940 the Federal Bureau of Investigation was granted control of cases relating to individual subversives and the Office of Naval Intelligence was assigned to watch over Japanese Americans generally. Arrests began in earnest on the day of the Pearl Harbor attack. It is important to note that in the entire course of the war only ten persons were convicted of spying for Japan, all of them Caucasian.

Lieutenant General John DeWitt was appointed to carry out Japanese removal from the West Coast after Executive Order 9066 (February 1942), which did not mention Japanese Americans specifically but was applied to them exclusively. The War Relocation Authority (WRA), created in March 1942, became the organizing authority, directed first by Milton Eisenhower and later by Dillon S. Myer. The first camp, Manzanar, was opened on March 21, 1942. Others followed. Tule Lake was designated as a “segregation center” in July 1943 and held “disloyal” internees. Policy shifted on February 1, 1943, when Roosevelt made a statement regarding Japanese American loyalty. Loyal nisei could now be employed in the military and defense

industries. During 1943 and 1944, the administration struggled over how to dismantle internment and organize resettlement and release. Prisoners over age seventeen were required to complete a “loyalty questionnaire.” Unfortunately, the WRA’s loyalty process was tragically flawed, and the last camp, Tule Lake, did not close until March 1946. Returnees suffered a variety of hardships, especially the confiscation of their property and possessions and the hostile reaction of West Coast whites. In 1948 token reparations were made for actual property losses, but cases took several years and those compensated had to waive all other claims against the government. Redress would not be achieved until the 1980s.

Further Reading: Roger Daniels, Sandra Taylor, and Harry Kitano, eds., *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, 1986; Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans*, 2001; Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America’s Concentration Camps*, 1996.

WENDY TOON

JEEP This was the name given to a utility vehicle manufactured during World War II. The need for a rugged utility vehicle had become obvious during World War I. Horses were too much trouble and a general-purpose vehicle was needed to operate in the mud. With war clouds on the horizon in 1940, the U.S. Army began to review specifications from three manufacturers: Bantam, Willys-Overland Motors, and the Ford Motor Company. Later Bantam dropped out of the competition, so Willys and Ford became the two companies that would produce jeeps. Willys produced 359,849 while Ford put out 227,000 jeeps by 1945. Although the origin of the word *jeep* is somewhat confusing, most historians agree that the word came from the designation GP for a general-purpose military vehicle. The jeep would have numerous uses—staff car, troop transport, makeshift ambulance, supply vehicle, and light equipment transporter. The jeep’s reputation for dependability and durability became legendary. The vehicle’s use continued after the war, as surplus jeeps were sold to the general public. By 1981, there were approximately 58,000 jeeps still in military use. No new orders were placed be-

cause the military required a newer design. The basic jeep design is still in civilian production by the Chrysler Co.

Further Reading: Patrick R. Foster, *The Story of Jeep*, 1998; Kurt Willinger, *The American Jeep in War and Peace*, 1983; Michael Clayton, *JEEP*, 1982.

MARK E. ELLIS

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES The Jehovah's Witnesses are a Christian sect that practices home Bible study and believes that society and secular government are evil entities that will soon be destroyed in an Armageddon. During the 1940s the group was small; its central tenet was a strict, literal interpretation of the Bible. Yet its attitudes toward society and government made it extraordinarily controversial and, consequently, a powerful force in shaping American society and law. Much of the legal precedent for freedom of speech, press, and assembly came from legal cases involving Jehovah's Witnesses.

During the decade, the Witnesses became more aggressive in promoting their cause through a person-to-person membership recruiting campaign. At first, the society recorded short inspirational talks to play for potential converts on portable phonographs. Witnesses also sold the *Watch Tower*, the society's publication, door to door and found that oral presentations were more effective than recordings. The Witnesses established a special training school for missionaries in 1943, sending out graduates to recruit members in the United States, Canada, and other countries. The membership campaign of the Witnesses, coupled with their controversial ideas, annoyed state and local officials, whose efforts to outlaw their practices led to several Supreme Court cases, most won by the Witnesses.

The Supreme Court consistently upheld the right of Witnesses to proselytize door to door, publicly practice their faith, and carry their mission to the world. Among the decisions won by the Witnesses was *Cantwell v. Connecticut* (1940), which made it unconstitutional to require official approval for religious fund-raising. Laws levying taxes on peddlers of religious tracts and prohibiting door-to-door distribution of religious

handbills were declared unconstitutional in *Murdock v. Pennsylvania* (1943) and *Martin v. Struthers* (1943). These three decisions recognized the Witnesses' right to proselytize. In a case that carried over to 1951, *Niemotko v. Maryland*, the court declared unconstitutional a regulation that required official approval to hold religious meetings in public parks, where Witness publications were handed out to passersby.

In perhaps the most controversial of all the Witness cases, the court ruled in *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (1943) that a board of education rule requiring children to salute the flag was unconstitutional, because it violated some children's religious beliefs. Witnesses asserted that saluting the flag was idolatry. Witnesses did not recognize the legitimacy of the secular state and as a consequence also refused to serve in the military. They were absolute conscientious objectors who forsook even nonmilitary duty, though their faith did permit them to serve in theocratic wars. Such views made the Witnesses recipients of extreme animosity during World War II.

The Witnesses lost three cases involving freedom of religion during the 1940s. In *Cox v. New Hampshire* (1943), the court ruled that the right to hold a parade was subject to official approval. Similarly, in *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire* (1942) a breach of peace during a public religious meeting was still subject to local law. In *Prince v. Massachusetts* (1944), the court ruled that the Witnesses could not have young children sell magazines on the street late at night in violation of state child welfare laws.

Two fundamental ironies came from the Witnesses' struggle against the secular state and American society. Witnesses were outside the mainstream of traditional Christianity in America, but their court cases gained religious freedom for all faiths and contrary points of view. Although unpopular with most Americans, the Witnesses gained members from their struggle with the state and society. In 1941, there were 141,000 practicing Witnesses. This number increased to 500,000 by 1950, the beginning of three decades of rapid growth for the Jehovah's Witnesses.

Further Reading: Jerry Bergman, *Jehovah's Witnesses and Kindred Groups*, 1984; James M. Penton, *Apocalypse*

Delayed: The Story of Jehovah's Witnesses, 1985; Jack C. Plano and Milton Greenberg, *The American Political Dictionary*, 1993.

NORMAN E. FRY

JITTERBUG The jitterbug, a popular dance during the 1940s, had originated in Harlem two decades earlier. Inspired by jazz music and also referred to as the Lindy or the Lindy Hop, the jitterbug entered the mainstream in the late 1930s as big band swing attracted dancers across the country. The dance involved fast, intricate movements, improvisations, and some athleticism, all performed to the strong beat of jazz or swing. In one step, the swing-out, the male dancer guided his partner out to the end of his extended arm and then swung her back in. In the breakaway, the partners separated entirely or remained connected by only one hand as they continued to dance. Air steps, which sent a dancer airborne, either through self-propulsion or by being lifted and thrown by a partner, were most commonly used by competition dancers or professionals. American GIs introduced the jitterbug to Europeans during World War II and wartime musical movies featured jitterbuggers dancing to well-known bands. The dance's popularity ebbed after the war, but was revived for a time in various forms with the advent of rock and roll in the 1950s.

Further Reading: Peter Buckman, *Let's Dance*, 1978; *Life*, "The Lindy Hop," August 23, 1943, 95–103; Marshall Stearns and Jane Stearns, *Jazz Dance*, 1968.

SUZANNE JULIN

JOHNSON, HIRAM W. (September 2, 1866–August 6, 1945), U.S. senator from California. A native of Sacramento, Johnson was elected governor in 1911 and sent to the U.S. Senate in 1916, where he served until his death. A supporter of political reform, Johnson was one of the founding members of the Progressive Party and Theodore Roosevelt's running mate in the election of 1912. He returned to the Republican Party soon afterward, although his politics were mainly out of line with those of the conservative presidents of the 1920s. In 1932 he went so

far as to endorse the Democratic candidacy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, although he declined the latter's invitation to join his cabinet as secretary of the interior. Johnson supported many early New Deal measures. Like many progressive Republicans, however, he turned against Roosevelt in the late 1930s, denouncing the president's effort to pack the Supreme Court and his decision to seek a third term. Johnson, in his later years, tended more and more to vote with his Republican colleagues, although he remained a lifelong maverick.

In foreign affairs, Johnson had a reputation as a die-hard anti-interventionist, but the reality is somewhat more complex. During the 1919 Senate debate over the Treaty of Versailles, he was counted among the "Irreconcilables" who opposed U.S. involvement in any sort of League of Nations. Indeed, throughout his career he harbored a deep distrust of Europeans. In 1934 he introduced a bill, eventually called the Johnson Act, prohibiting American banks from making loans to countries that had defaulted on their war debts to the United States. After the outbreak of World War II in Europe, he became a determined opponent of Roosevelt's efforts to assist Great Britain and the Soviet Union in their fight against Nazi Germany. On the other hand, he was a strong American nationalist and generally supported efforts to enlarge the armed forces, particularly the navy. Johnson was also thoroughly anti-Japanese, favoring a tough policy toward Japan's imperialism in East Asia.

By the time the United States entered World War II, Johnson was seventy-five, and was taking a less active role in Senate politics. He did, however, wage a lonely battle against U.S. involvement in any sort of postwar international organization. He was one of only five senators to oppose the Connally Resolution in 1943, and in 1945 he cast the sole dissenting vote against the United Nations Charter. Only days later, he died at the naval hospital in Bethesda, Maryland.

Further Reading: Hiram Johnson, *The Diary Letters of Hiram Johnson, 1917–1945*, ed., Robert E. Burke, 7 vols., 1983; Richard Coke Lower, *A Bloc of One: The Political Career of Hiram W. Johnson*, 1993; Michael A. Weatherson, *Hiram Johnson: Political Revivalist*, 1995.

JOHN E. MOSER

JOHNSON, LYNDON BAINES (August 27, 1908–January 22, 1973), congressman, senator, and future president of the United States. Johnson was born in a house lacking electricity in Gillespie County, Texas. He graduated from high school in 1924 and entered Southwest Texas State Teachers College in San Marcos in 1927. While taking courses, he taught a year at a predominantly Mexican American high school in Cotulla. There he began to cement the ties with the Latino community that would aid his rise to prominence.

Johnson entered politics during the Great Depression as a New Deal Democrat. In 1938 he won election to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served the next ten years. In 1941 and 1942 he took six months' leave to serve as lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy, the first member of either house of Congress to serve on active duty in World War II. Johnson's reconnaissance plane took Japanese fire over New Guinea in 1942. His heroism in saving the plane and crew led General Douglas MacArthur to award him the Silver Star; Johnson wore it on his lapel ever after.

Returning to Texas, he vowed to avenge his 1941 defeat in a special U.S. Senate election. In 1948 Johnson won the Democratic primary, ensuring that he would reach the Senate, by only eighty-seven votes. The margin of victory came from a ballot box discovered two days after the election. Johnson almost certainly won by fraud, and detractors derided him as "Landslide Lyndon."

He rose to Democratic whip in 1951, minority leader in 1953, majority leader in 1955, and John F. Kennedy's running mate in 1960. In the Senate Johnson perfected what supporters and critics alike called the "Johnson Treatment," a mixture of flattery and intimidation. Johnson used the treatment to best effect face to face. He would plant himself directly in front of his target, peering down from his six-foot, three-inch frame. Johnson's eyebrows pumping up and down with the cadence of his voice, he brought his face within inches of the other's as he poured out compliments, vote counts, and statistics in support of his legislation; smile gave way to scowl as he warned of the dangers that might befall the nation and his listener's fortunes should the legislation fail.

While in the Senate he defied his fellow southern Democrats by promoting civil rights. Indeed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 would crown his political career. Elected as John F. Kennedy's vice president in 1960, Johnson ascended to the presidency upon Kennedy's assassination. By one of the largest popular vote margins in history, Johnson won a term of his own in 1964. As had Andrew Jackson in the nineteenth century, Lyndon Johnson in the twentieth demonstrated the heights to which talent and ambition might carry a poor man.

Further Reading: Paul K. Conkin, *Big Daddy from Pedernales*, 1986; Robert Dallek, *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908–1960*, 1991; Robert A. Divine, ed., *The Johnson Years*, 1987.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

JOURNALISM Journalist and historian Frank Luther Mott judged the coverage of World War II as American journalism's great achievement. General Douglas MacArthur valued journalism's role, saying in 1942 that news and information on current events were as necessary as bread and bullets to the combat soldier. No neutral observer, MacArthur understood journalism's power. On relinquishing the Philippine Islands to the Japanese in 1942, he used radio to broadcast his promise to return as liberator. In 1945 he surrounded himself with photojournalists as he waded ashore, Caesar in triumphant reconquest of his province.

The U.S. Marine Corps likewise valued shaping the news. An innovation of the war was the Marine Corp's training of a division of combat correspondents. These journalists came ashore with the troops, providing the world front-page coverage of the war in the Pacific and reminding readers that the European war was not the only mission.

The examples of MacArthur and the U.S. Marines illustrated American journalism's international reach. In December 1941 U.S. newspapers, magazines, and radio stations had more than 1,000 correspondents overseas, all but 200 foreign correspondents hired by U.S. media outlets. But by 1945 the U.S. War Department had accredited more than 1,500 U.S. journalists for war coverage. The *New York Times* and *Herald*

Tribune, the *Chicago Daily News*, *Tribune* and *Sun*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Baltimore Sun*, *Time*, *Life*, and *Newsweek* created bureaus of war correspondents. Notable were the women correspondents and photojournalists. Inez Robb of the International News Service and Ruth E. Cowan of the Associated Press (AP) were the first correspondents to accompany the Women's Army Corps overseas. Twenty-one American women reporters covered the Normandy invasion in June 1944. Like servicemen and male journalists, women correspondents risked death; in 1942 American journalist Leah Burdette was the first casualty among female journalists, killed by bandits who ambushed her car in Iran.

American journalism shaped the collective memory of the war. Perhaps the most enduring image is Joseph Rosenthal's AP photo in February 1945 of U.S. Marines raising the American flag on Iwo Jima. The photo won a Pulitzer Prize and was reproduced on posters and postage stamps, and in the Marine Corps War Memorial in Washington, DC. The photo became a symbol of American triumph amid travail, of the solidarity of men fighting for a common purpose, of U.S. Marines holding the high ground in a war against barbarism.

Despite cooperation among media outlets, particularly in photographs, radio battled with newspapers and magazines for an audience. A 1945 survey reported that 61 percent of Americans received most of their news from radio and 35 percent from newspapers. Two years later newspapers eclipsed radio 48 to 44 percent. When Americans wanted immediate news, as during World War II, they turned to radio, said analysts. In quiescent times they preferred to linger over newspapers. Newspapers fought to retain their postwar advantage, refusing to print radio program schedules except as advertisements. Consolidation was the alternative to a fight over which medium would capture market share. By 1949 companies that owned newspapers also owned 711 of 2,662 U.S. radio stations. Yet radio, newspapers, and magazines could not forestall the rise of television, which broadcast the Republican and Democratic conventions in 1948 and the inauguration of President Harry S. Truman in January 1949.

Further Reading: Patricia L. Dooley, *Taking Their Political Place: Journalists and the Making of an Occupation*, 2000; Marvin Olasky, *Central Ideas in the Development of American Journalism: A Narrative History*, 1991; Donald Paneth, *The Encyclopedia of American Journalism*, 1983.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

JUDAISM The fate of Jews in Europe during World War II and the birth of the state of Israel were the two international events that drew the energies of American Jews in the 1940s. Observant Jews went about their business worshipping, supporting institutions that advanced Jewish education and social causes, engaging in acts of charity and philanthropy, and being concerned about their identity and image beyond their community. These were important to Jews who continued a decades-long process of adapting to the Gentile environment. They had suffered a round of anti-Semitic outbursts in the 1930s. Their attitudes to the war and Israel influenced the steps they took.

While non-Jews had the luxury of debating pacifism versus preparedness as war clouds gathered in Europe, Jews saw that Hitler especially had set out to persecute, banish, and finally exterminate Jews. They enthusiastically supported the war effort but met little success in urging the Roosevelt administration to loosen immigration policies and welcome more Jewish refugees.

Despite snubs, Jewish military chaplains served to reassure other Americans that they were citizens who were committed to the common good, winning friends among other religions. Similarly, Jews in the military were often subject to anti-Semitic slights, but as they fought at the side of non-Jews they became more familiar fellow-citizens.

All this was significant because anti-Semitism could have made Jewish participation in the American war effort halfhearted and ambivalent. In civilian life, Jews were still denied access to many major institutions—universities, prestigious clubs, and fraternal organizations other than those they started—or had to be satisfied with humiliating quotas in them. Figures as prominent as Henry Ford had been overtly anti-Semitic and Charles A. Lindbergh and “America Firsters” opposed

Jewish causes. Extremist clergy such as the Protestant Gerald L.K. Smith and the Catholic Charles Coughlin engaged in overt anti-Jewish activities.

The U.S. State Department was divided between those who supported and those who opposed the nascent nation of Israel. After President Franklin D. Roosevelt's death in 1945, President Harry S. Truman, a midwesterner who admitted he had had little close experience with Jews, initiated policies that led to U.S. recognition of Israel at its birth in 1948. A former business partner of Truman's from Missouri, Edward Jacobson, won the president's trust and emboldened him to make this not-universally-popular move.

Denominationally, Orthodoxy, not as well organized on a national level as were the other two main branches of Judaism, received less public notice than they. Conservatism grew in strength in the 1940s under the leadership of Rabbi Louis Finkelstein at its flagship Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, which in that decade also branched out with a school in Los Angeles. The news-making drama was in the Reform branch, most of whose rabbis almost until World War II had opposed Zionism and the creation of Israel. They did so because they were stressing Jewish universalism; support of Israel looked like particularism. Many also feared that charges of dual loyalty, to the United States and to Israel, would increase anti-Semitism. As awareness of the Holocaust began to grow, however, most rabbis turned Zionist. A minority formed an American Council for Judaism, which remained critical of majority support for Israel.

In popular culture, Bess Meyerson in 1945 became the first Jewish Miss America. Films such as *Gentleman's Agreement* in 1947 brought issues of anti-Semitism and Jewish family life to the larger public's consciousness.

The postwar rise in religious participation nationally also involved Jews. Statistics on synagogue growth, especially as inner-city ghettos broke up and many adherents moved to the suburbs, signaled a new acceptance and prosperity. Jews took part in interfaith organizations such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, thus gaining popularity and influence. Poised for what many called "the return to religion" in the 1950s, Jews developed strategies to improve

education, worship, philanthropy, and common action in society through the synagogue, the institution that profited from the new situation.

Further Reading: Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*, 1988; Melvin I. Urofsky, *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust*, 1975; David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941–1945*, 1984.

MARTIN E. MARTY

JUDD, WALTER HENRY (September 25, 1898–February 13, 1994), educator, medical missionary, and U.S. Representative from Minnesota. Born in Rising City, Nebraska, Judd earned undergraduate and medical degrees from the University of Nebraska at Lincoln. After completing military duty in World War I, he taught zoology at the University of Omaha in the early 1920s. He was a medical missionary and hospital superintendent in China from 1925 to 1931 and again from 1934 to 1938. During the early 1940s, Judd engaged in private medical practice in Minneapolis. Elected as a Republican to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1942, he served from 1943 until 1963. There he supported U.S. internationalism and moderate Republican policies. A loyal GOP spokesman who resided in a state generally controlled by the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, Judd lost his congressional seat to the opposition in 1962, two years after he delivered a rousing keynote address at the Republican National Convention. Judd was widely acclaimed for his knowledge of foreign affairs and basic intelligence throughout the 1940s and thereafter. In retirement, he contributed articles to magazines, lectured on international relations and government, and worked as a radio commentator in Minnesota. He died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Lee Edwards, *Missionary for Freedom: The Life and Times of Walter Judd*, 1990; Edward J. Rozek, ed., *Walter H. Judd: Chronicles of a Statesman*, 1980; Barbara Stuhler, *Ten Men of Minnesota and American Foreign Policy, 1898–1968*, 1973.

LEONARD SCHLUP

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY World War II shaped the public perception of behavior that

many believed was delinquent by its very nature. A truer understanding of the subject is a bit more complex. By the 1940s, a youth subculture existed in the United States. Of course there was no shortage of available experts who readily offered the wisdom of their pet social science theories. Unfortunately, most lacked historical perspective.

For example, since colonial times, childhood has been a special age. The child has been assumed to be not a miniature adult, but rather an individual with special needs and wants. Economic growth by the 1940s meant that some children and youth had increased disposable income. The emerging consumer economy offered tempting ways for them to spend it. In the long run, the family was moving away from being a productive unit, located on a farm or in a small town, to becoming a consuming group housed in an urban area. Urban life meant a different set of social controls and norms. Circumstances gave the children increased time away from adult supervision. Public educational institutions were called upon to do more parenting.

The statistics on marriage and divorce did not inspire optimism. Many people married early, to realize some happiness before military obligations dominated private lives. Motion pictures undoubtedly fostered this sentimental belief. And, soon after the war, Hollywood discovered the youth cult and its rebellion against adult control. The important sociological element in these cheaply produced films was the rebel sexuality of young girls—desiring to express their feelings, their womanhood. Within a decade, *The Wild Ones*, *Blackboard Jungle*, and *Rebel Without a Cause* were assumed to portray normative behavior and the way sensitive youth would react to the world.

Pop Freudians found a ready audience: family issues, such as authority and the lack of love, prevented harmony in the home. Concern over early sexual development, particularly among girls, led to dire predictions about America's social future.

By the 1940s, American society was “organized” for juvenile delinquency, paying for institutional care for children. Juvenile courts and reformatories had been established in most states. Since the early twentieth century, reformers had argued that wayward youth needed treatment, not punishment. Juvenile crime increased in the 1940s, despite public awareness of the issue. Juvenile misbehavior reflected larger societal developments. The migration of African Americans from the South to the northern urban areas and to California created the usual social concern expressed as racial prejudice. Results included race riots in Chicago, Detroit, and elsewhere. The migration of youth from Mexico into Los Angeles provided the background for the zoot suit riots, named after the distinctive garments worn generally by Latino youth. By early June 1943, soldiers waiting to go overseas were stationed in the Los Angeles area. Mexican American and African American youth clashed with the soldiers in various neighborhoods. Because Latinos gathered on street corners, the police charged them with vagrancy, which only resulted in inflated “crime” statistics for them. The zoot suit became the uniform of delinquency.

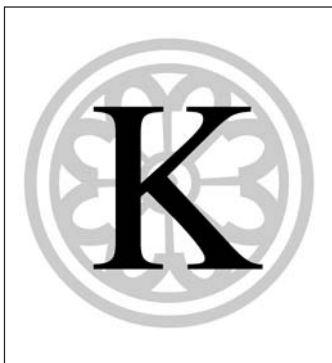
Further Reading: Gerald D. Nash, *The Great Depression and World War II*, 1979; Richard H. Pells, *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age, American Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s*, 1985; Lucy Rollin, *Twentieth-Century Teen Culture by the Decades: A Reference Guide*, 1999.

DONALD K. PICKENS

KAISER, HENRY JOHN (May 9, 1882–August 24, 1967), industrialist. Born in Sprout Brook, New York, Kaiser quit school in the eighth grade to enter the business world. He made a fortune in the road-paving business and participated in constructing of Hoover, Grand Coulee, and Shasta dams. In 1938 he established a prepaid health plan for his workers, a model later used by health maintenance organizations (HMOs). World War II marked his emergence as an industrial giant, earning the nickname “Miracle Man.” Kaiser, a shrewd entrepreneur, amassed a fortune. His became a household name for self-made men in the 1940s. President Franklin D. Roosevelt even contemplated having Kaiser as his running mate in 1944. Anticipating a postwar economic boom, Kaiser teamed with automobile executive Joseph W. Frazer to form the Kaiser-Frazer Corporation to challenge General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler. By 1947 Kaiser and Frazer produced 15,000 cars each month. Once the big three automobile producers caught up with demand, Kaiser experienced difficulty selling his cars. When the company suspended domestic operations in 1955, it had lost \$123 million. In the meantime, Kaiser Steel and Kaiser Aluminum advanced rapidly. Kaiser died in Hawaii. **Further Reading:** Mark S. Foster, *Henry J. Kaiser: Builder in the Modern American West*, 1989; Albert P. Heiner, *Henry J. Kaiser; American Empire Builder: An Insider’s View*, 1989; Henry J. Kaiser Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

LEONARD SCHLUP

KALTENBORN, HANS VON “H.V.” (July 9, 1878–June 14, 1965), radio commentator. Kaltenborn was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, left school at fourteen, but later attended Harvard as a special student and graduated cum laude in 1909 with a political science degree. Kaltenborn’s reputation as a popular lecturer got him his first job in radio as a news analyst for a New York station in 1922, but he gained fame from his broadcast of the Munich crisis, the Nazi take-



over of half of Czechoslovakia, in September 1938. Kaltenborn made 102 broadcasts over a twenty-day period. This epic reporting of the conquest of Czechoslovakia made his name a household word and got him a position with the National

Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) in 1940.

Throughout the 1940s, radio audiences became familiar with the sound of the Suave Voice of Doom. Listeners instantly recognized Kaltenborn’s pompous, staccato speaking style. When Kaltenborn announced some “ee-pawk-ul” event, listeners were inclined to turn their ears toward the radio with great interest and with expectations of a sharp commentary. Kaltenborn’s reputation and radio audience were substantial enough that an unfavorable comment from him could affect public opinion. Kaltenborn generally supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the war effort, and American foreign policy, but early on he began to question the loyalty of the Soviet Union. His trips to the Pacific and Europe during the war usually inspired straightforward reporting without diatribe against anyone except the Axis enemies. On the domestic front, his commentaries often evoked controversy. Any government official or policy that he did not like became fit subject for a radio program. Kaltenborn harshly criticized unions for undermining the war cause and hurting efficiency. Union leaders hated him, organizing an ineffective boycott against his radio program. Kaltenborn claimed he was not anti-union, but he was as sharply critical of strikes after the war as he was during it. Kaltenborn himself could be epically wrong, as when he announced Thomas Dewey’s victory over Harry Truman in the 1948 presidential election. Kaltenborn’s reputation was unaffected by this mistake, but television would devastate his career.

Kaltenborn’s power to mold public opinion with his commentaries declined in the television age. The style that had been so effective for the radio seemed absurd and unconvincing to television audiences. An article in *Time* unkindly described him as a preposterous professor. The cool

medium required uncontroversial, reserved, bland commentators. Kaltenborn's last regular broadcast was in 1955. He died in New York City.

Further Reading: David Gillis Clark, "The Dean of Commentators: A Biography of H.V. Kaltenborn," PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1965; H.V. Kaltenborn, *Fifty Fabulous Years: A Personal Review*, 1950; Kaltenborn Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

NORMAN E. FRY

KAMIKAZE, suicide warfare. When the Mongols after their conquest of large parts of Asia tried to invade Japan, they were stopped in 1281 by bad weather in the form of a typhoon, which was called "kamikaze" (divine wind) by the Japanese. In July 1944 the Japanese military effort became desperate after the fall of Saipan, which was accompanied by civilian mass suicide. Vice admiral Takijiro Onishi started training special suicide fighter squads to attack the U.S. fleet near Japanese home waters. The employment of kamikaze pilots was fostered especially by Admiral Soemu Toyoda.

The ideological background of the kamikaze suicide missions derived from the so-called samurai principles as outlined in the early eighteenth-century book *Hagakure* ("In the shadow of leaves") by Yamamoto Tsunetomo. Kamikaze is—in the ideological interpretation of this book by Japanese propaganda during the 1940s—a modern version of *tsuifuku*, which meant the suicide of a retainer on the death of his lord and military commander. This concept was transformed into a justification for suicide missions for the sake of Japan and—not to be underestimated—the godlike emperor. By the time kamikaze attacks actually occurred, their voluntary character was stressed, at least in the public's imagination, in Japan as in the Allied countries. Later historical research established that the Japanese authorities involved were under immense psychological pressure to recruit a sufficient number of pilots willing to sacrifice their lives on missions without chance of return. Survivors of attacks or pilots prepared but not sent into action have testified about this form of psychological coercion of kamikaze pilots.

Although kamikaze actions shocked the Allied public, they failed militarily in two ways. First, the deliberate loss of airplanes and pilots was not easily replaced in this late phase of the war. After all, the Japanese had begun fighting not at Pearl Harbor, but in Manchuria in 1932. Second, the psychological effect on the Allies and especially on the United States was probably counterproductive. As the kamikaze attacks spread terror and fear, they strengthened the Allies' resolve against an enemy using such inhumane forms of warfare.

Kamikaze as self-sacrifice is still celebrated in the Yasukuni shrine in Tokyo.

Further Reading: Rikihei Inoguchi, *Divine Wind: Japan's Kamikaze Force in World War II*, 1994; Raymond Lamont-Brown, *Kamikaze: Japan's Suicide Samurai*, 1997; Yukio Mishima, *The Samurai Ethic and Modern Japan: On Hagakure*, 1978.

OLIVER BENJAMIN HEMMERLE

KEFAUVER, ESTES (July 26, 1903–August 10, 1963), U.S. representative and senator. Born Carey Estes Kefauver in Madisonville, Tennessee, Kefauver in 1924 earned an undergraduate degree from the University of Tennessee. He received a law degree from Yale University three years later. He practiced law in Chattanooga before entering Democratic politics. A congressman from 1939 to 1949, Kefauver generally endorsed President Franklin D. Roosevelt's programs but always maintained a maverick reputation. He especially fought for antimonopoly measures and for the Tennessee Valley Authority, a government-run producer of hydroelectric power. A coonskin cap became his campaign symbol. In 1948, Kefauver won election to the U.S. Senate and served from 1949 until his death at Bethesda, Maryland. Known for integrity and statesmanship, he chaired the Senate Crime Investigating Committee in 1950–1951 and surfaced as one of the ten most admired men in the United States. He won an electrifying triumph over incumbent President Harry S. Truman in the 1952 New Hampshire presidential primary, prompting Truman's withdrawal from the campaign. Kefauver unsuccessfully sought the Democratic nomination in 1952 and 1956, emerging as the

party's vice presidential nominee in 1956 on Adlai E. Stevenson's ticket. Kefauver's liberal views on many issues contrasted sharply with the more conservative stance of segments of his Tennessee constituency.

Further Reading: Charles L. Fontenay, *Estes Kefauver: A Biography*, 1980; Joseph B. Gorman, *Kefauver: A Political Biography*, 1971; Estes Kefauver Papers, University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville.

LEONARD SCHLUP

KELLER, HELEN (June 27, 1880–June 1, 1968), reformer, author, and humanitarian. Born Helen Adams Keller in Tusculum, Alabama, Keller was struck by an illness, possibly scarlet fever, in her nineteenth month of infancy. It left her permanently blind and deaf. Michael Anagnos, head of Boston's Perkins Institution, selected Anne Mansfield Sullivan to live with Keller and educate her. The two women formed an enduring friendship. Attending Perkins and the Horace Mann School in New York, among others, Keller learned to read Braille. In 1902 she published her autobiography, *The Story of My Life* and, two years later, graduated with honors from Radcliffe College. A Swedenborgian in religion who practiced radicalism, Keller opposed American participation in World War I, preached pacifism, supported women's suffrage, and approved of socialism's program to help the disadvantaged. Lecturing and writing throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, Keller condemned racism, castigated Adolf Hitler, favored U.S. entry into World War II, and campaigned for President Franklin D. Roosevelt during his 1944 campaign. In 1940, she wrote *Let Us Have Faith*. She symbolized all that one could become despite enormous handicaps, and she served as an inspiration to every person with hearing or visual impairments. A recipient in 1964 of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, Keller died at her home in Easton, Connecticut, leaving a rich legacy of achievement.

Further Reading: Helen Keller Papers, American Foundation of the Blind, New York City; Joseph P. Lash, *Helen and Teacher: The Story of Helen Keller and Anne Sullivan Macy*, 1980; obituary in *New York Times*, June 2, 1968.

LEONARD SCHLUP

KENNAN, GEORGE FROST (February 16, 1904–March 17, 2005), diplomat and historian. Kennan was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and graduated from Princeton University in 1925. From 1944 to 1947, he served as a senior adviser to U.S. ambassadors in Moscow. He wrote an 8,000-word report in February 1947, the "long telegram," urging the United States to view the Soviet leadership as an implacable, expansionist foe. Also in 1947, under the pen name "Mr. X," he published an article, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," in *Foreign Affairs*. The piece outlined what became known as the West's policy of "containment" toward Soviet Communism for the next forty years, and Kennan became known as the principal architect of America's Cold War strategy. He contended that the root of all Soviet action in foreign affairs was its hostility toward the capitalist West. Soviet theories stated that the West's fall would occur naturally because capitalism, like feudalism before it, would be replaced by a higher way of organizing society. Kennan argued that this policy was best combated with "vigilant containment" of Soviet expansion. The United States could wait patiently, as the Soviet Union waited patiently, for the fall of the other side. The United States would use counterforce at any necessary point on the globe.

Kennan's work was widely read and led to his appointment as director of the State Department Policy Planning Staff from 1947 to 1950. From 1949 to 1950, he was one of the chief advisers to Secretary of State Dean Acheson. However, Kennan opposed containment's "overmilitarization." In 1950, he left the State Department, in part due to disagreements over how to pursue national security strategy. Kennan eventually advocated the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Western Europe and of Soviet forces from the satellite countries. He became frustrated that his *Foreign Affairs* article, which called for economic and political pressure, came to be used as a call for military pressure.

Kennan later served as ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1952 to 1953. He was recalled to the United States at the demand of the Soviet government because of unflattering statements he made about Stalin and comments comparing the Soviet Union to Nazi Germany. Thereafter

Kennan became a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, in 1956. In the 1950s and 1960s, he wrote several books on diplomatic history and won two Pulitzer Prizes. He predicted the Soviet Union's demise.

Kennan died in Princeton, New Jersey.

Further Reading: Walter L. Hixson, *George F. Kennan: Cold War Iconoclast*, 1989; George F. Kennan, *Memoirs*, 1983; Wilson D. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947–1950*, 1992.

LINDA EIKMEIER ENDERSBY

KENNEDY, JOHN FITZGERALD (May 29, 1917–November 22, 1963), thirty-fifth president of the United States. Kennedy was born in Brookline, Massachusetts, the second son of a millionaire businessman and public official. Kennedy's undergraduate senior honors paper, "Appeasement in Munich," retitled *Why England Slept*, was an account of England's slowness to rearm in the face of growing Nazi aggression. It reached publication in 1940, the year he graduated cum laude from Harvard University.

Kennedy enlisted in the U.S. Navy in September 1941 and on April 25, 1943, assumed command of *PT-109*, an eight-foot-long, gasoline-engine torpedo boat. While attached to a convoy in the Blakett Strait in the South Pacific's Solomon Islands, *PT-109* was rammed, cut in half, and sunk by a Japanese destroyer on the night of August 2. Kennedy and ten other survivors spent three days afloat in the ocean, with Kennedy unhesitatingly braving the difficulties and hazards of darkness to direct rescue operations. He towed a wounded sailor for miles, gripping the sailor's life jacket in his teeth while swimming. After succeeding in getting his crew ashore, Kennedy swam many hours to secure aid and food. For his heroism and outstanding courage in rescuing members of his crew, Kennedy received the Purple Heart and the Navy and Marine Corps Medal in 1944. Years later, when a youngster in Wisconsin asked Kennedy how he had become a war hero, the future president replied with his characteristic sense of humor that it was involuntary, for the Japanese had sunk his boat.

Honorably discharged from the navy in 1945, Kennedy worked as a newspaper correspondent

covering the United Nations conference at San Francisco, the British parliamentary elections, and the Potsdam meeting attended by President Harry S. Truman, prime ministers Winston Churchill and Clement Attlee, and Premier Joseph Stalin. Kennedy was elected as a Democrat to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1946. He thereby began his political career as well as a record of never losing an election. He easily won reelection in 1948 and 1950 to this seat from the Eleventh Congressional District of Massachusetts, thus ending a decade during which he had graduated from college, published a book, confronted death, emerged a hero, matured individually, and assumed his family's political mantle.

Further Reading: David Burner, *John F. Kennedy and a New Generation*, 1988; James MacGregor Burns, *John F. Kennedy: A Political Profile*, 1961; Robert J. Donovan, *PT-109: John F. Kennedy in World War II*, 2001.

LEONARD SCHLUP

KERR, ROBERT SAMUEL (September 11, 1896–January 1, 1963), U.S. senator. Born in a log cabin in the Indian Territory, Kerr remained a Baptist all his life, teaching Sunday school and rejecting alcohol. His outgoing personality benefited his political career greatly. He graduated from East Central Normal College (now East Central State University) in Ada, Oklahoma, and briefly attended the University of Oklahoma Law School. He served as an officer in World War I and later was a large presence in the Oklahoma National Guard and the American Legion.

During the 1920s Kerr passed the bar and entered the oil business with his brother-in-law. In 1936 Dean A. McGee joined the company, which became Kerr-McGee ten years later. It moved into the exploration of other fuels and minerals, including uranium and helium.

Meanwhile Kerr became active in politics. He was elected governor in 1942 and worked effectively with the legislature. He promoted Oklahoma, pushing for economic development and public-private partnerships. Rising within the national Democratic Party, he was elected to the Senate in 1948. There he stressed oil policy and public works. His keystone was the

Arkansas River Navigation System, a \$3 billion project that allowed Tulsa to become a seaport. Except for opposing Medicare, Kerr was generally loyal to the New Deal legacy. As the state moved toward the Republican Party, he fought for Oklahoma interests, promoting the integration of the South and Southwest into the national economy and creation of the Sunbelt. At the height of his power and influence, Kerr died in Bethesda, Maryland.

Further Reading: John S. Ezell, *Innovations in Energy: The Story of Kerr-McGee*, 1979; Anne Hodges Morgan, *Robert S. Kerr: The Senate Years*, 1977; James R. Scales and Danney Goble, *Oklahoma Politics: A History*, 1982.

DONALD K. PICKENS

KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR. (January 15, 1929–April 4, 1968), civil rights leader and Nobel laureate. Born in the Auburn Avenue neighborhood of Atlanta, Georgia, King was the son of a prominent Baptist minister. He lived with his parents, his sister, and a brother. Auburn Avenue in the 1940s was a vital, self-contained black community, a product of rigid segregation and home to blue-collar workers as well as successful professionals and businessmen. The center of black business activity and the preferred residential area for affluent African Americans, the neighborhood took great pride in black self-reliance and relished its achievements despite the limits imposed by segregation. Its strong emphasis on church and family had a profound effect upon King, exposing him to the richness as well as the poverty of black community life. He lived in that neighborhood until he was eighteen years old and it taught him the diversities, triumphs, and failures of black southern life. It would play a prominent role in shaping King's mature views on racial harmony and preparing him to lead the struggle against racial injustice.

King usually spent all day Sunday and most of the weekday afternoons and evenings at Ebenezer Baptist Church, where his father pastored. The church, only two blocks from his home, was instrumental in shaping the doctrines that formed the moral basis of his leadership. He learned about the redemptive power of suffering, the power in love of enemies, and

the dynamics of nonviolent confrontation. King's church background rendered him capable of calling on the themes, images, and metaphors that were familiar to millions of southern blacks. These elements would be highly useful once he assumed a prominent role in the civil rights movement.

King lived the life of a typical upper-class African American boy in Atlanta. He attended Young Street Elementary School and David T. Howard Elementary School and experienced all the indignities of segregation prevalent in downtown Atlanta stores, movie theaters, and restaurants. He graduated from Howard Elementary School in 1940 to attend the Atlanta University Laboratory School, and at thirteen he became the youngest assistant manager of a newspaper delivery station (the *Atlanta Journal*). He enrolled in Booker T. Washington High School in 1942 and two years later won the right to represent the school in the state competition for the Elks' oratorical contest. He participated in a summer youth program at Morehouse College that year, picked tobacco on a Simsbury, Connecticut, tobacco farm, and in the fall returned to Morehouse College as an early admissions student. In 1944 his published letter to the editor of the *Atlanta Journal Constitution* argued that "black people are entitled to the basic rights and opportunities of other American citizens." In 1946 and 1948 he won second prize in the John L. Webb Oratorical Contest at Morehouse College. Also, in 1946 he took a summer job at the Atlanta Railway Express Company, but quit when the white foreman called him a "nigger." In 1947, he was elected chair of the membership committee of the Atlanta NAACP Youth Council and returned that summer to work on the Connecticut tobacco farm. King was ordained to the ministry and appointed assistant pastor at his father's church in 1948. He was frequently invited to serve as a visiting preacher at several churches thereafter. After receiving his bachelor's degree in sociology from Morehouse College in June of that year, in the fall he entered Crozier Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania. There King began to be influenced by Mohandas Gandhi and his teachings of nonviolence and civil disobedience.

Further Reading: Clayborn Carson, ed., *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 2001; Clayborn Carson, "Martin Luther King Jr." in *The Reader's Companion to American History*, 1991; Martin Luther King Jr. Papers Project, vol. 1, "Called to Serve, January 1929–June 1951," Stanford University, Palo Alto, California.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

KINSEY, ALFRED CHARLES (June 23, 1894–August 25, 1956), sexologist. Born in Hoboken, New Jersey, Kinsey received a BS in biology from Bowdoin College in 1916 and a DSc in entomology from Harvard University in 1920. That year he became assistant professor at Indiana University, rising to professor of zoology in 1929. His early monographs include a taxonomy of the gall wasp; the study established his reputation. In 1942 he founded the Institute for Sex Research, which focused on human sexuality, at Indiana University.

It may seem strange that an entomologist would study human sexuality. One must remember the Darwinian context of Kinsey's research. Natural selection, Charles Darwin believed, had evolved all life. In *The Descent of Man* (1871), Darwin elaborated the mechanism of sexual selection, arguing that many human traits were the product of the competition for mates. A woman, for example, is the only female primate whose breasts remain enlarged even when she is not lactating. This trait, Darwin argued, must have resulted from mating patterns: females with permanently enlarged breasts must have attracted more males and given birth to more children than females whose breasts were enlarged only temporarily.

Within this context, Kinsey merely built on Darwin's methodology. For Kinsey, the sexual behavior of humans, like the sexual behavior of the gall wasp, was a clinical subject devoid of religious or ethical considerations. That the doctrines of most Christian sects condemn homosexuality as a sin was irrelevant to Kinsey. That animals of several species exhibit homosexuality legitimated its study in humans, all the more so because the human's closest relative, the chimpanzee, frequently engages in homosexual acts.

Kinsey tabulated the frequency of premarital, marital, and extramarital intercourse and of masturbation in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948). The frank discussion shocked many Americans. Flaws in his research received too little attention during the 1940s. Kinsey, a white male, derived his data by interviewing only white males, ignoring Americans of African, Latino, and Asian descent. He also excluded women, interviewing them only for his *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953). Obviously one cannot hope to understand the sexuality of men without crosschecking their statements against those of women.

Kinsey died in Bloomington, Indiana.

Further Reading: Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy, *Sex the Measure of All Things: A Life of Alfred C. Kinsey*, 2000; James H. Jones, *Alfred C. Kinsey: A Public/Private Life*, 1997; Wardell B. Pomeroy, *Dr. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research*, 1982.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

KNOWLAND, WILLIAM FIFE (June 26, 1908–February 23, 1974), U.S. senator and newspaper publisher. The son of a former member of the U.S. House of Representatives, Knowland was born in Alameda, California, and grew up in a household devoted to journalism and the Republican Party. Graduating from the University of California at Berkeley in 1929, he joined the executive staff of the *Oakland Tribune*, the newspaper his family owned and operated. In the 1930s, he served as the youngest member of California's state assembly and, later, state senate.

Knowland was stationed in France during World War II, working in the army's historical services division until 1945. Then Hiram Johnson died, leaving California a vacancy in the U.S. Senate. Knowland's influential father, Joseph R. Knowland, had Governor Earl Warren appoint his son to the remainder of Johnson's term. The younger Knowland assumed the Senate seat on August 26, 1945, and won election to his first full term the following year.

As a freshman senator, Knowland was assigned to the War Investigating Committee, which considered the allegations of abuse by U.S. military personnel and contractors during the European

occupation. He compiled a mixed record on labor issues, backing union-restricting legislation, including the Taft-Hartley Act, while supporting efforts to reduce unemployment. Knowland helped shape the nation's role in postwar foreign affairs. He was especially interested in China, defending Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government against the rise of Communism in Asia.

Early in his Senate career, Knowland was part of the group of young Republican insurgents who unsuccessfully challenged the de facto party leadership of Senator Robert Taft. Knowland's moderate colleagues nominated him to be the Republican floor leader in 1948, but he lost the election to the Ohio conservative. In 1952, Knowland ran on both the Republican and the Democratic tickets to easily win his reelection to the Senate. The same election gave the Republicans control of the chamber, elevating Taft to majority leader. After Taft's death in 1953, Knowland assumed the post. As majority leader, he allowed the 1954 Senate vote to censure Joseph McCarthy, but concurred with the Wisconsin senator's charges of Communism in the State Department. Following an unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign, he left the Senate in 1959 and became editor and publisher of the *Oakland Tribune*. Knowland died at his summer house near Guerneville, California, apparently of a self-inflicted gunshot wound.

Further Reading: Gayle B. Montgomery and James W. Johnson, *One Step from the White House: The Rise and Fall of William F. Knowland*, 1998; obituary in *Oakland Tribune*, February 24, 1974; Kurt Schuparra, *Triumph of the Right: The Rise of the California Conservative Movement, 1945–1966*, 1998.

JANE M. ARMSTRONG

KNOX, FRANK (January 1, 1874–April 28, 1944), newspaper publisher, political figure, and secretary of the navy. Born William Franklin Knox in Boston, Knox attended Alma College in Michigan and served with the Rough Riders under Theodore Roosevelt in 1898. Knox partnered with John A. Muehling in the newspaper business, published newspapers in Michigan and New Hampshire, and for a time was general manager of William Randolph Hearst's empire. A good

businessman and crusading editor, Knox strongly supported Theodore Roosevelt, fought against saloons, and attacked waste and corruption in government at all levels. Knox was a progressive Republican who contended that the New Deal imposed too many regulations on business and promoted social reforms that should be the domain of private charitable organizations. He emerged as the vice presidential nominee in 1936 on the Republican ticket headed by Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas, who carried only two states in the massive landslide that gave President Franklin D. Roosevelt a second term. As World War II neared, Knox argued for a strong defense. In a bipartisan move, Roosevelt in 1940 selected Knox to be secretary of the navy. The next four years were momentous ones for Knox. He presided over the greatest expansion in the military services' history. He negotiated many of the details involving the exchange of United States destroyers for British military bases in the Western Hemisphere, toured Pearl Harbor after the Japanese attack, and admitted that the army and navy had been caught napping during this embarrassment. Knox appointed Adlai E. Stevenson as his special assistant and replaced Admiral Husband E. Kimmel as commander of the Pacific fleet with the astute Admiral Chester W. Nimitz. Knox made an effective administrator. He brought dynamic activism to the navy during the war years, revitalizing it after Pearl Harbor. An internationalist who could be bluff and profane, Knox put country above politics. He died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Frank Knox Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; George H. Lobdell Jr., "A Biography of Frank Knox," PhD diss. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1954; obituary in *New York Times*, April 29, 1944.

LEONARD SCHLUP

KOREMATSU V. UNITED STATES, ruling permitting internment of Japanese Americans. In a decision delivered on December 18, 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed, by a 6–3 majority, the federal government's right to compel the removal of a people defined by racial or ancestral characteristics.

The case arose over the relocation of Japanese Americans following the U.S. entry into World War II. Like 80,000 other *nissei* (American-born) Japanese living in the continental United States, Fred Korematsu was an American citizen. Approximately 40,000 *issei* were born in Japan and legally barred from attaining citizenship under the National Origins Act of 1924.

Following the trauma of the Pearl Harbor attack, many Americans feared a direct assault upon the continental United States. In February 1942, the chief of the army's Western Defense Command, General John L. DeWitt, requested authority to remove all Japanese Americans from the West Coast. With little dissent by his attorney general, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, authorizing the secretary of war to create military areas subject to exclusion by any and all threats. DeWitt labeled Japanese Americans a security threat that should be removed. But when thousands of families began to voluntarily leave the West Coast, DeWitt established a curfew that confined them to this prohibited district. In late March, the War Relocation Authority began moving more than 100,000 people to ten camps located in the arid interior of the West. In the confusion, no provisions were made to protect the homes, investments, and livelihoods of those forced out. Most internees lost all their material possessions.

Fred Korematsu, born in Oakland, California, and living in San Francisco, was in his early twenties. He was engaged to be married, working as a welder in a nearby defense plant, and had twice tried to enlist in the military (only to be turned down because of a medical disability) when the relocation order was given. Rather than leave his home, Korematsu had plastic surgery, obtained forged identity papers, and claimed to be of Mexican descent. He took a new name and a new job. Based on information from an informant, he was arrested on May 30, 1942. Korematsu was tried in federal district court, found guilty of violating the civilian exclusion order, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. He was immediately paroled and interned at the Topaz, Utah, internment facility, where he appealed the ruling first to the Circuit Court, then to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Justice Department's case against Korematsu hinged on whether the War Department had just cause for restricting the liberties of citizens, in this case citizens defined by race or ancestry. Central to the evidence was a War Department finding titled *Final Report, Japanese Evacuation for the West Coast, 1942*, released in January 1944. The Justice Department found it laced with inaccuracies and falsehoods, yet used it as evidence anyway. Based largely on this claim of military necessity, the Supreme Court ruled that Korematsu failed to leave the military area as ordered and that his loss of individual liberty was outweighed by national security. Ironically, the ruling was the only case to that point in which the Supreme Court applied strict scrutiny—a legal term meaning that the government, not the defendant, has the burden to prove a compelling interest in a law that violates the Constitution's equal protection clause.

Dissenting justices cited the law's overt racism and the dangerous practice of treating plaintiffs as part of groups rather than as individuals. In 1948, the U.S. Congress passed the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act, paying detainees \$37 million in compensation for their loss (estimated at over \$100 million).

When it was discovered by the attorney and legal historian Peter Irons that evidence was suppressed by the Justice Department and even falsified, the convictions of Korematsu and others were overturned in the 1980s. In 1988, the Congress issued a formal apology to the detainees as well as further monetary compensation. In 1998, Fred Korematsu was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor.

Further Reading: Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps, North America*, 1981; Roger Daniels, *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese-Americans*, 1986; Peter Irons, *Justice at War*, 1983.

DAVID BLANKE

KRVITSKY, WALTER G. (June 28, 1899–February 10, 1941), Soviet spy and defector. Born Samuel Ginsberg in Podwoloczyska, West Galicia, now part of Ukraine, Krivitsky rose to high rank in Soviet military intelligence (GRU)

and became one of the first Soviet intelligence community members to defect to the West. During the Cold War, defectors of Krivitsky's circumstance received enthusiastic receptions. However, because of the Roosevelt administration's policy of neutrality and the significant sympathy for the Soviet Union in government circles, American officials viewed Krivitsky ambivalently, and the information he revealed was not fully acted upon. This was unfortunate, as Krivitsky could have exposed the notorious Cambridge Five, a group of upper-class British college students recruited as Soviet agents in the 1930s. Kim Philby, the best-known member, became an invaluable asset after joining MI6, the British foreign intelligence service.

Krivitsky began his intelligence career during the Russian Revolution and civil war. In 1923, he participated in the ill-fated attempt to overthrow Germany's Weimar Republic. By the mid-1930s, Krivitsky had become the GRU's director of intelligence in Western Europe. His greatest intelligence coup during this period was the interception and decoding of correspondence between German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop and his Japanese counterpart Hiroshi Oshima, proving that Japan and Germany were coordinating their military activities. In the late 1930s, as the Great Purges steadily decimated the ranks of the Communist Party, Red Army, and NKVD (predecessor to the KGB), Krivitsky became increasingly disillusioned with the Soviet Union. After Soviet agents assassinated his close friend Ignace Poretzky (also known as Ignace Reiss), Krivitsky, fearing for his safety, fled first to France and then in 1938 to the United States. There he became involved with anti-Communist writer Isaac Don Levine and published several articles and later a book, *In Stalin's Secret Service*, which detailed his life in the GRU and exposed the global network of covert Soviet activity. Krivitsky also made the acquaintance of Whittaker Chambers and may have helped convince him to go public with his accusation that government officials, including State Department employee Alger Hiss, had spied for the Soviet Union. Despite hours of testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as well as the Federal Bureau of Investigation,

Krivitsky's position remained tenuous until the announcement of the Nazi-Soviet pact and the start of World War II.

After visiting London to brief British intelligence officials on Soviet espionage activities in England, Krivitsky returned to America, where, shaken by the murder of Leon Trotsky, he was determined to retire to rural obscurity. He failed in this aim and was found dead in room 532 of the Bellevue Hotel in Washington, DC—an apparent suicide. Allegations that Soviet agents killed him and then disguised the murder have never been proven but still circulate.

Further Reading: Gordon Brook-Shepherd, *The Storm Petrels: The First Soviet Defectors, 1928–1938*, 1977; Gary Kern, *A Death in Washington: Walter G. Krivitsky and the Stalin Terror*, 2003; Walter G. Krivitsky, *In Stalin's Secret Service*, 1940.

VERNON L. PEDERSEN

KUHN, FRITZ (May 15, 1896–December 14, 1951), pro-Nazi activist. Born in Munich, Germany, Kuhn emigrated during the 1920s, first to Mexico and then to the United States, where he eventually became a naturalized citizen.

Soon after Adolf Hitler's rise to power, Kuhn became involved in a pro-Nazi organization called Friends of the New Germany. Berlin, fearing that the group was contributing to rising anti-German sentiment, prohibited German nationals from joining, and it quickly dissolved. Nevertheless, Kuhn had impressed the domestic Nazis, who recommended him as leader—führer—of a new organization to replace it. Called the German-American Bund, its membership was restricted to U.S. citizens.

Kuhn was an unlikely candidate to lead any “American” organization. His English was poor, and by all accounts he was unsuccessful in recruiting German Americans, the largest ethnic group in the United States at the time. He claimed an exaggerated 25,000 members and 100,000 “sympathizers.” Most estimates place Bund membership at no more than 8,500, concentrated in the large cities of the Northeast and Midwest.

What Kuhn lacked in charisma he compensated for in fanatical Nazism, unabashedly displaying the swastika and singing racist anthems

such as the “Horst Wessel Lied” at the Bund’s public meetings. During a Madison Square Garden rally to honor George Washington’s birthday in 1939, swastikas surrounded a giant portrait of the president, and gray-shirted “order police” attacked hecklers.

Kuhn seems to have suffered delusions of grandeur. He made trips to Germany in 1936 and 1938. During the first, he had a brief audience with Hitler and afterward claimed, without evidence, to have conducted high-level talks with him. After Kuhn’s 1938 return, he insisted that he had met privately with both Hermann Göring and Joseph Goebbels, but again no records exist.

In March 1939, Kuhn was arrested on charges of misusing \$15,000 in revenues from the Madison Square Garden rally. The German consulate refused to intervene or even make any public comment on the case. Kuhn’s trial revealed that he had been involved in a series of extramarital affairs and had been arrested repeatedly for

public intoxication. When, in December, he was convicted of grand larceny and sentenced to a prison term, the Bund’s newspaper tried to portray him as a political prisoner. Few found this convincing. By late 1939 Bund membership had dwindled to less than half of its 1938 level. While the organization would continue to limp along until after Pearl Harbor, it would have little importance.

Kuhn spent several years in prison before being transferred to an internment camp in Texas, where he was held with other German nationals and German Americans suspected of subversive activities. In 1946 he was deported to Germany, where he died in obscurity.

Further Reading: Sander A. Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924–1941*, 1974; Alton Frye, *Nazi Germany and the American Hemisphere, 1933–1941*, 1967; Francis McDowell, *Insidious Foes: The Axis Fifth Column and the American Home Front*, 1995.

JOHN E. MOSER

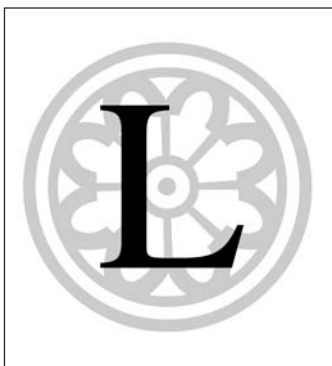
La FOLLETTE, ROBERT MARION, JR.

(February 6, 1895–February 24, 1953), U.S. senator. The son of Robert M. La Follette Sr., the famous liberal Republican senator from Wisconsin and the 1924 Progressive

Party presidential candidate, Robert Jr. was born in Madison and graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1917. Following his father's death, La Follette was elected as a Republican to the U.S. Senate in 1925 and reelected in 1928. In 1934, he and his brother, Philip, who lost the Republican renomination for governor of Wisconsin in 1932, organized a Progressive Party in the state. Both felt that the Republican Party had become increasingly conservative. Robert La Follette was reelected to the Senate as a Progressive in 1934 and 1940.

La Follette gained national prominence in the late 1930s as chair of a special Senate investigating committee. Commonly referred to as the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, it exposed fierce efforts by leading industrialists to prevent workers from organizing, including attempts by civic and local authorities to prevent free speech. La Follette and his committee led efforts to enforce the Wagner Act of 1935. In September 1940, La Follette supported the establishment of the America First Committee. With spokes-members such as Charles Lindbergh, John T. Flynn, and the "Radio Priest," Father Charles Coughlin, the America First Committee became the most powerful isolationist group in the United States. Supporters of America First in the Senate attempted to defeat President Franklin D. Roosevelt's lend-lease proposal. The bill was enacted by a vote of 60–31, despite opposition from La Follette, Gerald K. Nye, Burton K. Wheeler, Hugh Johnson, Henrik Shipstead, Homer T. Bone, James B. Clark, William Langer, and Arthur Capper.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, America First quickly disbanded, and La Follette backed the war effort. He continued to promote progressive reforms in the areas of civil liberties and workers' rights. His Wisconsin



Progressive Party died in 1946 when he sought renomination to the Senate as a Republican. In the Republican primary, La Follette lost to "Tail Gunner" Joseph McCarthy, who won easily.

After World War II, La Follette worked as an economic research consultant and a foreign aid adviser to the Truman administration. At the height of the McCarthy witch hunts, La Follette became the target of an intense investigation. His loyalty was called into question because several Communist sympathizers had infiltrated his 1930s Civil Liberties Committee. In 1953, rather than appearing before McCarthy's committee, La Follette committed suicide in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Jerold Auerbach, *Labor and Liberty: The La Follette Committee and the New Deal*, 1966; David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*, 1999; Patrick J. Maney, "Young Bob" *LaFollette: A Biography of Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., 1895–1953*, 1978.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

LA MOTTA, GIACOBÈ [JAKE] (July 10, 1922–), boxer. Born in the Bronx section of New York City, La Motta lost partial hearing in his left ear at age four during a beating from his Sicilian father. La Motta would later contend that beatings inculcated discipline. Yet he displayed little. A series of arrests ended in incarceration for the rape of an eighteen-year-old. While in prison, he began boxing to relieve monotony and to vent his rage at a world he perceived as brutal. Other convicts, unwilling to trouble over pronouncing his first name, called him Jake.

He returned to freedom with a name and profession that rewarded the thug in him. Fans might have expected little from La Motta. His footwork was awkward, he was slower than most fighters, and he never became adept at eluding punches. But La Motta could take punches and suffer cuts without becoming disoriented. Never in 106 bouts did a fighter knock La Motta down; durability made him a champion.

La Motta, a middleweight, fought above his class as a light heavyweight when other middleweights ducked him. Ironically, he cemented his aura of indestructibility in a 1942 loss to Sugar Ray Robinson. Robinson had everything La Motta lacked: speed, footwork, and elusiveness. Robinson beat La Motta ten consecutive rounds to win a unanimous decision, but could not floor him. The fight ended with La Motta in the center of the ring taunting Robinson for his inability to pummel his opponent to the canvas. Four months later La Motta handed Robinson, then thought unbeatable, his first loss in forty professional bouts.

It was a Pyrrhic victory for La Motta, embittering the men who controlled boxing and who lost money betting on Robinson. Criminals themselves, they denied La Motta a title opportunity until he promised to throw a fight so they could regain gambling losses. La Motta agreed in 1947, fighting as though sedated against light heavyweight Billy Fox. The referee stopped the action after four rounds. To conceal the fix, La Motta blamed the loss on a broken rib, suffered in training. When he produced no medical records of the injury, the New York State Athletic Commission suspended his boxing license, fined him \$1,000, and held his purse for seven months.

Only by paying boxing's kingpins \$20,000 did La Motta get a title fight, defeating Frenchman Marcel Cerdan to become middleweight champion on July 16, 1949. La Motta had bet \$10,000 on himself and nearly killed bookie Harry Gordon with a lead pipe when Gordon visited La Motta's hotel room without the money. La Motta retired in 1954 with thirty wins, nineteen losses, and four draws.

Further Reading: Robert Anasi, *The Gloves: A Boxing Chronicle*, 2002; Stephen Brunt, *The Italian Stallions: Heroes of Boxing's Glory Days*, 2003; Jake La Motta, *Raging Bull: My Story*, 1970.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

LABOR (ORGANIZED) In the early 1940s, organized labor in America was emerging from the most successful decade in its history. Between massive grassroots activism and government support, the 1930s had brought numerous benefits,

including the eight-hour day, the minimum wage, unemployment insurance, and old age insurance. As the 1940s began, the economic boom that followed defense industry growth brought jobs, and union organizers took advantage by launching a unionization drive. Between June 1940 and December 1941, there were more strikes than in any previous comparative period in American history.

However, as production increased and the United States entered World War II, the government increasingly opposed walkouts as unnecessary disruptions. With only a few exceptions (CIO leader John L. Lewis being by far the most important), union leaders likewise opposed strikes, and almost all of them signed voluntary no-strike pledges for the duration of the war, trusting that the federal government, through the National War Labor Board (NWLB), would fairly mediate between workers and managers.

NWLB's record was mixed. Under the government's policy of maintenance of membership, the NWLB frequently required all workers in a unionized workplace to join the union, resulting in both greater industrial stability and tremendous growth in the number of unionized workers between 1941 and 1945. At the same time, the NWLB sought to limit workers' wage increases in order to prevent inflation, often gaining workers' animosity as a result. Many white workers were equally opposed to the federal government's prointegration policy, established by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, resulting in hate strikes at integrated plants throughout the country.

Many union leaders therefore found themselves in an awkward position during the war. They were torn between their own support for the war effort, their desire to support government officials (especially those in the Democratic Party), and workers' increasing demands for more militant leadership. Most union leaders continued to support the government and the no-strike pledge, alienating many rank-and-filer members in the process. As a result, by 1944, workers increasingly went on wildcat strikes; despite union leaders' no-strike pledge, there were in fact more strikes in the year 1944 than there had been in any year up to that point. When the war ended in the fall of 1945, many more

workers began strikes. The six months following the end of World War II therefore became one of the most strike-ridden periods in American history, with more than 3 million workers idled, many of them in key industries such as shipping, steel, auto, and mining. Even more important, the immediate postwar period saw a number of general strikes in cities throughout the country, including Stamford, Connecticut; Rochester, New York; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Oakland, California.

In response to this series of strikes as well as the growing anti-Communist movement, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act to curtail unions' power and decrease the number of strikes. Taft-Hartley was a major blow to organized labor. A severe revision of the Wagner Act, the new law required labor leaders to sign affidavits stating they were not Communists, allowed states to ban the union shop, prohibited sympathy strikes, and gave the president the right to call for an eighty-day cooling-off period in any strike that threatened the national interest. Labor leaders immediately called for the overturn of the Taft-Hartley Act, and some even considered abandoning the Democratic Party in the 1948 elections and aligning themselves with the Progressive Party. The growing anti-Communist movement within American labor quickly crushed this movement, as the Progressive Party became increasingly identified with Communism. As a result, nearly all unions endorsed President Truman for reelection in 1948.

Although Truman won this election, conservative southern Democrats in Congress continued to support Taft-Hartley, which the labor movement never succeeded in overturning.

Further Reading: Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor*, 2002; George Lipsitz, *Rainbow at Midnight: Labor and Culture in the 1940s*, 1994; Robert H. Zieger and Gilbert J. Gall, *American Workers, American Unions: The Twentieth Century*, 3rd ed., 2002.

DANIEL OPLER

LABOR (UNORGANIZED) The prospect of a factory job enticed Americans in the 1940s from countryside to city. The move from farm laborer

to industrial worker represented an ascent from a nonunion to a union workplace, for agriculture thrived on a nonunion workforce. Were agricultural workers to organize, farm owners would have no choice, they warned, but to recover costs through higher food prices. The threat kept workers on the defensive. Owners refused to compete with industry for labor, a battle that might have raised factory wages.

Instead, farmers convinced the federal government to relax immigration restrictions. In August 1942 alone, the United States admitted 1,500 Mexicans to harvest sugar beets in California. Between 1940 and 1944, the United States opened its borders to 62,000 migrants from Mexico and South America. Others entered beneath the radar, crossing the Rio Grande to pick cotton in Texas. With no tradition of collective bargaining at home and the threat of deportation for running afoul of management in the United States, these immigrants did not press for a union. Farm owners paid on average thirty cents per hour and demanded that laborers work, what industry classified as overtime without additional pay. Texas and the lower South provided the lowest wages. Not until 1951 would Congress guarantee farmworkers a minimum fifty cents an hour. Yet farm owners could not entirely insulate themselves from a labor market tightened by conscription and a robust economy. Between 1941 and 1945 farm laborers saw wages increase as much as fifty cents an hour. The threat of wage gains led owners to resort to child labor, a practice that tied families, rather than merely individuals, to the land.

Blacks likewise languished in nonunion jobs and those with one lived in peril of losing it. One black steelworker who lost his job in 1940 opened a pool hall. When it failed, he settled for work as a bartender at less than half what he had earned as a steelworker. Blacks who in the 1940s migrated from the South to Pittsburgh for steel mill work found white foremen reluctant to hire them. African American women suffered in large numbers. In 1940 three-fourths of the black workers in Pittsburgh toiled as cleaning ladies or domestic servants in the homes of the managerial elite, jobs without union protection. Black women migrated from job to job in search of higher pay, a goal they seldom achieved. The

descendants of immigrants fared better. In 1940 only one-quarter of Italian and Polish women who worked in Pittsburgh were cleaning ladies or domestics.

Construction workers stood higher on the economic ladder than farmworkers and domestics, but could not always count on union protection. William Levitt, owner of Arthur Levitt and Sons of Boca Raton, Florida, and the icon of suburbia, rebuffed every attempt at collective bargaining in the 1940s. His boast that he could build a house in twenty-four hours underscored the degree to which he accelerated the work pace. The tendency of construction firms to subcontract the roofing of houses depressed wages. Like black women, roofers made a fruitless trek from job to job in search of higher pay. High turnover and the episodic nature of the work left roofers too dispirited and isolated to coalesce into collective bargaining units.

Turnover and periodic unemployment also plagued landscapers, particularly in the North, where winters idled them. Those paid by the job, a variant of piecework, endured long hours at a brutal pace. Like farmworkers, landscapers earned nothing above their pay for overtime and toiled under the same sweaty conditions. The tendency to center work on the lawnmower devalued landscapers as appendages of machines. Automaton rather than workers, landscapers could not hope for union protection.

Further Reading: John Bodnar, Roger Simon, and Michael P. Weber, *Lives of Their Own: Blacks, Italians and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900–1960*, 1983; Julian Messner, *The Migrant Workers and Cesar Chavez*, 1972; U.S. Department of Labor, *200 Years of American Worklife*, 1977.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

LANDON, ALFRED MOSSMAN (September 9, 1887–October 12, 1987), governor and Republican presidential nominee. Landon was born in West Middlesex, Pennsylvania. As the Republican presidential standard bearer in 1936, he was defeated by Franklin D. Roosevelt in one of the greatest landslides in American history.

In 1940 Landon attempted to use his influence as titular leader of his party to support

moderate candidates and policies. Rumors that Roosevelt was prepared to offer a cabinet portfolio to Landon did not help Landon's standing with conservatives. Landon made it known that he would refuse such an offer unless Roosevelt publicly proclaimed he would not seek a third term. Although Landon's initial choice of House Minority Leader Joseph Martin of Massachusetts failed to get the nomination in 1940, Landon later threw his support to Wendell Willkie at the convention. Landon campaigned vigorously in the general election for the Republican ticket, assailing Roosevelt for seeking a third term and for deviously leading the nation toward war. Throughout the 1940s, Landon urged Republicans to fight more aggressively for the labor vote and to campaign in the South, especially for black votes.

After Roosevelt's third victory, Landon continued to attack him on the war issue. He publicly opposed the Lend-Lease Act in 1941, proposing, instead, a direct cash grant to Great Britain. Landon did not consider himself an isolationist, although he adamantly opposed American entry into the war unless it was absolutely necessary to defend the nation. When Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, Landon became more resolute in his opposition to the war on the grounds that the struggle was not a clear-cut battle between democracy and totalitarianism.

During the war Landon believed that the Republican Party should remain in vocal opposition to the president. He hoped the Republicans would use the opportunity to roll back many features of the New Deal. He also criticized Roosevelt for allegedly using strong-arm tactics to silence political opponents. Landon campaigned vigorously for the Republicans in the midterm elections of 1942 and spent most of 1943 quietly maneuvering support away from Willkie, whom he came to view as a shadow of Roosevelt. Landon campaigned for New York governor Thomas Dewey in 1944.

After the war, Landon proposed a plan of global disarmament and strengthening of the United Nations as the best institution to maintain global peace. He reluctantly supported the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. In 1948 Landon persistently called for General Dwight Eisenhower

to run, alienating himself from Dewey. Landon also curtailed his political activities, devoting more of his energies to his business ventures in oil, natural gas, farming, and radio. He died in Topeka, Kansas.

Further Reading: Donald B. Johnson, *The Republican Party and Wendell Willkie*, 1960; Donald McCoy, *Landon of Kansas*, 1966; obituary in *New York Times*, October 13, 1987.

GREGORY DEHLER

LANGER, WILLIAM (September 30, 1886–November 8, 1959), governor and U.S. senator. Born in Casselton, Dakota Territory, Langer earned a bachelor's degree from Columbia University and studied law at the University of North Dakota. He practiced law briefly in Mandan, North Dakota, before entering politics as a Republican backed by the agrarian Nonpartisan League. In 1932 and 1936, years of massive Democratic victories, he won election as governor by landslides. Langer headed a reform program, but his controversial administration became mired in legal problems.

In 1940 he won a three-way Senate race endorsing higher price supports for wheat, old age pensions, and rural electrification, all aspects of his state's progressive heritage. Charges of bribery and perjury threatened to derail his senatorial career, but he was able to retain his seat. A maverick in the 1940s known as "Wild Bill," the tall, stocky Langer gained fame for his loquaciousness, engaging in frequent and lengthy filibusters that he delivered in whistling tones. Although a liberal on domestic issues, supporting Harry S. Truman for president in 1948, Langer upheld the isolationist sentiment of his Northern Plains, rural, homogeneous constituents. He opposed President Franklin D. Roosevelt's interventionist positions in 1940 and 1941, accusing the president of taking the United States into war. Langer voted against the ratification of the United Nations charter, scorned Truman's Cold War initiatives, and assailed the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He also referred to Great Britain as a fascist empire. Protesting American determination to impose unconditional surrender on Germany in

1945, a stance popular with North Dakota's large German American population, Langer won re-elections by handsome proportions.

In 1958, when he was too ill to campaign, he nevertheless carried every county in his state. Langer died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Anges Geelan, *The Dakota Maverick: The Political Life of William Langer; Also Known as "Wild Bill" Langer*, 1975; William Langer Papers, Charles Frizt Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota; Glenn H. Smith, *Langer of North Dakota: A Study of Isolationism, 1940–1959*, 1979.

LEONARD SCHLUP

LASH, JOSEPH P. (December 9, 1909–August 22, 1987), liberal journalist and political activist. Born in New York City, Lash graduated from City University and earned a master's degree in literature and philosophy from Columbia. Radicalized by the Great Depression, in 1932 he became secretary of the Socialist Party's Student League of Industrial Democracy and in 1935 led it into coalition with various liberal and leftist student groups, joining the American Student Union (ASU). Lash served as ASU secretary for the next four years and was briefly drawn to Communism, which he abandoned in 1939 because of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Also in 1939, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), investigating alleged Communist influences within American youth groups, summoned Lash and American Youth Congress representatives to testify about the nature of their organizations' leadership.

On the train to Washington, DC, Lash met first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who sympathized with the hardships young people faced during the Depression. She defended Lash and several of his colleagues by attending their HUAC hearings and inviting them to the White House. She and Lash became close friends, and he committed himself to New Deal politics. He worked on Franklin Roosevelt's 1940 presidential campaign and directed the youth division of the Democratic National Committee. From 1940 to 1942 he served as general secretary of the International Student Service, an organization assisting foreign students visiting the United States. In 1941 Lash,

his future wife Trude Pratt, and Eleanor Roosevelt organized a youth leadership conference held at Campobello, Maine.

Lash served in the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II and, after leaving the service, helped found Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), an anti-Communist, liberal organization that would receive pointed criticism from left and right during the Cold War. Lash endured similar criticisms on a personal level, Communists labeling him bought and paid for, while right-wing commentators spread rumors that he was a dangerous radical and possibly Eleanor Roosevelt's lover. Lash directed the New York ADA chapter until 1948 and then helped edit two volumes of Franklin Roosevelt's letters.

In 1950 he became the United Nations correspondent for the *New York Post* and later assistant editor for its editorial page. He is perhaps best known for his several biographies of Eleanor Roosevelt and studies of the New Deal. Throughout his later years, Lash remained active in New York Democratic politics and the American Civil Liberties Union. He died in Boston.

Further Reading: Robert Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young: Student Radicals and America's First Mass Student Movement, 1929–1941*, 1993; Joseph P. Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin: The Story of Their Relationship Based on Eleanor Roosevelt's Private Papers*, 1971; Joseph P. Lash, *A World of Love: Eleanor Roosevelt and Her Friends, 1943–62*, 1984.

VERONICA WILSON

LASKI, HAROLD (June 30, 1893–March 24, 1950), English political scientist. Laski was born in Manchester. Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. opined that Laski influenced American left-wing thought during the 1930s more than any native Marxist. If true during that decade, it was doubtless because Laski's peculiar blending of Marxism with Enlightenment individualism made it more palatable for American parlor leftists than that served up by more doctrinaire Marxists. By the 1940s, however, many intellectuals had returned to the apolitical interests that had absorbed their attention before the Great Depression.

Still, there was no reason to anticipate that Laski's influence would diminish during the

1940s. He remained the darling of collectivist liberals associated with the magazines *The Nation* and *The New Republic*, maintained a close friendship with the influential Felix Frankfurter, a Supreme Court justice after 1939, and was a correspondent of President Franklin Roosevelt, as well as a frequent White House visitor during his travels to the United States. And during the 1940 presidential election year he published his first book devoted entirely to America, *The American Presidency*, which some reviewers compared to works by legendary overseas commentators Alexis de Tocqueville and Lord James Bryce. Indeed, the book remains useful even today.

In 1948, Laski published *The American Democracy*, on which he had labored during the war years. By this point his hatred of American business so infused his writing that most critics found the book a wholly inaccurate picture of America as it existed in the 1940s.

Between his celebrated 1940 book and the largely shunned 1948 one, Laski had grown ever more strident and extreme in his Marxism, demanding of Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill that they carry out social revolutions during wartime that even most of Laski's erstwhile friends and supporters recognized would harm the war effort. The result was a chilling effect on his relations with Frankfurter, Roosevelt, and others. In Laski's view, American dollars had rolled back a socialist tide in the post-war era. His fears seemed realized when American financial aid moderated the policies of his own Labor government in England, and the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan aborted promising left-wing developments in Italy and France.

As his criticism of American policies increased, Laski became a lightning rod for attacks by American columnist Westbrook Pegler. Republican national Chair Herbert Brownell did his best to tar the Democratic Party with the brush of Laskiism in the 1946 off-year elections that restored Republican control of Congress after nearly two decades. An America facing the crisis of a Cold War had little patience with Laski's diatribes, and by the time of his death in 1950, his following in America had been reduced to the handful of devoted believers surrounding Freda Kirchwey, the editor of *The Nation*, and

Max Lerner who, with Walter Lippmann and James Reston, was one of the three leading newspaper columnists of the 1940s. Laski died in London.

Further Reading: Gary Dean Best, *Harold Laski and American Liberalism*, 2004; Isaac Kramnick and Barry Sheerman, *Harold Laski: A Life on the Left*, 1993; Kingsley Martin, *Harold Laski: A Biography*, 1969.

GARY DEAN BEST

LAUSCHE, FRANK JOHN (November 14, 1895–April 21, 1990), governor and U.S. senator. The only Ohio governor to serve five terms and the first Catholic and son of immigrants to hold the position, Lausche was born in Cleveland. There he attended John Marshall School of Law and practiced his profession.

Lausche was mayor of Cleveland from 1941 to 1944, from 1945 to 1947, and again from 1949 to 1957, winning by landslides. As governor, he pushed for conservation and restoration of natural resources, prison reform, and the expansion of state-supported universities and welfare programs. Lausche's towering and commanding figure, with a mop of black hair, became a familiar sight across Ohio. Honest and dedicated to clean government, Lausche fought against gambling and racketeering in his state. His popularity with the voters and his achievements as Ohio's chief executive made him a national figure. President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him a member of a committee to investigate racial discrimination in the South.

Lausche served in the U.S. Senate from 1957 to 1969. His conservative voting record and independent course as a politician damaged his relationships with Democratic Party leaders, who backed John J. Gilligan for the Senate in a divisive primary election in 1968. While nominally a Democrat, Lausche operated outside the party machinery throughout his career, thereby attracting Republican and independent voters. He died in Cleveland.

Further Reading: William Bittner, *Frank J. Lausche: A Political Biography*, 1975; obituary in *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, April 22, 1990; Frank J. Lausche Papers, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

LEONARD SCHLUP

LEWIS, JOHN LLEWELLYN (February 12, 1880–June 11, 1969), founder of the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) and president of the United Mine Workers (UMW). Born in Cleveland, Iowa, Lewis attended public schools in Des Moines, but quit after grade eleven to work in the coalmines. His ascent through the ranks of labor culminated with his election in 1920 as president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW), a post he held until 1960, and his founding in 1935 of the Committee (later Congress) for Industrial Organization (CIO). By November 1937 the CIO tallied more members than the American Federation of Labor (AFL), numbers Lewis sought to leverage to political advantage.

A New Dealer, he nonetheless opposed a third term for President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Unable to dissuade labor from voting Democratic, Lewis, resigned as CIO president on November 18, 1940. The Lewis-Roosevelt rift widened in 1941, when the president and Congress created the War Labor Board to arbitrate wage disputes. Believing that the board abrogated labor's right to strike, Lewis retaliated in two ways. First, in May 1942, he withdrew the UMW from the CIO, whose leaders Lewis thought too accommodating of the wartime alliance between government and management. Free of their timidity, Lewis launched his second assault, leading more than 500,000 miners on strike four times in 1943. Journalists, other labor leaders, even the American Communist Party condemned Lewis as unpatriotic, and that June Congress, in the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act, broadened Roosevelt's power to seize strikebound factories and mines. Despite this rebuke, Lewis did not relent. Between 1945 and 1950 he refrained from striking only in 1947.

At the same time, Lewis struggled to build a big tent. Having burned CIO bridges, he turned to the AFL, allying the UMW with it in 1946 only to bolt the next year when it refused to challenge the Taft-Hartley Act. Thereafter Lewis shunned both federations, playing no role in their 1955 merger. His militancy won UMW members a health and pension fund in 1947, a triumph made all the more important by Congress's failure to guarantee universal medical coverage.

The strikes of the 1940s behind him, Lewis increasingly became a "hidden-hand" union

leader, negotiating contracts in secret and seeking little rank-and-file input. This strategy signaled the rapprochement between labor and management that marked his last decade as UMW president. He lent money to mine owners, even when they sank it in technology that replaced jobs, joined them in founding the National Coal Policy Conference, and invested union dues in the American Coal Shipping Company. A friend of the very managerial elite that he had reviled only a decade earlier, Lewis accepted the decline in mining jobs as part of the postwar industrial order. He died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Melvyn Dubofsky and Warren Van Tine, *John L. Lewis: A Biography*, 1986; Ron E. Roberts, *John L. Lewis: Hard Times and Wild Justice*, 1994; Robert H. Zieger, *John L. Lewis: Labor Leader*, 1988.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

LEYTE GULF, BATTLE OF World War II's Battle of Leyte Gulf, in the Philippines, was the largest naval battle ever fought. It was also the last major exchange between battleships, a mismatch between a fleet with one of the world's largest warships and a gathering of midget warships. Surprisingly, the battle ended in a draw, revealing serious judgmental errors on both sides that prevented the Allies from scoring a war-winning victory and the Japanese from inflicting harm catastrophic enough to encourage the Allies to accept a war-ending armistice. And, at Leyte Gulf, the Japanese introduced the kamikaze.

On October 20, 1944, U.S. admiral William F. Halsey's Third Fleet and the Seventh Fleet under Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid steamed to Leyte Gulf. The Seventh was to cover the amphibious landing, with the Third guarding and no single Allied commander. The action began when U.S. submarines *Dace* and *Darter* detected a Japanese fleet bound for the Philippines and sailing without air cover. That fleet, commanded by Admiral Takeo Kurita, comprised Japan's two super battleships *Musashi* and *Yamato*, three battleships, ten heavy cruisers, two light cruisers, and thirteen destroyers. *Dace* and *Darter's* attack in Palawan Passage sank two heavy cruisers and damaged one.

Planes from Halsey's fleet battered Kurita's command; *Musashi* was sunk and the Japanese

reversed course. When Allied planes broke off the attack, Kurita resumed course for San Bernardino Strait and Leyte Gulf. As Kurita reached the strait, darkness made passage particularly hazardous, so he ordered the navigational lights lit for the first time in several years. He nevertheless went undetected.

On the morning of October 25, *Yamato*, three battleships, nine cruisers, and eleven destroyers exited San Bernardino Strait into the Philippine Sea unopposed and ready for battle. Allied carriers and screening ships stood between them and Leyte Gulf. These were not the fast carrier forces of Halsey's Third Fleet but escort aircraft carriers (CVEs), escort carriers supporting the landings; the cruisers and battleships that would have screened the fast carriers were nowhere to be seen. Kurita mistook the light, slow ships ahead for the U.S. Navy he had been sent to confront. Americans on the Taffys, the code name for the CVE groups, mistook Kurita's ships for the remnants of the Japanese fleet badly mauled in Surigao Strait the night before. U.S. naval history blazes with tales of heroism, but none surpasses the response of the outgunned Taffys, with 40mm cannon and planes armed for ground support and antisubmarine combat, as they threw themselves on the vastly superior enemy force. *Gambier Bay* was sunk by the heavy shelling, as were the destroyers *Hoel* and *Johnston* and the destroyer escort *Samuel B. Roberts*.

After two-and-a-half hours, Kurita steamed away instead of driving through an inferior enemy and demolishing the landing force. Kurita's error was balanced by Halsey's. The Seventh Fleet and the Third shared responsibility for the Philippines invasion. Kinkaid left the beaches to counter ships under admirals Shigeru Nishimura and Kiyohide Shima crossing the Sulu Sea and heading for Surigao Strait south of Leyte Gulf. Kinkaid's Seventh ripped the Japanese fleet apart with waves of motor torpedo boats, destroyers, cruisers, and battleships in Surigao Strait.

Admiral Jisaburo Ozawa's carrier force steamed for Leyte from the north as a decoy to draw the Allies away from the invasion beaches. Halsey took the bait and headed north. Had there been a supreme commander, the abandonment of the landing might have been avoided.

Kinkaid thought Halsey was on guard while Halsey left thinking Kinkaid was covering the beaches. Halsey's error would have slipped into history but for Admiral Chester Nimitz's message: WHERE IS TASK FORCE THIRTY FOUR. (Task Force Thirty-Four comprised ships that Halsey organized to protect the landings at Leyte while his larger fleet sailed north. Because of a series of misunderstandings the task force was never formed.) Coding procedures demanded padding to complicate decoding, so an officer included the phrase, THE WORLD WONDERS.

Further Reading: Thomas J. Cutler, *The Battle of Leyte Gulf, 23–26 October 1944*, 1994; Donald G. Macintyre, *Leyte Gulf: An Armada in the Pacific*, 1973; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Leyte*, vol. 12, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, 1958.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

LIBERACE (May 16, 1919–February 4, 1987), pianist and popular entertainer. Wladziu Valentino Liberace was born in West Allis, Wisconsin, the son of a Polish-American mother and an Italian immigrant father who was a professional musician. Liberace's musical talent was recognized early and he made his concert debut at age eleven. He studied on scholarship at the Wisconsin College of Music and performed widely in community concert series throughout the Midwest. These early tours prepared him for a 1940 solo performance with the respected Chicago Symphony.

The Liberaces always struggled financially and Walter, as he was then called, supplemented the family income by playing show tunes, popular songs, jazz melodies, and boogie-woogie in movie houses, fashion shows, ice cream parlors, and weddings. He enjoyed an easy rapport with audiences who were amused and delighted by his impulsive playing of informal encores, with arpeggios from classical works. This shtick separated him from other performers. His likable, chatty style and folksy asides also completely charmed audiences. He quickly realized that playing popular music was more financially rewarding than being a concert pianist.

Moving to New York City, Liberace worked

at various clubs. He became an intermission pianist at the Plaza Hotel's Persian Room. As a gimmick, he started to use his last name only. Another trick was adding of the phonetic spelling of his name—"Liber-AH-chee"—in advertising and publicity releases. His formal eveningwear, custom-made Bluthner grand piano, and ever-present candelabra on the piano projected old-world elegance; indeed, he set the tone for showmanship in the postwar era. The glamour and opulence that Liberace projected in his performances appealed to Americans who had endured wartime rationing.

Liberace gained national exposure through his performance contracts with the Statler and Radisson hotel chains. He also appeared on the Texaco Star CBS radio program and cut records under the Daytone and Signature labels. His relocation to California, the heart of the entertainment industry, and his work in Las Vegas further solidified his reputation and eased his forays into film. These moves positioned him for entry into the newly emerging medium of television with *The Liberace Show*. He died in Palm Springs, California.

Further Reading: Jocelyn Faris, *Liberace: A Bio-Bibliography*, 1995; Liberace, *An Autobiography*, 1973; Darden Asbury Pyron, *Liberace: An American Boy*, 2000.

JANET BUTLER MUNCH

LIBRARIES During the 1940s libraries made significant contributions to American life, while, as with other areas of society, World War II impacted almost every aspect of library service.

The most obvious contributions came in U.S. military and government libraries. The Army Library Service, a section of the War Department's Special Services Division, supplied reading material to military personnel. Libraries operated wherever servicemen were stationed: posts, training camps, command headquarters, permanent bases, naval vessels, and hospitals. In 1944, the army employed 2,500 professional civilian librarians to operate libraries throughout the United States and overseas. They housed 15 million books and millions of magazines. In addition, libraries served as cultural centers for soldiers, providing music listening rooms, hobby

shops, discussion groups, and educational classes. At the same time, the navy operated over 6,000 library stations on ships and in shore units.

Libraries and books were such an important part of military life that publishers began producing special “Armed Services Editions” of popular titles. These inexpensive, paperbound books were purchased as expendable items to issue to troops stationed in isolated areas where libraries were unavailable.

The United States Information Services (USIS), a government agency, operated libraries in major cities throughout the world. Collections included information about U.S. government, economy, society, and culture, and the material was available to local citizens. The first USIS library was established in London in 1942. By war’s end, there were thirty-eight libraries in twenty-two countries.

The war also impacted public and academic libraries. Staffing problems were widespread due to personnel shortages. Postwar libraries, however, benefited from better-trained librarians, as the number of accredited library school programs increased. College and university libraries grew larger in size, holdings, and staff as institutions served thousands of returning war veterans and their needs for career-related education.

The general public turned to public libraries for many needed services. During the war, libraries helped maintain public morale by providing recreational and educational reading material and by offering special services to business and industry. Changing demographics and postwar population shifts led to new construction of branch libraries and the implementation of mobile library service. As percentages of the population grew in the under-21 and over-65 age groups, public libraries made service adjustments to meet new community needs. For example, many added special rooms for teenagers and quiet space for older adults. In addition, expanded special services targeted organized labor groups, the blind, hospital patients, and prison inmates.

The increased presence of libraries in American life during the war years and the 1940s resulted in an American culture that, to this day, considers libraries’ place in society a high priority.

Further Reading: Pierce Butler, *Books and Libraries in Wartime*, 1945; Elmer D. Johnson, *History of Libraries in the Western World*, 1976; Josephine M. Smith, *Chronology of Librarianship*, 1968.

CHRIS H. MARSZALEK

LILIENTHAL, DAVID E. (July 8, 1899–January 14, 1981), director of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Born in Morton, Illinois, to immigrant parents, David Lilienthal was a fierce public servant committed to conserving America’s natural resources while also expanding their potential. He graduated from DePauw University and Harvard Law School. At Harvard his mentor was future Supreme Court justice Felix Frankfurter. In 1923, Lilienthal joined the law firm of two future New Dealers—Donald Richberg and Harold Ickes. There, he worked on a variety of public conservation issues. In 1931, he was appointed to the Wisconsin State Utility Commission. Two years later, President Franklin D. Roosevelt named him one of the three directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).

TVA was designed to develop the broad region of the Tennessee Valley. Committed to doing so through his own conception of public power and private planning, Lilienthal soon ran into difficulty with TVA chair, Arthur Morgan. Lilienthal also had difficulties with the third member of the TVA board, Harcourt Morgan, so much so that President Roosevelt removed him and named Harcourt Morgan as the new chair. For his part, Lilienthal continued his work on TVA, focusing on expanding TVA power. Here, he ran into the direct opposition of the Southern Corporation, headed by future presidential candidate Wendell Wilkie, who accused Lilienthal of trying to undermine private utility companies. Lilienthal himself came under scrutiny by Congressional Republicans who wanted to attack Roosevelt’s New Deal through him. Lilienthal often faced serious criticisms of his actions and policies during his tenure as a member of the TVA board. Nevertheless, he not only survived but, on September 15, 1941, Roosevelt appointed Lilienthal as the chair of TVA.

It was in his position as head of TVA that Lilienthal excelled. He expanded TVA power

capacity, assisted in the successful completion of the Manhattan project for the atomic bomb, and made TVA a major factor in America's ability to defeat its Axis enemies. With Harry Truman's ascension to the presidency in 1945, Lilienthal's star continued to shine. Truman appointed him to an advisory committee on the uses of atomic energy. The resulting Acheson-Lilienthal report, as it was known, was used as a basis to establish the Atomic Energy Commission.

Given his background and commitment to atomic power, Lilienthal was continually criticized and attacked, especially by the growing fanatics of the McCarthy movement. Even in spite of their charges, Lilienthal again survived and was appointed by Truman and confirmed by the Senate to chair the newly created Atomic Energy Commission.

A firm believer in American democracy, Lilienthal was a Cold War Warrior who expanded America's atomic power through the development of nuclear weapons like the hydrogen bomb. He also worked to expand America's commitment to atomic energy. Again, Congressional criticisms and investigations plagued him as chair of the AEC. Eventually, Lilienthal decided to resign in 1950.

After leaving government service, Lilienthal traveled around the world and became a business consultant and executive to a number of national and international firms. He also wrote fairly prolifically on such topics as TVA, American business, and his own life. He died in New York City. **Further Reading:** David Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March*, 1944, *This I Do Believe*, 1949, and *Journals of David E. Lilienthal, 1964–1976*; Steven Neuse, *David E. Lilienthal: The Journey of an American Liberal*, 1996.

MICHAEL V. NAMORATO

LINDBERGH, CHARLES AUGUSTUS, JR. (February 2, 1902–August 26, 1974), aviator, and **LINDBERGH, ANNE MORROW**, (June 22, 1906–February 7, 2001), writer and poet. Charles Lindbergh was born in Detroit but grew up in Little Falls, Minnesota, and Washington, DC, where his father was a congressman. From 1920 to 1922 Lindbergh attended the University of Wisconsin. After working as a barnstormer, air

force captain, and airmail pilot, he achieved world fame in 1927 by his nonstop flight from New York to Paris in a tiny, single-engine monoplane. Anne Spencer Morrow, who married Charles in 1929, was educated at New York City's Chapin School and graduated from Smith College in 1928.

When World War II broke out in Europe, the couple strongly opposed President Franklin D. Roosevelt's interventionist policies. Charles called for strict noninvolvement and a defense limited to the Western Hemisphere, and in August 1940 he hinted at American-German cooperation. In April 1941 he became a member of the national committee of the America First Committee (AFC) and thereafter was its greatest drawing card. In September 1941 he said that "the Jews" (whose persecution he did condemn) were among the most active prowar groups in the nation and played a disproportionate role in the nation's media, thereby delivering the AFC and himself a staggering blow.

In "A Prayer for Peace," which Anne wrote for the January 1941 issue of *Reader's Digest*, she called for negotiations based on "mutual advantages." Her forty-one-page book, *The Wave of the Future: A Confession of Faith* (1941), stressed that the United States must face the new world of dictatorships not by entering a destructive war, but by fostering domestic reform and spiritual renewal. Responding to critics who accused her of being a fascist apologist, she contended in her essay "Reaffirmation," published in June 1941 in the *Atlantic Monthly*, that she had never embraced the totalitarian powers. Once the United States entered the conflict, Charles engaged in military aviation work at Henry Ford's Willow Run, and then flew over fifty combat missions as a civilian stationed in the Pacific. In his book *Of Flight and Life* (1948), he renounced scientific materialism while warning of Soviet power. During the postwar years Charles served as director of Pan American World Airways, consultant to the Defense Department, and advocate of environmentalism. In 1944 Anne published a novella, *The Steep Ascent*, and in 1947 she traveled to Europe, there finding material for articles later published in *Life*, *Harper's*, and *Reader's Digest*. Subsequent publications included books

of poetry, one of which won a Pulitzer, and five volumes of her memoirs.

Further Reading: A. Scott Berg, *Lindbergh*, 1998; Wayne S. Cole, *Charles A. Lindbergh and the Battle Against American Intervention in World War II*, 1974; Anne Morrow Lindbergh, *War Within and Without, 1939–1944*, 1976.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

LOUIS, JOE (May 13, 1914–April 12, 1981), boxer. Born Joseph Louis Barrow in Lafayette, Alabama, in childhood he moved with his family to Detroit. After becoming the heavyweight champion in 1937, Joe Louis defended his title twenty-five times with twenty knockouts. His most famous fights were two epic battles against Max Schmeling, a German fighter extolled by Adolf Hitler as a paragon of Aryan virtues. Louis, after losing the first fight in 1937 (before becoming champion), redeemed himself in the second, thereby becoming an international figure. Subsequently his devastating treatment of opponents, who became known as the “bum of the month” club, led to Louis being dubbed the “Brown Bomber.” Although attempts were frequently made to hype up these contests, the outcome was seldom in doubt until his fight with Billy Conn in 1941. Conn, however, put up quite a battle and Louis had to come from behind to knock him out.

During the 1940s Louis was the most famous black person in America. He skillfully managed his image by publicly avoiding alcohol, smoking, womanizing, gloating over fallen opponents, and speaking intemperately; he maintained a reputation for honesty in a sport tainted with corruption.

Louis volunteered for the U.S. Army in January 1942. The War Department used his image to bolster support among African Americans for the war effort. In uniform, Louis continued to fight benefit matches and toured Europe doing exhibitions for the troops. In the military, Louis fought ninety-six matches, earning him the Legion of Merit. By the end of 1945, he had raised over \$100,000 for various servicemen’s relief organizations.

After the war, Louis appeared to pick up his career where he had left it. His second fight against Billy Conn in 1946 resulted in the largest

take of Louis’s career. Troubles set in quickly, though. The Internal Revenue Service ruled that Louis had to pay taxes on 90 percent the money he had raised during the war because the checks were made out to him personally. Even though he signed the checks over, it was considered to be personal income. Moreover, he frequently borrowed large sums from Mike Jacobs, his promoter, to finance his expensive tastes and expansive entourage. On December 5, 1947, Louis fought Jersey Joe Walcott. Although the referee gave the fight to Walcott, the judges overruled him and awarded Louis the victory. With this cloud over his head, Louis fought Walcott again in June 1948. In the eleventh round Louis knocked Walcott out, removing any doubt about who was champion. Having successfully defended his title, Louis retired, although financial pressures forced him to reenter the ring in 1950 and 1951.

Louis was not a successful businessman. He lost large sums in bad investments, such as a milk company, an American distributorship of Canadian beer, a cabaret, and several restaurants. Upon retiring from boxing, Louis invested most of what he had left in a fight promotion company, but was forced to sell off his shares to discharge federal tax liens and other debts. Louis died in Las Vegas, Nevada.

Further Reading: Joe Louis Barrow Jr. and Barbara Munder, *Joe Louis: Fifty Years an American Hero*, 1988; Thomas Hietala, *The Fight of the Century: Jack Johnson, Joe Louis and the Struggle for Racial Equality*, 2002; Lauren Rebecca Sklaroff, “Constructing G.I. Joe Louis: Cultural Solutions to the ‘Negro Problem’ During World War II,” *Journal of American History* 89 (December 2002): 958–983.

GREGORY DEHLER

LOY, MYRNA (August 2, 1905–December 14, 1993), film actor. Born Myrna Adele Williams in Radersburg, Montana, Loy moved with her family to Los Angeles after her father’s death in 1918. She began performing in stage productions at age fifteen, which led to her film appearance in 1925. Usually cast as an exotic or vamp, Loy was one of the few silent sirens to make the transition to talking pictures successfully. In the 1930s she expanded

her typical portrayals to include the “witty wife,” notably Nora Charles in 1934’s *The Thin Man*.

At the outbreak of World War II, Loy worked raising money for charities. Once the United States entered the war, she joined the “Bundles for Bluejackets” campaign, going on fund-raising tours and working at a naval auxiliary canteen. After the war Loy returned to film, revisiting the *Thin Man* series with William Powell and adding the role of mother to her repertoire in comedies such as *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House* and dramas like *The Best Years of Our Lives*. She was accused of being a Communist during the McCarthyite period and fought the House Un-American Activities Committee by becoming a founding member of the Committee of the First Amendment.

After the 1940s, Loy divided her time between entertainment and working with the United Nations. She received an honorary Oscar in 1990. Loy died in New York.

Further Reading: Myrna Loy and James Kostilbas-Davis, *Myrna Loy: Being and Becoming*, 1987; Karyn Kays, *Myrna Loy*, 1977; Lawrence J. Quirk, *The Films of Myrna Loy*, 1980.

BARBARA A. MACDONALD

LOYALTY REVIEW BOARD President Harry S. Truman’s Executive Order 9835 of March 21, 1947, implemented a loyalty program for all federal employees. Tensions with the Soviet Union had increased the urgency of keeping Communists and Communist sympathizers out of government. By the summer of 1946 the administration was under pressure to get rid of disloyal employees, and the House Civil Service Committee recommended that the executive branch revise all its security procedures. Republicans won majorities in both the House and in the Senate in the midterm elections of 1946, and Truman rightly sensed he was vulnerable to charges that he was soft on Communism. When a special committee reported its recommendations on the loyalty-security program to Truman, he quickly incorporated them into the executive order.

The loyalty-security program authorized the Civil Service Commission to establish a Loyalty

Review Board of not less than three impartial persons who would also be employees or officers of the commission. Executive Order 9835 imposed a standard for loyalty that disqualified any applicant from federal employment or any current federal employee who belonged to the Communist Party or sympathized with it or with any other supposedly subversive organization or individuals. The board could use virtually any source in investigating an applicant’s loyalty. If any derogatory information were found, a full field investigation was required to clear the applicant. The department heads of various agencies within the government were given the authority to initiate an investigation if they determined that it was in national security interests. Each government department was required to have a staff specially trained in security measures.

The actual standards for refusing to hire an applicant or for discharging an employee were clear-cut. Treason, sabotage, sedition, espionage, advocating revolution or use of force to change the constitution or government of the United States, serving other governments, or affiliation or sympathy with any organization, group, person, or persons designated by the attorney general as totalitarian, fascist, Communist, or subversive was evidence of disloyalty. However, all the Loyalty Review Board needed was reasonable grounds for refusal to hire or to fire a person. The investigative agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), did not have to furnish the names of informants. This opened the process to unfounded and provocative charges, which the person under investigation had a difficult time refuting.

The loyalty-security program was supposed to be in the hands of the Civil Service Commission, but the FBI soon dominated the process as the chief investigating agency. From the beginning, J. Edgar Hoover had used his influence as FBI director to handpick committee members and the committee chair who established the program. The Civil Service Commission could seldom find the source of allegations, and the FBI determined that keeping the anonymity of the bureau’s informants took precedence over civil liberties. In effect, the commission became an adjunct agency for the FBI.

Executive Order 9835 had several unintended results. Truman inadvertently advanced the cause of the conservative groups who backed the so-called anti-Communist network. Hundreds of people were fired on the basis of anonymous information, and about 12,000 people involved in loyalty-security investigation resigned rather than fight an apparently lost cause. In November 1947, the attorney general's office published a list of ninety-three subversive organizations. This list eventually grew to 197. Membership in any of the listed organizations or simply knowing someone who had belonged to one of them was enough to ruin a person's career in government. Ironically, Truman's efforts to deflect charges against his own administration increased Americans' anxiety about Communism and helped inspire the subsequent Cold War phenomenon known as McCarthyism.

Further Reading: David Cate, *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge under Truman and Eisenhower*, 1978; John Stuart Cox, *The Boss: J. Edgar Hoover and the Great American Inquisition*, 1988; Harry S. Truman Papers, Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

NORMAN E. FRY

LUCAS, SCOTT WIKE (February 19, 1892–February 22, 1968), U.S. representative and senator from Illinois. Born in Chandlerville, Illinois, Lucas grew up on a downstate tenant farm and graduated from Illinois Wesleyan University in 1914. Following army service in World War I, he was a state's attorney for Mason County.

In 1934, Lucas won election to the House of Representatives as a Democrat. A champion of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, Lucas actively supported the Soil Conservation Act of 1935 and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938. He also fought for a minimum wage, employment insurance, and the abolition of child labor. Elected to the Senate in 1938, Lucas advocated internationalist foreign policy, including the 1941 lend-lease program with Great Britain, the postwar Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Two years after his reelection in 1944, his Democratic colleagues elected him party whip.

In the presidential election of 1948, Lucas headed Harry S. Truman's Midwest campaign, helping to achieve one of the greatest political upsets of the twentieth century. Truman unexpectedly defeated the Republican candidate, Thomas E. Dewey, and the Democrats retook control of the Senate, gaining nine seats. After Senate leader Alben Barkley resigned to assume the vice presidency under Truman, the Senate Democrats unanimously elected Lucas to be the majority leader and chair of the Democratic conference.

During the postwar years, the Democratic Party split between liberal and conservative factions, and Lucas's efforts to unify his colleagues only resulted in further alienation. The Democrats' majority rule was a majority on paper only, as southern conservatives often voted with the Republicans, especially on domestic policy. In 1949, the southern senators staged a lengthy filibuster against Truman's civil rights legislation. The filibuster revealed that Lucas had little control of his party, while the Republicans' de facto leader, Robert Taft, actually ruled the Senate. Lucas lost the 1950 election to Everett Dirksen, who linked the majority leader to Truman's unpopular administration. Following Lucas's defeat, he returned to private law practice in Springfield, Illinois. He died in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, while en route to Florida.

Further Reading: Edward L. Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier "Scott W. Lucas of Havana: His Rise and Fall as Majority Leader in the United States Senate," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 70 (November 1977): 302–320; Laurel G. Bowen and Mary Michals, "The Scott Wike Lucas Collection: Manuscripts and Audiovisual Resources," *Illinois Historical Journal* 77 (Autumn 1984): 193–196; obituary in *Washington Post*, February 23, 1968.

JANE M. ARMSTRONG

LUCE, CLARE BOOTHE (April 10, 1903–October 9, 1987), playwright, journalist, politician, and diplomat. Born in New York City, Clare Boothe was originally interested in an acting career and attended Clare Tree Major's School of Theater. She was married briefly and turned to writing. From 1930 to 1934, she held magazine

editorial positions, starting at *Vogue* and ending up as managing editor of *Vanity Fair* in 1934. In 1935 she wedded Henry R. Luce, publisher of *Time*, *Fortune*, and later *Life* magazines. After resigning from *Vanity Fair*, she pursued a career as a playwright. During the 1930s she had several successful productions including her most famous, *The Women*, in 1936.

During World War II, Luce used her journalism skills to report the action directly from the front in Europe, as one of the few American women there. This work was compiled into the book *Europe in the Spring* (1940), in which she argued against the dangers of isolationism. She also wrote many articles for *Life* about the war's effects on visits to Belgium, England, France, Italy, and the Netherlands.

In 1943, she wrote the screenplay for the anti-Nazi film *Margin for Error* and during the same year was elected to the House of Representatives as a conservative Republican from Connecticut. Luce used her office to speak on behalf of American troops and the issues surrounding their return to civilian life. She visited American troops in Italy on Christmas Day in 1944 and urged Congress to provide immediate aid to Italian war victims. In 1944, she was reelected to a second term in Congress and began to warn against what she believed was the growing threat of international Communism, particularly from China. She also helped create the civilian-controlled Atomic Energy Commission.

Luce converted to Roman Catholicism in 1946 and, rather than run for reelection, devoted herself to writing. In 1947, she wrote a series of articles about her religious conversion for *McCall's* magazine. Two years later, she wrote the screenplay for the film *Come to the Stable*, for which she received an Academy Award nomination. Luce returned to politics when President Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed her ambassador to Italy in 1953.

Throughout the rest of her life, she remained politically active, using her fame to support conservatives within the Republican Party. She died in Washington, DC, and is still frequently quoted. **Further Reading:** Joseph Lyons, *Clare Boothe Luce*, 1989; Wilfrid Sheed, *Clare Boothe Luce*, 1982.

JUDITH B. GERBER

LYNCHING, the action of a mob that takes the law into its own hands in order to kill or injure someone accused of wrongdoing. The accusation might be for a serious crime such as theft or murder, or a trifling or nonexistent offense. The mob serves as prosecutor, judge, jury, and executioner. The issue of guilt or innocence is secondary, and due process yields to momentary passions and short-range objectives. Lynching had its roots in the American Revolution when Judge Charles Lynch and his Virginia associates dispensed punishment to Tories and criminals. "Lynching" was accepted then because raw frontier conditions encouraged swift justice for real or imagined criminal behavior.

During Reconstruction, the federal government saw no need to interfere with lynching lest it violate states rights. Southern lawmakers took stringent measures to insure that vigilantism or summary justice would be protected. After 1880, the rise of lynching coincided with the passage of state laws disenfranchising African Americans and decreeing separate but equal civil and social facilities. However, a significant minority of those lynched were white Americans. Lynching reached its apogee in the 1890s as white southerners found ways, legal and extralegal, to assert a white supremacy so extreme as to justify the lynching of African Americans without fear of any formal legal redress. Moreover, this Jim Crow custom was given implicit endorsement by the Supreme Court decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896.

Lynchings were so common during the first decades of the 1900s that they were advertised in advance in newspapers, and white crowds—including women and children—came from afar on chartered trains to witness them. Tantalizing tortures were used, such as roasting blacks alive over slow fires, while law enforcement officials either turned their backs or joined in the lynching ceremony. Lynchers were so certain they could act with impunity that they were eager to be photographed for the newspapers. Lynchers generally claimed that their actions were justified in order to protect white women from black men; however, the overwhelming majority of lynchings did not involve rape. Most black lynch victims had testified against whites

in court, used offensive language, failed to say “Mister” to a white man, attempted to vote, or appeared to be too prosperous.

By the 1940s African Americans had become the primary target and victims of lynchings with the decade’s most infamous occurring in Walton County, Georgia. Four blacks, including a seven-months pregnant female, were pulled from a car, brutally beaten, and shot to death by an unmasked mob in broad daylight. No arrests were made, but the event played a crucial role in President Harry Truman’s commitment to civil rights legislation. Lynchings had become a ritual of whites’ social control and recreation rather than a punishment for crime, and they occurred in every section of America.

In the more liberal climate of World War II, powerful forces moved to outlaw lynching including the NAACP, the exigencies of the war effort, and a cadre of southern white women.

Members of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching exclaimed that they no longer saw lynching as a means for their protection. Women’s rights also played a role in forming attitudes against lynching, and by the 1940s lynchings went underground. Lynchings began to be conducted in secrecy and at nighttime, and although their numbers declined the threat of lynchings continued to keep African American communities in a state of terror. Between 1882 and 1968, it was reported that 4,743 people died of lynchings; however, many lynchings were not reported as some African Americans simply disappeared. Mississippi led the nation in number of people lynched.

Further Reading: James Allen, *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America*, 2000; Philip Dray, *At the Hand of Persons Unknown*, 2003; Carol F. Drisko and Edgar A. Toppin, *The Unfinished March*, 1967.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

MacARTHUR, DOUGLAS

(January 26, 1880–April 3, 1964), American general. MacArthur was born in Little Rock, Arkansas, and raised on army posts; his early education began in schools near his father's

various postings. His military education began in 1893 as a cadet at West Texas Military Academy (now known as the Texas Military Institute). He graduated from the academy in 1897. MacArthur then moved to West Point, achieving an outstanding scholastic record and graduating as first captain, first in his class (1903). Military service began immediately. Later as superintendent of West Point (1919–1922), he modernized the academy's military training program. Many deem him the father of modern West Point. After a series of important positions and command posts during the 1920s and 1930s, he retired from the U.S. Army in December 1937. Upon retirement, he was named military adviser to the Philippines, and the Philippine Commonwealth named him field marshal. In July 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt recalled him to active duty as U.S. Far East commander.

After the Japanese attack on the Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, MacArthur withdrew to Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor Island. He commanded the defense of the Philippines until March 1942, when, under President Roosevelt's orders, he left for Australia to take command of Allied forces in the southwest Pacific. However, he famously promised that he would return to the Philippines. In 1942 he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, the nation's highest award for valor in action against an enemy force. From Australia, he launched the New Guinea campaign, and later (October 1944–July 1945) he directed the campaigns that led to the liberation of the Philippines, thus fulfilling his earlier promise. MacArthur's military strategy centered on "island hopping," which many credit with saving thousands of lives, and in 1944 he conceived the Hollandia lunge, widely considered a strategic masterstroke. Between July 26 and 28, 1944, in Honolulu, MacArthur met with



Roosevelt to discuss the Pacific theater. Although the conference resulted in no formal policy decisions, unofficially the agenda was set for future operations. MacArthur was promoted later that year (December 1944) to the

new rank of five-star general. At the end of World War II and after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, MacArthur accepted Japan's surrender on the battleship USS *Missouri* on September 2, 1945. Named Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) in Japan, he directed the Allied occupation.

As SCAP, MacArthur ruled 83 million Japanese. In early 1946, he controversially approved the execution of Lieutenant General Masaharu Homma, commander in charge of the Japanese imperial forces during the first battles for the Philippines from December 1941 to August 1942, and Lieutenant General Tomoyuki Yamashita commander of the Japanese twenty-fifth army, in charge of the Malayan campaign that culminated in the surrender of Singapore in February 1942, and later commander of the unsuccessful defense of the Philippines, from October 1944 to August 1945. MacArthur's two chief adversaries, Homma and Yamashita, were tried in kangaroo courts and executed for war crimes that they did not commit. MacArthur's occupation authorities oversaw the revision of the constitution of Japan, which was adopted in November 1946. It demilitarized and democratized Japan, introducing women's rights, labor unions, land reform, and civil liberties. MacArthur was revered in Japan for molding the country into a modern, democratic state. In 1948, he was seriously considered for the Republican presidential nomination, but his defeat in the Wisconsin primary discouraged his supporters.

During the Korean War (1950–1953) MacArthur commanded troops of the United Nations. President Harry Truman removed him on April 11, 1951, after he had created public a dispute regarding strategy toward China. MacArthur's long, distinguished military and political career undoubtedly made him one of the

most controversial generals in American history, idolized by some and loathed by others. He died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Douglas MacArthur Papers, The MacArthur Memorial, Norfolk, Virginia; Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 1964; William Manchester, *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur, 1880–1964*, 1978.

WENDY TOON

MacLEISH, ARCHIBALD (May 7, 1892–April 20, 1982), poet and playwright. MacLeish spent his childhood in Glencoe, Illinois, and was educated at Hotchkiss School in Lakeville, Connecticut. In 1915 he received his BA from Yale and in 1919 his LLB from Harvard Law School. During World War I he served in the field artillery, seeing action in the second battle of the Marne. During the 1920s and 1930s, MacLeish practiced law in Boston, wrote poetry in Paris and New York, and from 1929 to 1938 served on the staff of *Fortune* magazine. In 1933, his long poem *Conquistador* won the Pulitzer Prize for poetry. Other major works included *Frescoes for Mr. Rockefeller's City* (1933), *Panic* (1935), *The Fall of the City* (1937), *Air Raid* (1938), *Land of the Free* (1938), and *America Was Promises* (1939).

From 1939 to 1944 MacLeish served as librarian of Congress, being appointed by President Franklin Roosevelt. In this capacity he totally reorganized the Library of Congress, bringing it far wider recognition. In a famous address delivered in 1940 titled “The Irresponsibles” and published in *The Nation*, the ardently antifascist MacLeish castigated his fellow artists for apathy toward the fascist menace. He not only served as speechwriter for Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1940 presidential campaign, but also wrote most of the president’s third inaugural address. In 1941 Roosevelt made him director of a government propaganda arm, the Office of Facts and Figures, but the ineffective agency lasted less than a year. In 1942–1943 MacLeish was assistant director of its successor, the Office of War Information. All this time he continued to write poetry; his poem “The Young Dead Soldiers,” written during the darkest days of the war, affirmed the need for a more just world order. In 1944–1945 he served as assistant secretary of state for cultural

and public affairs, in which capacity he publicized the need for a world organization. MacLeish also drafted the preamble to the United Nations Charter. In 1945 he led the United States delegation to the founding meeting in London of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In 1946 he served as assistant head of the U.S. delegation to UNESCO when that body first met in Paris. Upon returning to private life, he published *Active and Other Poems* (1948). Long the victim of anti-Communist witch hunts, by the late 1940s MacLeish was speaking forcefully against what would soon be known as McCarthyism. From 1949 to 1962 he held the post of Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory at Harvard, where he taught creative writing and English literature. Two subsequent works, *Collected Poems, 1917–52* (1952) and *J.B.* (1958), brought further Pulitzer prizes. MacLeish died in Boston.

Further Reading: Scott Donaldson in collaboration with R.H. Winnick, *Archibald MacLeish: An American Life*, 1992; Bernard A. Drabeck and Helen E. Ellis, eds., *Archibald MacLeish: Reflections*, 1986; Archibald MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

MAGAZINES Despite accusations of decadence, pulp magazines were at the apex of their commercial success during the early 1940s. They borrowed the style and content of the nineteenth-century British horror writers Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu and Bram Stoker. In a decade of scientific achievement, the pulps emphasized the inexplicable and irrational. Ghosts, vampires, prostitutes, criminals, and derelicts peopled the fiction. Readers were never more than a few paragraphs from the discovery of a corpse, the first kiss between a vampire and her victim, the appearance of a prostitute dead since the Black Death. The atmosphere of these stories was dark, brooding, and foreboding. Yet they were not rehashes of Edgar Allan Poe’s writing. Their focus on erotica was sharper than anything Poe had written, and their clarity and simplicity a departure from the contrived ornamentation of Poe’s style. Indeed, terse sentences, quick pace, and tight dialogue made the

pulps models of style if not of morality. *Weird Tales* and *Astounding Science-Fiction* were among the pulps successful enough to cultivate a loyal audience.

Yet by the end of World War II pulp magazines were losing readers for the first time since the 1920s. The mass printing of cheap paperback novels gave readers the debauchery of the pulps at greater length. As early as 1939, publisher Robert Fair de Graff, borrowing Henry Ford's model of mass production at low cost, founded Pocket Books. By 1949 eight more paperback publishers crowded the field, enticing adult readers from the pulps. At the same time, comic books lured young readers. Unlike the pulps and paperbacks, comic books could not get away with erotica, but their suspense, dialogue, and action derived from the pulps. Hemorrhaging readers of all ages, some pulps went out of business and others burrowed underground, where they formed a subculture much as hip-hop music did during the 1980s.

The decline of pulps left the industry to news and popular culture magazines. *Time* and *Life* were the standard-bearers in these genres. Profusely illustrated, *Life* appealed to Americans awash in a culture of television and film, though neither it nor *Time* was as objective or carefree as it pretended to be. Rather, these magazines were the voice of the Cold War establishment after World War II. An editorial in *Life* placed Satan in Moscow, and both *Time* and *Life* led American readers to equate Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin and Nazi Fuhrer Adolf Hitler. From this perspective, fascism and Communism were two sides of the same coin that the United States, where only capitalism was legal tender, had to purge from the currency.

Time and *Life* made clear that magazines did more than entertain during the 1940s; they shaped the anti-Communist consensus that sought peace through the terror of an arms race and conformity at the expense of pluralism.

Further Reading: Doug Ellis, *The Adventure House Guide to the Pulps*, 2000; Peter Haining, *The Classic Era of American Pulp Magazines*, 2001; Lee Server, *Danger Is My Business: An Illustrated History of the Fabulous Pulp Magazines*, 1993.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

MAILER, NORMAN KINGSLEY (January 31, 1923–), writer. Born in Long Branch, New Jersey, Mailer grew up in Brooklyn, a section of New York City. He entered Harvard in 1939, published his first short story at age eighteen, and graduated with a BS in aeronautical engineering in 1943. His story "The Greatest Thing in the World," originally published in the *Harvard Advocate*, won *Story* magazine's college fiction prize in 1941. Drafted in 1944, Mailer served as a surveyor in field artillery, a clerk in the cavalry, and a rifleman in the Philippines with the Twelfth Armored Cavalry until 1946. In 1947 he enrolled in the Sorbonne. In 1948 he published *The Naked and the Dead*, which many critics consider the best novel about World War II. This novel stood at the head of the *New York Times* bestseller list for eleven weeks. After an unsuccessful stint in Hollywood trying to sell its screenplay, Mailer moved to Greenwich Village. There he cofounded *The Village Voice* in 1954. For his *Armies of the Night* (1969), Mailer chose as his subject the 1967 protest march on the Pentagon, near Washington, DC. He won the National Book Award and the Pulitzer Prize for this work, and many regard it as the most definitive anti-Vietnam War document. He won the Pulitzer Prize again in 1989 for *The Executioner's Song*.

Further Reading: Mary V. Dearborn, *Mailer: A Biography*, 1999; Peter Manso, *Mailer: His Life and Times*, 1985; Hilary Mills, *Mailer: A Biography*, 1982.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

MANHATTAN PROJECT, code word for the United States program to develop the atomic bomb. As early as December 1938, nuclear fission was discovered in Nazi Germany. Fortunately for the Allies, this did not go unnoticed or unreported. In August 1939, Albert Einstein wrote to President Roosevelt about the development. Einstein warned that if Germany perfected an atomic bomb first, there could be disastrous consequences for the Allied powers. In September 1942, Brigadier General Leslie R. Groves was appointed military chief of the Manhattan Engineer District. The previous project chief had actually worked out of an office in Manhattan, so the code name continued to be used to refer to

the atomic bomb effort. While Groves had overall responsibility, the mercurial J. Robert Oppenheimer was placed in charge of the laboratory at Los Alamos, New Mexico. Secrecy and security were the operative words, to prevent the Germans and Japanese from learning about the program. Most congressmen did not even know of it until 1944, when seven congressional leaders were told. Even the scientists who were recruited to do the research were not told what their end product would be. By 1945, Los Alamos had 4,000 employees. Some scientists were eventually released for having dubious backgrounds or acting suspiciously.

On July 16, 1945, the atomic bomb was successfully tested at Alamogordo, New Mexico. The blast effect was said to be equivalent to at least 20,000 pounds of TNT. The bomb was dropped from a steel tower that disintegrated during the blast. Light from the explosion was visible up to 180 miles away. Since Germany was already defeated, use of the atomic bomb centered on Japan. Military leaders feared the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives through a conventional invasion. If the bomb were dropped, it might convince the fanatical Japanese military leaders to surrender rather than risk total destruction.

On July 25, 1945, President Harry Truman authorized the delivery of the first bomb, to be used after August 3. The time interval was for making peace overtures and to plan an invasion of Japan. On August 6, the first bomb (called Little Boy) was dropped on Hiroshima. Three days later the second bomb (called Fat Man) was unleashed on Nagasaki. At least 100,000 people were killed in the two cities. Thousands more were affected by the radiation and fallout from the blasts. There is no accurate figure for those who died in subsequent years from radiation sickness caused by the bomb. On August 10, Japan offered to surrender, and the formal documents were signed on September 2.

The prevailing opinion in 1945 was that the United States won the war and was now the most powerful nation in the world. The Manhattan Project was credited with the development of the wonder weapon that would make war obsolete and provide safe, unlimited power for civilian purposes. Events would show these beliefs to be short-lived and not entirely correct.

Further Reading: Daniel Cohen, *The Manhattan Project*, 1999; Stephanie Groueff, *Manhattan Project: The Untold Story of the Making of the Atomic Bomb*, 1967; Michael B. Stoff and Jonathan F. Fanton, *The Manhattan Project: A Documentary Introduction to the Atomic Age*, 1991.

MARK E. ELLIS

MAO ZEDONG (MAO TSE-TUNG) (December 26, 1893–September 9, 1976), Chinese political leader. Mao was born in Shao Shan, Hunan, China. He did not complete the middle school education that he started at Changsha in 1911, but went to Peking (Beijing) University in 1918. There he worked as a library assistant. The next year Mao became a Marxist. Appointed a primary school principal in Changsha in 1920, he established the local branch of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). A year later he became the general secretary for the CCP in Hunan. After Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, Mao also became an active member of the Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang (KMT) (Guomindang [GMD]). When Chiang Kai-shek purged the KMT's ranks of its Communist members, he also eliminated peasant supporters. Mao sided with peasants in the countryside. Failing to rally city workers to join them, Mao launched guerrilla warfare from the Chingksangshan Mountains. In 1934 he began his epic retreat, the Long March, from the front against the KMT. Mao captured Tsunyi in 1935, and the Chinese Politburo elected him CCP chairman. When the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1937, Mao allied with Chiang Kai-shek. Mao held his power in the countryside among the peasants while Chiang Kai-shek lost his cities to the Japanese. In 1939 Mao married Jian Qing (Chiang Ch'ing). Mao, a painter, poet, and writer as well as a military leader, spoke and wrote extensively during the 1940s on his vision of a postwar Communist China in works like *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* (1942). In 1945 the Americans gave war matériel to the KMT, and the Russians aided the CCP. Civil war ensued in 1946 when compromise between Mao and Chiang failed. Chiang won early, but Mao always withdrew to the countryside, whence he continued to harass the KMT. Peking fell to the Communists in 1949. Chiang withdrew to

Formosa (which later became Taiwan), and the People's Republic of China was established on October 1, 1949. At the age of fifty-six, Mao led one of the most powerful political parties to ever exist. During the 1950s the relationship between Russia and China deteriorated until Mao led China in its unsuccessful Great Leap Forward, when the people were organized into collectives and communes. In 1964 Mao published his *Little Red Book*, which became the Red Guard's manual during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) he then initiated. Richard Nixon visited China in 1972, when relations between China and the United States improved. Mao died in Beijing.

Further Reading: Stanley Karnow, *Mao and China*, 1990; Edgar R. Snow, *Red Star over China*, 1973; Ross Terrill, *Mao*, 1985.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

MARCH, FREDRIC (August 31, 1897–April 14, 1975), actor. Fredric March, born in Racine, Wisconsin, was already a notable Hollywood star, leading man, and stage actor by the 1940s. He had made his name in such films as *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1932), for which he won an Academy Award, and the 1937 version of *A Star Is Born*. In the 1940s, March's career continued to thrive with the title roles in *The Adventures of Mark Twain* (1944) and *Christopher Columbus* (1949). He supported the American war effort and toured with the United Services Organization (USO) during World War II. March played a leading role in one of the most significant films of the 1940s, William Wyler's *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946), which brought March a second Academy Award. The film was a touching, if sentimental, study of the problems facing veterans returning from the war. March portrayed a veteran who has trouble readjusting to family life. During the decade he was featured less as a leading romantic hero and began to move into notable character roles. This trend continued into the 1950s. March also gave memorable stage performances in the American theater through the 1940s, often with his wife Florence Eldridge. Indeed, he was one of the premier stage actors of his generation. He won the first-ever Best Actor Tony Award for his performance in *Years Ago* in

1946. Allegations of Communist leanings dogged him, however, hampering his screen career in the 1950s. He died in Los Angeles, California.

Further Reading: Deborah C. Peterson, *Fredric March: Craftsman First, Star Second*, 1996; Lawrence J. Quirk, *The Films of Fredric March*, 1971; Tony Thomas, *The Films of the Forties*, 1980.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE As with many American institutions and social trends, World War II had a profound impact on the family. In 1940, the marriage/divorce ratio was 6:1; the average number of children born was 3.2 per couple. The number of registered marriages per thousand fell in times of recession and depression. The number increased in better times, such as the postwar years. War brought more marriages, yet thereafter the rate of divorce also moved upward, as wartime romances faded and postwar feminism gained a presence in America by the 1960s. In addition, de facto partnering, living together without benefit of clergy, or a state license, increased. The middle-class norms inherited from the Victorian nineteenth century came under great pressure.

In addition to the short-term effects of World War II, marriage and divorce received several long-term influences. For example, marriage and family were no longer institutions of necessity for women or men. Granted, married life proved better statistically: people lived longer and had fewer social problems if they had a partner. For most women, it was now possible to marry for love and other nonmaterial reasons. Class origin and ethnic origin often limited individual choices, however. And because more women lived in urban areas than had previously been the case, children were not needed to work as farmhands. In fact, given the increasing use of birth control, the number of children in the statistically average family dropped during the final sixty years of the twentieth century.

Marriage was now a result of love and long-term compatibility. Romantic assumptions, at least in theory, determined how mates were selected. Social scientists and public policy experts puzzled over statistics, seeking discernible trends.

While marriage changed, divorce also changed in the 1940s. It became more common. By 1949 the marriage/divorce ratio was estimated at 4.8:1, frightening experts who thought of divorce as a failed marriage and a psychological burden to children. Of course, World War II was difficult for many children. With mothers working in war industries and no system of day care centers, they became latch key children, unsupervised after school let out. Fathers in the military of course were in danger of death or injury, which had a stressful impact on marriage. Despite an emerging youth culture (in which underage youngsters had increased disposable income), American society gave more emphasis and approval to adult consumption.

Divorce rates increased for several reasons in the decade. Traditional taboos lost their power of social control. The legal justifications for divorce were also increased, and some states passed easy divorce laws, which other states were legally obligated to accept. In keeping with a general trend in national life, psychological factors played a significant role in divorce. People wanted to be happy; they felt they had a right to be happy.

Interracial marriage, often against the law and custom, became more commonplace statistically in the 1940s and remained so for the balance of the century. Indicative of changing sexual mores since the 1940s, same-sex relationships became a hot topic for cultural politics at the turn of the century.

Further Reading: Nancy C. Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation*, 2000; Betty Farrell, *Family: The Making of an Idea, an Institution, and a Controversy in American Culture*, 1999; Roderick Phillips, *Putting Asunder: A History of Divorce in Western Society*, 1988.

DONALD K. PICKENS

MARSHALL, GEORGE CATLETT, JR. (December 31, 1880–October 16, 1959), general and secretary of state. Marshall was born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, and graduated from the Virginia Military Institute in 1901. He entered the U.S. Army the next year as a second lieutenant. Like army officers Douglas MacArthur and

Dwight D. Eisenhower, Marshall served in the Philippines, though World War I brought him back to the United States as a staff officer. Then a colonel, Marshall in 1917 oversaw the mobilization and deployment of men and matériel in France.

World War II called again on Marshall's logistical talent. In 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Marshall army chief of staff, a post he assumed on September 1, 1939, the day Germany invaded Poland. The United States then had fewer than 200,000 persons in uniform, but under Marshall's guidance 8.3 million would serve in the U.S. Army, Navy, and Marines by war's end. His ability to equip, organize, and deploy troops and matériel to both theaters of the war led British prime minister Winston Churchill to credit Marshall with having organized the Allied victory.

Marshall had to juggle demands from field commanders and political leaders. That these demands might work at cross-purposes was evident after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. His service in the Philippines, his sympathy with the navy in the wake of the attack, and his conviction that the army was not prepared to open an offensive in Europe led Marshall to urge that the Allies give priority to the war in the Pacific. As a fallback position, Marshall proposed that the army might be ready to mount an offensive in Europe by 1943. But Churchill wanted an attack against the Nazis in North Africa, where he perceived them to be weak, and Roosevelt, hoping to placate the Soviets, promised a European offensive in 1942. Facing these political realities, Marshall relented: the struggle in Europe would take priority over combat in the Pacific.

Ultimately the Pacific theater made greater demands on Marshall than did the European. The U.S. test of a uranium bomb in July 1945 provoked a debate over the use of the remaining two atomic weapons. Fearful of being drawn into the debate, Marshall insisted that the decision rested with civilian leaders rather than with the military or scientists, but both President Harry S. Truman and Manhattan Project physicist and Nobel laureate Arthur Holly Compton pressed Marshall for his opinion. Under pressure, Marshall proposed three options: use of one of the bombs against a Japanese naval base, use against a Japanese city

only after warning civilians to flee, or demonstration before two Soviet scientists. Truman rejected all three proposals, dropping one bomb on Hiroshima and the second on Nagasaki that August without warning civilians.

Marshall retired from the army on November 21, 1945, but in December Truman sent him to China in hopes that Marshall could broker peace between General Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang (Guomindang) Party and Mao Zedong's (Mao Tse-tung's) Chinese Communist Party. Marshall tried to be neutral in mediating a settlement but U.S. policy had already undermined him. The United States had supported Chiang during World War II, leaving Mao with no illusions about American policy. Marshall returned home in 1946 without a settlement and Mao would defeat Chiang for control of China in 1949.

In January 1947 Truman appointed Marshall secretary of state, a role in which he ensured his place in history. In June he proposed the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan): a commitment of U.S. money and technology to rebuild Europe's economy after World War II. This initiative earned Marshall the 1953 Nobel Peace Prize. He died at Walter Reed General Hospital in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Ed Cray, *General of the Army: George C. Marshall, Soldier and Statesman*, 1990; Wendy Lubetkin, *George Marshall*, 1989; Mark A. Stoler, *George C. Marshall: Soldier-Statesman of the American Century*, 1989.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

MARSHALL PLAN On June 5, 1947, at the Harvard University commencement, George C. Marshall, former army chief of staff and current secretary of state, offered the European Recovery Program, known as the Marshall Plan. Marshall proposed sending record amounts of aid to Europe, on the premise that doing so would promote economic and political stability, thereby averting the error made shortly after World War I. Then the United States had ignored the Continent's conditions, which gave rise to fascism and Nazism. The Marshall Plan aimed at stimulating European industry, stabilizing European currencies, and increasing transatlantic trade.

With an eye on Europe's 260 million consumers, the Farmers' Union and the National Cotton Council endorsed the Marshall Plan, convinced that food and fiber exports were key to agricultural prosperity. French foreign minister George Bidault fortified this hope, pledging that France intended to spend whatever money the United States gave it on American goods. Calvin Hoover of the Harriman Committee tried to turn the economic argument on its head, asserting that there really was no surplus to sell abroad. Whatever the United States sold to foreign nations, he insisted, could not be bought at home, thereby diminishing American living standards.

More pressing during the Cold War was the need to counter Communism. The danger was less that the USSR might sweep through Europe than that homegrown socialism might appeal to voters in economic distress. Lewis Douglass and Jefferson Caffery, U.S. ambassadors to Britain and France respectively, warned that France was drifting precariously near socialism. Italy, American ambassador Alberto Tarchiani feared, might also succumb to leftists if the United States did nothing. Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, true to his isolationist sentiments, countered that socialism and Communism were reason enough to flee Europe. Able to recruit only twenty senators to his cause, however, Taft could not hope to defeat the Marshall Plan. Even his attempt to reduce the appropriation for the first twelve months from \$5.3 to \$4 billion failed, and Congress passed the Marshall Plan (the Economic Cooperation Act) on April 2, 1948.

Under its terms, Congress gave Europe \$13.3 billion, \$11.8 billion in grants and the remainder as loans. Britain and France were the largest recipients at \$3.2 billion and \$2.7 billion respectively. The Marshall Plan excluded Spain, then under the reactionary government of Francisco Franco, and West Germany until 1949. Congress offered aid to the USSR and its allies, but they refused. Europe fared well under the Marshall Plan. Between 1949 and 1950, West German trade doubled and in 1951 increased another 75 percent. Between 1948 and 1954, France's gross domestic product rose on average 5 percent per year. During these years the output of electricity doubled and industrial production

rose 50 percent. The postwar revival laid the foundation for the Common Market.

The U.S. benefited as well from the Marshall Plan. At the end of World War I, U.S. farmers had been stuck with surpluses when European farms returned to production. The Marshall Plan turned the tables, encouraging European governments to buy American corn, wheat, and other foodstuffs. So effective was the Marshall Plan that U.S. wheat farmers beat back both Canadian and Soviet attempts to regain a share of the market. By the mid-1950s, Canadian and Soviet farmers were again exporting wheat to Europe, but by then the United States was the world's leading seller of soybeans, ending any threat that U.S. agriculture might collapse as it had after World War I.

Because Europe invested much of the money from the Marshall Plan in rebuilding factories, U.S. industry did not get as large an export boost as did agriculture. Nevertheless, U.S. exports of steel, glass, rubber, radios, televisions, refrigerators, and other appliances were higher than would have been possible without the Marshall Plan.

Further Reading: Allen W. Dulles, *The Marshall Plan*, 1993; Michael J. Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947–1952*, 1989; Martin Schain, *The Marshall Plan: Fifty Years After*, 2001.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

MARTIN, AGNES BERNICE (March 22, 1912–December 16, 2004), painter. Martin was born in Maklin, Saskatchewan, Canada, and grew up in Calgary, Alberta, and Vancouver, British Columbia. She came to the United States in 1931. She studied at Western Washington College from 1934 to 1937 and received a BA from Columbia University in 1942. Martin taught in public schools in Washington, Delaware, and New Mexico during the 1940s. From 1946 until 1948 she taught art and was also a student at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. In 1947 Martin attended the Summer Field School of Art in Taos. While her paintings in the 1940s were still lifes and portraits, within two decades she became what many consider the best abstract expressionist painter. In 1947 she

completed perhaps her only nude, a portrait of model Barbara Pullens. With Asian thought in vogue after World War II, Martin read Zen scholar D.T. Suzuki and heard lectures by Jiddu Krishnamurti; later drawing on these spiritual ideas, she denied any belief in achievement, especially that accomplished through aggression. Martin became a United States citizen in 1950, and in 1954 she moved to Taos, New Mexico. After relocating to New York in 1957, she had her first solo exhibition at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1958. In 1967 Martin returned to New Mexico, painted nothing for seven years, but did produce the film *Gabriel*. In 1975 she began her association with the Pace Gallery in New York. In 1989 the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters inducted her into its membership. In 1991 the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam held an exhibition of her paintings and drawings that traveled throughout Europe, and Wiesbaden, Germany, awarded her the Alexej von Jawlensky Prize. In 1992 the Austrian government awarded her the Oskar Kokoschka Prize. In 1992 the Whitney Museum of American Art held a grand retrospective of her work. She then lived and worked in Galisteo, New Mexico, and later Taos.

Further Reading: Harmony Hammond, *Agnes Martin: Works on Paper*, 1998; Barbara Haskell, *Agnes Martin*, 1995; Dieter Schwarz, *Agnes Martin: Writings/Shriften*, 1992.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

MASSING, HEDE TUNE (January 6, 1900–March 8, 1981), former Soviet secret agent and anti-Communist activist. Born to an Austrian-Polish family, Hede Tune attended an acting conservatory in Vienna, where she met Communist journalist Gerhardt Eisler, whom she married in 1920. The couple moved to Berlin, and thus began her immersion in German Communist and intellectual society. She divorced Eisler to marry Communist publisher Julian Gumperz, but by 1930 left Gumperz for Marxist economist Paul Massing, member of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research (otherwise known as the Frankfurt School). During Hitler's rise to power, the Massings were active in the German antifascist underground and became informants for Soviet

intelligence. Hede Massing worked for Soviet spy Ignace Poretsky, alias Ignace Reiss, head of Soviet secret operations in Europe, who arranged for her to work in the United States after she and Paul fled Germany for New York City. Hede recruited various U.S. government employees for Soviet espionage, including, allegedly, State Department officials Laurence Duggan and Noel Field.

The Massings, disillusioned by Joseph Stalin's purges of European Communists in the mid-1930s, largely ceased their espionage activities by 1937 and lived quietly in New Jersey until the Cold War's outbreak. In 1947 Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents contacted Hede Massing for information about Gerhardt Eisler. Eisler, who had moved to the United States, was reputedly a high-ranking Soviet spy and political operative. Against Paul's wishes, Hede described her Communist past in detail, including Eisler's role in her radicalization, and identified her alleged American espionage contacts. She became an FBI expert informant against Eisler, who fled to Eastern Europe to avoid charges of passport fraud and contempt of Congress. During Alger Hiss's second perjury trial in 1949, Hede Massing was the only witness to corroborate Whittaker Chambers's claim that Hiss was a Communist agent. She described a supposed dinner party at which she and Hiss had competed to recruit State Department employee Noel Field into Soviet espionage. Hiss denied the charges but was convicted of perjury and sentenced to five years in prison in 1950. Partly due to Hede's new anti-Communist activism and the resulting negative publicity, Paul left her in 1947; they divorced in 1955. Her memoir, *This Deception*, was published in 1951, and that year Hede befriended Chambers, with whom she began an intense correspondence. The press sensationalized Hede as a "Viennese siren," Eisler's ex-wife, and a three-time divorcée. Criticized by many liberals and leftists for her role in the Hiss case, Hede Massing faded into relative obscurity, writing occasional pieces for *National Review* and other conservative publications.

She died in New York City.

Further Reading: Hede Massing, *This Deception*, 1951; Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev, *The Haunted*

Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—the Stalin Era, 1999; Veronica Wilson, "Red Masquerades: Gender and Political Subversion during the Cold War, 1945–1963," PhD diss., Rutgers University, 2002.

VERONICA WILSON

MAULDIN, WILLIAM HENRY (October 29, 1921–January 22, 2003), newspaper cartoonist and author. Bill Mauldin was born in Mountain Park, New Mexico. He was diagnosed with rickets as a child and was small for his age. He did not graduate from high school but studied at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts. By 1940 he was a member of the Arizona National Guard, which was activated into the U.S. Army. He volunteered to draw cartoons for the *45th Division News* and later was added to the staff. He stayed with the 45th Division for three years, but he also spent time with several others. Thus his work represented the typical U.S. soldier, not merely characters in his own division. Mauldin liked to draw cartoons that featured enlisted personnel and their daily routine. Officers, generals, and other authority figures were the frequent butts of his humorous cartoons. His most popular characters were called Willie and Joe. They represented the average soldier, unshaven and in tattered uniforms. Willie and Joe mouthed the common complaints of all soldiers: bad weather, bad army chow, and the constant danger of being wounded or killed. All soldiers could relate to Willie and Joe's problems. As a result, Mauldin became extremely popular; he won the Pulitzer Prize for his work in 1945 and was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine. His best-selling book *Up Front* (1945) featured his best cartoons with Willie and Joe.

Mauldin returned to civilian life to become an author and advocate for veterans' rights. When the Korean War broke out, he worked briefly for *Collier's*. In 1959 he won his second Pulitzer Prize for his cartoon on the Russian gulag. He continued working for several publications until his health began declining. He died in Newport Beach, California.

Further Reading: Bill Mauldin, *Bill Mauldin's Army*, 1951; obituary in *New York Times*, January 23, 2003; Bill Mauldin, *Up Front*, 1945.

MARK E. ELLIS

MAYR, ERNST (July 5, 1904–February 4, 2005), biologist. Mayr was born in Kempten, Germany, and received a PhD from the University of Berlin in 1926. He remained at the university to lead expeditions to New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, where, like British naturalists Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace, Mayr studied the variations among animals and plants on different islands, taking particular interest in birds. In 1932 he became curator of birds at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, where he published more than one hundred journal articles on bird taxonomy.

In 1942 Mayr published *Systematics and the Origin of Species*, a book that contributed to population genetics and the evolutionary synthesis. Mayr contended that Darwin had in *The Origin of Species* (1859) sought to demonstrate that evolution by natural selection was more probable than divine creation, without quite addressing the question of how new species arise. Mayr aimed to remedy this omission by focusing on the importance of reproductive isolation. A self-contained population of organisms shares a finite number of genes. The smaller the population, the smaller is the number of genes that can be recombined through reproduction. New genes, originating through mutation, will, if they convey a survival or reproductive advantage, sweep through a population. The accumulation of mutations over time creates a new species from the original population, which Mayr called the founder population. In *Systematics and the Origin of Species* Mayr concentrated on the spread of genes through a population. The individual was less important than the population to which it belonged. In extreme form, this thinking reduced the individual to nothing more than an aggregate of genes and a population to a repository of genes. Such thinking appalls evangelical Christians and has contributed to the rancor of the debate between evolutionists and creationists.

In 1953 Mayr became Alexander Agassiz Professor of Zoology at Harvard University, retiring in 1979 as professor emeritus. He died in Bedford, Massachusetts.

Further Reading: Ernst Mayr, *The Biological Species Concept*, 2000; Ernst Mayr, *The Growth of Biological*

Thought: Diversity, Evolution and Inheritance, 1982; Ernst Mayr, *What Makes Biology Unique?* 2004.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

McCARRAN, PATRICK ANTHONY (August 8, 1876–September 28, 1954), attorney, jurist, and U.S. senator from Nevada. Born near Reno, Nevada, McCarran graduated as his high school's valedictorian in 1897. He attended the University of Nevada, but did not complete his studies.

His political career began in 1902 when he won a Democratic seat in the state legislature. In 1906 he left Reno for Tonopah and was elected Nye County district attorney. In 1908 he ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Between 1909 and 1912 and again from 1919 to 1932, McCarran prospered as one of the state's most successful attorneys. An expert on mining and irrigation law, he first gained fame for his participation in the 1920 divorce case of actress Mary Pickford. From 1913 to 1918 he served on the state Supreme Court, spending the final two years as its chief justice.

After two unsuccessful attempts, in 1916 and 1926, McCarran was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1932 and was returned there for the remainder of his life. Officially a Democrat, he soon sided with conservative Republicans, opposing many urban-oriented initiatives of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. McCarran demanded an investigation on the National Recovery Administration and fiercely opposed Roosevelt's plans to reform the U.S. Supreme Court. During World War II he sought to close the National Youth Administration and the National Resources Planning Board and to end the Tennessee Valley Authority's independence. In 1945 he actively cosponsored the Legislative Reorganization Act and other steps to limit the federal bureaucracy.

McCarran supported separate commercial and military aviation and legislation to create the Civil Aeronautics Authority in 1938. He also helped build municipal airports throughout the nation. In 1943 he was elected chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Appropriations Committee. These positions gave him enormous influence on legislation. His conservatism and anti-Communism were manifested in prewar

isolationism and support for Spain and nationalist China after the war. With his help, both countries obtained congressional loans and military assistance.

Domestically, McCarran also chaired the Judiciary Committee's Internal Security Subcommittee, which he used to combat American Communism. In 1950 he successfully sponsored the Internal Security Act. McCarran supported Senator Joseph McCarthy; McCarran's subcommittee fiercely investigated numerous alleged leftist activities. In 1952 McCarran coauthored the Immigration and Nationality Act, retaining the quota system for immigration to the United States and introducing screening procedures for aliens. The act provided for deportation of people convicted of "un-American" activities.

McCarran died in Hawthorne, Nevada.

Further Reading: Jerome E. Edwards, *Pat McCarran: Political Boss of Nevada*, 1982; Sister Margaret Patricia McCarran, "Patrick Anthony McCarran," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 11 (Fall–Winter 1968): 5–66; Sister Margaret Patricia McCarran, "Patrick Anthony McCarran, Part II," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 12 (Spring 1969): 5–75.

WŁODZIMIERZ BATOG

McCARTHY, JOSEPH RAYMOND (November 14, 1908–May 2, 1957), Republican politician and U.S. senator from Wisconsin. McCarthy was born in Appleton, Wisconsin, and at age sixteen left home for a poultry business. He later completed high school and in 1935 graduated from the law school at Marquette University. He failed in a bid to become district attorney as a Democrat in 1936. Three years later, as a Republican, McCarthy won election to a circuit judgeship. He defeated incumbent Edgar V. Werner by exaggerating Werner's age; McCarthy offered three different dates for Werner's birth.

This success made McCarthy the youngest judge in Wisconsin. Despite later press criticism, he was popular around Appleton. He specialized in divorce, but was censured in 1941 for losing evidence in a price-fixing case.

In 1942 McCarthy joined the marines and served in a dive-bomber squadron as an intelligence officer until 1944. Seeking a U.S. Senate

seat that year, he exaggerated his war record in the Republican primary against Robert La Follette, a party veteran and prewar isolationist. McCarthy won narrowly but then defeated his Democratic opponent, Howard J. Murray, by a landslide.

As a junior senator, McCarthy was assigned to the Banking and Government Expenditures Committees. His views became openly anti-Communist and conservative as he supported the Taft-Hartley Act and Marshall Plan in 1947 and NATO in 1948. Domestically he participated in a sugar debate in 1947, vigorously supporting the producing states against the consuming ones and advocating decontrol of prices. He was nicknamed the "Pepsi-Cola kid" because many people incorrectly believed that he represented the soft-drink industry lobby. In the same year McCarthy took part in hearings on housing. Vice-chairing the subcommittee, he sided with William Levitt and other private manufacturers against public housing proponents.

In 1948 McCarthy helped investigate the Nazi troops responsible for the 1944 Malmedy Massacre. Hoping to achieve some media coverage, he participated in the hearings, insulting Armed Forces Committee members and witnesses. Between 1947 and 1949, his conduct became the subject of press attacks by the *Capital Times*, a Wisconsin daily. In response, in late 1949, McCarthy accused both the newspaper's reporter and editor of Communist sympathies. The method worked, so he used it again on February 7, 1950, in a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, claiming that the State Department tolerated concealed Communists.

His later reckless and partisan anti-Communist crusade gave him first prominence and fame, and then notoriety. The political consequences of his methods were summed up well by Herb Block in a March 29 cartoon, which also introduced the term *McCarthyism*. Block pictured Republican senators Kenneth S. Wherry, Robert A. Taft, Styles Bridges, and party national chairman Guy Gabrielson pushing an elephant marked "GOP" toward a pile of barrels full of tar. "You mean I'm supposed to stand on that?" says the caption, suggesting that supporting McCarthy's methods could cause results unforeseen by two mentors.

In 1954 McCarthy accused the Pentagon of concealing evidence of alleged espionage at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, and opened hearings to prove his charges. The so-called Army-McCarthy hearings proved a political disaster, and in December his Senate colleagues voted to censure him. As a result he played no role in the 1956 elections. Forgotten, he died of cirrhosis of the liver at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland.

Further Reading: William F. Buckley and L. Brent Bozell, *McCarthy and his Enemies: The Record and its Meaning*, 1954; Michael O'Brien, *McCarthy and McCarthyism in Wisconsin*, 1980; Thomas Reeves, *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy: A Biography*, 1982.

DOROTA BATOG

MCFARLAND, ERNEST WILLIAM (October 9, 1894–June 8, 1984), U.S. senator, Arizona governor, and Arizona Supreme Court chief justice. McFarland was born in Earlsboro, Oklahoma, received a bachelor's degree in 1917 from the University of Oklahoma, and enlisted in the U.S. Navy during World War I. He earned a law degree from Stanford University in 1922 and a master's degree there two years later. He then relocated to Arizona for health reasons and held a number of local political and judicial offices in Pinal County and Florence, the county seat in the 1920s and 1930s.

McFarland stunned political observers in 1940 by defeating veteran incumbent Henry F. Ashurst in the Democratic senatorial primary and later in triumphing over his Republican challenger. McFarland's twelve years in the U.S. Senate from 1941 to 1953 were noteworthy in several respects. First, he fought for irrigation and reclamation projects to help Arizona and the West. Second, he sponsored Social Security increases, including one in 1946. Third, McFarland sought improved living conditions, schools, hospitals, and roads for Native Americans. He also chaired the Communications Subcommittee that toured devastated areas of Europe and the Pacific after World War II in order to formulate an American role in international communications. McFarland's greatest legislative achievement in the 1940s centered on veterans. Known as the "Father of the GI Bill," McFarland contributed sections on edu-

cation, business, and home loans to this landmark legislation.

Senate majority leader from 1951 to 1953, McFarland narrowly lost his Senate seat to Barry M. Goldwater in the Eisenhower landslide of 1952. McFarland returned to the political arena when he served two terms as governor of Arizona from 1955 to 1959 and later won election to the Arizona Supreme Court, holding that position from 1965 to 1971. He retired from political life in 1971 to resume his farming and television interests. McFarland completed his autobiography, donated to Arizona the McFarland Historical State Park, and received acclaim statewide for his activist program to improve Arizona. His expertise at negotiation and compromise was widely recognized. He was one of the few people to have held his state's highest offices in all branches of government. McFarland died in Phoenix.

Further Reading: Ernest W. McFarland, *Mac: The Autobiography of Ernest W. McFarland*, 1979; James E. McMillan, ed., *The Earnest W. McFarland Papers: The United States Senate Years, 1940–1952*, 1995; James E. McMillan, "Father of the GI Bill: Ernest W. McFarland and Veterans' Legislation," *Journal of Arizona History* 35 (1994): 357–376.

LEONARD SCHLUP

McNARY, CHARLES LINZA (June 12, 1874–February 25, 1944), U.S. senator from Oregon and vice presidential nominee. One of the most respected American political figures of the first half of the twentieth century, McNary was born on the family farm near Salem, Oregon. He spent one year at Stanford University and then studied law, gaining admission to the bar in 1898. Dean of the law school at Willamette University from 1908 to 1913, McNary entered politics as a progressive Republican. He proved a pragmatic politician who recognized the art of compromise, and he served in the U.S. Senate from 1917 until his death. His chief interests were agriculture and forestry, and during the 1920s he coauthored the McNary-Haugen bills, which sought to stabilize farm income but were vetoed by President Calvin Coolidge.

McNary and Franklin D. Roosevelt developed a mutual respect, and the senator supported the

New Deal's key elements. He also endorsed the Selective Service Act of 1940 and lend-lease the following year, while generally opposing interventionist activities before Pearl Harbor. In 1940 McNary, the most prominent Republican in Congress, received his party's vice presidential nomination on the ticket headed by Wendell L. Willkie. They made a strong team. During the campaign McNary and Henry A. Wallace, the Democratic candidate for vice president, often shared an automobile riding to speaking engagements. Roosevelt, shortly after winning a third term, invited McNary to join his cabinet, a position he declined in order to remain in the Senate. McNary achieved renown as western populist, superb parliamentarian, astute politician, devoted protectionist, dedicated reformer, effective legislator, and popular public official. He died in Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

Further Reading: Charles L. McNary Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, and the Oregon Historical Society at Salem; Steve Neal, *McNary of Oregon: A Political Biography*, 1985; obituary in *New York Times*, February 26, 1944.

LEONARD SCHLUP

MEDICINE The 1940s were a decade of growth in medicine. World War II stimulated federal intervention in the field, as it did in science. On July 1, 1946, U.S. Surgeon General Thomas Parran reorganized the Office of Malaria Control in War Areas, a World War II agency, as the Communicable Disease Center, the precursor of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta, Georgia.

President Harry Truman favored an even larger role for the federal government in medicine. On November 19, 1945, he submitted to Congress a health care bill that proposed federal spending on hospital construction and on training new physicians and nurses. The measure required either government or private insurers to cover all Americans and required businesses to provide disability insurance for workers. Republican senator Robert Taft of Ohio condemned the bill as socialistic. The American Medical Association (AMA) feared that national health care would lower physicians' salaries; the group un-

dermined the bill by lobbying Republicans and conservative southern Democrats against it. In an irony of the 1940s, the 46,000 physicians who served in the military during World War II earned a government salary independent of the number of patients they treated (though less lucrative than what they could earn in private practice). They nevertheless did not condemn medicine in the military as socialism. Republican victories in the 1946 midterm election killed the bill, though both Truman and Progressive Party candidate Henry A. Wallace revived it as an issue in the 1948 presidential campaign. Truman's victory infuriated the AMA, which in 1949 spent \$1.5 million, then the most expensive lobbying effort, to kill national health care, as it had in 1946. Supporters of the bill failed to refute charges of socialized medicine, and public enthusiasm degenerated into fear of anything that evoked Communism.

Instead of national health care, Congress enacted only the first part of Truman's plan. In 1946 it passed the Hospital Survey and Construction Act (the Hill-Burton Act), granting states money to build hospitals. Yet the law forbade federal agencies from regulating these hospitals, ensuring that the federal government could not set hospital fees and thereby limit physicians' salaries. The law required localities (cities and townships) to contribute two-thirds of the funds for hospital construction. Because low-income communities could seldom raise the money, the poor continued to receive inadequate care.

World War II also focused attention on psychiatry. During the war, the U.S. Army, Navy, and Marine Corps rejected more than 1 million men from service for mental or neurological disorders. Psychiatric disorders accounted for nearly 1 million hospital admissions during the war and 40 percent of all medical discharges. In 1948 historian and journalist Albert Deutsch published *The Shame of the States*, comparing American mental asylums to concentration camps. Deutsch urged federal and state governments to scrutinize the care of mental patients. In 1949 Congress responded, creating the National Institute of Mental Health (a division of the National Institutes of Health) to fund research in the treatment of mental disorders.

During the 1940s medicine remained a profession of white, nonethnic, Christian males. In 1940 the medical schools at Yale University, Tufts University, Wake Forest University, Hahnemann University, Creighton University, the University of Buffalo, Syracuse University, Queens University at Kingston, Georgetown University, and the University of Virginia enrolled no blacks. The Wake Forest medical school enrolled no Italian Americans. Only 1 percent of students at the University of Virginia medical school were of Italian descent, only 2 percent at Queens and the University of Rochester, 3 percent at Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, 4 percent at Yale, and 5 percent at the University of Illinois. As many as half of U.S. medical school applicants were Jews, yet they were only 1.5 percent at Wake Forest, 4 percent at Creighton, 6 percent at Rochester, and 8 percent at Georgetown. Nationwide, women were only 5 percent of medical students.

Further Reading: *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, 1993; James H. Cassidy, *Medicine in America: A Short History*, 1991; John Duffy, *From Humors to Medical Science: A History of American Medicine*, 1993.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

MENDEZ V. WESTMINSTER SCHOOL DISTRICT This 1945 Orange County, California, legal case played a monumental role in combating school segregation throughout the United States. The case established a precedent for *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which overturned the doctrine of “separate but equal” established by *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Mexican American children forced to attend segregated schools saw little equality, and their plight became a focus for change after World War II. The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), a Mexican American civil rights organization, worked on behalf of Mexican Americans in the public sector. LULAC considered education essential for social and employment advancement. Consequently, in 1945, the organization sued four Orange County school districts, claiming segregation of Mexican American students. Attorneys from the Lawyers' Guild argued that

school segregation violated the children's constitutional rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The *Mendez v. Westminster School District* case, initiated by U.S. citizens Gonzalo Mendez, William Guzman, Frank Palomino, Thomas Estrada, and Lorenzo Ramirez on behalf of their minor children, desegregated a number of southern California schools. The case was won when a federal court directed the school districts to end segregation and a circuit court, two years later, agreed.

Further Reading: Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Ribera, *Mexican Americans/American Mexicans*, 1993; F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*, 1996.

SANTOS C. VEGA

MENTAL HEALTH AND MENTAL HEALTH INSTITUTIONS Beginning with the creation of asylums in the early nineteenth century, the mentally ill were placed in institutions for two major reasons. First, physicians believed that mental afflictions could be cured. Second, communities had no other solution for mentally ill patients who did not have families to take care of them. By 1940, there were about 500,000 patients, under varying conditions, in mental hospitals throughout the United States. Psychiatrists in the 1940s used somatic therapies such as electric shock therapy and lobotomies with the hope of curing patients, although research on their effectiveness was inconclusive. During the Great Depression and World War II, mental health hospitals were neglected financially by state legislators and ignored by the public, leading to overcrowding and deteriorating infrastructures. Institutions also faced a shortage of medical staff, since many personnel were needed by the military.

During the war, psychiatrists screened recruits for mental disorders. Psychiatrists also believed that they could assess whether a recruit had a predisposition toward pathology. Although they were able to screen out many with existing pathology, psychiatrists were not effective in predicting which recruits would experience emotional breakdowns or “battle fatigue” during combat. Psychiatrists concluded that environmental stress was a major factor in the emotional

difficulties faced by soldiers and that all people were at risk of mental illness when exposed to severe trauma. Therefore, they determined that prevention and on-site treatment could decrease psychological problems. Medical staff began treating soldiers who experienced emotional difficulties by offering them brief therapy, removing them from the stressful environment, and allowing them rest. To prevent large numbers of soldiers from being overwhelmed by battle conditions, soldiers were rotated in and out of direct combat. Psychiatrists, encouraged by their success in treating military personnel, concluded that they could use a similar approach with civilians, treating people with less severe illnesses in their communities rather than in mental hospitals.

After the war, many psychiatrists, pushing for prevention and community treatment, moved their practices outside of mental hospitals. Psychiatrists such as William Menniger, who founded the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (GAP) in 1946, called for the profession to focus on the psychological and environmental causes of mental illness rather than the somatic therapies of the medical model.

Several writers called attention to deteriorating mental hospitals, including Albert Deutsch in his 1948 book *The Shame of the States* and Mary Jane Ward in her 1946 book *The Snake Pit*. The latter was made into a film in 1948. These writers, as well as the American Psychiatric Association and GAP, strove to inform the public of the problems in the mental institutions. The federal government responded by helping the states. Congress passed the National Mental Health Act in 1946, providing support for research, training of personnel, and funding for state programs. In addition, Congress created the National Mental Health Advisory Council and the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH). The NIMH encouraged states to emphasize on community treatment and prevention. Through the Hill-Burton Act of 1946, Congress supplied funds to construct hospitals.

The increased mental health focus after the war led to an increase in services throughout the nation and the need for more mental health workers. Several of today's major mental health specialties can trace their change in emphasis to this

period. Clinical psychologists had already begun joining the experimental psychologists in the American Psychological Association (APA) in the 1920s and a Division for Counseling Psychology was admitted to APA in 1945. Many vocational counselors began moving into the mental health field and in 1952 formed the American Personnel and Guidance Association, the predecessor of today's American Counseling Association. Social workers also moved into positions in mental health clinics and formed the National Association of Social Workers in 1955.

Further Reading: Gerald N. Grob, *The Mad Among Us: A History of the Care of America's Mentally Ill*, 1994; Ed Neukrug, *The World of the Counselor*, 2003; Edward Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry: From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac*, 1997.

JOHN F. MARSZALEK III

MERTON, THOMAS (January 31, 1915–December 10, 1968), American writer and Trappist monk. The youthful Thomas Merton was an unlikely candidate to become arguably the most famous Trappist monk of the twentieth century. An orphan, he lived with affluent relatives and guardians, was schooled in France and England, and completed undergraduate and graduate programs at Columbia University. He had a gift for writing.

As a young adult, Merton explored Roman Catholic Church teachings and the writings of Catholic mystics. He was baptized Catholic in 1938. Perhaps due to a lack of stability and family, in 1941 he joined the Cistercian community (Trappist monks) of Gethsemani Abbey in Kentucky. Painfully, he adapted to the group's medieval lifestyle and continued to write—primarily poetry. Believing, however, that his passion for writing was contrary to his vocation, he tried unsuccessfully to crush his literary impulses.

He began writing his autobiography in 1944, an exercise he thought would be healing during a period of emotional collapse. The resulting 1948 publication, *The Seven Storey Mountain*, which carried endorsements from Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh, and Clare Boothe Luce, sold 600,000 copies in the first printing. In the bleakness of the early Cold War years and prevailing anti-Catholic sentiment, Catholics found

inspiration in Merton's images of faith, heroism, sacrifice, and idealism. Vocations to religious life increased dramatically. Almost immediately, however, Merton began to question his own message and literary responsibilities.

After 1948, he embarked on an ever-broadening spiritual journey. He wrote extensively on contemplative prayer, publishing *Seeds of Contemplation*, *The Ascent to Truth*, *The Sign of Jonas*, and *Thoughts in Solitude*. The subject matter's depth and breadth cost him the general reader, yet exposed him to a loyal coterie that followed his spiritual journey for the next twenty years. In the 1950s, Merton began corresponding with D.T. Suzuki, the famous Zen authority, and his writing broadened further. He published *The Way of Chuang Tzu*, *Mystics and Zen Masters*, and other works with Eastern themes.

The cultural turbulence of the 1960s caused another shift in his writing. Having developed relationships with such revolutionaries as the Catholic priests Daniel and Philip Berrigan and Ernesto Cardenal, Merton explored social justice—including the potential wisdom of Marxism and the immorality of the Vietnam War. His works in this genre included *Seeds of Destruction*, *Gandhi on Non-violence*, and *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander*.

Merton epitomized intellectual changes that evolved from the seemingly innocent decade of the 1940s to the complex 1960s. He died in Bangkok, Thailand.

Further Reading: Monica Furlong, *Merton: A Biography*, 1980; Thomas Merton, *The Seven Storey Mountain*, 1948; Michael Mott, *The Seven Mountains of Thomas Merton*, 1984.

CAROL GOSS HOOVER

MEXICAN AMERICANS World War II had profound effects on the Mexican American community. Members enlisted in the armed forces, attracted by the pay and an improved social status, while others served for patriotic reasons. Many more, including women, worked in war-related industries. Important changes resulted: a general movement to the cities from rural areas, greater migration from Mexico into the United States, and an increased sense of Mexi-

can American identity, which promoted political activism.

Urbanization led to changes in family structures. A youth subculture, featuring pachucho gangs, appeared. An existing general prejudice against Mexicans was combined with fear of the alleged crimes of these gangs. The zoot suit riots of 1943, in which American servicemen on leave attacked the Los Angeles Mexican community, illustrated the extreme racial tensions present in the 1940s.

Wartime labor demands allowed more Mexican employment and migration. Recognizing the need to keep Mexican Americans loyal to the war effort, the federal government instituted a range of initiatives. Executive Order 8802 in 1941 asserted nondiscrimination in industry generally. The establishment of the Fair Employment Office and Coordinating Committee on Latin American Affairs and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs dealt specifically with Mexican American concerns. The prevailing racial violence ensured that federal efforts would continue, but discrimination lived on. By 1945, however, reforms were no longer deemed necessary; protective innovations ceased, yet migration continued.

A bracero program was first instituted in 1942. The name was given to Mexican nationals who were recruited to work temporarily in the western United States. The program was initiated to meet war demands, but continued afterward to meet the need for agricultural labor. Between July 1942 and April 1947, some 250,000 male Mexicans arrived in the United States, most restricted to agricultural jobs. Illegal migrants followed. Thus, while the existing community became increasingly urbanized and gained some socio-economic advantages, new Mexican arrivals took up their place in low-status agricultural work.

The 1940s saw considerable development in Mexican American political activism and involvement. While most Mexican Americans supported World War II, there was some protest, notably through the small Sinarquista movement, which actively opposed the conflict and advocated separatism from the rest of the United States. Middle-class community members already dominated its politics and continued to do so,

notably through the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). They pushed for adoption of American values and the use of English, but they also fought for educational improvements and an end to segregation within schools. One notable effort in this latter area was the class-action case of *Mendez et al. v. Westminster School District of Orange County* (California) in 1945. Another important political organization was the Mexican-American Movement, established in 1942 and ended in 1950. A community organization, it worked to improve the lives and education of Mexican Americans. Yet another group of this period was the Pan American Progressive Association, formed in San Antonio, Texas, in 1947. It aimed to improve Mexican American representation in the commercial and business world.

The war itself led to changes in political activity. The GI Bill helped many returning veterans get an education—but discrimination in housing, education, and employment remained all too evident. This treatment after the efforts of Mexican Americans to support the war fueled greater political activism. In 1949, the Asociación Nacional México American (ANMA) was formed as a national advocacy organization dedicated to achieving political and economic rights. It worked to fight police brutality and various forms of discrimination and to protect recent and illegal migrants. Numerous other organizations, including the Civic Unity League of Southern California, the Community Service Organization, and the American GI Forum, worked to increase political representation mobilizing voters and finding and promoting political candidates.

Thus the decade strengthened Mexican American identity, changed community demographics, and launched political activity.

Further Reading: Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise 1940–1990*, 1990; Manuel G. Gonzales, *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States*, 1999; Carlos Muñoz Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power—The Chicano Movement*, 1989.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

MIDWAY, BATTLE OF, American naval victory on June 4, 1942, and the turning point in World War II's Pacific theater. After Pearl Harbor, the

Japanese high command debated the course of future action. The army and the navy were unable to arrive at an acceptable joint operation. Left to its own devices, the navy chose the two islands that make up Midway (about 1,200 miles northwest of Honolulu) as the next major campaign objective. Midway could give the Japanese control of the central Pacific—important in the wake of the James Doolittle's raid on Tokyo—and provide a staging area for a future assault on Hawaii. If they were lucky, the Japanese hoped to draw the remnants of the American navy into a decisive surface battle. To ensure that they captured Midway, the Japanese designed an elaborate plan with a diversionary attack on the Aleutian Islands. Although Japan captured the islands of Attu and Kiska without a fight, the diversionary attack turned out to be a mistake. It did not pull away significant numbers of American forces, but did draw crucial Japanese ships from the main body. Moreover, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto strung his fleet over too great a distance, and strict adherence to radio silence impeded cooperation.

Meanwhile, U.S. naval intelligence intercepted and decoded Japanese communications pinpointing Midway as their objective. Gambling that these communications were genuine, Admiral Chester Nimitz ordered American naval forces to Midway. When the *Yorktown* limped into Pearl Harbor after being badly damaged during the battle of Coral Sea, Nimitz pushed his work crews hard so the carrier could be ready for the next operation. Within seventy-two hours the *Yorktown* was back at sea, heading to Midway. Its presence shocked the Japanese.

On June 4, 1942, the Japanese launched their first assault on Midway with a devastating bombing mission. After the planes returned to the Japanese carriers, they were armed with torpedoes in anticipation of American carriers. As reports filtered in, however, the Japanese commanders decided that the bombing strike had not done sufficient damage to land the ground forces, so the planes were rearmed with bombs. While they rearmed, Japanese reconnaissance planes sighted American carriers, causing the commanders to reverse their previous decision and remount torpedoes on the planes. What was

worse, in the haste to effect these changes, fuel hoses and munitions lay all over the decks of the Japanese aircraft carriers. Slow-moving American Devastator bombers approached from three carriers and Midway, but the assault was ineffective. Japanese fighters and anti-aircraft guns kept the Americans at bay. The tide changed when a group of Dauntless dive bombers came in from so high that the Japanese did not even see them. Their bombs hit the mark, tearing open three of the four Japanese carriers—*Akagi*, *Kaga*, and *Horyu*—and setting them ablaze. Two sank that night and the third went to the bottom the following day. The surviving Japanese carrier, the *Hiryu*, launched an attack that crippled the *Yorktown*. After returning to refuel, the planes of *Hiryu* took off again to find another target, but inexplicably attacked the *Yorktown*, confusing it with another ship. As the *Yorktown* faced its second assault, planes from the American carriers *Enterprise* and *Hornet* found the *Hiryu* and sank it.

Yamamoto, whose command ship was 600 miles from the scene of action, was unable to pull together his scattered forces for a counter-attack, and he retreated toward Japan. A Japanese submarine found the *Yorktown* and sent it to the bottom of the sea.

The Japanese never regained the momentum they had between Pearl Harbor and Midway. More important, Japan lacked the industrial capacity to replenish its losses in planes and carriers. For these reasons, Midway was a decisive victory for the United States.

Further Reading: Mitsuo Fuchida and Muasatake Okumiya, *Midway: The Battle that Doomed Japan*, 1955; Samuel Eliot Morison, “Coral Sea, Midway and Submarine Actions, May–August 1942,” *History of the United States Naval Operations in World War II*, vol. 4, 2001; Gordon W. Prange in collaboration with Donald M. Goldstein and Katherine Dillon, *Miracle at Midway*, 1982.

GREGORY DEHLER

MILLAY, EDNA ST. VINCENT (February 22, 1892–October 19, 1950), poet. Millay was born in Rockland, Maine, and grew up in Camden, Maine, where she became editor of the local

literary magazine. At twenty, she wrote “Renaissance,” which won publication in *The Lyric Year* and attracted attention that got her to Vassar, where she completed her education. Her *Renaissance and Other Poems* was published in 1917. After college, Millay moved to Greenwich Village, where she became friends with Floyd Dell, Max Eastman, and John Reed, writers for *The Masses*. She protested American involvement in World War I. In 1922 she published *The Ballad of the Harp Weaver*, and in 1923 she was awarded the Pulitzer Prize. With Dell, Dorothy Parker, John Dos Passos, Ben Shahn, and Upton Sinclair, Millay campaigned against the executions of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in 1927. Millay was awarded honorary doctorate of literature degrees from Tufts College in 1925, the University of Wisconsin and Russell Sage College in 1933, and New York University and Colby College in 1937. The National Institute of Arts and Letters elected Millay in 1929, and in 1931 she won the Helen Haire Levinson Prize, and the Gold Medal of the Poetry Society of America in 1943. The American Academy of Arts and Letters elected her in 1940; but her poetry from the 1940s demonstrates a strong social consciousness, but perhaps less lyrical power than her earlier work. She published *There Are No Islands Any More* (1940), *Mark Bright the Arrows: 1940 Notebook* (1940), *Invocation to the Muses* (1941), and the radio play *The Murder of Lidice* (1942), and she demonstrated her mastery of the lyric in general and the sonnet in particular in *Collected Lyrics* (1943) and *Collected Sonnets* (1942). In 1944, Millay was hospitalized for bipolar disorder (manic depression) and did not write any poetry for two years. She did publish *Poem and Prayer for an Invading Army* (1944), perhaps her most political and weakest poetry book. She culminated her career with the publication of *Collected Poems* in 1949. Millay, died in Austerlitz, New York.

Further Reading: Norman A. Brittin, *Edna St. Vincent Millay*, 1967; Daniel M. Epstein, *What Lips My Lips Have Kissed: The Loves and Love Poems of Edna St. Vincent Millay*, 2001; Nancy Milford, *Savage Beauty: The Life of Edna St. Vincent Millay*, 2002.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

MILLER, ARTHUR ASTER (October 17, 1915–February 13, 2005), dramatist. Miller was born in New York City, where he attended public schools. After graduation, he worked in a warehouse. He saved enough money to attend the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, where he began to write plays. He published *The Man Who Had All the Luck* in 1944, both the novel *Focus* and the screenplay *The Story of G. I. Joe* in 1945, and *All My Sons* in 1947 to favorable reviews.

Of his early work, *All My Sons* may be the most poignant. Set in World War II, it has only a tenuous connection to war. Unlike Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*, *All My Sons* is not a condemnation of war. Instead, it is at one level about the disintegration of a family. On another level it condemns the profit motive in an America in which Andrew Carnegie and Henry Ford are household names. Capitalism, rather than any character in the play, emerges as the villain.

Death of a Salesman, which won a Pulitzer Prize in 1949, remains Miller's most enduring play. Its Broadway revival in 1999 marked the fiftieth anniversary of its premiere and underscored protagonist Willy Loman's universality as a symbol of the American Dream denied. Through Loman, Miller condemns the fixation with upward mobility and being "well liked." In Loman's America, popularity rather than merit determines success. Both popularity and success elude Loman, but in his disenchantment Loman is not Henry David Thoreau's man of "quiet desperation." He talks incessantly without being able to articulate why his life has unraveled. He remains estranged from his work, his wife, and his sons. Despite his flaws, Loman evokes sympathy as a victim: yesterday's sales quota means nothing today. Like *All My Sons*, *Death of a Salesman* derives power from its critique of an economic system that devours workers such as Loman only to discard them when they are too old to be productive. *Death of a Salesman* reminds the reader that not everyone thrived amid postwar prosperity.

Miller's later plays include *The Crucible* in 1953 and *A View from the Bridge*, which won a Pulitzer Prize in 1955. Miller died in Roxbury, Connecticut.

Further Reading: Harold Bloom, ed., *Arthur Miller*, 2003; Steven R. Centola, *Achievements of Arthur Miller: New Essays*, 1995; Thomas Siebold, ed., *Readings on Arthur Miller*, 1997.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

MILLER, GEORGE AUGUSTUS, JR. (September 24, 1894–March 15, 1983), armorer, inventor, and engineer. Born in St. Augustine, Florida, Miller studied chemistry at Georgia Institute of Technology (1911 to 1914) before transferring to Alabama Polytechnic Institute (Auburn University after 1960), where he earned a BSc in metallurgy (1916) and another in chemical engineering (1936). Employed as a civilian by Frankford Arsenal in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Miller joined the search for an alternative superhard metal for bullet cores. By 1940, in concert with the commercial steel industry, he developed manganese molybdenum steel, which replaced tungsten chromium type WD-74100 when the Pacific war cut off Allied access to wolframite, the ore source for tungsten. The new metal was better than a mere substitute, because tungsten steel production required electric furnaces, while manganese molybdenum steel could be produced in open-hearth furnaces. Ninety percent of furnaces in the United States were open-hearth. The alternative steel cost half as much to make as tungsten and was easier to grind, so bullet cores were less expensive. The steel was adopted by the United States for small caliber bullets and artillery projectiles and, through lend-lease, by the British and Russians. Moreover, manganese molybdenum steel has peacetime uses.

During the war, Miller worked on red trace for 0.30- and 0.50-caliber bullets, helped develop an inexpensive, easy-to-manufacture, armor-piercing bullet core, and designed an effective and inexpensive 0.50-caliber incendiary bullet. General Henry H. "Hap" Arnold cited Miller's bullet for its effectiveness in the air war. Miller received the Legion of Merit for his work with manganese molybdenum steel and the incendiary bullet. Commissioned lieutenant colonel in July 1942 and colonel in June 1945, Miller commanded the Small Arms Ammunition Department at Frankford Arsenal, helped private

manufacturers make the transition from consumer goods to bullets, and contributed to the development of technology and standards for manufacturing steel cartridge cases to replace the more expensive and scarce brass.

After the German surrender, Miller traveled to Europe to determine the feasibility of converting captured munitions manufacturing facilities to American standards should the war in the Pacific put a strain on domestic munitions manufacturing capacity. After the war, he directed construction and equipping of arsenals for American allies around the world and helped turn Frankford Arsenal into a training ground for those who took American industrial munitions technology to Iran, Japan, Korea, Spain, Syria, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, and Vietnam.

Further Reading: George Augustus Miller Jr. Papers, Auburn University Library, Auburn, Alabama; David O. Whitten, "An American Armorer: George Augustus Miller, Jr., 1894–1983," *Essays in Economic and Business History* 9 (1991): 1–11; David O. Whitten, "Ultra-Rapid Photography at the Frankford Arsenal, 1920–22: The Work of George Augustus Miller, Jr.," *History of Photography* 27 (2003) 254–263.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

MILLER, PERRY GILBERT EDDY (February 25, 1905–December 9, 1963), literary historian and critic. Miller was born in Chicago and spent his entire career as a professor of American literature at Harvard University. Despite his Midwest origins, he felt more at home in New England, where his parents came from.

Miller is widely known for his work on the New England Puritans, a subject to which he devoted most of his academic life. He made his most lasting contribution to Puritan studies, however, during the 1940s in such essays as "Jonathan Edwards to Emerson" (1940) and "Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening" (1949), both of which were later collected in *Errand into the Wilderness* (1956). In the preface to that book, Miller recounts how, as a restless young man, he wandered around the world to end up at some point in Matadi, on the banks of the Congo. There, on the edge of the African jungle, he made a covenant with himself that he would explain to

America the significance of the New England Puritans, who had faced a similar wilderness to create a new society. Miller, who was an agnostic, pursued this mission with almost religious zeal, at least within the confines of the academic world. His most important work is the monumental, three-volume *New England Mind*. The first two volumes, published in 1939 and 1953, deal with the rise and decline of Puritanism from the seventeenth up to the middle of the eighteenth century. The third, unfinished volume appeared posthumously in 1966 and was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in history. It deals with the influence of Puritan thought on Romantic literature.

On the whole, his early work is the more original, but the more controversial as well. During the 1940s Miller's intellectual history offered a counterweight to the then-dominant approach of social historians, who interpreted literature and culture as expressions of deep-rooted social factors. From this perspective, the Puritans appeared as archaic, otherworldly creatures, whose impact on the "main currents of American thought" (as noted in a book of that title by V.L. Parrington) was marginal. Breaking with this rather caricature view of the Puritans, Miller showed that their legacy was more complex and influential than many of his contemporaries thought.

Central to Miller's conception of the Puritans is the constitutive tension in their worldview between reason and faith, or the social and the spiritual. This tension is evident in the "plain style" of their sermons, which paradoxically expresses their religious beliefs in what seems to contemporary readers a rather dry and rational fashion. The Puritan thinker who fascinated Miller the most was Jonathan Edwards, to whom he devoted a monograph in 1949. Miller thought that the tension between the divine and the visible was most felt in the figure of Edwards. Miller also regarded the fundamental irony in Puritan thought and theology as a central feature of American society as a whole.

Puritanism, for him, was a way of making sense of contemporary America. Although historians have called into doubt some of his ideas, Perry Miller is still regarded as a highly original and authoritative thinker on the American Puritans.

He died in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Further Reading: Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad*, 1978; Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness*, 1956; Edmund S. Morgan "Perry Miller and the Historians," *Harvard Review* 2 (1964): 25–59.

MICHAEL BOYDEN

MONRONEY, ALMER STILLWELL MIKE (March 2, 1902–February 13, 1980), legislator. Born in Oklahoma City, Monroney, after graduating from the University of Oklahoma in 1924, became a political reporter and president of a furniture store. He was elected as a Democrat to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1938 and served there from 1939 to 1951. In 1946 he co-sponsored the important Legislative Reorganization Act. It decreased the number of congressional committees, allowed the employment of committee staff members, and changed the method of dealing with the federal budget. The bill also reduced the congressional workload and, for the first time, required lobbyists to register with and report their expenditures to the House clerk. Monroney's strong support for the domestic and foreign policies of Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman during the 1940s helped him capture a U.S. Senate seat in 1950. He remained in the upper house from 1951 until 1969, when he lost his seat in an era of social upheaval and political turmoil. In 1960 Monroney worked to secure the Democratic presidential nomination for Adlai E. Stevenson. Monroney was also an aviation consultant who held directorships on numerous boards. He died in Rockville, Maryland.

Further Reading: A.S. Mike Monroney et al., "Reform of Congress: The Congress and America's Future—A Discussion," *Political Science Quarterly* 80 (1965): 606–620; obituary in *New York Times*, February 14, 1980.

LEONARD SCHLUP

MONTGOMERY, BERNARD LAW (November 17, 1887–March 24, 1976), first Viscount Montgomery of Alamein and British general. Montgomery, known to the public as Monty, was born in London, son of a churchman. Montgomery attended St. Paul's School in London from 1902 to 1906 and the Royal Military College,

Sandhurst, in 1907 and 1908. He was commissioned in the Warwickshire Regiment and posted to India in 1908. In World War I Montgomery served on the western front and in 1914 was wounded at Meteren in the First Battle of Ypres. He received the Distinguished Service Order for that action.

A major-general when World War II began, Montgomery fought in France and evacuated from Dunkirk before assuming a defense command while the home islands prepared for German invasion. In August 1942 Montgomery was pulled from his planning post for the Dieppe raid and assigned command of the Eighth Army.

Success in the desert war, the centerpiece of Montgomery's career, overarched his character flaws—arrogance, abrasiveness, egocentrism—and professional failures in other theaters of operation. When Prime Minister Winston Churchill placed General Harold Alexander in charge of British land forces in the Middle East and Montgomery in command of the Eighth Army, Allied prospects in the desert were not good. German field marshal Erwin Rommel's Deutsches Afrika Korps had driven British forces to within seventy miles of Alexandria and appeared on the verge of pushing into Egypt and seizing the Suez Canal.

Montgomery took command of the Eighth Army on August 13, 1942, and Rommel launched an attack on August 30. The Germans were repulsed, and Montgomery reformed his defensive line in the aftermath of battle. The British would withdraw no farther. Taking advantage of a strong defensive position and Rommel's dwindling supply of men and matériel, Montgomery stockpiled an overpoweringly superior army for a great assault: Operation Lightfoot—the Battle of Alamein—commenced on October 23. By November 6 the Afrika Korps had been routed, and on November 8 the U.S.-backed Operation Torch landed troops in Morocco and Algeria. The war for North Africa was not over, but the outcome was assured.

From North Africa, Montgomery's Eighth Army and U.S. general George Patton's Seventh Army linked forces for the invasion of Sicily and then Italy. In December 1943 Montgomery returned to England to prepare his new command,

the Second Army, for the invasion of Europe. Although Montgomery expressed the opinion that he was better placed to lead Operation Overlord, command fell to U.S. general Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Following the Allied invasion at Normandy, Montgomery developed and championed Operation Market Garden, a plan for flanking the Axis forces into Germany via Holland. Opinions varied on the value of the offensive and the probability of success. German resistance was stronger than anticipated, and Market Garden failed to come up to Montgomery's expectations. Montgomery's critics call it a failure; supporters argue that the operation did not receive essential support. For a scathing attack on Eisenhower, Montgomery nearly lost his command. He was not sacked, but was reprimanded by Churchill and the head of the British army, General Alan Brooke.

Montgomery's strained relations with other commanders reduced his effectiveness in every operation after Market Garden, and his reputation suffered. Despite widespread criticism for having held back his forces too long at the Ardennes, Montgomery credited himself for the Allied victory in the Battle of the Bulge.

In May 1945 Montgomery accepted the German surrender of forces in the Netherlands, northwest Germany, and Denmark. He remained in Europe as commander in chief of the British Army of the Rhine (1945–1946) and in 1946 was made Viscount of Alamein. He continued in a variety of command positions until his retirement in 1958. From retirement to his death near Alton, Hampshire, Montgomery spoke and wrote on domestic and global issues while endeavoring to ensure his place in the history of World War II.

Further Reading: Nigel Hamilton, *Monty: The Battles of Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery*, 1994; Ronald Lewin, *Montgomery as Military Commander*, 1971; Bernard Law Montgomery, *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein*, 1958.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

MORGAN, THOMAS HUNT (September 25, 1866–December 4, 1945), embryologist. Morgan was born in Lexington, Kentucky. He attended

public schools and in 1886 earned a BS in zoology from the State College of Kentucky (later the University of Kentucky). In 1890 he received a PhD in zoology, specializing in embryology, from Johns Hopkins University.

Morgan remained at the university to do research with his mentor, embryologist William Keith Brooks. In 1891 Morgan became assistant professor of zoology at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania. In 1904 he was named professor of experimental zoology at Columbia University. In 1928 he went to the California Institute of Technology to organize and chair its Division of Biology.

Morgan delivered two papers summarizing the achievements in cell biology and genetics, disciplines he helped lead, at the 1940 meeting of the National Academy of Sciences. The principal problem in these fields was the location and transmission of genes. Morgan understood that genes must reside in the cell, the building block of all organisms. Cytologist Edmund Beecher Wilson identified the thread-like structures (the chromosomes) in the nucleus as the genes. This idea solved the problem of transmission because German cytologist August Weismann had demonstrated that parents pass the chromosomes to offspring.

Morgan refuted the idea that chromosomes and genes were equivalent by demonstrating that *Drosophila*, the common fruit fly, contains only four chromosomes but more than four traits. In breeding *Drosophila*, Morgan discovered a single white-eyed fly in a population of red-eyed flies. The white-eyed fly was male, and in breeding it with white-eyed females Morgan demonstrated that only males in subsequent generations had white eyes. The gene for eye color must reside on a sex chromosome, Morgan realized. This was additional confirmation that genes and chromosomes could not be equivalent. In a series of experiments, Morgan and colleagues demonstrated that genes are positioned in a line on a chromosome, just as a package of Certs contains mints in a line, with each mint analogous to a gene and the package to a chromosome.

Among Morgan's awards was the 1933 Nobel Prize in physiology and medicine. He died in Pasadena, California.

Further Reading: Garland E. Allen, *Theodosius Dobzhansky, the Morgan Lab, and the Breakdown of the Naturalist Experimentalist Dichotomy*, 1994; Keith R. Benson, Jane Maienschein, and Ronald Rainger, eds., *The Expansion of American Biology*, 1991; Joel B. Hagen, *Doing Biology*, 1996.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

MORGENTHAU, HENRY, JR. (May 11, 1891–February 6, 1967), Secretary of the Treasury under Roosevelt and Truman. Morgenthau was educated in private schools and for two years attended Cornell University, where he studied agriculture and architecture. In 1913, he purchased an apple orchard and dairy farm in Fishkill, New York. Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt lived in Hyde Park, not far from Morgenthau's farm, and the two families befriended one another. During World War I, Morgenthau worked in President Herbert Hoover's U.S. Farm Administration and was responsible for having tractors shipped to France. From 1922 to 1933, he was publisher of *American Agriculturalist*. In 1929, Morgenthau accepted Roosevelt's appointment as Chairman of the New York State Agricultural Advisory Commission. The following year he became State Commissioner of Conservation, a position he held until 1932.

Shortly after Roosevelt became president Morgenthau served as chairman of the Federal Farm Board and governor of the Farm Credit Administration. In 1933, the Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Woodin, fell ill and eventually resigned. On November 17, Morgenthau was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, a post he would hold for the next eleven years.

During his tenure as secretary, Morgenthau helped to prop up the American dollar against devaluation from 1934 to 1941 through currency trading and selling war bonds. He raised over \$450 billion for government programs and for the war effort. His ability to raise these funds greatly aided the victory over the Nazis in Europe.

During most of his career, Morgenthau managed to avoid involving himself in Jewish affairs until the European horrors were revealed to him by Rabbi Stephen Wise, chair of the United Eretz Israel Appeal and cofounder of the World Jewish

Congress. Together with Roosevelt, Morgenthau helped create the War Refugee Board, which ultimately rescued over 200,000 European Jews. Encouraged by Morgenthau, Roosevelt also spoke out against the treatment of the Hungarian Jewish Community in Budapest.

Before Roosevelt's death in 1945, Morgenthau sought to implement the Morgenthau Plan, which would remove German children from their parents' care and educate them in "democracy." In addition, the Morgenthau Plan supported destruction of large industry in the Ruhr so Germany could never manufacture weaponry or military hardware there again. Morgenthau believed President Harry S. Truman would endorse his plan as a method of dealing with defeated Germany. Truman had no such intentions, however, and pushed it aside. In frustration, Morgenthau resigned shortly thereafter. He spent the rest of his life working for Jewish philanthropic organizations. He died in Poughkeepsie, New York.

Further Reading: Michael Beschloss, *The Conquerors*, 2002; Henry Morgenthau, Jr., *The Presidential Diaries of Henry Morgenthau, Jr. (1938–1945)*, 1981; Malcolm Muir, ed., *The Human Tradition in the World War II Era*, 2001.

CYNTHIA A. KLIMA

MORISON, SAMUEL ELIOT (July 9, 1887–May 15, 1976), historian. Born in Boston to a distinguished New England family, Morison wrote several books before 1942. That year he created a stir with his biography of Christopher Columbus, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*. What made the book novel was the way Morison retraced Columbus's voyages in replicas of his ships. In 1943 he won the Pulitzer Prize. When the United States entered World War II, Morison offered to write a history of naval operations. He promised to hold publication until the war's conclusion, in exchange for complete intellectual freedom. President Roosevelt appointed him lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserves. He would retire in 1951 as a rear admiral. Morison spent most of the war crossing the Atlantic and the Pacific, present at most major engagements. His own direct observations, interviews, official reports, and enemy archival records formed the bulk of his

sources. The resulting *History of the United States Naval Operations in World War II* was published in fifteen volumes between 1947 and 1962. Volume 3, *The Rising Sun in the Pacific*, won the prestigious Bancroft prize in 1949. An avowed internationalist and firm supporter of President Franklin Roosevelt, Morison took revisionist historians and neo-isolationists, such as Charles Beard, to task. Revisionists believed Roosevelt maneuvered Japan to attack the United States and kept his plans for war secret from the public.

Morison died in Boston.

Further Reading: Emily Morison Beck, ed., *Sailor Historian: The Best of Samuel Eliot Morison*, 1977; obituary in *New York Times*, May 16, 1976; Gregory Pfitzer, *Samuel Eliot Morison's Historical World: In Quest of a New Parkman*, 1991.

GREGORY DEHLER

MORSE, WAYNE LYMAN (October 20, 1900–July 22, 1974), U.S. senator and labor arbitrator. Born on a farm near Madison, Wisconsin, Morse earned degrees in labor economics and speech at the University of Wisconsin. In 1929, he joined the faculty of the University of Oregon, where he became dean of the law school. He received his doctorate in jurisprudence from Columbia University in 1932.

During the 1930s, Morse served as a legal editor and Pacific Coast arbitrator within the offices of the attorney general and the secretary of labor, respectively. In 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt named Morse chairman of the Railway Emergency Board and, the following year, appointed him to the newly created National War Labor Board. Morse later resigned in protest against what he considered unwarranted concessions made to striking miners, who apparently bypassed the board's arbitration process.

In 1944, Morse ran for the U.S. Senate as an Oregon Republican, although he continued to support the Democratic administration. A self-proclaimed liberal, he beat the Republican incumbent, Senator Rufus Holman, in the primary and won the general election. Morse was reelected three times and served a total of twenty-four years in the Senate.

During his first term, he asserted the maverick

tendencies that would mark his political career. A colorful and abrasive speaker, he publicly denounced special interest groups and the conservative members of his own party, while he promoted an internationalist foreign policy. He was a fierce advocate of the United Nations Charter (1945), the North Atlantic Security Pact (1949), and the Marshall Plan (1950). In 1947, Morse unsuccessfully challenged the powerful Republican senator, Robert Taft. He first filibustered then voted against, the Taft-Hartley Act, which placed restrictions on labor unions' right to strike and organize. Shortly after his reelection in 1950, Morse criticized economic measures favored by most Republican members. Rebuffed by his colleagues at the Republican National Convention, he cast an absentee ballot for Adlai Stevenson, the 1952 Democratic presidential candidate. Morse resigned from the Republican Party and began campaigning for Stevenson. He officially joined the Democratic Party in 1955.

In 1964, Morse was one of two senators to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which intensified the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Four years later, Morse lost his reelection campaign to Bob Packwood. Morse died in Portland, Oregon.

Further Reading: Mason Drukman, *Wayne Morse: A Political Biography*, 1997; Arthur Robert Smith, *The Tiger in the Senate: The Biography of Wayne Morse*, 1962; G.Q. Unruh, "Republican Apostate: Senator Wayne L. Morse and His Quest for Independent Liberalism," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 82 (July 1991): 82–91.

JANE M. ARMSTRONG

MOSCOW CONFERENCE, first meeting of the three Allied powers. This conference of foreign ministers, held October 19–30, 1943, was the first full Allied wartime meeting. Attending were U.S. secretary of state Cordell Hull, British foreign minister Anthony Eden, and Soviet foreign minister V.M. Molotov, and various military assistants.

American president Franklin D. Roosevelt wanted to negotiate war and postwar matters personally with Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. Roosevelt was concerned that the Soviet Union wanted to annex the Baltic states and had the power to do it. He sought to persuade Stalin

against unilateral action and arbitrary seizure of power. Stalin agreed to meet in November or December of 1943 in Iran. In the meantime, Roosevelt proposed that the foreign ministers meet in Moscow in October.

The most controversial point in the discussions involved the status of Poland and the Baltic states. However, Roosevelt had directed his representatives to plead ignorance and remain silent on the Baltic issue, so he could discuss this with Stalin directly. The United States and Britain also assured the Russians that preparations for opening a second front in Europe were under way. The Soviet Union in turn promised that it would enter the war with Japan on Germany's unconditional surrender. Although the United States and Great Britain pushed for a declaration in favor of democracy and independence in Europe and against "spheres of influence," no such declaration was made. Instead, the three Allies signed the Four-Power Declaration, so-named because the United States had originally pushed for China's inclusion, which the Soviet Union and Britain rejected. The declaration described a European Advisory Commission to work on postwar policy for Germany and general policies for the liberated areas.

The Moscow Conference gave Roosevelt a chance to solve domestic rather than diplomatic problems by blunting Republican efforts to make postwar peacekeeping an issue in the 1944 presidential campaign.

A second Moscow Conference was held October 9–18, 1944, although Roosevelt did not attend. Churchill and Stalin divided the Balkans into spheres—Russia to predominate in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, Great Britain in Greece, with Yugoslavia to be shared. Roosevelt declared that the United States would not be bound by these agreements since he had not been present.

Further Reading: Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945*, 1979; Amos Perlmutter, *FDR & Stalin: A Not So Grand Alliance, 1943–1945*, 1993; Keith Sainsbury, *The Turning Point: Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill, and Chiang-Kai-Shek, 1943: The Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran Conferences*, 1986.

LINDA EIKMEIER ENDERSBY

MOSES, ANNA MARY ROBERTSON "GRANDMA" (September 7, 1860–December 13, 1961), American painter. Robertson was born on a farm in Greenwich, New York. As a teenager, she did day labor on a farm, where she met her husband, Thomas Salmon Moses. They had ten children. After farming in Staunton, Virginia, for twenty years, they returned to New York to farm at Eagle Bridge. Thomas died in 1927. Anna Moses ran the farm with her son until she retired in 1936.

A master at needlework, Moses gave up embroidery for painting because of arthritis. In her seventies, she began to paint and display her works for sale in Thomas's Drugstore in Hoosick Falls. A New York City collector, Louis J. Caldor, purchased several of her paintings. Caldor arranged for three of Moses's paintings to be included in the Contemporary Unknown American Painters show in the Members' Rooms of the Museum of Modern Art in 1939. Caldor later arranged for her to have a show at Otto Kallir's Galerie St. Etienne in New York City. That show, titled *What a Farmwife Painted*, opened on October 9, 1940. Gimbel's department store in New York City held a Thanksgiving exhibition of her paintings the same year. In 1941, Moses was awarded a New York State art prize for her painting *The Old Oaken Bucket*. From there her reputation grew so much that she perhaps remains America's most famous folk artist. President Harry Truman presented Moses with the Women's National Press Club Award for outstanding art in 1949. She created more than sixteen hundred works in her lifetime; and the largest collection is on display at the Bennington Museum in Bennington, Vermont. Perhaps influenced by Currier and Ives prints, Moses painted scenes from farm life on wood that she had previously whitewashed. She demonstrated the method of painting landscapes from the sky down on Edward R. Murrow's CBS television program, *See It Now*, one of the first programs broadcast in color. During the 1940s Moses was featured on the covers of *Life* and *Time* magazines, and her work appeared on calendars and greeting cards. She died in Hoosick Falls, New York.

Further Reading: Jane Kallir, *Grandma Moses: The Artist Behind the Myth*, 1982; Otto Kallir, *Grandma Moses*,

1973; Grandma Moses and Louis Bromfield, *Grandma Moses: American Primitive: Forty Paintings with Comments and Grandma Moses's Autobiography*, 1947.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

MOUNT RUSHMORE, massive memorial sculpture. Mount Rushmore National Memorial, located in the Black Hills National Forest in southwestern South Dakota, is a significant symbol of the United States. Carved in a granite mountainside, the enormous sculpture depicts the likenesses of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt. Each face is about sixty feet high and at least thirty feet across. The memorial evolved from a 1924 proposal made by Doane Robinson, South Dakota's state historian, suggesting that such a work in the Black Hills would attract automobile tourists to the state. Gutzon Borglum, a controversial artist born in Idaho, contracted to create the work. Despite opposition by many state residents who feared the project would pose a financial burden on taxpayers or damage the environment, its supporters succeeded in moving the proposal forward. Although federal legislation that allowed the carving to take place in the national forest stipulated that no federal funds would be expended on the project, eventually the U.S. government paid most of the costs. In 1939, after years of argument about the administration of the monument, the National Park Service assumed full control.

Carving began in 1927. Borglum died in March 1941 after undergoing surgery in Chicago, and his son Lincoln Borglum continued the project. He refined Lincoln's head, Jefferson's collar, and Washington's collar and lapels, and nearly finished the head of Roosevelt before funds ran out and carving ceased in October 1941. The monument was never completed in the way Gutzon Borglum planned; his conception called for finishing each figure to the waist and adding a grand stairway and a hall containing duplicates of artifacts and records important to world civilization, including the Magna Carta and Declaration of Independence.

By the time the carving ended, Mount Rushmore had fulfilled its original purpose in

drawing automobile tourists to South Dakota. In 1941, the Department of Interior's U.S. Travel Bureau credited Mount Rushmore with contributing to a record-breaking number of visitors to National Park Service parks and other sites. World War II disrupted the national tourism industry, however; in 1944, fewer than 30,000 people visited Mount Rushmore. Tourism accelerated dramatically after the war, bringing automobile travelers back to the site. In 1948 Benjamin Black Elk, a Lakota from South Dakota's Pine Ridge Reservation, began posing for tourist cameras at the monument, an unofficial activity he continued for two decades. Often referred to as Mount Rushmore's "fifth face," Black Elk became one of the most photographed men in history, as the growth in national tourism and federal and state promotion succeeded in increasing travel to the memorial. By the end of the 1940s, the number of annual visitors to Mount Rushmore approached 750,000, and the monument had become an immediately recognizable symbol of the state of South Dakota and of the United States.

Further Reading: Gilbert C. Fite, *Mount Rushmore*, 1952; Rex Alan Smith, *The Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 1985; John Taliaferro, *Great White Fathers: The Story of the Obsessive Quest to Create Mt. Rushmore*, 2002.

SUZANNE JULIN

MULLER, HERMANN JOSEPH (December 21, 1890–April 5, 1967), geneticist. Muller was born in New York City. At Morris High School in the Bronx, he and two classmates formed what may have been the first student science club. He enrolled in Columbia University in 1907 and received a PhD in genetics in 1916.

Between 1915 and 1918 Muller taught biology at the Rice Institute (now Rice University) in Houston, Texas. In 1918 he returned to Columbia as an instructor. In 1920 he became associate professor of biology at the University of Texas in Austin. Between 1934 and 1937 he was senior geneticist at the Institute of Animal Genetics at the University of Edinburgh. Between 1940 and 1945 he taught at Amherst College and in 1945 became professor of zoology at Indiana University in Bloomington.

Muller's initial interest focused on human

genetics. He hoped that by identifying genes for intelligence, athletic ability, and other desirable traits, humans might guide their own evolution. They could achieve this goal by encouraging the superior to breed and discouraging the inferior from having children. By 1940 more than 30 states empowered courts to order the sterilization of criminals, idiots, and the insane.

In 1910 Muller had begun a lifelong study of the genetics of drosophila, the common fruit fly, first with Thomas Hunt Morgan, then on his own. Muller irradiated drosophila with X-rays to cause its chromosomes to break and recombine. Consider a package of Lifesavers, with each mint analogous to a gene and the package to a chromosome. If the package is broken in half, the probability of mints being separated increases with the distance between any two mints. The mints at each end are sure to be separated, but the probability of separating any two contiguous mints is low. Muller used this knowledge to plot all genes on the four chromosomes of drosophila.

He came to understand that X-rays could change the chemistry of genes, a finding he announced in a 1945 paper. This was then the strongest evidence that genes were molecules and spurred a race to discover the chemical structure of genes, a problem American chemist James D. Watson and British physicist Francis Crick solved in 1953.

Muller's efforts won him the 1946 Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine. In 1948 he was president of the Eighth International Congress of Genetics. Between 1956 and 1958 he served as president of the American Humanist Association. He belonged to scientific societies in eight nations.

Muller died in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Further Reading: Keith R. Benson, Jane Maienschein, and Ronald Rainger, eds., *The Expansion of American Biology*, 1991; Joel B. Hagen, *Doing Biology*, 1996; Evelyn F. Keller, *The Century of the Gene*, 2000.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

MUNDT, KARL E. (June 3, 1900–August 16, 1974), U.S. senator from South Dakota. Mundt earned a BA degree at Carlton College in 1923 and an MA at Columbia University in 1928 before joining the social sciences faculty at Dakota

State College in Madison. Between 1931 and 1937, he gained national recognition for work on conservation. In 1938, he won election to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he remained until 1948. In 1949, he moved to the U.S. Senate.

Mundt became known as a Cold Warrior during the 1940s and 1950s. As acting chair of the House Un-American Activities Committee, he collaborated with Richard Nixon to secure the conviction of Alger Hiss for perjury and to co-sponsor the Internal Security Act of 1950, enacted over President Harry Truman's veto. After his election to the Senate, Mundt became a member of the Senate Investigations Subcommittee, involved in the dispute between Senator Joseph McCarthy and civilians employed by the U.S. Army. When McCarthy stepped down from the chairmanship, Mundt replaced him and voted against McCarthy's censure.

After Mundt's reelection in 1954, he had an image somewhat tainted by his affiliations with the Nixon and McCarthy witch hunts. During the 1960s, he used his committee seniority to promote space exploration. Following the presidential inauguration of his friend Richard Nixon in 1969, Mundt's political future seemed promising until he suffered a debilitating stroke on November 23, 1969. Republicans stripped him of seniority rights and committee assignments because he refused to resign. However, they supported his determination to leave office voluntarily at the expiration of his term on December 31, 1972.

Partly due to the need for a prairie location near the center of the country and partly in recognition of Mundt's previous efforts, Nixon agreed in 1970 to locate the U.S. Geological Survey's Earth Resources Observation Systems (EROS) Program a short distance north of Sioux Falls. In the same year, the pioneering satellite ERTS-1 went into orbit and began taking pictures. Every day since the mid-1970s, satellites have transmitted global images for storage and use in a massive archive. In 1973, EROS Data Center personnel moved into the Karl E. Mundt federal building. Mundt died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Loren Carlson, "The Republican Majority: Francis Higbee Case and Karl E. Mundt," 293–311, in Herbert T. Hoover and Larry Zimmerman, *South*

Dakota Leaders, 1989; Scott Heidepriem, *A Fair Chance for a Free People: Biography of Karl E. Mundt, United States Senator*, 1988; Larry Pressler, *U.S. Senators from the Prairie*, 1982.

HERBERT T. HOOVER

MURPHY, AUDIE LEON (June 20, 1924–May 28, 1971), war hero, actor, racehorse breeder, and songwriter. Born near Kingston, Texas, Murphy rose to national fame as the most decorated U.S. combat soldier of World War II. Among his thirty-three awards and decorations was the Medal of Honor, the highest military award for bravery. Murphy was credited with killing about 240 enemy soldiers single-handedly; in one case he used the machine gun of a burning vehicle. He also captured or wounded many others. In 1942 Murphy began his service in the army as a private, quickly rose to staff sergeant and, by 1944, second lieutenant. Wounded three times while participating in nine crucial campaigns in Europe, Murphy won the hearts of his fellow soldiers because his intrepid actions made him one of the best fighting combat soldiers in history. After being released from active duty on September 21, 1945, he accepted actor James Cagney's invitation to visit Hollywood. There, after struggling with hard times, he received acting parts, especially in westerns. His first starring role came in *Bad Boy* in 1949. Altogether he made forty-four feature films, including *To Hell and Back*, a movie based on his 1949 best-selling autobiography of the same name. Murphy also wrote poetry and songs and ranched in Texas, California, and Arizona. Although famous and wealthy, he suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder, resulting in insomnia, depression, and dependence on prescription drugs. He advocated for veterans' causes and died prematurely in an airplane crash near Roanoke, Virginia.

Further Reading: Audie Murphy, *To Hell and Back*, 1949; obituary in *New York Times*, May 29, 1971; Charles Whiting, *American Hero: The Life and Death of Audie Murphy*, 2000.

LEONARD SCHLUP

MURPHY, FRANK (April 13, 1890–July 19, 1949), associate justice of the U.S. Supreme

Court. Murphy was born in Harbor Beach, Michigan, and graduated from the University of Michigan Law School in 1914. He served as an army officer in World War I. He remained in Europe after the armistice to study law at Trinity College, Dublin, and Lincoln's Inn, London. Between 1920 and 1930, Murphy served as chief assistant to the U.S. attorney in eastern Michigan, a law instructor at the University of Detroit, and a Detroit judge. A Democrat, Murphy was elected mayor in 1930. He served until 1933, receiving national recognition for his efforts to help the unemployed. From 1933 to 1936, Murphy was governor-general of the Philippines and then United States high commissioner. This was an important political appointment because the Islands were still under U.S. rule. He returned to Michigan in 1937 and was elected governor. In 1939, Roosevelt appointed him attorney general and, a year later, nominated him to the Supreme Court.

Murphy replaced Pierce Butler on January 18, 1940. As an associate justice, Murphy wrote many of the Court's opinions concerning civil liberties. He championed workers' rights and free speech. In *Thornhill v. Alabama* (1940), Murphy clarified labor's right to strike, pointing out that peaceful picketing was a manifestation of freedom of speech. In *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire* (1942), he dismissed the whole notion of protecting "fighting words" as no essential part of any exposition of ideas, much less a step to truth. In the *Jewell Ridge* case (1945), Justice Robert Jackson criticized Justice Hugo Black for failing to recuse himself. The case, which involved Black's former law partner, resulted in a decision favoring his client's interests. Accordingly, Murphy wrote the majority opinion instead of Jackson. In *Edwards v. California* (1941), Murphy supported indigent migrant workers' rights to travel and reside in other states. Throughout Murphy's tenure on the Court, he was a strong defender of civil rights.

He died in Detroit.

Further Reading: Sidney Fine, *Frank Murphy*, 1984; Richard D. Lunt, *The High Ministry of Government: The Political Career of Frank Murphy*, 1965; Howard J. Woodford, *Mr. Justice Murphy: A Political Biography*, 1968.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

MURRAY, JOHN COURTNEY (September 12, 1904–August 16, 1967), American Jesuit theologian. After joining the Society of Jesus as a teenager, Murray studied at Boston College (BA, 1926; MA, 1927), and then taught in the Philippines for several years. Returning to the United States, Murray received a licentiate in theology from Woodstock College in Woodstock, Maryland, then earned a doctorate in theology from the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome.

Murray became editor of the periodical *Theological Studies* in 1941, one of the new generations of Catholic theologians seeking to harmonize First Amendment doctrines with those of the Roman Catholic Church. Apparently irreconcilable differences existed between the two, manifested in waves of anti-Catholicism in the United States, as well as in Pope Leo XIII's 1899 encyclical *Testem Benevolentiae*, wherein he warned against an Americanism that had disestablished the church and afforded religious freedom. With Pope Pius XII's ascension, dialogue between Catholics and non-Catholics was encouraged, giving rise to a creative energy among Catholic scholars in the 1940s. Chief among these, Murray explored the specific relationship between church and state in Christian doctrine. In theological debates with his contemporaries in the United States and in Rome, Murray asserted that prevailing Catholic exclusivism was not theologically sound. By the end of the 1940s, he had developed a theology that married American religious liberty with Catholic doctrine, making him a leading scholar at odds with conservatives on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. His critics argued that the freedom of religion clause in the First Amendment was antithetical to church teachings and that an individual could not be both a good Catholic and a patriotic American.

After World War II, anti-Communist movements provided a vehicle for U.S. Catholics to display their patriotism without offending Catholic leadership as they joined enthusiastically in McCarthyism. Murray was again on the other side, giving his adversaries additional ammunition when he wrote that the enemy within the city gates was not the Communist, but the idiot. His work received the attention of John F. Kennedy,

and Murray offered advice to this only Catholic to become an American president. Murray's greatest contribution, however, was his participation in the Second Vatican Council of the 1960s, where his uniquely American perspective culminated in an official Catholic teaching, enshrined in the Vatican II document *Dignitatus Humanae* (for which he was the primary author). Its basic principle gave expression to Murray's argument since the 1940s that the right to religious freedom has its foundations not in the Church or state, but in human dignity.

Further Reading: Thomas T. Love, *John Courtney Murray: Contemporary Church-State Theory*, 1965; John Courtney Murray, ed., *Religious Liberty: An End and a Beginning*, 1966; Donald E. Pelotte, S.S.S. *John Courtney Murray: Theologian in Conflict*, 1975.

CAROL GOSS HOOVER

MURROW, EDWARD ROSCOE (April 25, 1908–April 27, 1965), journalist, reporter, and television figure. Born in Greensboro, North Carolina, and originally named Egbert, Murrow graduated in 1925 from Edison High School in Blanchard, Washington. That fall he entered Washington State College (now University) in Pullman, where he took the first college course offered by an American University in radio broadcasting. There he was cadet colonel in the Reserve Officer Training Corps and an advocate of the Wilsonian belief that American military might was the bulwark of international peace and stability. In 1930 Murrow graduated from Washington State and in 1932 toured Germany, alarmed at Nazism's rise.

In 1935 Murrow joined Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and two years later became its European director; the job positioned him, as were few Americans, to cover World War II's European outbreak. The Battle of Britain in 1940 elevated him to prominence. Amid air-raid sirens and anti-aircraft guns, Murrow reported the battle from the streets and roofs of London, giving the news an immediacy it had never before had. His objective tone belied his biases; through his broadcasts Murrow built sympathy for the embattled British, chipping away at isolationism in the United States. Simply by posting himself in

London, Murrow conveyed the impression that Europe was the fulcrum about which pivoted the war's climactic events. Murrow accompanied the U.S. Army as it swept through Germany in 1944 and 1945 and reported the liberation of the concentration camp in Buchenwald, Germany, on April 11, 1945.

In 1946 Murrow became vice president and director of public affairs at CBS. He fretted that the Cold War undermined the independence of journalists by deepening public and governmental suspicion of news sympathetic to the Soviet Union. Murrow abhorred the resulting inclination of journalists to fashion stories within the bounds of public opinion and the blacklisting of those who strayed from Cold War orthodoxy. Murrow's assessment of the Cold War as a European phenomenon, the product of his experience in World War II, was conventional in the 1940s. Like many Americans, he underestimated the appeal of Communism in China and Southeast Asia until Mao Zedong's 1949 triumph.

By then Murrow had migrated from radio to television, the conservative suit and ubiquitous cigarette his trademarks. In 1951, he recast the radio program *Hear It Now* as the television show *See It Now*. Envisioning television as a medium of mass education, he grew disillusioned with network executives for focusing on ratings, entertainment, and profit. Cancellation of *See It Now* in 1958 confirmed that Murrow's popularity as a television persona had ebbed, and he retired from CBS in January 1961 to become the director of the U.S. Information Agency under President John F. Kennedy.

Murrow grounded news in the concrete and factual. He eschewed the personal pronoun "I" in favor of "this reporter" to emphasize that he was a recorder of events rather than a participant in their drama. This language suggests that Murrow believed news to be drama at its core. One biographer likened him to a dramatist and actor, a journalist who crafted language for the listener, not the reader. He died from lung cancer in Pawling, New York.

Further Reading: Robert A. Edwards, *Edward R. Murrow and the Birth of Broadcast Journalism*, 2004;

Joseph E. Persico, *Edward R. Murrow: An American Original*, 1997; Ann M. Sperber, *Murrow: His Life and Times*, 1998.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

MUSIC (CLASSICAL) The 1940s was a decade of variety in music. Styles included swing, rhythm and blues, country, bebop, folk, and jazz. Gospel experienced its greatest growth in 1945 with the song "Move On Up a Little Higher," the first gospel song to sell more than a million records. Nightclub singer Billie Holiday, teen idol Frank Sinatra, and country singer Hank Williams became household names. World War II stimulated the composition of patriotic songs. The 78-rpm record made music available to a wide audience, and the development of magnetic tape gave musicians an easy, inexpensive way to record music.

Classical music was likewise popular in the 1940s. No composers enjoyed higher repute in the United States than the Russians Sergei Prokofiev, Igor Stravinsky, and Dmitri Shostakovich. Americans had embraced Prokofiev as their own in 1917, when he premiered his *Third Piano Concerto* in Chicago, not Moscow or Leningrad. The next year he settled in the United States, where he lived until 1936. His *Fifth Symphony*, celebrating the end of World War II, premiered in 1945, elevating him to the apex of popularity among American concertgoers.

Stravinsky had settled permanently in New York City in 1939. He devoted the 1940s to conducting his works with orchestras throughout the nation. Although Shostakovich never lived in the United States, his *Seventh*, *Eighth*, and *Ninth Symphonies*, premiering between 1941 and 1945, immediately established themselves in the repertoire of domestic orchestras.

Perhaps because they lived in the United States part of their lives, Prokofiev and Stravinsky had greater influence than Shostakovich over American composers in the 1940s. Composer and pianist John Cage borrowed from Prokofiev and Stravinsky the dissonances and meteoric changes in tempo in his *Sonatas and Interludes for Piano*, written between 1946 and 1948.

But the Russians were not the decade's only European influence. Already famous by 1940,

Samuel Barber venerated nineteenth-century romanticism, particularly the music of German composer Richard Wagner. From Wagner, Barber borrowed the long musical line taut with emotional tension. His *Adagio for Strings* is perhaps his greatest homage to Wagner's emotionalism. That Wagner remained popular in Germany and the United States during World War II was not entirely positive. The undercurrent of Wagner's anti-Semitism ran as deep as did his music, and in both Germany and the United States anti-Semitism has had a long, destructive history.

In this context, one welcomes the revival of eighteenth-century music in the United States and Europe. During the 1920s and 1930s American poet Ezra Pound, living in Italy, helped resurrect the nearly forgotten Venetian composer Antonio Vivaldi. The Vivaldi renaissance dates from 1941, the bicentennial of his death. Orchestras in the United States and Europe marked the occasion with festivals of his music. Americans heard, many of them for the first time, *The Four Seasons*, the most famous set of violin concertos in history. Concertgoers heard as well the later violin concertos, which create a universe of their own. The solo violin plays with furious abandon, nearly oblivious of the accompanying orchestra. Yet the middle movements of these concertos build an emotional intensity that rivals anything Johann Sebastian Bach composed.

The bicentennial of Vivaldi's death was also the year that Polish harpsichordist Wanda Landowska settled in the United States, where she captivated audiences by playing Bach's *Goldberg Variations* on the harpsichord, the instrument for which Bach had composed them, sparking debate over whether the harpsichord or piano was the proper instrument for his keyboard compositions. No debate accompanied Bach's *St. John Passion* or *St. Matthew Passion*, the pillars of religious music that one admirer likened to "a giant prayer wheel." Protestant America absorbed these works as though they were its own.

The indigenous composer to dominate the 1940s was Aaron Copland. His ballets *Rodeo*, *Lincoln Portrait*, and *Fanfare for the Common Man*, all in 1942, and *Appalachian Spring* in 1944 remain popular with concertgoers. These compositions borrow the rhythms of American folk

music and express America's yearning for an idyllic past. *Appalachian Spring* won both a Pulitzer Prize and a New York Music Critics' Circle Award in 1945.

Further Reading: Peter Gammond, *Classical Composers*, 1995; Douglas Lee, *Masterworks of 20th Century Music: The Modern Repertory of the Symphony Orchestra*, 2002; Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900*, 2001.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

MUSSOLINI, BENITO (July 29, 1883–April 28, 1945), Italian dictator. Born in Dovia di Predappio in Emilia-Romagna, the son of a blacksmith and part-time socialist journalist, Mussolini was a brooding, thuggish child who was expelled from a series of monastic schools after stabbing fellow pupils. Despite his undisciplined personality, he possessed an innate cleverness and was an erratically self-taught student of Marx, archist Peter Kropotkin, and Nietzsche. In 1912 Mussolini became editor of *Avanti!*, Italy's leading socialist newspaper, and developed a national reputation for his strident political voice. Initially opposing his country's intervention in World War I, Mussolini soon became intoxicated by the possibilities of revolution through military struggle. He publicly disavowed his socialist past, adopting a hyperpatriotic manifesto, and took part in combat on the Isonzo front. There he was wounded in 1917. War's end brought widespread social turbulence throughout Italy, which Mussolini exploited by recruiting "fighting bands" (*fasci di combattimento*) of demobilized veterans. These militias (marching under the banner of Mussolini's evolving philosophy of fascism) took effective control of Puglia and the Po valley, intimidating local opposition. By autumn 1922 Mussolini's Blackshirts constituted the most powerful force in Italy, allowing him to threaten an armed coup unless King Victor Emmanuel III immediately appointed him prime minister. This the king did on October 31.

Comparisons between Mussolini and his early admirer (and eventual surpasser) Adolf Hitler are inevitable, and they do suggest certain similarities. Both were the alienated products of lower-middle-class households who found personal salvation in war and political opportunity in the

postwar chaos. Mussolini shared with Hitler an instinctive talent for public speaking, an ability to dominate an audience with raw charisma, and a shrewd cunning in outmaneuvering ostensibly more intelligent persons. The Italian dictator (known, like Hitler, as “the Leader”—Il Duce) sought a more physically imposing image than his German counterpart, flaunting his athletic prowess and creating a flamboyant, macho personality cult. He was also far less concerned with racial issues. Anti-Semitism played no significant role in fascist law until the late 1930s, when Mussolini sought to curry opportunistic favor with Hitler. The greatest contrast was structural rather than character-driven, however. Mussolini had to operate within a framework of establishment power (including church and crown) that frustrated his total control over Italian society. Moreover, he was restricted in his foreign policy ambitions by the relatively feeble condition of Italy’s economic base.

It was diplomatic hubris that ultimately doomed Mussolini. As the dynamic harbinger of fascism—the “man who made the trains run on time”—he had enjoyed elevated international status during the 1920s and early 1930s. By the outbreak of World War II, however, he had clearly been overshadowed by Hitler. The spectacular sequence of early German victories only underscored Italy’s comparatively modest achievements. In June 1940 Mussolini, stung by jealousy and seeking a painless opportunity to exploit Britain and France’s discomfiture, abandoned his earlier caution and declared war on the Western Allies. It proved a fatal error; Italy was in no condition to fight, and subsequent military disasters in the Balkans and North Africa testified to the hollow reality behind Il Duce’s antagonistic boasting. Mussolini’s increasingly precarious hold on power ended in July 1943 when he was deposed by his own Fascist Grand Council and placed under arrest pending Italy’s negotiated surrender to the Allies. But his career was not quite over, for two months later he was rescued by German special forces from a mountain hideaway and spirited off to Salò, where he formed the Italian Social Republic, which nominally governed the northern, Nazi-controlled half of the country. In April 1945, with the Axis empire

collapsing around him, Mussolini attempted to flee in disguise to Austria, but he was identified by Communist partisans and executed along with his mistress, Claretta Petacci. Their bodies were displayed in Milan’s Piazza Loreto to great public acclaim.

Further Reading: Richard Bosworth, *Mussolini*, 2002; James Gregor, *Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism*, 1979; Denis Mack Smith, *Mussolini*, 1981.

ALAN ALLPORT

MUSTE, ABRAHAM JOHANNES (January 8, 1885–February 11, 1967), pacifist minister and labor activist. Muste was born in Zierkizee, Holland. His family moved to Grand Rapids, Michigan, and he graduated from Hope College in 1905. Muste was ordained a Dutch Reformed minister, but became a Quaker during World War I.

Between the wars, Muste worked in a religious-pacifist organization, Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), and from 1921 to 1933 served as dean of Brookwood Labor College. Later in the decade he assumed leadership of New York City’s Presbyterian Labor Temple. In 1939 *Time* magazine named Muste “America’s leading pacifist.”

In 1940, after war broke out in Europe, Muste published his first book, *Nonviolence in an Aggressive World*, a work of revisionist history condemning the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations’ failure to maintain peace. As executive secretary of FOR and head of the United Pacifist Committee in New York, Muste created a united front of peace groups, urging President Franklin Roosevelt to convene a world disarmament conference.

After the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, Muste supported the Civilian Public Service Camps, coordinated by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. An outspoken opponent of all forms of conscription, he resisted Roosevelt’s 1942 proclamation expanding the existing draft law to require every male citizen between ages forty-five and sixty-five to register. Muste kept in close contact with “absolutists” who chose imprisonment instead of alternative service. He also became treasurer of the Committee to Oppose the Conscription of Women, headed by Mildred Scott Olmstead.

Along with FOR colleague John Nevin Sayre, Muste aided Japanese Americans on the West Coast who were forced into relocation camps. His concern for human rights led him to call for expanding U.S. immigration quotas and bringing threatened refugees to America. Muste helped expose the Allied practice of obliteration bombing in Europe. He energetically promoted British FOR member Vera Brittain’s pamphlet, *Massacre by Bombing*. Throughout the war years, Muste campaigned for clarification of Allied war terms. At the conflict’s conclusion, he questioned the efficacy of the United Nations, claiming that too much power rested in the Security Council and not enough in the General Assembly.

After the war, Muste turned to civil disobedience. He protested atomic weaponry and militarism with his single tax resistance. Muste’s Christian pacifism and nonviolent civil disobedience tactics made him one of America’s most noted twentieth-century opponents of war and social injustice. He died in New York City.

Further Reading: Nat Hentoff, *The Peace Agitator: The Story of A.J. Muste*, 1965; Charles F. Howlett, “A.J. Muste: Portrait of a Twentieth-Century Pacifist,” in Donald Whisenhunt, ed., *The Human Tradition in America Between the Wars, 1920–1945*, 2002; Jo Ann O. Robinson, *Abraham Went Out: A Biography of A.J. Muste*, 1981.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

“MY DAY” COLUMN, nationally syndicated newspaper column written by Eleanor Roosevelt from 1935 to 1962. It appeared Sunday through Friday in ninety newspapers throughout the United States. During the twenty-six years she wrote the column, the only time she ever missed was four days when her husband, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, died in April 1945. Over 4 million Americans read the column daily, and its author was ranked in popularity just below Dorothy Thompson, the leading female journalist of the time. In 1940 the distributor, realizing that interest in “My Day” was going to remain strong, offered Eleanor Roosevelt a five-year

contract before anyone had thought that the president might seek a fourth term.

The first “My Day” had appeared on December 30, 1935. It was initially conceived to promote Franklin Roosevelt’s presidency and to give readers an idea of the first lady’s role in the White House and during her travels. For the first few years the column focused on the mundane: recipes and family stories, things that would appeal to the typical American woman. However, it soon evolved as Roosevelt herself did, becoming an advocate for progressive causes.

Roosevelt became famous on her own for her humanitarianism, her beliefs in women’s rights and civil rights, and her work with the United Nations in drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. She was known as the “First Lady of the World,” and her column reflected all of those interests. Through the newspapers, she was able to reach millions of Americans, whom she informed of her views regarding important social, political, and historical issues. The column also revealed her private life, thoughts, and struggles in coping with being a public figure.

Because she was not afraid of controversy, Roosevelt wrote on a wide range of topics. Some of the titles appearing in her twenty-six years of columns were “Prohibition,” “Leaving the White House,” “The Cold War,” “Race Riots,” “Jews in Europe,” “Desegregation,” “Apartheid,” “Women in War,” “Equal Rights,” and “Women and Work.” While the focus of her columns evolved over the years, one consistency was the frequent use of the phrase “My day has been a lovely day.” Roosevelt continued writing her column until two months before her death at age seventy-eight.

Further Reading: Maurine Hoffman Beasley, *Eleanor Roosevelt and the Media: A Public Quest for Self-Fulfillment*, 1987; David Emblidge, ed., *The Best of Eleanor Roosevelt’s Acclaimed Newspaper Columns, 1936–1962*, 2001; Eleanor Roosevelt, *The Autobiography of Eleanor Roosevelt*, 1992.

JUDITH B. GERBER



NAGASAKI, second Japanese city devastated by atomic bombing during World War II. Coming on August 9, 1945, on the heels of Hiroshima's destruction, the attack on Nagasaki constituted the final blow to the Japanese Empire. It signaled the end of war when it prompted Emperor Hirohito's frail voice to declare Japan's unconditional surrender on September 2, 1945. Women and men wailed in the streets of Japan as the emperor read out the surrender on the radio. In the Allied quarters and Japanese-occupied territories, the news was greeted with cheers of jubilation. A ceasefire was immediately announced.

Scientists such as J. Robert Oppenheimer, Enrico Fermi, and Ernest Lawrence worked on the atomic bomb in the laboratories of Los Alamos and Oak Ridge and tested it successfully on July 16, 1945, in New Mexico (code name Trinity). Eighteen scientists including Leo Szilard tried to prevent the bomb's use in war. Though a second petition brought sixty-seven signatures, these scientists' opposition was overridden. When Nazi Germany surrendered, the Pacific theater was targeted.

Not much of a strategic target, Nagasaki had some shipbuilding facilities and about 230,000 residents at the time. The undulating hills of the city prevented the population from receiving the bomb's full force.

At the Potsdam Conference, President Truman informed Soviet leader Joseph Stalin that his country now had a mighty weapon. Later some analysts argued the atomic bombing was strategically conceived to demonstrate American power and enhance U.S. negotiating strength.

The device used was known as Fat Man, in honor of Great Britain's prime minister, Winston Churchill. More advanced than the Little Boy weapon dropped over Hiroshima, it was twelve feet long and weighed 10,000 pounds. The electrical and detonation systems, with a removal panel, allowed the bomb to be armed in flight. Fat Man contained a ball of subcritical plutonium that would eventually implode and create a blast.

Nationalists in Asia were caught in a power vacuum, with Japanese troops surrendering before the arrival of Allied forces. The Soviet Union was unsure whether to advance to Japan from Manchuria. The imperial powers

of Europe did not return immediately to their Asian colonies, leaving nationalism to grow in that region.

Some historians explained the bomb's use as necessary to avoid an invasion of Japan's home islands. In any case it brought a sudden end to the war.

Further Reading: American Airpower Heritage Museum, "Fat Man and Little Boy, Birth of the Atomic Age," available at www.airpowermuseum.org/trspcbmb.html#littleboy; Alan Isaacs, *Oxford Dictionary of World History*, 2000; James A. McClain, *A Modern History of Japan*, 2002.

LIM TAI WEI

NATION OF ISLAM The Nation of Islam or Black Muslim movement was founded in Detroit in 1930 by Fard Muhammad. Claiming its descent from the Tribe of Shabazz, the original tribe from which all humanity is descended, the movement preached freedom, justice, equality of opportunity for black people, and, more radically, prohibition of mixed marriages, exemption from taxation, and black separatism. The last item—the formation of a separate state—entailed obligatory provision of daily necessities from "former slave masters" until blacks could become self-sufficient. The Nation of Islam is known to be a disciplined organization that prohibits drug abuse and crime and encourages modest dressing for its female members.

Elijah Muhammad eventually took over the cause on February 26, 1934, and set up its main base in Chicago in early 1942. The shift in location away from Detroit, where the movement numbered 8,000 strong, was an attempt to rebuild after years of internal strife. On May 8, 1942, Elijah along with eleven other black leaders, were arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for evading the draft and spreading

sedition. More than 100 other members were also arrested that same year, making rebuilding efforts difficult.

The other problem that the Nation of Islam faced during the period of the Pacific war was the lack of a permanent physical space for its activities. The movement claimed that the FBI, black Christians, and white Americans persuaded potential landlords to reject or revoke their leases to the movement, forcing it to be nomadic. It was during this time that the movement decided on the merits of buying a temple of its own. In Elijah's absence, his wife Clara took over daily operations as the movement sank its roots in Chicago soil. In 1945, with the end of World War II and Elijah Muhammad's release from prison, he resumed his work of rebuilding the movement, which experienced growth. When the Nation of Islam bought its first Chicago temple, its presence became settled for the first time.

During the 1940s, the movement recruited Malcolm Little, who was then serving a seven-year sentence at the prison colony in Norfolk, Massachusetts. Little was said to be highly intelligent, studying English grammar and Latin and memorizing the dictionary. In 1947, he was converted by his brother Reginald and given a new name, Malcolm X, by Muhammad. Malcolm X accepted the unusual name as a sign of dedication to the movement. Muhammad ordered a senior minister, Lemuel Hassan, to personally train and groom Malcolm X, who secretly nursed hopes of becoming a leader.

In 1964, Malcolm X broke away from Elijah Muhammad and formed his own separate organization, but was assassinated one year later. At this point Muhammad invited Louis Farrakhan, a Massachusetts native trained as a teacher, to take over the group's New York chapter. By then, due to the public nature of the split between Muhammad and Malcolm X, the movement started to decline, and Muhammad eventually disbanded it in 1975.

Further Reading: Harold Brackman, *Ministry of Lies*, 1994; Clifton Marsh, *The Lost-Found Nation of Islam in America*, 2000; Elijah Muhammad, *History of the Nation of Islam*, 1996.

LIM TAI WEI

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), civil rights group. The NAACP was established in 1909 as an advocacy and antidefamation society that incorporated a central defense committee to receive gifts and bequests to further its work. Although the new association initially had only limited funds and lacked the strength that comes from a large membership, it sought to uplift African Americans by securing justice in the courts and equal opportunity everywhere. Thanks to the publications of its best-known officer, W.E.B. DuBois, the organizational work of its chief executive, James Weldon Johnson, and several important courtroom victories, during the 1920s the NAACP became the nation's principal civil rights organization.

This primacy continued in the 1940s. During World War II, membership increased from about 50,000 to 429,000 as the organization led a spirited "Double V Campaign" that called for two victories, "at home and abroad"—military triumph on the battlefield and civil rights achievement within the United States. During these years, the NAACP also linked its domestic efforts to a struggle against colonialism in Africa. The organization criticized England and France for their imperialism and chastised American leaders for not demanding national liberation of the Third World.

Shortly after the war, however, the NAACP's chief executive officer, Walter White, steered the organization in a different direction. Recognizing that the political currents were shifting as the Cold War began, White toned down the NAACP's criticism of America's allies, censured the black Left, and enlisted the NAACP as an important element in the Democratic Party. Instead of condemning the "economic exploitation" and "political domination" of colonial peoples, the NAACP distinguished between "movements that really fight for national freedom" and those that were oriented toward what the NAACP called "the most savage imperialism of our time—the road of Moscow and Peiping." The organization refrained from using racial discrimination against African Americans to embarrass the United States internationally. Instead, it noted that the nation

was making progress on disfranchisement (the Supreme Court had outlawed white primaries and grandfather clauses) and mob violence (the number of lynchings had decreased significantly). The NAACP also went on record in support of the U.S. government's policies with respect to the Marshall Plan, the Korean War, NATO, and SEATO.

Thus a new arrangement was developed in the late 1940s. The NAACP narrowed the civil rights agenda by focusing on domestic discrimination, by backing away from its previous concern with imperialism, and by supporting America's Cold War policies. In return, the U.S. government embraced two of the NAACP's principal goals: integration of the armed forces and desegregation of the public schools.

In achieving these victories, the NAACP pursued a policy of lobbying and litigation, a strategy that required the cultivation of elite leaders such as President Harry Truman and the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court. This approach suited the NAACP's leaders of the 1940s, especially Walter White, who had a special talent for dealing with important people. This approach, however, also left the NAACP at a disadvantage during the era of mass action that would begin in the 1950s.

Further Reading: Poppy Cannon, *A Gentle Knight: My Husband, Walter White*, 1952; Kenneth Robert Janken, *The Biography of Walter White, Mr. NAACP*, 2003; Walter White, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White*, 1948.

RAYMOND WOLTERS

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS (NCAI) This Native American organization was formed in 1944 in Denver, Colorado. The founders, who represented a variety of different backgrounds and aims, included Indian politicians, Indians from within the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) who supported the Indian New Deal, and Indians who wanted more self-determination. During the 1930s, the government and BIA had taken a number of important steps to improve the condition of Native Americans. One of the most significant policies was the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which in part allowed for Native Americans to establish their

own tribal governments. In the years following, however, many people felt a need for some sort of centralized body to perform a lobbying role on behalf of all Native Americans. The NCAI was born out of this objective.

The NCAI quickly developed into an invaluable forum for discussing issues of concerns to all Native Americans, without a narrow tribal focus. Without such a forum, it would have been difficult for Native Americans as a whole to have their concerns addressed by the government. Lobbying and litigation became key activities of the NCAI through the 1940s and beyond. One of the most immediate consequences of the NCAI's formation was the establishment of the Indian Claims Commission (ICC), which provided a means for Native Americans to put forth their case for resolution of treaties; the NCAI helped to coordinate the litigation efforts of various tribes.

The NCAI founders wanted first-class citizenship for Native Americans; they wanted Native Americans to become more "American." While acknowledging the importance of the tribe, the founders also focused strongly on the individual and on improvement in material terms. They considered active federal government support essential and did not advocate a break with federal supervision of Native American tribes. Hence they called for continued national trusteeship of the land and continued federal economic investment in the development of reservations. They still saw Indian self-government as vital, however, and did not actively oppose individual tribes' choosing to reject federal guardianship.

The NCAI was one of the most significant organizations to shape Native American affairs during the 1940s. While its aims and legacy might be viewed both positively and negatively, it played a major role in directing the future of Native Americans in the United States.

Further Reading: Joane Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture*, 1996; Kenneth R. Philp, *Termination Revisited: American Indians on the Trail to Self-Determination, 1933–1953*, 1999; Graham D. Taylor, *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934–45*, 1980.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

NATIONAL DEFENSE MEDIATION BOARD

The National Labor Relations Act of 1935, also known as the Wagner Act, enabled the newly organized industrial unions to gain significant power during the New Deal years. By 1939, however, a number of states adopted legislation imposing restrictions on unions similar to those placed on employers. After the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939, the public wearied of the Communist Party's influence in American labor. In 1940, many Americans became hostile to strikes at a time of increasing national danger. Unions, especially Communist ones, were singled out for repression. In particular, the strike led by the Communist-controlled local of the United Auto Workers at the Milwaukee Allis-Chambers plant was perceived as a deliberate attempt to interfere with the country's continuing efforts at military preparation.

In March 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, by executive order, established the National Defense Mediation Board. Roosevelt's purpose was to keep strikes to a minimum and to control wages. The board was given jurisdiction over cases referred to it by the secretary of labor and was provided the authority to settle disputes by conciliation, voluntary arbitration, and public recommendations. In reality, the board had no real power to enforce its decisions, and only a few major strikes were resolved.

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt secured a no-strike pledge from leaders of the A.F. of L., CIO, and independent unions. In September, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers and a founder of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), called out his workers, directly affecting steel manufacturing. Lewis's action angered Roosevelt. The strike also led to the virtual collapse of the Defense Mediation Board when CIO representatives on it immediately withdrew. Although organized labor continued to make gains by striking or threatening to strike, its actions became more and more unpopular with the general public.

On January 12, 1942, Roosevelt replaced the National Defense Mediation Board with the National War Labor Board. The new board es-

tablished procedures for settling disputes that might affect war production. Unlike the old Board, it had the advantage of being able to call upon the president's wartime powers for enforcing its decisions. The War Labor Board was also given authorization to approve all wage increases involving jobs with annual salaries below \$5,000. As a result of the United States' entry into World War II, all the nation's economic sectors were now under new or increased governmental controls.

Further Reading: David Brinkley, *Washington Goes to War*, 1988; Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941–1945*, 1972; Joel Seidman, *American Labor from Defense to Reconversion*, 1953.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

In 1936 former U.S. Treasury secretary Andrew W. Mellon offered Congress his art collection, the money to build an art gallery, and start-up funds if Congress would maintain it thereafter. Congress agreed in 1937 and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, opened in 1941. The core of the gallery's paintings in the 1940s consisted of the Mellon collection and piecemeal acquisitions from the Kress and Widener collections.

This core constituted the most comprehensive American collection of Italian Renaissance paintings, ranked among the world's finest, aside from those in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence and the Vatican Museum in Rome. Among the original collection are two paintings by Sandro Botticelli with a third acquired from the Kress collection in 1952. The first is a portrait of a man Botticelli painted around 1487, remarkable for its androgynous qualities. The second, *The Adoration of the Magi*, is the more famous of the two available to the public in the 1940s. No less remarkable are three paintings by Raphael, two from the Mellon collection and the third, acquired in 1943, from the Kress collection. The latter, a portrait of sixteenth-century Florentine banker Bindo Altoviti, is notable for its realism.

Other masters whose works the gallery held in the 1940s were Giotto, Titian, and Sassetta.

The gallery would later acquire works by Fra Angelico and Leonardo da Vinci. Also compelling are the three Rembrandts, a self-portrait from the Mellon collection and two paintings the gallery bought from the Widener collection in 1942. The self-portrait is haunting and worth comparing with that of Albrecht Dürer.

The breadth and quality of paintings available to the public in the 1940s and those acquired later make the National Gallery of Art a repository of genius. The French impressionists, the Spaniards El Greco, Goya, and Picasso, and the Flemish masters Rubens, Pieter Brueghel the Elder, and Bosch demonstrate that European art conquered American culture even as the United States defeated Germany and Italy in World War II.

Further Reading: Florence E. Coman, *National Gallery of Art, Washington*, 1992; Philip Kopper, *America's National Gallery of Art: A Gift to the Nation*, 1991; Richard Phipps and Richard Wink, *Invitation to the Gallery: An Introduction to Art*, 1987.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE The liberal agenda in Europe included government-sponsored medical coverage, with Germany in 1883 the first nation to guarantee health care to all its citizens—decades before Germany's first democratic government was created. In the United States, however, capitalism and social Darwinism kept reformers on the defensive until the Great Depression of the 1930s discredited the business-Republican coalition. Democrats might have seized the opportunity in 1933 when they held both Houses of Congress and the presidency and when Americans believed urgent the need for reform. Instead, President Franklin D. Roosevelt waited until 1938 to propose health insurance for all Americans. With much of the reform impetus spent, Republicans and conservative southern Democrats united to defeat the bill.

In 1944, Roosevelt promised to revisit the health care issue after the war. The time seemed auspicious. Wartime industrial demands made more than 40 percent of all workers blue-collar, strengthening the labor wing of the Democratic Party. President Harry Truman, Roosevelt's successor, committed himself to revitalizing the New

Deal under the label of the Fair Deal. He submitted a health care bill, containing five provisions, to Congress on November 19, 1945. The most important was universal coverage. Other key provisions were increases in federal funding of hospital construction and of medical research at federal agencies and universities. By pledging money to medical researchers and hospital administrators eager to expand facilities, Truman hoped to blunt opposition from medical professionals.

As has been true throughout U.S. history, interest-group politics prevailed. Physicians in private practice feared that Congress would contain costs by capping fees. The American Medical Association (AMA) pretended to be an organization of helpless proletarians under the thumb of big government. Then as now, Congress could not ignore the AMA. Senator Robert Taft of Ohio helped spread the epithet "socialized medicine," conjuring images of rationed care and one-size-fits-all treatments.

The socialism charge was tantamount to the accusation of heresy during the Middle Ages in that it provoked a visceral fear. Americans did not differentiate between socialism and Communism, and the rift between the United States and Soviet Union after World War II made Americans react against anything related to either. Truman found himself in no-man's-land. Were he to promote universal health care too vigorously, he might endanger his foreign policy. A Cold Warrior abroad, Truman could not risk the taint of socialism at home.

Moreover, domestic tumult weakened Truman's focus on health care. An eruption of strikes in 1946 forced him into the role of mediator, whereas unions wanted him to champion labor. Truman's July 1948 executive order integrating the military angered conservative whites and cost Truman support among southern Democrats. These troubles climaxed in 1948 when Senator Strom Thurmond led a revolt of southern Democrats from the Democratic Party and labor champion Henry A. Wallace bolted likewise. Truman managed to stave off defeat that November but by then universal health insurance was dead. Amid the triumph of Communism in China and the Soviet detonation of a uranium

bomb, Truman in 1949 sacrificed health care to party unity and cooperation with Republicans in foreign affairs. In any case, the AMA spent \$1.5 million that year, an amount equivalent to \$260 million today, much of the money gained from a \$25 surcharge on dues in the largest lobbying effort to that date, to assure that national health care would not rise from the dead.

Further Reading: Alonzo Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism*, 1973; Phyllis Komarek de Luna, *Public versus Private Power During the Truman Administration: A Study of Fair Deal Liberalism*, 1997; Monte M. Poen, *Harry S. Truman versus the Medical Lobby*, 1979.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

NATIONAL PARKS The country's national park system was born in 1872, with the establishment of Yellowstone National Park. In the ensuing years, the parks became a magnet for vacationing Americans. The National Park Service, created in 1916, encouraged this trend by promoting the parks and developing amenities that appealed to travelers. During the 1930s, New Deal works programs resulted in new roads, trails, administrative buildings, and tourist accommodations. By 1940, the nation's parks were a vital part of the tourism industry in the United States. In that year, the National Park Service reported 21 million visitors.

Such travel ended with the country's entry into World War II. Gasoline and tire rationing and citizens' involvement in military service and war work severely restricted the public's mobility. The number of visitors to national parks dropped to 6 million in 1942 and remained low throughout the war. The National Park Service budget was cut drastically, preventing promotion and improvements. An annual appropriation of \$21 million in 1940 plunged to \$5 million in 1943 and stayed at that level until 1947. Due to military service and budget cuts, personnel numbers went from 4,510 full-time employees in 1942 to fewer than 2,000 a year later.

The national emergency also brought pressures to make various parks' mineral, timber, and grazing resources available for the war effort. Newton Drury, who became the director of the

National Park Service in mid-1940, opposed these demands and managed to prevent severe encroachment. The parks did assist the war effort, as their facilities across the country were called into service as office buildings, training centers, and rest and recreation retreats for military personnel.

Immediately after the war, travel and tourism boomed. Americans, released from war worries and economic restraints, returned to the road and to the national parks. In 1949, nearly 32 million people visited components of the system, a 150 percent increase over the 1940 level. Overcrowding and consumer demands for recreation and entertainment quickly placed a burden on many parks that had operated with severely limited funds and staffing for half a decade, adding to the deterioration that had occurred during World War II. These problems led to a program of rejuvenation. Initiated in 1956 and termed Mission 66, the effort established visitor centers in the parks and built new roads and other facilities. As a result of the events of the 1940s, the national parks took on a new look and initiated fresh promotional efforts to attract visitors during the 1950s and 1960s.

Further Reading: Ronald A. Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 1984; Barry Mackintosh, *National Park Service: The First 75 Years*, 2000; John C. Miles, *Guardians of the Parks: A History of the National Parks and Conservation Association*, 1995.

SUZANNE JULIN

NATIONAL SECURITY ACT OF 1947 This statute, which became law on July 26, 1947, created the National Security Council (NSC), the National Military Establishment (changed to the Department of Defense [DoD] in 1949), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the National Security Resources Board (NSRB). The overall purpose of the legislation was to help the United States, and specifically the president, coordinate and manage defense-related policy and activities. Congress acted largely as a result of the growing tensions resulting from the Cold War and America's expanding commitments overseas, in the hopes of limiting interservice rivalries through central command and control.

The NSC was specifically chartered to advise the president and to integrate the policies of key foreign affairs and defense-related agencies. In addition to the president, NSC members included the secretaries of state, defense, army, navy, and air force and the chairman of the NSRB. By statute, membership could and did change, based on the chief executive's needs. A small NSC staff was provided to coordinate activity. As presidents expanded the NSC's role, this staff took on greater responsibilities for accessing and even acquiring data. Harry Truman, perhaps sensitive to this new Congressional directive, attended only a dozen of the NSC's first fifty-seven meetings. While policy papers, such as NSC-68, often became vital statements of American policy aims, it was not until the late 1950s and early 1960s that the NSC became integral to defense strategy formation.

The National Military Establishment, later DoD, was also intended to aid in managing executive powers. During World War II, the historic competition between the traditional land, naval, and air forces intensified. Over the objections of service members who wanted to retain autonomy, the National Security Act formally created the U.S. Air Force (while protecting the navy's interests in aviation), the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense. In contrast to the NSC, which was overseen by the White House, this new branch of policy coordination and review was controlled by the military.

The legislation also created the CIA, as an intelligence-gathering and analysis tool. Its duties were similar to those of the Office of Strategic Services, which was disbanded by Truman immediately after World War II ended. While the security act was unclear about which branch of government ultimately controlled the CIA (certainly Congress controlled the agency's funding), the CIA performed both explicit and covert duties intended to aid all services. The CIA director reported to, and was ultimately responsible to, the president.

The functions assigned to the NSRB were minor, in contrast to those of these other agencies. It was specifically concerned with coordinating the mobilization of the civilian population during the transition from peace to war.

Further Reading: James Bamford, *Body of Secrets*, 2001; Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, The Truman Administration, and the Cold War*, 1993; U.S. Department of State, *History of the National Security Council, 1947–1997*, 1997.

DAVID BLANKE

NATIVE AMERICANS As the 1940s began, nearly 70,000 tribal members left their homes. More than 25,000 entered the U.S. military, out of a population of 345,252 in 1940. They served with distinction in all branches, earning honors for their courage. Civilian workers found off-reservation employment at war-related industries. At the same time, the Office of Indian Affairs moved to Chicago.

As Indian soldiers fought, Congress continued to discuss future policy changes regarding Native Americans. The U.S. Senate published Partial Report 310 in 1943, concluding sixteen years of Senate subcommittee investigations. The study recommended transferring some Indian Service programs such as tribal health care to the national public health program and tribal police and court services on some reservations to the states. The following year, the House of Representatives issued House Report 2091, stating that federal trust obligations still remained and continuing the Office of Indian Affairs. These publications did not stop tribal or congressional criticism of the Indian Service or negate the push for change.

In 1946, Congress passed the Transfer of Power to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Act permitting the secretary of interior to extend the commissioner's duties, and ordered an investigation of the administration of the Office of Indian Affairs. The investigation, completed in 1949, created twelve area offices to decentralize reservation administration. Also, the Indian Service was renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Many Native Americans returned to their rural reservation communities with new skills and visions as their tours of duty, or civilian jobs, ended. They denounced reservation conditions and sought tribal leadership positions, hoping to improve their communities. They also sought to eliminate Indian Service control over their

destinies. Other veterans and reservation residents, on their own, moved to urban areas in the late 1940s, seeking work, beginning the postwar movement of tribal populations from reservation to city.

At the national level, in 1944 tribal leaders from twenty-seven states met in Denver and organized the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), to lobby for tribal causes. For the NCAI, as for the tribal leaders and tribal nations, removing old wounds was necessary to move forward. One of the most burning issues was settling past tribal land claims, a prelude leaders claimed necessary before tribal communities could move in new directions. In 1946, Congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act, permitting tribes to press past claims against the United States. Many years would pass before tribal communities would reach settlements.

Despite the organization of a national support group, many Native Americans had to fight new reservation battles that stemmed from the growing congressional mood to move tribal jurisdiction and reservation services to other agencies. In 1948 Congress transferred law enforcement on Iroquois Confederacy reservations to the state of New York. The one exception concerned hunting and fishing rights. The following year, Congress authorized Iowa to assume jurisdiction over the Sac and Fox Reservation. These decisions foretold battles that tribes would fight to prevent state assumption of tribal civil and criminal jurisdiction. Assistant Commissioner William Zimmerman's classification of tribes from ready to unready for the elimination of federal services encouraged these jurisdictional transfers from tribes to states.

At the same time, poverty stalked many communities. Navajo and Hopi tribes in the Southwest were reeling from lack of employment and economic opportunities after the war. To alleviate these conditions, Congress passed in 1947 the Immediate Relief of Navajo and Hopi Act, providing \$2 million for destitute tribal members. When they began receiving federal assistance, Arizona denied tribal members the right to participate in state relief programs. The action created new hardships. These battles spilled over into disenfranchising Native Americans in New Mexico.

As the decade ended, the Hoover Commission recommended the integrating of tribal members into the dominant society and eliminating the federal trust responsibility to the tribal nations. The Hopi rejected the commission's conclusions and refused to participate in any federally sponsored rehabilitation program, but the termination movement that began in the 1940s gained momentum the following decade.

Further Reading: Alison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs*, 1991; Donald L. Parman, *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century*, 1994; Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, 1984.

RICHMOND L. CLOW

NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE ARMED FORCES Many Native Americans joined the armed services when the United States entered World War II, and they contributed significantly to the nation's effort. Their motives were various: patriotism, dislike of Hitler and Nazi Germany, tribal pride, a desire for recognition as good citizens, and the opportunity to make economic gains through employment at a good salary.

The war raised many issues for both the federal government and Native Americans. Racial classification was one such issue: in a segregated service, where would Native Americans fit? In 1942, the decision was made that Native Americans would serve with white troops, allowing Native Americans to participate more actively in combat than African Americans. Native Americans served with distinction in many important battles, and the Navajo in particular became famous for their work as "code talkers." They created a code based on Navajo language, which the Japanese never broke. Notable Native American officers included General Clarence L. Tinker, an Osage, who commanded the U.S. Army Air Corps in Hawaii and who was killed in action at Midway, and Lieutenant Ernest Childers, a Creek, who was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor after serving in combat in Italy. In contrast to African Americans, Native Americans generally suffered less racial discrimination, but at an individual level

this was not always the case. In addition, support for Native American veterans was often inadequate. The mixed legacy of Native American involvement (and the way their participation was viewed) in the war is well illustrated by the story of Ira Hayes.

Hayes, a Pima Indian from Arizona, served as a marine in the Pacific, took part in the invasion of Iwo Jima, and was one of the marines captured in the famous photograph (later made into a statue) of the raising of the American flag over the island. Like many Native American combatants, Hayes received recognition as a warrior and hero in the stereotypical mold current in popular culture. He was feted and met President Harry S. Truman. Yet the war brought Hayes ill along with the recognition. Like many veterans, he failed to readjust fully to civilian life and turned to alcohol. He was found dead in 1955, at age thirty-two. The war experience did little to change the lives of Native Americans.

Another major issue was sovereignty in applying the draft. There was considerable conflict between the federal and tribal governments over this issue, especially as some tribes chose not to support the United States' participation in the war (for example, on religious grounds). The lasting consequence of tribal action to retain this sovereignty and independence was a strong sense of identity separate from white American society. This forced such political actions as the formation of the National Congress of American Indians, which lobbied at the state and national levels for improved treatment of Native Americans. Another important force in post-1945 Native American political activity was the returned veteran, who played an important role in shaping future Native American protest.

World War II helped stimulate Native Americans' political awareness, which led to increased activity, and ultimately more forceful protest against injustice.

Further Reading: Alison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II*, 1991; Kenneth William Townsend, *World War II and the American Indian*, 2000; Jere Bishop France, *Crossing the Pond: The Native American Effort in World War II*, 1999.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

NAVAJO CODE TALKERS During World War II, when Japanese intelligence could break almost any American military code, Navajo recruits in the U.S. Marine Corps developed the era's most significant and successful military coding system, a clandestine code based on the Navajo language. It stymied the bewildered Japanese and was never broken and was credited with saving the lives of countless American soldiers in the battles of Guadalcanal, Peleliu, Tarawa, Saipan, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa. Indeed, Navajo code talkers took part in every assault the U.S. Marines conducted in the Pacific arena from 1942 to 1945.

The idea to use Navajo for secure communications came from Philip Johnston, a World War I veteran who not only spoke Navajo fluently but also was cognizant of the military's search for a system that would withstand all deciphering efforts. Johnston contended that Navajo answered the logistic requirement for an undecipherable code, because it was an unwritten language of extreme complexity. There is no alphabet or symbols; the language was spoken only on Navajo lands of the American Southwest. Its elaborate syntax and complicated tonal qualities, combined with dialects, made it unintelligible to anyone lacking extensive exposure and training.

In 1942 military officials staged tests, demonstrating that Navajos could encode, transmit, and decode an English message of three lines in twenty seconds. A convinced Vogel recommended that the marines recruit two hundred Navajo. The first twenty-nine soldiers created the Navajo code, developed a dictionary, selected words for military terms, and memorized the results. For instance, the code word *dah-he-tih-hi* (hummingbird) meant "fighter plane," and *besh-lo* (iron fish) signified "submarine." Once a linguist had completed his training, he was dispatched to a marine unit deployed in the Pacific theater. Major Howard Connor of the Fifth Marine Division concluded that the Marines would not have taken Iwo Jima had it not been for the Native Americans. His six cryptologists sent and received over 800 messages without error. Lieutenant General Seizo Arisue, chief of Japanese intelligence, later admitted how perplexed he and his colleagues were by the entire procedure. Included among the code talkers were

Carl Nelson Gorman, Harry Benally, Peter MacDonald, Harrison Lapahie, and William Deon Wilson.

Altogether, about 3,600 Navajo men and women joined the armed forces during World War II, one of the highest percentages of any ethnic group. For a people who had suffered from genocide, the contribution proved remarkable. The Navajo participants in World War II long went unrecognized because of the continued value of their language as a classified security code. They ultimately received honors and commendations for their contributions on September 17, 1992, at the Pentagon, where the code exhibit remains a regular stop on the building's tour. On July 26, 2001, President George W. Bush awarded the Congressional Gold Medal to the Navajo code talkers for saving thousands of American lives. Only five of the original twenty-nine Navajo philologists were still alive at that time. The 2002 feature film *Windtalkers*, starring Nicholas Cage, was based on the Navajo's war-time story.

Further Reading: Margaret T. Bixler, *Winds of Freedom: The Story of the Navajo Code Talkers of World War II*, 1995; Deanne Durrett, *Unsung Heroes of World War II: The Story of the Navajo Code Talkers*, 1998; Doris A. Paul, *The Navajo Code Talkers*, 1998.

LEONARD SCHLUP

NAZI GERMANY Nazi Germany, and the figure of Adolf Hitler, dominate the history of the 1940s. Hitler's aggressive war caused incredible destruction and death—not just in the theaters of war in North Africa, the Atlantic, and Western and Eastern Europe, but also in the murder of millions of Jews and others who did not fit into the Nazi dream of an Aryan state.

As leader of the National Socialist (Nazi) party, Hitler ascended to power in Germany in 1933. Rapidly he established a dictatorship marked by fascist spectacle and persecution of perceived enemies, especially Jews. Hitler turned Germany into a military state and began to expand into other European territory. In 1936, he reoccupied the Rhineland; in 1938, Austria was forced into a union with Germany; and in the same year, Germany occupied the part of

Czechoslovakia known as the Sudetenland. In 1939, Hitler seized the rest of Czechoslovakia. Other European leaders acquiesced in these actions. When, on September 1, 1939, Hitler invaded Poland, however, Britain and France finally declared war.

The first campaigns introduced the blitzkrieg or “lightning war”: air attack, followed by a tank offensive, then light-armored divisions. The German forces rapidly conquered Poland and occupied Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Belgium, forcing the British to flee Continental Europe. Britain was attacked, but never invaded. Fighting shifted to North Africa, where, despite some initial success against the British and Dominion troops, the German army was ultimately unsuccessful.

The Germans also waged an aggressive naval campaign in the Atlantic, destroying merchant and military shipping. Turning his military ambitions eastward, Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941. The eastern front proved a difficult theater of war, with massive casualties and fighting that resembled World War I's trench warfare more than it did the modern lightning warfare of 1939. The difficult eastern front transformed the war. Battles in Russia, notably the siege of Leningrad and the battle for Stalingrad, exhausted the German war effort and left the Nazis without a victory. Once the United States entered the war against Germany, Hitler faced a two-front war.

Nazi Germany was a totalitarian state, marked by Adolf Hitler's iron dictatorship. Fanatical patriotism and loyalty were expected of all Germans, even more so once the war was under way. No dissent was tolerated, and perceived “enemies of the state” were subject to persecution. Leading among them were Jews. An essential part of Nazi ideology was the notion of racial purity, celebrating the ideal “Aryan” person, who had to be blond and blue-eyed. This doctrine of racial purity demonized those who did not match the ideal, especially Jews.

Persecution of Jewish people existed from the beginning of Nazi control, but in wartime it reached murderous levels. Labor (prison) camps already existed, but during the war, more of these “concentration camps” were set up (especially in occupied Poland and Eastern Europe). Jews were

the primary occupants, but other political enemies were also sent there, as were allegedly “deviant” groups, such as homosexuals and the Roma (Gypsies). Germany stepped up its persecution of Jews and other “undesirables” as the war continued, primarily through placing them in ghettos or the camps. Throughout Europe, German-occupied areas saw roundups and deportations. Many of them were carried out by the Schutzstaffel (SS), but the Wehrmacht (German army) also participated in atrocities. By war’s end, 6 million Jews had been killed, many in specially designated “death camps.”

The Nazi regime was brought to an end in April 1945 with the Allies’ occupation of Berlin and the final defeat of the German military forces. Many prominent Nazi leaders committed suicide. A few were put on trial for war crimes at Nuremberg. Throughout Germany, former Nazi party members were expected to undergo a process of denazification.

Further Reading: Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems of Perspective and Interpretation*, 2000; William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 1960; Johannes Steinhoff, *Voices from the Third Reich: An Oral History*, 1989.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

NAZI SABOTEURS Shortly after midnight on June 13, 1942, German nationals George J. Dasch, Ernest P. Burger, Heinrich H. Heinck, and Richard Quirin, properly dressed in military uniforms, landed near Amagansett, Long Island, New York. They emerged from a submarine with sufficient explosives and incendiaries to conduct a twenty-four-month sabotage of American defense industries. Four days later, another group of German operatives, Edward J. Kerling, Werner Thiel, Herman O. Newbauer, and Herbert H. Haupt, landed on Ponte Vedra Beach, south of Jacksonville, Florida. Their purpose was to bring the violence and fear of war home to Americans, to dissipate American resolve, and to destroy a portion of the nation’s ability to manufacture equipment for the European war. They possessed \$175,000 in U.S. currency to finance their activities. Lieutenant Walter Kappe, headed the project, had provided specific, intensive training

as well as instructions on explosives, clandestine writing, and how to conceal their identities by blending into the general public.

On June 14, Dasch decided to abandon the impractical scheme, perhaps realizing that Germany would lose the war. Giving the name “Pastorius,” he telephoned the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and on June 19 surrendered to authorities at a Washington hotel. He confessed everything and also furnished the identities and possible whereabouts of his coconspirators, who by June 27 were arrested in various locations. The scheme, allegedly ordered by Adolf Hitler, had failed miserably. No act of terrorism occurred on American soil, and Germany never again attempted a clandestine sabotage mission against the United States.

From July 8 to August 4, the eight invaders were tried before a military commission. The proceedings took place in the Department of Justice Building, and the attorney general headed the prosecution personally. All were found guilty and sentenced to death, but the attorney general and FBI director J. Edgar Hoover urged President Franklin D. Roosevelt to commute the verdicts of Dasch and Burger. Dasch received a thirty-year sentence; Burger got life imprisonment in a federal penitentiary; the remaining six were executed by electric chair on August 8, 1942. In April 1948, President Harry S. Truman granted executive clemency to Dasch and Burger and deported them to occupied Germany’s American Zone. Adolf Hitler’s diabolical plan to wreak havoc in American cities, incinerate manufacturing plants, blow up waterways, kill civilians, bomb trains, demolish military bases, and destroy Jewish-owned department stores in New York City took on a renewed relevance after September 11, 2001.

Further Reading: Alex Abella and Scott Gordon, *Shadow Enemies: Hitler’s Secret Terrorist Plot Against the United States*, 2003; Michael Dobbs, *Saboteurs: The Nazi Raid on America*, 2004.

LEONARD SCHLUP

NEVINS, ALLAN (May 20, 1890–March 5, 1971) historian. Born near Camp Point, Illinois, Nevins began his writing career in 1913 as a

journalist. After editorial stints at several New York newspapers, he joined the faculty at Columbia University, where he held the post of De Witt Clinton Professor of History from 1931 to 1958.

Nevins made two significant contributions in the 1940s. The first was beginning his eight-volume series, *Ordeal of the Union*, in 1947. The first volume, *Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847–1852*, introduced Nevins's arguments that the Civil War was avoidable; that the problems of slavery and race produced marked differences between the North and South; and that American political leaders were to blame for the onset of the war. Nevins's second major contribution was inaugurating the oral history program at Columbia University, the first of its kind in the United States. Nevins argued persuasively that evolving technology, such as the telephone, which many times rendered written communication unnecessary, and the airplane, which made face-to-face meetings easier and less liable to be recorded, made oral history necessary to preserve sources that otherwise would be lost to future historians. His focus was not solely on notable politicians, however, as he also sought to preserve the histories of everyday Americans.

After serving a ten-year term as senior research associate at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, Nevins died in Menlo Park, California.

Further Reading: Ray Allen Billington, ed., *Allan Nevins on History*, 1975; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, 8 vols., 1947–1971; Ray Allen, David K. Dunaway, and Willa K. Baum, eds., *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, 1984.

MARK R. CHEATHEM

NEWSPAPERS Although World War II united Americans behind the war, it did not end partisanship in newspapers. This partisanship generated an important legal case. Marshall Field III, grandson of the department store founder, established the *Chicago Sun* on December 4, 1941, as a liberal, pro–New Deal alternative to the *Chicago Tribune*. Conservative and isolationist, the *Tribune* had attacked the New Deal and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's drift toward intervention in the war on the side of Great Britain.

The *Tribune* blocked the *Sun*'s attempt to join the Associated Press (AP), an action permitted by AP bylaws. The *Sun* appealed to the U.S. Justice Department, which filed suit in August 1942 against the AP, whose bylaws, the department believed, violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. The Federal Court of the Southern District of New York ordered the AP on October 3, 1942, to change its bylaws to permit a newspaper to join despite a competitor's opposition. The AP appealed to the Supreme Court, which had overturned early New Deal legislation. Here, however, the court sided with the Justice Department but defined the issue in the context of the First Amendment rather than antitrust. Writing for the majority, Justice Hugo L. Black ruled the AP bylaws a violation of freedom of the press, giving Roosevelt a counterweight against the *Tribune* in Chicago.

Other newspapers eliminated competitors by buying them. Consolidation reduced the number of newspapers from 1,879 in 1940 to 1,744 in 1944. Consolidation flowed from the decision of advertisers to buy space in large dailies in hopes of reaching the most readers, rather than taking out ads in a patchwork of local papers. Small papers that could not amass enough subscribers to profit folded or sold themselves to large papers. In Minneapolis, Minnesota, the number of dailies halved from four in 1947 to two in 1949. In January 1948 former Ohio governor James M. Cox merged two Dayton, Ohio, papers into one. He also owned the *Atlanta Journal* and *Miami News*.

Labor was as aggressive as management, as strikes and boycotts rocked newspapers. In October 1941 a strike by pressmen crippled seven New York dailies and in December 1942 halted the printing of twelve New York papers for three days. Inflation at war's end only worsened matters as reporters, pressmen, and deliverers struck, seeking to keep wages apace with prices. In a prelude to these upheavals, in July 1945 a general strike forced seventeen New York papers to cease publication for seventeen days, and a truckers' strike in September 1946 reduced New York papers to pamphlets, lessening size and weight, which paper carriers delivered by car and bicycle. The International Typographical Union struck

more than thirty newspapers in 1945 and 1946. Most strikes ended in stalemate, papers preferring to halt publication instead of conceding higher wages.

Further Reading: Walter M. Brasch, *With Just Cause: Unionization of the American Journalist*, 1991; Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument*, 2000; Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*, 1978.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

NIEBUHR, REINHOLD (June 21, 1892–June 1, 1971), American Protestant theologian and social activist. Niebuhr was born in Wright City, Missouri. He attended Illinois's Elmhurst College, Missouri's Eden Theological Seminary, and Yale Divinity School. He was ordained a minister in the German Evangelical Synod of North America and pastored the Bethel Evangelical Church of Detroit in 1915. In 1928 he joined the faculty at New York's Union Theological Seminary, where he remained for thirty years and served as dean (1950–1955) and vice president (1955–1960). He retired in 1960 as chair of ethics and theology. His several works in theological anthropology and Christian realism include two volumes of *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, published in 1941 and 1943. The most widely quoted passage from his works, sometimes falsely attributed to the eighteenth-century theologian Friedrich Oetinger, is the Serenity Prayer (1934): "God, give us the serenity to accept what cannot be changed; / Give us the courage to change what should be changed; / Give us the wisdom to distinguish one from the other." Alcoholics Anonymous adapted the prayer in 1935. Niebuhr supported the socialist candidate for president in 1932, and this advocacy of socialism served him in his support of New Deal policy in the early 1940s. Throughout his career and in his writing, Niebuhr connected history with broad observations about God and nature. After his experiences with the working class in Detroit, the evil of human beings in wars, and the dilemmas of the nuclear age, he challenged these realities in his writings and in the several journals for which he wrote. Niebuhr edited *The Christian Century* (1922–1940), *Radical Religion* (later

named *Christianity and Society*) (1935), *Nation* (1938–1950), *Christianity and Crisis* (1941), and *New Leader* (1954–1970). He founded the Fellowship of Socialist Christians in the early 1930s and organized the Union for Democratic Action in 1941. Oxford, Harvard, and Yale awarded him honorary doctor of divinity degrees. During World War II, Niebuhr set his socialism and pacifism aside because of the threat to civilization's survival. After the war, he organized the left-wing anti-Communist Americans for Democratic Action. Niebuhr received the Medal of Freedom in 1964. He died in Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

Further Reading: Charles C. Brown, *Niebuhr and His Age: Reinhold Niebuhr's Prophetic Role in the Twentieth Century*, 1992; Richard Wightman Fox, *Reinhold Niebuhr: A Biography*, 1986; Robin W. Loving, *Reinhold Niebuhr and Christian Realism*, 1995.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

NIXON, RICHARD MILHOUS (January 9, 1913–April 22, 1994), attorney, politician, president of the United States. Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, California, and graduated from Whittier College in 1934. After receiving a master's degree in law from Duke University Law School in 1937, he returned to Whittier to work in a law firm. Shortly before World War II he took a position in the Office of Emergency Management. By 1942 he was serving in the U.S. Navy's South Pacific Combat Air Transport Command. Nixon was discharged in January 1946.

That same year he ran as a Republican for the federal House of Representatives, beating liberal Democrat Jerry Voorhis largely through suggesting that Voorhis had Communist sympathies. Nixon received seats on the House Labor Committee, Select Committee on Foreign Aid, and House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). In 1947 he visited Europe and became an open proponent of the Marshall Plan.

In 1948 Nixon won reelection and quickly became one of HUAC's most reasonable and hardworking members. Together with Representative Karl Mundt, he introduced the Mundt-Nixon bill, which required Communists to register with the attorney general as agents of a foreign power. The measure did not become law,

but two years later the McCarran Act incorporated most of Nixon's proposals.

In 1948 Nixon played a key role in the Hiss-Chambers controversy. Whittaker Chambers, a former spy for the USSR, accused Alger Hiss, a former State Department official and adviser at the Yalta Conference, of having been linked to a Communist cell in Washington during the 1930s. Hiss denied the charges. HUAC set up a subcommittee to hear Chambers in executive session. Chambers offered numerous details of Hiss's life and later turned over to Nixon a cache of secret documents he had kept on his farm (the Pumpkin Papers).

The case strengthened Nixon's position enormously, and he ran for the U.S. Senate in 1950. His opponent was liberal California Democrat and actress Helen Gahagan Douglas. She cited his House record to show how frequently he voted in a manner similar to Congress's most famous radical, Vito Marcantonio, suggesting that Nixon was, in fact, soft on Communism. Nixon responded by playing on Douglas's Hollywood background and calling her "pink down to her underwear." His staff produced leaflets showing that Douglas herself, between 1945 and 1950, had voted the same as Marcantonio 354 times. Douglas called Nixon "Tricky Dick," but lost the race and never returned to politics.

Nixon's most important achievement, closing this part of his career, was being elected as Dwight D. Eisenhower's vice president. Nixon later served as president of the United States from 1969 to 1974. A few months after the successful 1972 campaign, his administration was struck by the Watergate scandal, which ultimately led to his resignation. Nixon was the only president to leave office in such a manner.

He died in New York.

Further Reading: Stephen Ambrose, *Nixon*, 3 vols., 1987–1991; Roger Morris, *Richard Milhous Nixon: The Rise of an American Politician*, 1990; Vamik D. Volkan, Norman Itzkowitz, and Andrew W. Dod, *Richard Nixon, A Psychobiography*, 1997.

WŁODZIMIERZ BATOG

NORRIS, GEORGE (July 11, 1861–September 2, 1944), U.S. representative and senator from

Nebraska. Born on a farm in Sandusky County, Ohio, Norris earned an LLB degree from Valparaiso University in northern Indiana in 1883. Two years later, he moved to Nebraska, where he served as a county prosecuting attorney and later as a district judge. In 1902, he won election to the U.S. House of Representatives as a liberal Republican in a Populist stronghold. Joining other insurgent members, he sponsored a resolution establishing a Rules Committee not controlled by the Speaker. The historic measure curtailed the rule of Speaker Joseph Cannon and permanently altered the power structure in the House.

In 1911, Norris became the National Progressive Republican League's first vice president. The following year, he won election to the U.S. Senate, after beating the incumbent in the Republican primary. During the 1920s, Norris chaired the Agriculture and Forestry and the Judiciary committees, but his unorthodox views separated him from his Republican colleagues. He advocated farm relief, the rights of labor, the development of natural resources, and direct presidential elections, while he openly criticized the Republican administrations under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. Reelected in 1930, Norris supported all of Franklin Roosevelt's presidential campaigns, as well as most of the New Deal measures.

Known as the father of the Tennessee Valley Authority (1933) and the Rural Electrification Act (1936), Norris drafted the legislation that enabled the development of isolated regions while providing thousands of jobs for young workers during the Depression. He also sponsored the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution (1933), the so-called lame duck amendment, which reduced the power of members serving their last weeks in Congress. In 1936, Norris left the Republican Party and successfully ran for the Senate as an Independent, earning the endorsement of President Franklin Roosevelt and the Nebraska Democratic Party. An isolationist, he gradually accepted the need for U.S. intervention in World War II, but remained focused on domestic affairs. In 1942, Norris, at the age of eighty-one, sought another term as an Independent. He did not actively campaign, however, and, after forty years in Congress, lost his bid for re-

election. Norris died in McCook, Nebraska, shortly after completing his autobiography.

Further Reading: David Fellman, "The Liberalism of Senator Norris," *American Political Science Review* 40 (February 1946): 27–51; Richard Lowitt, *George W. Norris: The Triumph of a Progressive, 1933–1944*, 1978; George Norris, *Fighting Liberal: The Autobiography of George W. Norris*, 1945, reprint 1992.

JANE M. ARMSTRONG

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO), strategic international alliance. The North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington, DC, on April 4, 1949, by twelve signatories: Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The pact consisted of only fourteen articles, the most significant being number five, which stipulated that an attack against any of the signatories represented an attack against all. NATO joined the United States and Canada with the Western European nations in a collective security arrangement for the North Atlantic area. Defensive in intent, its purpose was to unite the economic and military resources of the West in order to either deter or withstand Soviet aggression.

The treaty marked a major shift in international affairs in three ways. First, it helped transform Western Europe into a zone devoid of interstate conflict (this region would be further enhanced with the addition of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1954). Second, it reversed 150 years of U.S. foreign policy by committing the United States to an alliance in peacetime with its allies across the Atlantic. Third, it signified the collapse of trust in the security system created under the United Nations and in the ability of the superpowers to resolve their differences in the Security Council.

Following the end of World War II, the United States had held a monopoly on nuclear weapons and could once more adopt an isolationist stance. Instead, failure to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on either the future of Eastern Europe or the peace treaty with Germany soon weakened the wartime alliance. With the threat that the Soviet Union would overrun a weak Western Europe

apparently increasing, a policy of "containment" was articulated, stressing the need to confront Soviet expansionism. In 1947 this policy found expression in the Truman Doctrine, devoted to "supporting free peoples everywhere" against subversion, and the Economic Recovery Program or Marshall Plan, aimed at rejuvenating West European economies and thereby strengthening them politically and improving morale. However, at the end of 1947 there was no sign that the United States would enter an Atlantic alliance within eighteen months.

The factor bridging the Marshall Plan and NATO was the Brussels Treaty, signed on March 17, 1948, by Britain, France, and the Benelux countries, which committed them to a joint defense system and to strengthening economic and cultural links. The United States backed any move such as this toward European integration, but the treaty's architects, British foreign minister Ernest Bevin and his French counterpart Georges Bidault, were determined to secure more concrete support. With tensions rising due to a Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February, Soviet pressure on Norway for a defense treaty in March, and the beginning of the Soviet blockade of West Berlin in June, Bevin and Bidault pushed for serious talks with the United States about North Atlantic security.

On June 11, 1948, the U.S. Senate passed the Vandenberg Resolution, allowing America to enter into collective security agreements with other nations, provided such agreements were fully compatible with the United Nations charter. Talks began between the Brussels Treaty countries, Canada, and the United States in the summer of 1948, but differences of opinion caused them to drag on for eight months. The Europeans hoped that any new treaty would effectively mean American military and economic aid for the development of Western Europe toward securing self-sufficiency. Instead, the United States would claim a large-scale presence in Europe, holding veto rights over European initiatives and prolonging European dependence on American power. Mainly at American insistence, other nations, such as Portugal, Denmark, and Iceland, were invited to join the negotiations in early 1949, lessening, to their resentment, the

central role of the Brussels Treaty nations. Despite these tensions, NATO solidified American-European cooperation and immediately became the cornerstone of Western security.

Further Reading: Lawrence S. Lemnitzer, *NATO and the United States: The Enduring Alliance*, 1988; Lord Ismay, *NATO: The First Five Years, 1949–1954*, 1955; Frans A.M. Alting von Geusau, *Western Cooperation: Origins and History*, vol. 2, 2002.

GILES SCOTT-SMITH

NUREMBERG TRIALS, of Nazi war criminals by the Allies. The Nuremberg Trials were held from 1945 to 1949 by the Allied powers. The United States played a leading role in setting up the tribunals and in developing principles for international justice that have carried down to present-day international courts.

Before World War II ended, Franklin D. Roosevelt called for a war crimes policy that would hold transgressor nations accountable. At the war's conclusion, with the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union victorious, the full extent of Nazi Germany's crimes became known. The mass killing of Jews, Gypsies, political prisoners, and other "undesirables" by Hitler's regime was recognized as an international crime that demanded punishment. Laws of warfare had existed since the late nineteenth century, and Germany had obviously violated both them and international human rights. Only limited precedents existed, however, for establishing what these rules were and what constituted a violation. An international military tribunal was thus set up, including representatives of Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and France.

The legal traditions and systems of these nations differed, and one of the great challenges was to create a system that could represent satisfactorily each country's preferences. The final result was a compromise, and not always a satisfactory one, but one that served its purpose. British and American legal traditions predominated, with their adversarial style of trial being used. This format allowed the Germans much greater opportunity to state their case and defend their actions. It also permitted the collation of documents and evidence, which preserved records and

testimony that might otherwise have been lost. The Americans were invaluable in providing essential support—in the form of personnel, security, and provision of amenities—that allowed the trials to take place.

Associate U.S. Supreme Court justice Robert H. Jackson, a former attorney general, was appointed to lead the prosecution. The principal American judge was Francis Biddle, also a former attorney general. Nuremberg, the city where Hitler had held his massive rallies and the name attached to the most notorious anti-Semitic laws, was selected as the trial venue. The best remembered of the proceedings was the first, which judged the premier surviving Nazis. The twenty-two defendants included Hermann Göring, Rudolf Hess, Karl Dönitz, Julius Streicher, Baldur von Schirach, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Alfred Jodl, Wilhelm Keitel, and Albert Speer. The list thus included leading military figures as well as top-ranking government officials.

The indictment contained four charges: conspiracy to wage aggressive war; planning and waging an aggressive war; war crimes (violation of international rules of war); and crimes against humanity. Not all the defendants were charged on every count, and the charges themselves were hotly debated. They stood for the duration of the trial, however. The legal precedents and debates of the Nuremberg Trials helped build future international law.

In the end, twelve defendants were sentenced to death by hanging (although Göring took his own life before he could be executed), seven were given prison sentences (Hess remained at Spandau prison, until his death in 1987), and three were acquitted. After this first trial more proceedings were held for lower-ranking officials. Some 190 defendants faced charges for their crimes and those of Nazi Germany.

The United States played a leading role in this important event. It helped devise the laws and processes on which the trials were based; it provided logistical support that allowed them to go ahead; and it supplied crucial personnel such as Robert Jackson. He helped articulate effectively the crimes of the defendants. The Nuremberg Trials were an important step in developing the means by which international justice could come

into being and governments that violate international rights can be called to account.

Further Reading: Michael Marrus, *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial, 1945–46: A Documentary History*, 1997; Telford Taylor, *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials: A Personal Memoir*, 1993; Ann Tusa and John Tusa, *The Nuremberg Trials*, 1983.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

NYE, GERALD PRENTICE (December 19, 1892–July 17, 1971), U.S. senator from North Dakota. Born in Hortonville, Wisconsin, Nye graduated from Wittenberg High School and then edited small-town newspapers in Wisconsin, Iowa, and North Dakota. Active in North Dakota’s radical Non-Partisan League, he was appointed to the U.S. Senate by Governor A.G. Sorlie. Nye was elected as a Republican in 1926 and reelected in 1932 and 1938. He combined an agrarian radicalism in domestic policy, supporting most New Deal measures, with rigid neutrality in foreign relations. He achieved national prominence by chairing, from 1934 to 1936, the Senate’s Special Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry. He found World War II another “long imperial war,” in the tradition of those fought by Spain, France, and England. In 1940 he called the destroyers-for-bases deal an act of war and toured Wisconsin to promote his fellow anti-interventionist senator, Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, for the Republican presidential nomination. In 1941 Nye was a frequent speaker for the anti-interventionist America First Committee. In March, during the debate over lend-lease, Nye called Britain history’s ace aggressor. When in October a German U-boat sank the American destroyer *Reuben James*, Nye contended that the

United States would take similar action. In late November, during the increasing tension in the Pacific, he claimed that relatively minor concessions in China, such as permitting Japanese air bases in Shanghai, could lead Japan to withdraw its troops from China and thereby end the crisis. In calling for an investigation of Hollywood, which, he asserted, glorified war, he drew charges of anti-Semitism, an accusation he strongly denied.

During World War II, Nye opposed lowering the draft age to eighteen and sought to terminate the sedition trials of 1942–1944. In 1942, he was the only senator to vote against price controls. In 1944, running for reelection in a three-way race that included independent Lynn Stambaugh, Nye lost to Democrat John Moses. In his farewell address to the Senate, he saw the postwar world divided into Russian and British blocs. There would be, he insisted, a return to the old balance-of-power system, which had never worked and always led ultimately to war. He attempted a political comeback in 1946 but lost the North Dakota Republican primary to senatorial incumbent Milton R. Young.

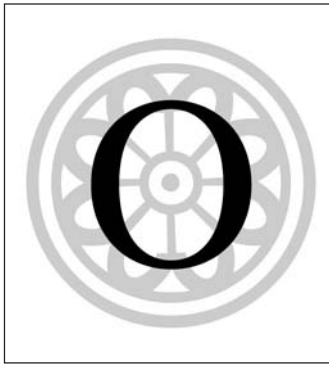
After his defeat, Nye headed a consulting firm in Washington, DC, and worked for the Federal Housing Administration. He grew increasingly conservative in domestic policy, supporting controls on trade unions and opposing farm subsidies. He supported Senator Joseph R. McCarthy’s brand of anti-Communism and was highly critical of foreign aid programs.

Further Reading: Wayne S. Cole, *America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940–1941*, 1941; Justus D. Doenecke, *Storm on the Horizon*, 2000; Gerald P. Nye Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

O'BRIEN, MARGARET

(January 15, 1937–), child actress. Considered the greatest child actress in Hollywood history, Margaret O'Brien was born Angela Maxine O'Brien in Los Angeles, California. She became interested in acting as a youngster ferried about by her mother, a former dancer, to various stage venues. O'Brien was influenced by her aunt Marissa's dance routines, memorizing much of the dialogue. She was brought to photographer Paul Hesse in 1941 for a photo session and her looks attracted Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Studios. Her ability to "pretend" scenes and to cry on cue helped bring her immediate success. She won her first short scene in Vincente Minnelli's *Babes on Broadway* (1941). She was then cast in *Journey for Margaret* (1942) in which she played a war orphan. This movie started her lifelong friendship with costar Robert Young (later to gain fame as the character "Marcus Welby" on television), who admired her ability. Audiences were drawn to her and she immediately became a box-office sensation. So profound was the effect of this film on her that she took the name "Margaret." In 1943, she was cast as a young girl with a fatal disease in *Dr. Gillespie's Criminal Case*. She also appeared in the film *You, John Jones*, in which she recited the Gettysburg Address to boost the war effort. In 1944, she starred with Orson Welles in *Jane Eyre* and appeared in the smash hit *Lost Angel*. Her schedule of films was very heavy for the next several years. Lionel Barrymore praised her for her work in *Three Wise Fools* (1946), where he costarred and compared it to his sister, Ethel, who also had been a child actor. Even though many actors feared being outshone in a scene with a talented child star, O'Brien was popular with those working with her. Margaret O'Brien dolls, paper dolls, coloring books, and other products were coveted by children and adults. Her appearance in another Minnelli film, *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), became perhaps her most memorable role. She played "Tootie," Judy Garland's little sister. Her death scene in *Little Women* (1948) was powerful. As the decade



closed, O'Brien began to get fewer, but more mature acting roles. Today, she continues to appear in an occasional television series as a guest star.

Further Reading: Allan R. Ellenberger, *Margaret O'Brien: A Career*

Chronicle and Biography, 2000; Margaret O'Brien, *My Diary*, 1947; Rita E. Piro, *Judy Garland: The Golden Years*, Foreword by Margaret O'Brien, 2001.

CYNTHIA A. KLIMA

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES (OSS)

The OSS, the United States' first peacetime intelligence service, was the brainchild of William Donovan, a lawyer and World War I veteran with close ties to President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In mid-1940, Donovan toured Europe at Roosevelt's request to assess the increasingly threatening political situation and the best American response. Donovan, influenced by the structure of the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), proposed creation of a single organization to coordinate all U.S. intelligence needs. On July 11, 1941, the president authorized formation of the Office of Coordinator of Information, with Donovan as its head, to act as the central information-gathering point between the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), army, navy, and State Department. Rivalries and concerns over the actual role of such a centralized bureau, however, prevented effective development while the United States was still officially at peace. The Pearl Harbor disaster and the intelligence failures that led to it were a major catalyst for change. Donovan pushed for his Office to be placed under the Joint Chiefs of Staff to improve communication and coordination. On June 13, 1942, Roosevelt sanctioned the move and the Office of Strategic Services came into being.

OSS consisted of several sections: Research and Analysis, involving the assessment of information from foreign news sources, was the branch where many emigrés and academics (such as Herbert Marcuse and Arthur Schlesinger Jr.) worked; Secret Intelligence collected information from neutral and enemy-held territories; Special

Operations ran sabotage units; Counterespionage prevented enemy infiltrations; and Morale Operations conducted propaganda. Donovan had envisaged a broad service that would control all aspects of intelligence and subversion operations against the enemy. But interdepartmental tensions and a lack of complete trust always prevented smooth functioning between OSS and the military. In particular, the military and State Department professionals were wary of the civilians who operated important sections of OSS, such as Research and Analysis. The newly created Office of War Information disagreed with the role that Donovan wanted to take in the field of propaganda. The OSS's theater of operations was also restricted due to General Douglas MacArthur's rejection of OSS operations in the Pacific and FBI opposition to a Latin American role. Although the services that OSS could provide were generally regarded favorably, it was never treated as an equal by the other government departments.

Better cooperation occurred between Donovan and the British secret service. In May 1940 William Stephenson, a Canadian businessman, set up British Security Coordination for SIS in New York and developed working relations with both Donovan and FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. SIS experts were pivotal in providing Donovan's OSS with much of the necessary know-how for intelligence and subversion work at secret training locations in Canada. This cooperation laid the basis for postwar Anglo-American intelligence alliances.

During the war Donovan and his deputy, Brigadier General John Magruder, worked on several proposals for OSS's continuation after the war. They sought a largely civilian service under a civilian director, directly responsible to the president, to coordinate intelligence collection, covert action, and propaganda abroad. But Donovan's good personal relations with the president had never been sufficiently solidified bureaucratically, and his position within the interdepartmental wrangling over his proposals weakened after Roosevelt's death in April 1945. Budget cuts at the end of the war only furthered the inevitable. President Truman officially dissolved OSS on October 1, 1945, while at the same time transferring Research and Analysis to the

Department of State and Secret Intelligence to the War Department. Donovan had provided the blueprint for the organization of American intelligence activities, but he was to be excluded from any further developments in this field.

Further Reading: Anthony Cave Brown, *The Last Hero: Wild Bill Donovan*, 1982; Richard Dunlop, *Donovan, America's Master Spy*, 1982; Burton Hersh, *The Old Boys: The American Elite and the Origins of the CIA*, 1992.

GILES SCOTT-SMITH

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION (OWI)

The OWI was created by Executive Order 9182, on June 13, 1942, to consolidate and coordinate government information services during World War II. The OWI absorbed the functions of the Office of Facts and Figures, created in October 1941 under Archibald MacLeish; the Office of Government Reports under Lowell Mellett; the Division of Information of the Office for Emergency Management; created in February 1941 under Robert Horton; and the Foreign Information Service of the Coordinator of Information (OCI, later renamed Office of Strategic Services) created in July 1941 under Robert Sherwood. Elmer Davis, an American newspaperman, radio commentator, and author, was the director of OWI from 1942 until 1945. On July 10, 1942, Davis issued his Regulation No. 1, which pledged to tell the truth and maintain an "open door policy" between the government and the media. The OWI was established in acknowledgment of the right of the American people and others opposing the Axis to be truthfully informed about the common war effort. The office's duties included formulating and carrying out information programs. It used the press, radio, motion pictures and other media to further understanding, at home and abroad, of the government's war effort policies, activities, and aims. The OWI's mission also included the study, analysis, and dissemination of information concerning the war effort.

The OWI had wide-ranging responsibilities and was organized into a number of divisions. These included the Domestic News Bureau, News Bureau, Press Bureau, Radio Bureau, Bureau of Intelligence, Bureau of Publications and Graphics, Bureau of Motion Pictures, Bureau of Special

Operations, Foreign News Bureau, and Photographic Section. Many of the personnel were drawn from the earlier agencies but a huge range of people including journalists, advertisers, writers, artists, and academics, was recruited for government service. Robert Emmet Sherwood, an American dramatist and a speechwriter for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was named director of Overseas Operations. This branch launched a huge information and propaganda campaign abroad. Domestically, the Photographic Section, headed by Roy Emerson Stryker, documented America's mobilization during the early 1940s. Emphasis was placed particularly on such topics as aircraft factories and women in the workforce. The Bureau of Publications and Graphics was responsible for some of the most recognizable OWI products—posters. Admen were recruited and ran “information campaigns” using posters in concert with magazines, radio, and other media. Many well-known magazine illustrators and artists, including Norman Rockwell and N.C. Wyeth, contributed. The Bureau of Motion Pictures, under Lowell Mellett, made a concerted effort to mold the content of Hollywood feature films during the early 1940s: a manual about aiding the war effort was produced, and OWI officers attended high-level Hollywood meetings and reviewed or even wrote material.

The dominant agency in the U.S. propaganda program, the OWI sought an active part in winning the war and laying the foundations of the peace. Using various types of propaganda, the OWI aimed to inspire patriotic fervor in the American public and destroy the morale of the enemy. However, the OWI had a troubled relationship with Congress, the military, and various members of the Roosevelt administration. In addition, it faced public disagreements concerning American war aims and the use of propaganda after World War I. Congressional opposition to the domestic operations of the OWI resulted in progressively reduced funding, and by 1944 the OWI operated largely in the foreign field, where it continued its campaign to undermine enemy morale. Ultimately, the agency was abolished by Harry Truman's Executive Order 9608 of August 31, 1945, and its foreign functions were transferred to the Department of State.

Further Reading: Office of War Information Collection, Library of Congress; Records of the Office of War Information (RG 208), National Archives and Records Administration; Allan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942–1945*, 1978.

WENDY TOON

OKINAWA, site of World War II's last major battle, April–June 1945. Okinawa is the largest of the Ryukyu Islands of the East China Sea, 340 miles southwest of Japan. The U.S. military judged that the 463-square-mile island would be a vital air base in any subsequent invasion of the Japanese homeland, so its seizure was regarded as a necessary preliminary for the success of that campaign. Allied planners were also aware, however, that the Japanese would mount a literally suicidal defense of their well-garrisoned position, so the operation was given correspondingly lavish resources; indeed, the capture of Okinawa—code-named Iceberg—bears comparison with the D-day invasion of Normandy in its scale and complexity. Admiral Raymond A. Spruance's fifth Fleet provided more than forty aircraft carriers and eighteen battleships, and in all more than 1,300 Allied warships took part in support of the amphibious assault. The ground attack was delegated to the three marine and four infantry divisions of Lieutenant General Simon Buckner's Tenth U.S. Army—183,000 men in total. Opposing this force were the 77,000 regular troops of the Japanese Thirty-Second Army and a motley assortment of about 20,000 locally conscripted militia.

The invasion, launched on April 1, initially met with little opposition. But as American soldiers and marines progressed southward toward the capital of Naha, they encountered a large body of strongly fortified Japanese defenders, and progress inland slowed. On April 6 the first waves of kamikaze aircraft began attacking Allied vessels anchored offshore; during the campaign nearly 1,500 suicide pilots sank thirty ships and damaged over 160. The remnants of the Japanese fleet, including the enormous battleship *Yamato*, made a similarly desperate sally, though U.S. bombs and torpedoes quickly sank them.

Ground resistance remained formidable until June 22, followed by two weeks of so-called mopping-up operations in which pockets of obdurate Japanese troops hiding in the island's many caves had to be fought with explosives and flamethrowers.

Iceberg's grisly casualty figures tell its story: 12,000 Americans were killed in the campaign, with 38,000 wounded, while barely more than 7,000 Japanese defenders survived to become prisoners of war. Over a third of Okinawa's civilian population died. Statistics such as these suggested that an invasion of Japan would result in millions of dead and injured on both sides, and the experience of Okinawa played an important part in President Harry S. Truman's decision to use atomic weapons against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. After the war, Okinawa became an important U.S. military base; sovereignty over the Ryukyus was not returned to Japan until 1972.

Further Reading: Gerald Astor, *Operation Iceberg: The Invasion and Conquest of Okinawa in World War II*, 1995; Robert Leckie, *Okinawa: The Last Battle of World War II*, 1995; E.B. Sledge, *With the Old Breed*, 1981.

ALAN ALLPORT

OLEOMARGARINE During the 1940s, margarine became a popular replacement for butter. It was named oleomargarine because it had originally been made with animal fats. Butter producers in the United States lobbied the government to tax this competitor out of existence. However, food conservation efforts during World War II and high butter prices furthered the cause of margarine. Sales increased during the war, and a new federal standard recognized margarine as a spread of its own. Cost-conscious consumers became aware of the restrictions on margarine that artificially raised prices for it, but the market for margarine improved when a National Nutrition Conference in 1941 praised its health benefits. Shortly after the war began, Oklahoma taxes on margarine were repealed, and courts removed the barriers against coloring margarine to make it look like butter. Wartime shortages made butter so expensive that politicians finally voted to end all remaining taxes and coloring and licensing restrictions on margarine. On March 23 President Harry Truman signed the Margarine Act of 1950,

and margarine soon became the spread of choice over butter.

Further Reading: George W. Ladd, *Historical Summary of Selected State and Federal Oleomargarine Laws*, 1957; Siert F. Riepma, *The Story of Margarine*, 1970; Johannes Hermanus van Stuijvenberg, *Margarine: An Economic, Social, and Scientific History, 1869–1969*, 1969.

NORMAN E. FRY

O'NEILL, EUGENE GLADSTONE (October 16, 1888–November 27, 1953), dramatist. O'Neill was born in New York City, attended boarding schools, and dropped out of Princeton University after a single year. After working aboard a merchant ship and searching for gold in South America, he settled in Greenwich Village in New York City, where he befriended poets, criminals, and drifters. In 1912 he contracted tuberculosis and vowed to become a playwright if he recovered.

He fulfilled his pledge with ceaseless effort, writing nineteen plays between 1913 and 1918, many of them drawing on his experiences at sea and in Greenwich Village. In 1930 *Beyond the Horizon* won O'Neill his first Pulitzer Prize. He would win three more Pulitzers and in 1936 would become the first dramatist to win the Nobel Prize in literature. The Nobel Prize ushered in the final phase of his career.

O'Neill conceived a cycle of nine autobiographical plays about his family, whom he named the Tyrones. He completed only three: *Long Day's Journey into Night* in 1940, *A Touch of the Poet* in 1942, and *A Moon for the Misbegotten* in 1943. By then the degenerative disease that would kill him prevented O'Neill from holding a pencil and slowly devoured his powers.

Critics acclaim the first of the trio his masterpiece. In it he traces a day in the life of the Tyrones from morning to night and, in a larger sense, from life to death. The father, James, has sacrificed his ambition of becoming a great actor in order to earn a living as a typecast character. He blunts his despair with alcohol. The mother, Mary, is an opium addict haunted by the death of her infant son, Eugene. Of the two surviving sons, Jamie, the elder, has followed his father into the theater and alcoholism. The younger, Edmund,

represents Eugene O'Neill. Home from a sailing stint, Edmund contracts tuberculosis, the disease that killed Mary's father and that pushes her deeper into her addiction.

Unable to work after 1943, O'Neill secluded himself in a hotel room in Boston. There he saw only his physician, a nurse, and Carlotta Montgomery, his third wife. In 1946 *The Iceman Cometh*, which O'Neill had written in 1939, appeared on Broadway, the last to premiere during his lifetime. After his death in Boston, the three autobiographical plays appeared on stage, as did a fourth, the incomplete *More Stately Mansions*. *Long Day's Journey into Night* won O'Neill his last Pulitzer, a posthumous award in 1957.

Further Reading: Arthur Gelb, *O'Neill: Life with Monte Cristo*, 2002; Eugene O'Neill, *Complete Plays*, 1988; Thomas Siebold, ed., *Readings on Eugene O'Neill*, 1998.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

OPERATION OVERLORD, code name given to the Allied invasion of German-occupied France during World War II. The need for an Allied invasion of Europe was realized in 1942. The Germany army was destroying the USSR and the Russians demanded an invasion of Western Europe to relieve them. Allied war planners feared that a weakened Soviet Union might conclude a separate peace with the Axis. The North African campaign was still in progress and the invasion of Italy would get bogged down in the Italian mountains.

The Allies looked to the French coast. The abortive raid on Dieppe in northern France (August 1942) proved that an assault against a fortified beach required far more planning and resources. While France's northern beaches provided the closest route to Germany, those areas were too heavily defended to allow an Allied invasion. Attention shifted farther south to the Normandy area and the Cotentin Peninsula.

Cherbourg's location at the end of the Cotentin Peninsula would solve an additional problem of the Allied invasion—supplying the troops once they were ashore. Innovations developed during the planning phase included the “mulberry docks,” a series of platforms that could be towed to the beach areas and placed to allow ships to

unload supplies. By January 1944, the final plans were approved. Complete secrecy and security were required, as thousands of men and supplies converged across England. A plan of deceiving the Germans into believing the invasion would occur in northern France (Operation Fortitude) was started. This involved creation of a fictitious army in England commanded by General George S. Patton. It contained about forty office personnel and possibly some radio operators.

Another intelligence advantage for the Allies was the Ultra secret. This was a coding machine that allowed the Allies to read secret German codes indicating where every German troop placement would be. British and Canadian forces would attack on the beaches near Caen (Juno, Sword, Gold) while American forces attacked farther south (Omaha, Utah). Both British and American paratroops would be dropped behind enemy lines to disrupt communications and capture bridges.

The invasion was originally scheduled for June 5, but had to be postponed one day because of a severe storm. The weather was so severe that the Germans concluded no attack was imminent, and many German army officers were away from the Normandy area on war games or leave. Rommel, the German commander, had actually returned to Germany. Paratroops began dropping during the night, while the assault troops hit the beaches at daylight. British paratroops managed to land and seize most of their objectives. American paratroops (82nd and 101st divisions) were badly scattered across the Cotentin Peninsula, but they still managed to confuse and disrupt the enemy. None of the Allied units made it as far as their objective line. British and Canadian units managed to secure their beachheads. Americans managed to secure Utah beach, but the U.S. units at Omaha were badly decimated. Nearly half of the Allied casualties occurred at Omaha beach.

As soon as the beachheads were secure, American units were stopped by the hedgerows in the Normandy area. The hedgerows, used by farmers over the centuries to separate their fields, were mounds of dirt and trees that were all but impassable to most vehicles. Capturing Cherbourg would take several weeks, but the invasion itself had succeeded. British and Canadian

units advanced toward Caen, but they encountered tough opposition from a German panzer division. By late July, the Allies began their breakout and rout of German forces.

Operation Overlord (D-day) was the largest amphibious operation in history. It sealed the fate of Nazi Germany and shortened the war. Over 2.8 million men were involved in the combined arms operation along with 5,000 ships and almost 5,000 aircraft.

Further Reading: Stephen Ambrose, *D-Day: The Climactic Battle of World War II*, 1994; Max Hastings, *OVERLORD: D-Day and the Battle for Normandy*, 1984; Mark A. Stoler, *The Politics of the Second Front: American Military Planning and Diplomacy in Coalition Warfare, 1941–1943*, 1977.

MARK E. ELLIS

OPERATION TORCH, the first major Allied offensive of World War II. Torch, launched in November 1942, was the initial major victory for the Allied coalition and its commander, American general Dwight D. Eisenhower. The campaign showcased the battlefield skills of American generals George Patton, Omar Bradley, and Mark Clark, and British general Bernard Montgomery, as they took both North Africa and newspaper headlines away from German general Erwin Rommel.

The first battle of el-Alamein, in July 1942, had left British forces in North Africa backed up to Egypt and Rommel's Afrika Korps exhausted and unable to push them any farther. On October 23, Montgomery, new commander of the British Eighth Army, mounted the second battle of el-Alamein. Two weeks later, on November 8, the Allies launched Operation Torch, an invasion of North Africa's Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts. The soldiers of Torch, mostly American, pressed the Axis forces from the west while the Eighth Army pushed from the east.

Torch landings began with 110,000 troops landing at Casablanca, Morocco, and near Algiers. Most of the men and equipment were ferried across the Atlantic from America in what was a feat of logistics. The landings were successful despite the mishaps and failures to be expected from soldiers and sailors who had been

civilians a few months earlier. Ragged naval and troop maneuvers mirrored the diplomatic machinations of the invasion scheme.

The target of Torch was Vichy French colonial territory awash in political and diplomatic intrigue. French war ships and troops stood ready to defend against any invaders, and divided loyalties complicated Allied efforts to eliminate armed resistance to the landings. Officers of the fleet were loyal to Marshal Philippe Pétain, head of the puppet government established to operate the third of France not yet overrun by the Germans. Pétain's ties with Admiral William Leahy, the U.S. ambassador to Vichy until 1942, led Eisenhower and Allied planners to anticipate a friendly French reception to Torch. Indeed, Pétain directed Admiral François Darlan, head of Vichy armed forces, to Algiers, where he was to merge Vichy forces with the Allies. Darlan's orders, however, were secret. Publicly, Pétain denounced the Anglo-American landings.

Darlan was privy to some of the Allied plans but was necessarily kept in the dark about where and when the landings would take place and how large a force was planned. He failed to stop French forces from firing on the Allies. After three days of fighting, Darlan persuaded the French to a cease-fire and armistice that would put them under the Free French. Ships of the French navy not destroyed by Allied firepower were scuttled by their crews. When Darlan was assassinated in December, the Allies had to find another leader. Charles de Gaulle, the self-proclaimed head of the Free French, had sparse following in North Africa, so the Allies embraced Henri Giraud to lead Free French forces together with de Gaulle. In less than a year, Giraud was elbowed aside by de Gaulle.

On May 13, 1943, Axis resistance ceased and Allied forces began looking to new beachheads in the long drive to final victory in Europe. The Allies took about 300,000 German and Italian prisoners in the North African campaign, but, more important, they gained knowledge and confidence that would be essential in future invasions of Sicily, Italy, and France. The battlefield experience was invaluable but of near equal importance was the exercise of cooperation between governments and field commanders with

different goals and varying ideas about how to attain them.

Further Reading: Rick Atkinson, *An Army at Dawn: The War in North Africa, 1942–43*, 2002; Charles Moran, *The Landings in North Africa, November 1942*, 1993; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Operations in North African Waters, October 1942–June 1943*, vol. 2, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, 1947.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

ORLOV, ALEXANDER (August 21, 1895–April 10, 1973), Soviet KGB intelligence officer and defector. Orlov was born in Bobruysk, Belorussia. In 1916, the Russian army drafted him, and during the revolution a year later, he joined the Bolshevik army. Because of his Jewish background, he was not permitted to rise in the military. During the 1920s, he became involved in Soviet espionage activities. His achievements were much admired by the Politburo and the KGB. In 1936, two major events affected Orlov's life. The first was the puppet trials and subsequent execution of Grigory Evseevich Zinoviev and Lev Kamenev, both anti-Stalin conspirators. Second, Orlov was assigned to Barcelona, Spain. At this time, many KGB agents were being executed by the Stalinist regime upon return from assignments abroad. Many agents had already defected from the ranks. Fearing for his life as well as his family's Orlov decided to flee to the United States. In order to finance the move, he sold his substantial art collection. The entire Orlov family took a transatlantic liner from France to Canada in 1938. In 1940, they quietly took residence in Boston, assuming "Berg" as a last name.

Throughout the 1940s, Orlov remained under deep cover, fearing knocks at the door and having little to do with neighbors. He later moved to Cleveland, Ohio, to distance himself from the center of KGB operations on the East Coast. He began to study English and business at Dyke University in Cleveland. He successfully completed his courses in 1945 but turned down a job in order to focus on writing about the inner workings of the Stalin regime. He felt he owed much to the United States, which had housed him and given him an education. He had also determined

to gain personal revenge against Stalin. During the next several years, Orlov wrote of the horror of Stalin's purges and his intention to spread his terror to other parts of the world. When Stalin died in 1953, Orlov felt safer. *Life* magazine published his revelations about the KGB. That autumn, Orlov's book, *The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes*, went to press. It told of a dark world of espionage, murder, and intent to commit world terror. Orlov was the most important Soviet spy to defect to the United States. He died in Cleveland.

Further Reading: Edward P. Gazur, *Alexander Orlov: The FBI's KGB General*, 2001; Alexander Orlov, *The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes*, 1953; U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, *The Legacy of Alexander Orlov*, 1973.

CYNTHIA A. KLIMA

ORWELL, GEORGE (June 25, 1903–January 21, 1950), novelist and essayist. Orwell was born Eric Arthur Blair in Bengal, India, then part of the British Empire. In 1911, he and his parents returned to England, where he attended a boarding school in Sussex. Between 1917 and 1921 he attended the prestigious Eton on scholarship. In 1922 he decided against college, though he again would have had a scholarship. Instead, he went to Burma, his mother's birthplace, as a member of the Indian Imperial Police. His service in Burma provided material for "Shooting an Elephant" and "A Hanging," both acclaimed essays. Coming to understand the Burmese hatred of imperialism, in 1928 he resigned and settled in London's East End among the poor.

During World War II he tried to enlist in the British army but could not pass the physical. Instead he headed the Indian service of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which he left in 1943 to become literary editor of the socialist newspaper *Tribune*. There he wrote articles and reviews.

Amid this work Orwell in 1945 published *Animal Farm*, a Cold War novel that condemns the insatiable appetite of Communism for devouring people in their prime, then discarding them when they are too old to be productive.

The classless utopia Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had promised in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Orwell understood, had degenerated in the Soviet Union into the tyranny of Joseph Stalin, who executed his own people and tolerated no dissent.

In 1949 Orwell published his last novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The name of its omnipresent leader, Big Brother, has entered the lexicon as a warning against government surveillance of citizens. More generally, the novel warns against

the power of government to shape what people think they know by molding language into propaganda and by rewriting history to glorify those in power.

Orwell died of tuberculosis in a London hospital.

Further Reading: Tanya Agathocleous, *George Orwell: Battling Big Brother*, 2000; Peter H. Davison, *George Orwell: A Literary Life*, 1996; Graham Holderness, Bryan Loughrey, and Nahem Yousaf, *George Orwell*, 1998.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

PACIFISM, the moral, religious, or political belief in nonviolence, including opposition to all wars. During World War II pacifists generally accepted their status as a dissenting minority, isolated from public view by their own convictions. Though largely devoid of political influence, pacifists did cooperate with prowar internationalists to popularize the United Nations. Mostly, however, they acted on their beliefs by performing humanitarian service, aiding refugees and war's other political victims.

The Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, led many religious sectarians and radical pacifists who were eligible for the draft under the Selective Service Act of 1940 to accept noncombatant military roles. Some individuals worked in the newly established Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps, a program funded mainly by the historic peace churches. The alternative was imprisonment for maintaining an "absolutist" position. Other pacifists, including those ineligible for the draft, worked in peace organizations such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), the War Resisters League (WRL), and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Female pacifists, such as Carrie Chapman Catt, who belonged to WILPF, did their part by assisting conscientious objectors, protesting the Allied saturation bombing campaigns in Europe, and urging a negotiated peace settlement.

The most visible acts of pacifism occurred when about 12,000 conscientious objectors (COs) joined the CPS program and another 6,000 "absolutists," mostly Jehovah's Witnesses, went to jail for draft resistance and nonregistration. Those entering the CPS program initially believed they could render a humanitarian service in a world at war. Yet the CPS program operated under the selective service system, despite its funding sources. It did inconsequential work projects, provoking a sense of futility that eventually led to walkouts, beginning in 1942. Inside the camps, objectors began campaigns of nonviolent resistance from coast to coast.



Those who left the CPS program were immediately sent to prison. There they joined their counterparts in organizing a revolt of unprecedented scale behind bars. Fasts, strikes, and programs of total noncooperation appeared

in federal prisons in Danbury, Connecticut; Springfield, Missouri; and Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Noted pacifists and war resisters Bayard Rustin, one of the organizers of the Congress of Racial Equality and David Dellinger, later a noted attorney and one of the Chicago Seven Vietnam War protesters, led the protest at Danbury.

Longtime pacifists who were motivated by religious convictions also gave strength to the doctrine of pacifism. A.J. Muste, John Nevin Sayre, and Evan Thomas, brother of Socialist Party presidential candidate Norman Thomas, were most active in the FOR and WRL. They helped organize relief services for war refugees and families of COs, working in CPS camps without pay. Publicly, they criticized the forced internment of West Coast Japanese. Pacifists reprinted articles by the British pacifist Vera Brittain, from *Fellowship* magazine. She called attention to the horrific effects of Allied saturation bombing of European civilian targets.

American pacifists also made limited political attempts to influence the Roosevelt administration. Columbia University Teachers College professor George Hartman and Quaker Dorothy Hutchinson organized the Peace Now Committee in the middle of the war as a way to press for a negotiated peace settlement. Noted Quaker historian E. Raymond Wilson of the American Friends Service Committee established the Friends Committee on National Legislation to lobby Washington policy makers on civil liberties and wartime relief and reconstruction matters.

The pacifist doctrine, however, did little to sway American officials conducting the war, nor did it hasten the conflict's conclusion. The belief remained primarily a matter of individual conscience. Pacifist wartime isolation extended far into the Cold War era, as the world became divided under the influence of the United States

and the Soviet Union. Pacifists, opposed to policies of military containment, atomic deterrence, and calculated limited warfare, still retained a minority role with little opportunity to influence public opinion before the Vietnam era.

Further Reading: Charles DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History*, 1980; Charles F. Howlett and Glen Zeitzer, *The American Peace Movement: History and Historiography*, 1985; Mulford Q. Sibley and Philip E. Jacob, *Conscription of Conscience: The American State and the Conscientious Objector, 1940–1947*, 1952.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

PAIGE, LEROY "SATCHEL" (July 7, 1906–June 8, 1982), professional baseball player. Born in Mobile, Alabama, and nick-named for his ingenious methods of carrying bags while working as a railroad porter (he looked like a "satchel tree"), Paige began his baseball career in 1924. A pitcher, Paige dominated baseball's Negro leagues both on the field and as their charismatic salesman.

While Satchel Paige ruled the American Negro leagues during the 1930s, with sixty-four consecutive scoreless innings, a stretch of twenty-one wins in a row, and a 31–4 record in 1933, he experienced a minor decline during the 1940s. Age and injuries, however, reduced Paige's success only slightly. From 1939 through 1942, Paige led the Kansas City Monarchs to consecutive Negro league pennants. In 1942, he guided the Monarchs to a Negro league World Series championship with three victories.

Throughout the decade, Paige continued as a fixture with the Monarchs, while also pitching on loan for various semipro teams. In 1944, for example, during the first year that official statistics were kept for the Negro leagues, Paige appeared in only eight games, working forty-eight innings; he amassed a 4–2 record with an impressive 0.75 earned run average (ERA). Over the next years, while continuing to earn money through guest appearances for other teams, he pitched in twenty-six games for the Monarchs, dominating virtually every opponent.

In 1947, Branch Rickey, owner of the Brooklyn Dodgers signed Jackie Robinson to a professional contract, making him the first African American major leaguer of the modern era. Paige

wondered if he would ever fulfill his dream of joining integrated professional baseball, believing that time had passed him by. However, in 1948, his dream came true. Cleveland Indians owner Bill Veeck, who had previously signed Larry Doby, the first black player in the American League, offered Paige a pitching contract. According to legend, Veeck placed a cigarette on the ground to simulate home plate. Without a target, Paige fired five pitches, with all but one traveling directly over the "plate."

On July 9, 1948, a few days after his forty-second birthday, Paige became the first African American to pitch in the American League during a two-inning relief appearance against the St. Louis Browns. Appearing in twenty-one games that year, Paige went 6–1 as the Cleveland Indians went on to win the pennant. In addition to his contribution on the field, Paige provided an instant boost at the box office. His first appearance elicited a ten-minute standing ovation and the possibility of his pitching on any night brought about instant gate attraction.

Appearing in a major league all-star game at the ripe age of forty-seven, Paige played professionally until he was almost sixty. He was inducted into baseball's hall of fame in 1971.

Further Reading: Leroy Satchel Paige, *Maybe I'll Pitch Forever: A Great Baseball Player Tells the Hilarious Story Behind the Legend*, 1993; Robert Peterson, *Only the Ball Was White: A History of Legendary Black Players and All-Black Professional Teams*, 1970; Art Rust Jr., *Get That Nigger Off the Field: The Oral History of the Negro Leagues*, 1992.

DAVID J. LEONARD

PATTON, GEORGE SMITH (November 11, 1885–December 21, 1945), American general. Born in San Gabriel, California, Patton spent a year at Virginia Military Academy in 1903, entered West Point in 1904, graduated in 1909, and accepted a commission as second lieutenant in the U.S. Army. He thus began a career that would place him among the most colorful officers in U.S. military history.

In 1912 Patton competed in the pentathlon in Olympic Games in Stockholm, then attended the French cavalry school in Saumur. Active field

service followed in 1916–1917 with General John J. Pershing's punitive expedition to Mexico. The mission did not capture Pancho Villa as planned but Patton saw action, killing three in a firefight with Villa's men. When Pershing led the American Expeditionary Forces to France in 1917, Captain Patton served as his aide. While abroad, Major Patton observed tank schools and tank battles in preparation for his assignment to set up American facilities for training in tank warfare.

In 1918 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and given command of the 304th Tank Brigade. Leading the 304th in the Meuse-Argonne offensive, he was severely wounded. By war's end he was recovered, promoted to colonel, and awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. Patton's interwar years were scarred by the 1932 civil conflict in Washington, DC. In 1924 Congress had voted to award World War I veterans a bonus payable in 1945. Hardships of the Great Depression brought 20,000 or more veterans (Bonus Marchers) to Washington, DC, to demonstrate for immediate bonus payments. Patton, in command of U.S. Army troops behind General Douglas MacArthur, forced the marchers out of the capital and burned their makeshift housing.

In 1941, when the United States entered World War II, Patton was a major general in command of the Second Armored Division at Fort Benning, Georgia. Patton took over the I Armored Corps and set about training it for Operation Torch, the invasion of North Africa. Patton's direction of the landing at Casablanca led to his reassignment to rebuild II Corps after its morale-shattering defeat at Kasserine Pass in Tunisia. Success with II Corps led to promotion to lieutenant general and command of the U.S. Seventh Army. Joining British general Bernard Montgomery's Eighth Army, Patton made headlines as his troops moved rapidly over Sicily, but reports of his abuse of soldiers hospitalized with battle fatigue brought him more attention, an order to apologize, and removal to England. There he trained the U.S. Third Army to invade Europe once Allied forces were established in France after D-day.

Ashore in France in July 1944, Patton's Third Army seized the headlines again as it streaked across Europe, driven by brilliant combinations of air power, artillery, tanks, and infantry. After

two months of combat, Patton outran his supplies and the Third Army marked time until mid-December. Then the last German offensive, the Battle of the Bulge, began. Patton turned his army and moved with unprecedented speed to relieve Allied forces and stop the German advance. At the end of January 1945 the Allies returned to the offensive and drove into Germany. Patton was promoted to general in April.

With victory in Europe, Patton was appointed military governor of Bavaria. Neither a politician nor a diplomat, Patton defied orders to remove Nazis from civil authority under his command and publicly expressed the opinion that the Soviet Union was more of an Allied enemy than was Germany. He was relieved as governor and assigned an honorific command of the Fifteenth Army.

Patton died in a hospital in Heidelberg, Germany, as the result of an automobile accident.

Further Reading: Martin Blumenson, *The Patton Papers*, 1972 and 1974; Carlo D'Este, *Patton: A Genius for War*, 1995; Stanley P. Harshson, *General Patton: A Soldier's Life*, 2002.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

PAULING, LINUS CARL (February 9, 1901–August 19, 1994), chemist and peace activist. Born in Portland, Oregon, Pauling received a BS in chemical engineering at Oregon State College (now University) in 1922. His talent led the Department of Chemistry to appoint him to teach quantitative analysis while still an undergraduate. Between 1922 and 1925 he was a teaching fellow at the California Institute of Technology, where in 1925 he received a PhD in chemistry.

As early as 1919 Pauling focused his research on the types of bonds atoms form when joining and on the resulting structure of a molecule. He believed that one could not understand the behavior of molecules without building three-dimensional models of them. This insight would guide James Watson and Francis Crick in determining the structure of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) in 1953, a discovery that eluded Pauling. His success in elucidating the structure of molecules culminated in 1950 when he built the first model of a protein.

By then, however, Pauling had transcended his role as scientist. During World War II he was a consultant to the National Defense Research Commission, an agency of the War Department. The destruction of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atomic bombs turned him toward pacifism. In 1946 he joined Albert Einstein in opposing any further use, testing, or development of atomic weapons.

World War II also turned Pauling against the alliance between science and the military. The armed forces, he believed, had co-opted science for their own agenda. In the process, scientists had surrendered their intellectual freedom to the dictates of government contracts. Science, he argued, should be a method of independent inquiry, not the stepchild of military planners.

Pauling's views did not enjoy universal support, particularly after 1949, the year China fell to Mao Zedong and the USSR tested its first atomic bomb. The rift between Pauling and physicist Edward Teller flared into acrimony, with Pauling in opposition to the development of a hydrogen bomb and Teller at the head of the movement to build and test it. Pauling understood that a hydrogen bomb, unlike the uranium and plutonium bombs of 1945, would yield energy by fusing hydrogen atoms, the very reaction that powers the sun. Such a release of energy would be more destructive than the uranium and plutonium bombs by several orders of magnitude. The development of a hydrogen bomb would force the USSR to follow suit, leading Pauling to fear that a nuclear exchange between the two might end life on earth.

Pauling was the first person to win two unshared Nobel Prizes, the 1954 Prize in Chemistry and the 1962 Peace Prize. He died in Big Sur, California.

Further Reading: Ted Goertzel and Ben Goertzel, *Linus Pauling: A Life in Science and Politics*, 1995; Thomas Hager, *Force of Nature: The Life of Linus Pauling*, 1995; Anthony Serafini, *Linus Pauling: A Man and His Science*, 1989.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

PEALE, NORMAN VINCENT (May 31, 1898–December 24, 1993), clergyman. Born in

Bowersville, Ohio, Peale graduated from Bellefontaine (Ohio) High School, Ohio Wesleyan University (BA, 1920), and Boston University School of Theology (MA, STB, 1924). After serving Methodist parishes in Berkeley, Rhode Island; Brooklyn, New York; and Syracuse, New York, in 1924 he became the minister of Marble Collegiate Church in New York City. As his new parish was affiliated with the Reformed Church in America, he switched denominations. Beginning in 1934, he began broadcasting a weekly radio program, *The Art of Living*, under auspices of the Federal Council of Churches. By the beginning of World War II, he was well known throughout the nation. In 1943 Peale and his wife, Ruth, started distributing his sermons from their home in Pawling, New York; the original mailing list covered 1,200 people. During his fifty-year career, he wrote forty-three books, among them *Faith Is the Answer* (1940) and *Not Death at All* (1948). His *Guide to Confident Living* (1948) was a classic how-to book, bearing such chapter titles as “How to Get Rid of Your Inferiority Complex” and “How to Think Your Way to Success.” New York psychiatrist Smiley Blanton, an occasional co-author, aided Peale in establishing a psychiatric clinic that was originally housed in the basement of Peale's parish. In 1945 he launched *Guideposts*, a popular religious monthly modeled on the *Reader's Digest*. Increasingly Peale stressed a “usable,” faith-based self-esteem and self-help, both of which could produce “amazing results” of health and comfort. Until 1952, however, when his *Power of Positive Thinking* was published, Peale was better known for his right-wing political activities than for his religious ones. Though he had opposed the lend-lease bill of 1941, he attacked American pacifists once the United States entered World War II. From 1942 to 1945, he was chair of the Committee for Constitutional Government, an organization opposing New Deal and Fair Deal legislation. In this capacity Peale endorsed *For Americans Only* (1944), a book by former congressman Samuel B. Pettengill, saying it correctly warned against “the dangerous trends toward collectivism in the United States.” During the early 1940s, Peale served as New York

representative for Spiritual Mobilization, an equally conservative group headed by Los Angeles pastor James Fifield. By 1950 Peale usually downplayed such extremist activities while remaining a highly partisan Republican and promoting his “human potential” brand of Protestant Christianity.

Further Reading: Carol V.R. George, *God’s Salesman: Norman Vincent Peale and the Power of Positive Thinking*, 1993; Arthur Gordon, *Norman Vincent Peale: Minister to Millions*, 1958; Norman Vincent Peale, *The True Joy of Positive Living: An Autobiography*, 1984.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

PEARL HARBOR The surprise Japanese attack on this U.S. base in Hawaii on December 7, 1941, led the United States to enter World War II with near unanimous public support.

The earlier fall of the Netherlands and France to the Germans and Great Britain’s besieged status had created a power vacuum among the colonial powers in South and East Asia. Japan sought to exploit the situation and capture strategic resources, including oil and rubber, there. It saw the United States as the sole threat to these plans. In January 1941 naval commander Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto began plotting an attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor. He believed that destruction of the American fleet would prevent the United States from defending the Philippines and possibly cause the nation to either sue for peace or abandon Hawaii.

On November 26, 1941, a fleet of thirty ships and more than 400 carrier-based planes set sail from Japan under strict radio silence. On December 6, after crossing the Pacific undetected, the Japanese fleet assembled 275 miles northwest of Oahu. There it prepared to attack the Pearl Harbor base on the following day, a Sunday, when the U.S. ships were all expected to be at their moorings and the sailors less prepared. A little before 8 AM on December 7, the first wave of the Japanese assault—over 200 planes—reached Pearl Harbor. Although American radar operators detected the Japanese planes, they did not report them to headquarters because they had been expecting American planes from the same direction. Having ignored this early warning, they

were caught completely unaware when the Japanese aircraft started to drop their bombs and torpedoes. With the three American carriers out to sea—they were ferrying planes to other bases in the Pacific—the primary objective of the Japanese attackers became the battleships. The *Arizona* was sunk immediately in a holocaust of flame, taking the lives of over 1,000 enlisted men and officers. The *Oklahoma* capsized quickly soon after. American fighter pilots had great difficulty getting their planes airborne so only twenty or so got into the air to confront the Japanese. An hour after the first, the second Japanese assault wave arrived to continue the attack on the battleships. In addition, it hit airstrips at Wheeler and Hickham Fields, destroying three-quarters of the American planes. To prevent sabotage, the American planes had been concentrated on the runways. There they presented easy targets. A third attack was canceled, allowing the American fuel reserves to escape damage, because the Japanese, unsure where the American carriers were, became leery of leaving their own ships unprotected. By failing to return for the planned attack, the Japanese did not finish the destruction of Pearl Harbor, which remained a usable base.

In all, the Americans lost five battleships—*Arizona*, *California*, *Oklahoma*, *Utah*, and *West Virginia*—and the rest suffered varying degrees of damage. Several cruisers and destroyers were also sunk or damaged. The greatest toll was on personnel: more than 2,400 Americans were killed and almost 1,180 wounded. It was the worst military disaster in American history. Reputations also lay in ruins. Ten days after the attack, Admiral Husband Kimmel and General Walter Short were removed from their commands for dereliction of duty. Over the next five years they were subjected to seven military investigations and one congressional inquiry. Japan suffered the loss of only fifty-five airmen and fewer than thirty planes in the actual attack, although foul weather landing conditions claimed nearly as many. Outraged and shocked by the sneak attack, Americans rallied around President Franklin D. Roosevelt when on December 8 he asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan. He received it with a lone dissenting voice.

Further Reading: Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Rising Sun in the Pacific, 1931 to April 1942, History of the United States Naval Operations in World War II*, vol. 3, 2001; Gordon W. Prange in collaboration with Donald M. Goldstein and Katherine W. Dillon, *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor*, 1981; John Toland, *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath*, 1982.

GREGORY DEHLER

PEEKSKILL RIOT OF 1949 During the early days of the Cold War, noted African American singer Paul Robeson promoted the notion of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union. In April 1949, Robeson gave a speech at the Paris Peace Congress. American newspapers, misquoting him, reported that he said that American blacks would not go to war against the Soviet Union. Although his primary concern was preventing war and gaining full equality for African Americans, his loyalty to the United States was put under a microscope.

A Robeson concert was scheduled for August 27 in Peekskill, New York. Because of his Paris speech, pro-Soviet sentiments, and criticism of America's treatment of blacks, along with growing pressure on all Americans to demonstrate their loyalty, a number of local veterans were determined to prevent the performance. Funds to be collected from the sale of tickets were intended to benefit the Harlem Chapter of Civil Rights Congress, an organization branded as subversive by former U.S. attorney general Tom Clark. On the day of the scheduled concert, the *Peekskill Evening Star* aroused the local citizenry with its comment that the time for tolerant silence was running out.

The veterans prevented the concert by barricading roads and burning the platform, chairs, songbooks, and programs. They also assaulted people who made it to the concert grounds. County and state authorities did not arrive until two hours after the violence erupted. Those witnessing the events reported that during the rioting racial slurs and anti-Semitic remarks were hurled at the concertgoers.

Immediately after the initial riot, a number of Robeson's supporters decided to reschedule the concert for Sunday afternoon, September 4.

Protected by 250 trade unionists acting as guards, the concert took place before an audience of 20,000 people. As the concertgoers exited the grounds, angry mobs of veterans overturned cars, dragged motorists out of their cars, and beat them. Some 150 received treatment at local hospitals. Despite a strong police presence, the authorities did little to stop the violence.

Days after the riot, New York governor Thomas Dewey ordered a grand jury investigation of the Peekskill Riot. The jury concluded that Communism was the fundamental cause of resentment and the focus of hostility. Against the backdrop of the McCarthy witch hunts, the Peekskill Riot highlighted the Cold War consensus view that freedom of speech came with a heavy price tag.

Further Reading: Martin B. Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, 1988; Howard Fast, *Peekskill U.S.A.*, 1954; Robbie Liberman, *The Strangest Dream: Communism, Anti-Communism and the U.S. Peace Movement, 1945–1963*, 2000.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

PEKING MAN Peking man, the popular name anthropologists gave the fragmentary remains of forty individuals of the species *Homo erectus*, marked America's entrance into the field of paleoanthropology. The discovery of these remains between 1927 and 1941 underscored the relationship between science and philanthropy.

In 1927 the Rockefeller Foundation offered to fund the expedition of Peking Union Medical College anatomist Davidson Black and an international team of anthropologists at a cave in Zhoukoudianzhen (Choukoutien), a town near Beijing (Peking), China, making possible the first multiyear, systematic excavation of prehuman fossils. With American money came American scientists: in 1934, the Rockefeller Foundation appointed University of Chicago anatomist Franz Weidenreich to lead the excavation after Black's death. Between 1927 and 1941 the cave yielded stone tools, thousands of remains of animal bones, and fossils from forty prehumans, the largest find to that date. But by 1941 war between China and Japan threatened to engulf Zhoukoudianzhen. Weidenreich and his colleagues left China that autumn, intending to resume the excavation at war's end.

Truncated by World War II, the Zhoukoudian excavation was nonetheless a landmark in the emerging science of paleoanthropology. This allowed geologists to date them at 1.5 million years, the first dating of *Homo erectus*. The number of skull fragments allowed anatomists to reconstruct the first *Homo erectus* skull and to estimate the size of its brain at 1,000 cubic centimeters, more than double the 450 cubic centimeters of the chimpanzee brain and only 350 cubic centimeters shy of the modern human brain. The presence of stone tools was the first evidence that *Homo erectus* made tools, and the presence of hearths the first evidence that the species used fire. The thousands of fossilized animal bones suggested that the species hunted and must have had a social structure and the foresight to organize and plan hunts. The more scientists studied the fruits of Zhoukoudian, the more human *Homo erectus* appeared to be.

Moreover, the excavation sharpened the debate over the place of human origin. By 1940 anthropologists had aligned in two camps. The smaller group followed British naturalist Charles Darwin in proposing an African origin of humans, but Peking man tilted the argument toward the larger group, which insisted on an Asian origin. American anthropologists aligned with the larger group, only to be rebuffed in 1960 when British anthropologists Louis and Mary Leakey discovered three-million-year-old *Zinjanthropus*, a specimen twice the age of Peking man. *Zinjanthropus* in turn exacerbated the Anglo-American rivalry as scientists from each nation tried to beat their transatlantic foes to the next fossil find, a rivalry that continues today.

The Zhoukoudian excavation ended in disaster. On December 5, 1941, U.S. Marines took the fossils by train to the Chinese port of Qinhuangdao (Chingwangtao). There the Marines were to load the fossils aboard the ship *President Harrison* for transport to the United States. The rendezvous at Qinhuangdao never occurred because of the December 7 attack on Pearl Harbor; subsequently, all the fossils disappeared in one of the great mysteries of twentieth-century science. At the end of World War II the Japanese accused the U.S. Navy and the American Museum of Natural History of having conspired to hide

the fossils in the museum. Harry L. Shapiro, chair of the museum's Department of Anthropology, opened the museum to an international team of investigators who found no trace of the fossils. Contrary to Japan's claims, its troops may have seized the fossils on the evacuation of U.S. Marines from China after Pearl Harbor. No one knows.

Further Reading: Jens Lorenz Franzen, ed., *100 Years of Pithecanthropus: The Homo erectus Problem*, 1994; Jia Lanpo and Huang Weiwen, *The Story of Peking Man: From Archaeology to Mystery*, 1990; Penny van Oosterzee, *Dragon Bones: The Story of Peking Man*, 2000.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

PENICILLIN, the first antibiotic. Penicillin marked the 1940s as the beginning of the era of the antibiotic, a class of drug that kills bacteria. In 1928 British physician Alexander Fleming had discovered penicillin by chance as the excretion of *Penicillium*, a genus of fungi. But the type of penicillin Fleming discovered is toxic to humans and therefore useless as an antibiotic. Sifting through the strains of penicillin, Australian pathologist Ernst Chain and British pathologist Howard Florey in 1939 identified a type that is nontoxic to humans. They set out to purify, produce, and in 1940 test penicillin in mice. These trials a success, in 1941 Chain and Florey used the drug on a person, who responded to treatment until they ran out of penicillin. The patient's death underscored the problem of supply. That November, American microbiologist Andrew Moyer increased penicillin yield tenfold by growing the species of *Penicillium* that Chain and Florey had identified in corn steep liquor. Even then, results were poor. In 1942 only 100 doses of penicillin were produced. By 1943, however, enough penicillin was available to permit the U.S. Army to treat wounded soldiers with it to prevent bacterial infections. Its success reduced deaths from pneumonia to 1 percent of U.S. soldiers during World War II, whereas 18 percent had died from the infection in World War I. In addition to pneumonia, penicillin treats sepsis, strep throat, scarlet fever, diphtheria, syphilis, gonorrhea, meningitis, tonsillitis, and rheumatic

fever. In 1945 U.S. pharmaceutical companies produced enough penicillin to treat 7 million people. That year Fleming, Chain, and Florey received the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine.

Pharmacologists, chemists, and other scientists recognized the value of antibiotics. In 1942 Yale University and the pharmaceutical firm Parke, Davis and Co. formed the first partnership for the discovery of new antibiotics. With a tradition of practical research, the land-grant universities were aggressive in the search for new antibiotics. By 1949 scientists at universities and pharmaceutical companies had discovered eight other antibiotics.

Despite its success, penicillin has limits. An antibiotic, it cannot battle viruses. Nor is it effective against sporozoa, of which malaria is an example. Moreover, the Darwinian mechanism that led to the evolution of fungi that secrete penicillin also led to the evolution of bacteria resistant to it. Mutation is common among bacteria. A mutation or series of mutations conferring immunity to penicillin enables a bacterium to reproduce with impunity. The evolution of antibiotic-resistant bacteria has locked scientists into an arms race to discover ever more potent antibiotics to kill bacteria that once succumbed to less potent drugs. As early as 1952, penicillin was impotent against 60 percent of staph infections. Even under the best circumstances, penicillin is not effective against all bacterial infections. No antibiotic is. Penicillin is useless against tuberculosis, for example, a shortcoming that American microbiologist and Nobel laureate Selman A. Waksman remedied in 1943 by discovering the antibiotic streptomycin.

Further Reading: Gladys L. Hobby, *Penicillin: Meeting the Challenge*, 1985; Richard I. Mateles, ed., *Penicillin: A Paradigm for Biotechnology*, 1998; John C. Sheehan, *The Enchanted Ring: The Untold Story of Penicillin*, 1982.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

PERKINS, FRANCES CORALIE (April 10, 1880–May 14, 1965), Secretary of Labor. Born in Boston, Perkins received in 1902 a BA from Mount Holyoke College and in 1910 an MA from Columbia University. Between 1928 and 1932 she

served as New York State Commissioner of Industry under Franklin D. Roosevelt, then governor, and followed him to Washington, DC, after his election as president. She became secretary of labor on March 4, 1932, the first woman to head a cabinet department.

In 1940, the heady days of the New Deal behind her, Perkins wanted to resign. She had quarreled with Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director J. Edgar Hoover over the balance between government surveillance and civil liberties. In the name of national security, Hoover wanted to fingerprint all Americans, an action Perkins feared would make the United States more rather than less like the totalitarian regimes of Europe. She interpreted Congress's May 1940 decision to empower the FBI to fingerprint aliens a rebuff. In July southern Democrats and Republicans derided her for supporting vice president Henry A. Wallace, whom they thought too liberal to remain on the Democratic ticket that November.

These travails strengthened Perkins's desire to pursue other work while the politicians fought in Washington's partisan trenches. She changed course, however, when Roosevelt insisted she remain labor secretary during his third term. No longer part of the inner circle of advisers, Perkins fell silent in February 1942 when Roosevelt ordered the army to intern Japanese Americans living along the Pacific coast. The War Labor Board further weakened Perkins and her department. In 1943 she registered one of the few victories of her third term as labor secretary in opposing the conscription of labor to fill jobs in factories and on farms. The next year she infuriated progressives in both parties by opposing an equal rights amendment to the U.S. Constitution. She resigned on July 1, 1945.

New York literary agent George Bye persuaded Perkins, free from the slings and arrows of government service, to undertake a biography of Roosevelt. The work taxed her to the point of hiring *New York Times* music critic Howard Taubman as ghostwriter. Viking Press published the result, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, in May 1946. Sales of the biography that year generated \$25,000 net income, \$10,000 more than her gross pay as labor secretary, and paid royalties for

years. President Harry S. Truman lured her back to Washington, appointing her to the Civil Service Commission on September 12, 1946. There she remained until 1953.

She died in New York City.

Further Reading: Penny Colman, *A Woman Unafraid: The Achievements of Frances Perkins*, 1993; George Whitney Martin, *Madam Secretary, Frances Perkins: A Biography of America's First Woman Cabinet Member*, 1976; Lillian Holmen Mohr, *Frances Perkins, That Woman in FDR's Cabinet!* 1979.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

PHILANTHROPY The 1940s witnessed a dramatic upsurge in philanthropy, or voluntary action for the public good. Fueled by massive wartime needs and favorable tax laws, these efforts included gifts of time and money. Individual donors provided roughly 85 percent of all philanthropy, while foundations added another 9 percent and corporations furnished 6 percent.

Despite American neutrality at the start of World War II, numerous voluntary agencies engaged in civilian war relief overseas. Approximately 700 American organizations raised over \$90 million for refugee assistance. The U.S. Congress appropriated an additional \$50 million for distribution through the American Red Cross. Then, after 1941, the perceived threat to American interests galvanized public support. Various welfare services, including the YMCA, YWCA, Salvation Army, National Catholic Community Service, National Travelers Aid Association, and the United Service Organization, aided the American armed forces.

Private donors also increased their giving. Despite high wartime taxes, charitable contributions grew fivefold from 1939 to 1945. Revenue laws permitted both individuals and corporations to make tax-deductible gifts for philanthropic purposes. Since charitable contributions were deductible and bequests were not subject to gift or estate taxes, many individuals in high-income brackets were able to decrease their tax burden.

Fostered by tax incentives, the absence of governmental restraints, and, later, postwar prosperity, the number of new philanthropic foundations multiplied in the 1940s. In 1940, approximately

288 existed. By 1949, over 1,600 had been organized, an increase of over 500 percent. Among those created were family, corporate-sponsored, community, and operating foundations.

Not everyone, however, viewed private philanthropy positively. Neither donors' motives nor their decisions were beyond question. Some people suspected that the creation of tax-exempt organizations served business interests more than charitable purposes. In 1948 Senator Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire initiated a congressional investigation. He uncovered dubious practices by trustees including the use of foundation funds for unrelated business expenses. This initial probe resulted in a 1950 revision of the revenue code, which corrected some of the worst abuses.

One of the most significant events of the decade was Henry Ford's death in 1947 and its effect on the Ford Foundation. Organized in 1936, the foundation initially concentrated on local and family affairs. But following his demise, the foundation became the recipient of 90 percent of the corporation's stock, thereby becoming the wealthiest charitable foundation in the United States. Although its mission and direction had yet to be determined, the Ford Foundation was in a position to become a leader in the philanthropic field, expanding its focus to national and global issues in the postwar years.

Further Reading: Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 1988; Robert L. Payton, *Philanthropy: Voluntary Action for the Public Good*, 1988; Warren Weaver, *U.S. Philanthropic Foundations*, 1967.

MARY L. KELLEY

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE The tumult of World War II caused Europe to reevaluate the desirability of holding colonies in Asia and Africa. France in 1945 freed Syria and Lebanon, but fought nationalist movements in Algeria, Madagascar, and Indochina. In 1946 the British liberated Transjordan (later Jordan), in 1947 India and what would become Pakistan and Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and in 1948 Burma and Israel. The Dutch granted Indonesia independence in 1949.

The United States too had holdings in Asia. The U.S. Marines had conquered the Philippines

in 1901, transferring the islands from Spanish to American control. Their position south of Hong Kong and Japan and east of French Indochina gave the Philippines strategic importance to American policy makers intent on projecting military and economic might into Asia. The United States sought to open Asian markets to trade and prevent the European powers from partitioning China. Accordingly, the U.S. Navy ringed the islands with bases, the largest at Subic Bay, and garrisoned them with marines.

Japan struck the U.S. empire in the Pacific in December 1941, capturing the Philippines in 1942 and installing José Laurel, former associate justice of the Commonwealth Supreme Court, as titular ruler. Laurel established a Commonwealth Senate but neither it nor the Japanese could control the countryside, where Communist insurgents, of the Communists in China and Southeast Asia, had the loyalty of the peasants.

The reconquest of the Philippines in 1944 and 1945 was not a prelude to American governance of the islands. By war's end the United States had added a naval base and a division of marines to Okinawa, an island roughly equidistant between Japan and the Philippines. The French decision to keep Indochina led the United States to hope that France would hold the line against Asian Communism. In any case, U.S. policy makers determined that Soviet Communism was the greater threat, shifting attention from Asia to Europe. Under these circumstances, the United States chose to retain its naval bases and marines in the Philippines but to allow Filipinos to establish their own government. With support from General Douglas MacArthur, Manuel A. Roxas became the nominee of the Liberal Party in January 1946. Roxas defeated Sergio Osmena of the Nationalist Party to become the first president of the Republic of the Philippines on July 4, 1946.

Political independence came at the price of economic dependence, an old theme in Philippine-American relations. In 1946 Congress passed the Filipino Trade Act (Bell Act), which made the islands a free-trade outpost of American capitalism. The Philippine Republic, despite protest from its citizens, ratified the act that year on the promise of \$800 million in U.S. aid, which came back to American consumers as cheap

clothes, shoes, and other products. The Bell Act assured that Filipino goods would remain inexpensive by giving each U.S. dollar the purchasing power of two Philippine pesos. The Bell Act stipulated the imposition of tariffs beginning in 1954, which would allow the United States to collect duties on Philippine imports.

Moreover, political independence was subordinate to Cold War dictates. The fall of China to Communism in 1949 and the failure of the French to suppress Ho Chi Minh's Communist insurgents in the swath of Indochina that is now Vietnam demonstrated that U.S. policy makers had underestimated the threat of Asian Communism. Even in the Philippines, Japanese policies during World War II and those of the Philippine Republic had only emboldened the Communists in the countryside. Elpidio Quirino won the Philippine presidency in 1949, but the election, fraught with charges and countercharges of fraud, only strengthened support for the Communist insurgents. They discredited the Philippine Republic as a puppet of U.S. interests. In response, the Americans armed and trained Philippine forces as a bulwark against the insurgents, but Filipino troops would not defeat them until 1954. By then the French had lost Indochina. As the 1940s closed, U.S. economic and geopolitical interests limited the extent of Philippine independence.

The Philippine position in the 1940s was akin to that of Britain in Roman antiquity. Both the Filipinos and British governed local affairs within the context of their imperial overlord. A mixture of foreign and local troops garrisoned both Roman Britain and the Philippines, outposts beyond which there seemed only barbarism.

Further Reading: Ranato Constantino, *The Philippines: The Continuing Past*, 1978; Peter W. Stanley, ed., *Reappraising an Empire: New Perspectives on Philippine-American History*, 1984; Helen R. Tubangie, *The Filipino Nation: A Concise History of the Philippines*, 1982.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

PHILOSOPHY Existentialism was the philosophical movement of the 1940s. In brief, existentialism reexamined the relationship between essence and existence. Plato had asserted that essence, what a thing is, must necessarily define

the existence of that thing. The point seems self-evident: a triangle can exist only if it fulfills the criterion of being a three-sided figure, the sum of whose angles equals 360 degrees.

But existentialism, borrowing from nineteenth-century philosophy and literature, held humans apart from this relationship between essence and existence. Persons first exist, and only during the course of their lives do they define themselves through choices. Individuals have no fixed essence, as does a triangle, because each person, through a unique series of decisions, defines a unique essence. Thereby, no two people are the same. Albert Camus, through his novels and essays, made existentialism popular among a wide audience.

Although existentialism appealed to the ideology of the self-made person, the movement never caught hold in the United States, at least not among professional philosophers. Novelists William Faulkner and Ernest Hemingway and dramatist Eugene O'Neill adopted in their work much of the angst of existentialism, which predicated a world in which humans had to make hard choices without the comfort of God, whom existentialists declared dead. Without God, existentialists thought, life held no inherent meaning. Humans alone could provide meaning through their actions. Otherwise they could remain intellectually honest only by retreating to nihilism.

American philosophy's eclecticism worked against the central premise of existentialism, that humans defined themselves by their choices. At one end were behaviorists, who emphasized the environment's role in shaping human actions. At the other were hard-line hereditarians who insisted that humans were the construct of genetic blueprints, not the sum of a series of free choices. Existentialism also faced opposition from American theologians who disliked its atheism.

Existentialism's fate in the United States makes clear that American philosophy in the 1940s was less a discipline with its own tenets than a bazaar where social and physical scientists traded ideas. In this context, philosophy was less a repository of knowledge than a method of inquiry, deriving its rules from science and mathematics. American philosophers followed the philosopher of science Karl Popper and the mathematician and logician Alfred North Whitehead

in preserving the distinction between the methodologies of mathematics and science.

The coherence of mathematics remained attractive to philosophers, but the deduction of mathematics from a series of axioms (postulates) troubled philosophers. For centuries mathematicians had held the axioms to be self-evident or logically necessary, given the validity of other axioms. But during the twentieth century, philosophers and mathematicians attacked the logic of several of Euclid's axioms. With mathematics under assault, philosophers turned to the methodology of science. American biologist and philosopher of science Ernst Mayr emphasized, as had Popper, the doctrine of falsifiability. Science derived from hypotheses, and the criterion of a hypothesis was its openness to a test, the outcome of which would disprove an incorrect hypothesis. The scientific method was thus self-correcting. The aim of American philosophy during the 1940s was to replicate as closely as possible the methodology of science. American philosophy therefore was more concerned with method than ideas, whereas existentialism was a philosophy of ideas.

Moreover, American philosophy during the 1940s retained the pragmatism of William James and John Dewey. Both were less concerned with systems of ideas than with their consequences. Dewey did not want a philosophy of education so much as he wanted Americans to embrace education as a force for social and economic improvement. In this sense, domestic philosophy was less an academic discipline than a concrete path toward a life of meaning. Dewey, and American philosophers within the Pragmatic tradition, followed Socrates and Plato in insisting that philosophy had value only if it helped humans find meaning and goodness in their lives.

Further Reading: David S. Clarke, *Philosophy's Second Revolution: Early and Recent Analytic Philosophy*, 1997; William Outhwaite, ed., *The Blackwell Dictionary of Modern Social Thought*, 2003; Scott Soames, *Philosophical Analysis: The Twentieth Century*, 2003.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

PHYSICS World War II set the research agenda for American physicists. They ushered in the

atomic age in July 1945, testing the first atomic weapon. In August the military used two atomic bombs against Japan to end the war and cement the science/government partnership.

That partnership had roots stretching back to the eighteenth century. Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and George Washington, all committed to the Enlightenment ideal that science had practical value, agreed that government should fund science for the general good. Congress took a bold step in 1862 by creating the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which quickly served as exemplar.

Yet, in the case of physics, this partnership departed from the ideal of science as public servant. No one doubted the value of high-yielding varieties of corn and disease-resistant wheat cultivars in feeding a hungry world, but the physics of the atomic age had the power to destroy life itself. Physicists Albert Einstein and J. Robert Oppenheimer mounted the critique against the federal funding of atomic physics, beginning in 1945 and gaining momentum throughout the decade. It signified an end to the Jeffersonian consensus that science deserved public support in order to benefit humanity.

Nothing demonstrated the ambiguity of physics better than its escalation toward terror. Today's bomb was tomorrow's trinket. The Soviet detonation of a uranium bomb in 1949 goaded the U.S. government to fund the building of a hydrogen weapon. With federal funding, American physicists became the Yahweh of the Old Testament, deciding which cities to obliterate. A nuclear exchange between superpowers might end all life, warned Einstein in 1949.

Despite Einstein's fears, American physicists emerged from World War II with unprecedented status. A 1946 Gallup Poll ranked physics first among the professions, ahead even of medicine and law, in prestige, reversing a trend of nearly two centuries. From the 1770s, Europe, particularly Great Britain and the German states, had been the center of physics research. From atomic theory to quantum mechanics, the major ideas originated there rather than in the United States, a scientific backwater. Consequently, Americans seeking the best physics training studied at Cambridge University, the University of Berlin, or

another of Europe's research institutions. During the 1940s, however, the United States overtook Britain and Germany in the field. America's preeminence was due partly to the migration of physicists from totalitarian Europe, among them Nobel laureates Einstein and Enrico Fermi. Others, including Hans Bethe and Isidore Rabi, would win Nobel Prizes in physics for their research in the United States.

A second reason for America's new hegemony was the success of its universities in weathering the Great Depression. Rather than contracting during the 1930s, the California Institute of Technology, the University of Chicago, and other research universities recruited physicists. These universities emerged during World War II as global leaders in physics. Here too European émigrés were invaluable. With Fermi at the University of Chicago and Einstein at Princeton, both universities used their eminence to attract promising students en masse during the 1940s.

A third reason, perhaps the most important, was the federal commitment to funding physics research, both at government agencies and universities, after World War II. The decision expanded employment opportunities for physicists. The War Department, later the Department of Defense, and other agencies offered new physics PhDs a chance to devote themselves to research without the burden of teaching that came with university appointments. To be sure, these positions did not promise tenure (a commitment by a university to employ a scholar for the duration of his or her career). Yet during the 1940s physicists in the federal government found themselves with de facto tenure: once they had established a research agenda, they could count on what seemed then to be permanent federal support. Only during the 1980s would the government begin to scale back its commitment.

Further Reading: Steve Adams, *Frontiers: Twentieth-Century Physics*, 2000; D. Allan Bromley, *A Century of Physics*, 2002; Daniel J. Kevles, *The Physicists: The History of a Scientific Community in Modern America*, 1995.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

PIUS XII (March 2, 1876–October 9, 1958), pope. Born Eugenio Maria Guiseppe Giovanni

Pacelli, the future Pope Pius XII was educated privately at Capranica College, the Gregorian University, and the Appollinaris, where he earned a degree in jurisprudence. Ordained a priest in 1899, he was asked to contribute to the compilation of the Code of Canon Law (1904–1914). During subsequent years, he served in various Vatican administrative capacities. Because he was a gifted diplomat, he traveled widely. In 1917, he was consecrated titular archbishop of Sardes and three years later was named papal nuncio to the new German Republic. Once he became cardinal in 1930, Pacelli took office as the Vatican secretary of state.

On March 2, 1939, Pacelli was elected pope, choosing the name Pius XII. Thanks to his background in diplomacy and a particular gift for languages, the new pontiff traveled more extensively than previous popes. He issued forty encyclicals, including *Sertum Laetitiae* (1939), related to the Catholic Church in the United States; *Summi Pontificatus* (1939), defining the role of the state in the modern world; *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943), calling for increased biblical scholarship; *Mystici Corporis Christi* (1943), defining a theological model of the church; *Mediator Dei* (1947), related to the sacred liturgy; and *Humani Generis* (1950), warning that science (reason) should be married to church traditions (faith). He also issued other apostolic constitutions, exhortations, and letters, including *Munificentissimus Deus* (1950), wherein he defined ex cathedra (from the chair of St. Peter) the dogma of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

The most intriguing and controversial aspect of his papacy, however, is the precise role of Pius XII during the Holocaust. Over the years, published, peer-reviewed material has appeared containing contradictory theses. Whereas British historian John Cornwell's research led him to label Pius XII "Hitler's pope," and the Simon Wiesenthal Center, an international Jewish human rights organization has consistently charged that he remained silent in the face of Jewish extermination, historian Margherita Marchione has written extensively in the pope's defense. In 1999, the Vatican announced the formation of a panel of Jewish and Catholic experts to review published material from its archives in an attempt to

shed additional light on Pius's actions. The panel issued a preliminary report in 2000, describing a pope bent on fruitless diplomacy while reports of atrocities poured into the Vatican. Panel members posed forty-seven questions, however, that remained unanswered. The group suspended work in 2001, indicating that there were insufficient documents available to continue. In an unprecedented act, in 2003 Vatican officials prematurely opened their Secret Archives related specifically to Valican relations with prewar Germany (including documents from 1922 to 1939) in an effort to resolve some of the controversy. In addition, officials indicated that more documents specific to Pius's pontificate would become available in succeeding years.

Further Reading: John Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII*, 1999; Margherita Marchione, *Consensus and Controversy: Defending Pope Pius XII*, 2002; The Holy See: Official Vatican Web site, www.vatican.va

CAROL GOSS HOOVER

POLAROID CAMERA Prompted by his three-year-old daughter, physicist and inventor Edwin Land began work in 1943 on developing an instant camera. Such a camera differs from a traditional camera in having receptors that code wavelengths of light into an image in a single process in a few minutes. In 1946 Land had a prototype, which he called the Polaroid Land Camera Model 95. He introduced it at a meeting of the Optical Society of America on February 12, 1947. Land chose a scientific group because he believed his invention merited scientific scrutiny. Yet the camera was no arcane curiosity. Land also invited journalists to the meeting because he wanted the public to know of his camera. His plan worked: journalists and scientists flocked around Land after he demonstrated his invention at the meeting.

Secure in his success, Land turned from design to sales, hiring a marketing staff whose first decision was to sell the camera in the months before Christmas in 1948, in hopes that Americans would buy it to photograph their children opening presents. To stimulate sales, Polaroid offered a free roll of film with purchase of its

instant camera. By November, Polaroid had only sixty cameras, prompting a concentration of sales in only one store, Jordan Marsh in Boston. The decision to sell in a department store rather than a specialty shop reflected Land's conviction that the camera should not be a tool of the professional photographer alone. With a traditional camera, an elapse of time separates the moment a photo is taken from its development. This interval prevented a photographer who had botched a photograph from duplicating the inspiration. The instant camera unified the moment of inspiration with the moment of inspection of a photograph, allowing anyone by trial and error to capture the scene he wanted on film. Land likened this new type of photography to painting. Both photographers and painters received immediate feedback on their work, allowing adjustments according to aesthetic sensibilities. Polaroid photography was process as well as product. Land did not want his camera to be a highbrow trinket; he hoped to advance photography as an art and his camera as the medium of the professional photographer.

In 1949, the camera's first year on the market, sales totaled \$5 million. By 1953 Polaroid estimated that Americans had taken more than 200 million Polaroid photographs. In 1957 the camera tallied its millionth sale. In 1963 Polaroid introduced color film and in 1972 the SX-70, the final camera Land designed.

Further Reading: Diana E. Hulick, *Photography: 1900 to the Present*, 1998; Ian Jeffrey, *Timeframes: The Story of Photography*, 1998; Peter Tausk, *Photography in the 20th Century*, 1980.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

POLLOCK, PAUL JACKSON (January 28, 1912–August 11, 1956), abstract expressionist artist. Born in Cody, Wyoming, Pollock, the leading exponent of abstract expressionism, attended but did not graduate from Riverside High School and Manual Arts High School, both in Los Angeles, and the Art Students League in New York City. Although he studied Renaissance art, Pollock drew inspiration from Eastern mysticism and the psychology of Swiss psychiatrist Carl Jung.

Alcoholism and mental instability led Pollock to treatment with psychotherapist Joseph L. Henderson in 1939 and 1940. Pollock emerged from treatment to confront the problem that nineteenth-century German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche had identified: in exalting reason, humans stripped away spontaneity, self-expression, and individuality. The loss of these virtues attenuated humanity. In restoring them, the artist resurrected the fullness of the human experience. This experience transcended language and the traditional images artists used to approximate reality.

Pollock's art was less innovation than homage to the tenets of postmodernism. As American playwright Eugene O'Neill had lengthened drama in the trilogy *Mourning Becomes Electra*, Pollock enlarged the canvas. Some of his paintings exceed 100 square feet. Pollock did not sit before a canvas but walked around one, spattering paint on it as impulse dictated. His technique of spattering paint earned Pollock the sobriquet "Jack the Dripper." The quest for spontaneity drove him to paint quickly and with minimal forethought. The result was a style art historians label abstract expressionism.

Pollock began to build his reputation in January 1942 with an exhibition at the McMillen Gallery in New York City. In addition to works by Pollock, the exhibition showed those by Jewish-American painter Lee Krasner, whom Pollock would marry on October 25, 1945. The exhibition garnered Pollock praise from painter and critic John Graham and interest from heiress and aesthete Peggy Guggenheim, who in October 1942 founded the Art of This Century Gallery in New York City. She recruited Pollock's *Stenographic Figure* and *Male and Female* for two exhibitions in 1943. Pollock followed these successes with solo exhibits at the gallery in November 1943 and March 1945.

Acclaim did not banish old demons. Like American writer Edgar Allan Poe, Pollock struggled much of his life against alcohol and was hospitalized in 1948. Upon release, he pledged sobriety and entered his most prolific period. In 1949 he exhibited nearly sixty paintings at New York's Betty Parsons Gallery. That August, he was the subject of "Jackson Pollock: Is He the

Greatest Living Painter in the United States?" in *Life* magazine. Despite his leftist leanings, Pollock, like the managerial elite, appreciated the value of advertisement.

The victim of an automobile accident, Pollock died in East Hampton, New York.

Further Reading: Leonhard Emmerling, *Jackson Pollock*, 2003; Ellen G. Landau, *Jackson Pollock*, 2000; Matthew L. Rohn, *Visual Dynamics in Jackson Pollock's Abstractions*, 1987.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

POTSDAM CONFERENCE (July 16–August 2, 1945), political meeting of Allied leaders during World War II's final weeks, to determine policies for administering formerly Nazi-occupied nations and ending the conflict in Asia. Harry Truman, Joseph Stalin, and Winston Churchill met in Potsdam, Germany, to discuss the occupation and division of Germany into four zones, to be administered by the United States, USSR, Britain, and France. They agreed in principle on a program of denazification and rehabilitation of vital industries such as coal, transportation, housing and utilities, and agriculture. A central issue was German reparations for World War II, demanded by the Soviet Union as a matter of justice and to rebuild the severely damaged Soviet infrastructure and economy. The three governments could not agree on a specific monetary amount, but decided that each occupying power would take reparations from its own designated zone and that the USSR would obtain industrial equipment from the three Western zones. In return, the Soviet Union would supply food to the other zones. Soon it became clear that this compromise, symbolic of deteriorating relations among Anglo-Soviet-Americans, made the long-term division of Germany virtually inevitable.

The Big Three reached no consensus on free elections or self-determination for Poland, whose leftist government was propped up by Moscow, but did agree to set the Oder-Neisse line as Poland's temporary western boundary, thereby granting Poland large pieces of German territory. The Big Three, divided by tensions that would soon erupt into the Cold War, could not agree on many key issues, including the withdrawal

of Allied soldiers from Iran, peace treaties for former German satellite nations, postwar control of the Dardanelles, distribution of Italian colonies, and internationalization of inland waterways—particularly the Danube River, which ran through several nations in addition to the Soviet Union. They therefore created the Council of Foreign Ministers to continue discussion of these and other pressing geopolitical matters not resolved at Potsdam.

On July 16, 1945, President Truman learned that the United States had successfully exploded the world's first atomic bomb. This development bolstered Truman's spirits with the prospect of a quick end to the Pacific war and strengthened his resolve to resist Soviet demands. At Potsdam, Britain and the United States called for Japan's unconditional surrender, and Truman informed Stalin that America had perfected "a new weapon of unusual destructive force," which it intended to use on Japan. Truman apparently hoped that this knowledge of a mysterious superweapon would intimidate Stalin into agreeing with U.S. postwar settlement demands, particularly those related to free elections and free trade in Eastern Europe. But Truman's revelation did not faze the Soviet leader, whose secret agents planted within the U.S. atomic bomb facility, the Manhattan Project, had been sending him information for years. Instead, Truman's new bluster only aggravated mounting tensions, increasing Soviet mistrust of American and British postwar intentions. At Potsdam the Soviets confirmed their earlier promise to declare war on Japan, and they did so on August 8, two days after the United States dropped its first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. On August 9, it detonated a second device on Nagasaki. The Japanese government surrendered on August 14, ending the war in the Pacific far sooner than anyone had anticipated mere weeks earlier. Thus the Soviets were denied any role in the postwar administration of Japan.

Alarmed and offended by Truman's new sort of "atomic diplomacy," Stalin left Potsdam with a deeper resolve to maintain Soviet-friendly regimes throughout Eastern Europe and to increase his government's efforts to complete a viable atomic bomb. Overall, the Potsdam Conference generated more tensions than it settled—tensions

that would soon result in a deadly nuclear arms race and the forty-year superpower conflict known as the Cold War.

Further Reading: John L. Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947*, 1972; James L. Gormly, *From Potsdam to the Cold War*, 1990; Martin Sherwin, *A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance*, 1975.

VERONICA WILSON

POUND, EZRA WESTON LOOMIS (October 30, 1885–November 1, 1972), poet and intellectual. Born in Hailey, Idaho, Pound spent two years at the University of Pennsylvania before taking a Bachelor of Philosophy degree in 1905 from Hamilton College in Clinton, New York. He returned to Pennsylvania for a master's in 1906 but the next year left the university after one year of doctoral studies. Even then his mastery of languages was remarkable. Pound could read Latin, Greek, French, Italian, German, Spanish, Provençal, and Anglo-Saxon.

One thinks of Pound as a poet, yet his talents spanned literary criticism, linguistics, history, economics, philosophy, anthropology, religion, and music. Instead of building an academic career, in 1908 he left for Europe. Pound lived variously in Spain, England, France, and Italy. He befriended literary giants T.S. Eliot, James Joyce, and Ernest Hemingway.

In 1924 Pound made Italy his home. There his research on the life of composer and violinist Antonio Vivaldi contributed to a revival of interest in his music that continues into the twenty-first century. Pound's involvement in politics, however, was disastrous. An admirer of Roman classicism, Pound joined the Fascist Party, embracing dictator Benito Mussolini as restorer of Rome's grandeur. With the United States and Italy at war in 1941, Pound launched a series of radio broadcasts blaming the hostilities on Jewish financiers who, he said, controlled U.S. banks and profited from loans to defense contractors. Pound excoriated President Franklin D. Roosevelt as their pawn and cast World War II as a clash between Jewish usurers and Italian and German defenders of Western civilization.

The U.S. Army arrested Pound in 1945 as a war criminal. He endured twenty-five days of humiliation in an outdoor cage at Pisa; thereafter he was confined to a tent. While incarcerated, he wrote *The Pisan Cantos*, part of a longer series of poems published in 1948, and translated Confucius into English. In 1946 the army transferred Pound to the United States on a treason charge. He would have stood trial had not a panel of psychiatrists declared him insane and recommended treatment in St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, DC. There Pound was a patient from 1946 to 1958.

Despite his public unpopularity, literary critics and writers did not desert him. In 1949 the Library of Congress awarded Pound the Bollingen Prize, confirming his status as poet and intellectual. Over a sixty-year span Pound published seventy books and 1,500 articles and contributed essays and poetry to another seventy books.

Upon release from St. Elizabeth's, Pound returned to Italy. He died in Venice, the city where Vivaldi had been born.

Further Reading: Humphrey Carpenter, *A Serious Character: The Life of Ezra Pound*, 1988; Lawrence S. Rainey, *Ezra Pound and the Monument of Culture*, 1991; Tim Redman, *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*, 1991.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1940 The year 1940 marked Franklin D. Roosevelt's election to an unprecedented third term as president of the United States. The fall of France in June had forced most Americans out of their complacent attitude toward the European war. As the conventions drew near, it became apparent that foreign policy and defense issues would crowd domestic policies off the agenda.

The Republican primaries featured two major contenders, moderate New York governor Thomas Dewey and conservative senator Robert Taft of Ohio. They represented the deep divide within the party between its isolationist and internationalist wings. Meanwhile, Wendell Willkie, a former attorney who gained fame fighting the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) but possessed no government experience, received public

attention. Staying out of the primaries, Willkie ran for the nomination in the columns of America's magazines. His growing popularity attracted professional political organizers, wealthy donors, and hundreds of Willkie clubs. At the convention in Philadelphia, Dewey and Taft were unwilling to cooperate, and Willkie picked up ballots on each successive roll call. The galleries chanted "We Want Willkie." On the sixth ballot he won the nomination. The progressive and isolationist Senator Charles McNary of Oregon was chosen as his running mate.

On the Democratic side, Roosevelt kept quiet about the nomination, locking out all serious contenders. His supporters argued that Roosevelt was the only credible candidate. At the convention in Chicago, chair Alben Barkley read an address from Roosevelt to the delegates telling them they were free to follow their conscience in selecting a nominee. As soon as Barkley finished, the Chicago sewer commissioner began chanting "Illinois wants Roosevelt" into the public address system from a basement office. All was part of a carefully orchestrated "draft Roosevelt" movement from the White House. The following day, Roosevelt won on the first ballot. There was some contention over the vice president nomination, but first lady Eleanor Roosevelt mollified ruffled feathers and Henry Wallace received the second spot on the party's ticket.

Willkie launched a barnstorming campaign, but refused to pace himself accordingly. By October he was burned out and without a voice. It was one of several mistakes that resulted from his inexperience and that of his campaign staff. Used to speaking extemporaneously, he never reconciled himself to giving written speeches on radio or to large crowds. Moreover, he peppered his speeches with wild accusations, such as Roosevelt's being the real force behind appeasement. Although many Republicans were isolationists, Willkie campaigned on the idea that Roosevelt was not doing enough to aid Great Britain and prepare the defense of the United States.

While Willkie barnstormed, President Roosevelt conducted a classic Rose Garden campaign, made few appearances, and refused to directly debate his opponent. Roosevelt's strategy was simple: run as the experienced and respon-

sible leader and let Willkie hang himself. Roosevelt also benefited from the Republican fissures by appealing to the internationalist wing. Even before the Republican convention, Roosevelt brought prominent Republicans Henry Stimson and Frank Knox into his cabinet as secretary of war and secretary of the navy. In early September Roosevelt dropped a bombshell, announcing that the United States would trade fifty World War I destroyers to Great Britain for bases in the Western Hemisphere. Later that month Roosevelt signed the Selective Service Act, creating the first peacetime draft in American history. Roosevelt saved most of his energy for the last few days of the campaign, when he gave several radio addresses that rank among his best. An exhausted Willkie made several muddled speeches as his own campaign wound down.

When Americans went to the polls on November 5, 1940, they gave Roosevelt a third term. He received 27,243,466 popular and 449 electoral votes to Willkie's respective totals of 22,304,755 and 82.

Further Reading: Joseph Barnes, *Willkie: The Events He Was Part Of, The Ideas He Fought For*, 1952; Robert E. Burke, "Election of 1940," in Arthur Schlesinger Jr., ed., *History of American Presidential Elections*, 4: 2917–2946, 1971; Robert A. Divine, *Foreign Policy and U.S. Presidential Elections, 1940–1948*, 1974.

GREGORY DEHLER

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1944

Franklin D. Roosevelt used the beginning of an election year to publicize his economic bill of rights in his State of the Union message on January 11, 1944. The president proclaimed that there could be no individual freedom without economic security: the right to work. He included the right to protection from the consequences of old age, illness, accident, and unemployment.

Roosevelt's belated public statement that he would run for an unprecedented fourth term was based on his impassioned wish to see the war through to victory and to participate in the creation of an international organization to preserve the peace. The president, an insightful commander in chief, was renominated by acclamation on the first ballot at the July Democratic

convention in Chicago. The main issue there was the vice presidential choice. Roosevelt favored Henry A. Wallace, his third-term vice president and a thoroughgoing liberal. Roosevelt acceded, however, to the demands of conservative southern congressmen and northeastern urban political leaders for a replacement. Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri emerged as the nominee. (Roosevelt subsequently appointed Wallace secretary of commerce.) The Republican national convention (controlled by the Old Guard Republicans) had met in Chicago a month earlier, nominating Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York for president on the first ballot. His choice for vice president was Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio.

Roosevelt, in his acceptance speech, repeated his resolve to avoid the usual pattern of campaigning expected of candidates because of his wartime duties. The political action committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (which was influential in Truman's nomination) and its chairman, labor leader Sidney Hillman, invested heavily in voter registration and campaign literature to bring out the labor vote. Black Americans were also a significant source of Roosevelt's political strength.

In September the campaign took a new turn when Dewey decided that his victory hinged on a more aggressive stance directed at Roosevelt personally. In Des Moines, Iowa, Dewey criticized the administration for its inability to revive the economy during its first eight years. In Boston, he loudly asserted that the Communist party was seizing control over the New Deal and that Roosevelt was putting his party in the hands of its left-wing faction. He added that Roosevelt had pardoned the Communist leader Earl Browder during the election season to help develop the fourth-term campaign. In Worcester, Massachusetts, Dewey stated that a Republican victory would terminate one-man government and thus eliminate the risk of monarchy in the United States.

Dewey's hard assaults and arrogance angered Roosevelt. His disdain for Dewey moved him to present his case consistently and directly to the people. He delivered his first notable campaign speech to the Teamsters Union in Washington, DC, on September 23. His schedule included four more speeches: October 21 in New York City on

foreign policy; October 27 in Philadelphia on the war; October 28 in Chicago on postwar domestic policies, where he repeated his economic bill of rights; and a summary speech in Boston on November 4. In the New York City visit, a determined Roosevelt wanted to be seen by the people in daylight to prove his physical fitness. Some 3 million people in four boroughs saw the president in an open car on a victorious but cold, rain-drenched day.

Roosevelt won thirty-six of forty-eight states. His electoral vote was 432; Dewey's 99. Roosevelt's popular vote was 25,602,505; Dewey's 22,006,278. In the end, Roosevelt's experience in military and foreign policy matters ensured a conclusive victory.

Further Reading: Jim Bishop, *FDR's Last Year: April 1944–April 1945*, 1974; Paul F. Boller Jr., *Presidential Campaigns*, 1984; Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Campaign Speech to the Teamsters Union," in Basil Rauch, ed., *The Roosevelt Reader*, 1957.

BERNARD HIRSCHHORN

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1948 Harry S. Truman, who succeeded to the presidency on April 12, 1945, was determined to run for the office in 1948, though his prospects seemed dim. Clark M. Clifford, special counsel to the president, advised him that only by moving clearly to the left could he win. Truman had already evidenced his readiness to resume domestic reform, advancing it beyond the New Deal, in his message to Congress on September 6, 1945. In 1947 the Republican-controlled eightieth Congress, with conservative southern Democratic cooperation, weakened even more a similar message.

The president began his election campaign with his State of the Union address of January 7, 1948, which included reforms such as farm price supports, a minimum wage increase, a federal housing program, and federal aid to education, national health insurance, and civil rights. Truman had to fight the perception of Americans for Democratic Action, and other Democratic Party liberals, that he lacked presidential status. Only after the failure of their attempt to persuade Dwight D. Eisenhower to enter the race did they give in to Truman. At the Democratic convention

in Philadelphia, Truman won on the first ballot; Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky obtained the vice presidential nomination.

The president, in his combative acceptance speech, repeated his domestic agenda, announcing that he would summon a special session of the eightieth Congress on July 26 to pass his reforms. The recalcitrant legislature failed the test he put to them. Truman described this Congress as one that did nothing.

The Republican party had met in Philadelphia a month earlier, nominating Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York for president on the third ballot and Governor Earl Warren of California for vice president. The division between liberals and conservatives in the Republican Party enabled Truman to make the eightieth Congress the central issue in his campaign, addressing his opponent Dewey.

Truman's nomination caused splits in the Democratic Party on both right and left. Thirty-five delegates from Mississippi and Alabama walked out of the convention, rebelling against the platform's civil rights plank. A week later, on July 17, conservative southern Democrats from thirteen states convened in Birmingham, Alabama. Their States' Rights Democratic Party nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for vice president. The southern breakaway was counterproductive in that urban black Americans, assured that southern segregationists were no longer a force in the Democratic Party, voted for Truman. (The African American vote in California, Illinois, and Ohio was crucial to Truman's victory.)

In late 1946 and 1947, Democrat Henry A. Wallace publicly criticized President Truman's hard-line policy regarding the Soviet Union. On December 29, 1947, Wallace declared his candidacy for a third party. A new Progressive Party convened in Philadelphia, nominating Wallace, an ardent New Dealer, for president and Democratic senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho for vice president. Wallace, in his campaign, focused on his opposition to Truman's containment policy, urging instead accommodation with the Soviet Union to end the Cold War. Support for Wallace, however, was dwindling as a result of Communist

infiltration of the Progressive Party and endorsement of his candidacy. The anti-Communist Americans for Democratic Action reprehended him. Organized labor, which was also anti-Communist and seeking to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, went for the Democratic Party.

In his whistle-stop speeches across the country, Truman's attacks on the Republican record in the eightieth Congress contributed significantly to his unexpected victory. The New Deal coalition remained intact.

Truman won twenty-eight of forty-eight states; Dewey sixteen; Thurmond four. The electoral vote was Truman 304; Dewey 189; Thurmond 38 (in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina); Wallace none. Truman received 24,105,812 popular votes; Dewey 21,970,065; Thurmond 1,169,063; Wallace 1,157,172.

Further Reading: Allen Yarnell, *Democrats and Progressives: The 1948 Presidential Election as a Test of Political Liberalism*, 1974; Irwin Ross, *The Loneliest Campaign: The Truman Victory of 1948*, 1968; Bert Cochran, *Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency*, 1973.

BERNARD HIRSCHHORN

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION ACT OF 1947 The Presidential Succession Act of 1947, signed by President Harry S. Truman, changed the order of succession that had existed since 1886. The 1947 law designated the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives as president of the United States if, by reason of death, resignation, removal from office, inability, or failure to qualify, there was neither a president nor vice president. Should there be no Speaker or no Speaker meeting presidential requirements, the president pro tempore of the Senate would become president. If there existed no president pro tempore of the Senate, then cabinet officials who were not disqualified under the Constitution because of age and birth restrictions would assume the presidency in order of the chronological creation of their executive department, beginning with the secretary of state. In other words, should a hypothetical airplane crash simultaneously claim on board the lives of the president, vice president, speaker, president pro tempore, and secretary of state, and should the Treasury

secretary be only thirty years old, and should the defense secretary be a native-born German, the attorney general, if he or she met the specifications, would assume the presidency. Theoretically, the cabinet member could belong to a different political party than that of the elected president being replaced. Proponents of the 1947 measure argued that the people elected representatives and senators and that the president appointed holders of cabinet portfolios. Opponents of this change pointed out that most legislators lacked executive experience. The succession act was passed during the Cold War and before the adoption of the Twenty-Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which established a legal procedure for filling the office of vice president in case of a vacancy, and also when Republicans controlled Congress and there was no vice president due to the succession of Truman to the presidency in 1945. Under this current system, when a president belongs to one party and a Speaker is of the other political party, a fundamental shift in political philosophy and governance could occur in the executive branch.

Further Reading: Birch E. Bayh, *One Heartbeat Away: Presidential Disability and Succession*, 1968; John D. Feerick, *From Failing Hands: The Story of Presidential Succession*, 1965; Ruth C. Silva, *Presidential Succession*, 1968.

LEONARD SCHLUP

PRISONS During the 1940s, two major shifts in penal philosophy and practice occurred in American prisons: formal adoption of the “medical model” in corrections, and the emergence of “correctional institutions” to replace the formerly dominant “Big House.”

The medical model in corrections had its roots in the 1920s and the progressive movement’s social reform agenda. Progressives argued that rehabilitation of criminal offenders was possible through a process of precise diagnosis and carefully designed and individually tailored treatment administered by professional social workers, psychologists, and others. In 1929, rehabilitation gained national legitimacy when Congress authorized the Federal Bureau of Prisons to begin developing institutions whose internal practices insured that offenders received

proper classification, care, and treatment. Progressives also advocated parole, probation, and indeterminate sentences for offenders. By the 1930s, most states had already adopted these policies. All that was necessary was for the state prisons to add classification systems to diagnose offenders and to develop treatment programs based on these diagnoses.

Not until the 1940s, however, did corrections officials first undertake serious efforts to implement the medical model with its emphasis on identifying the social, psychological, or biological deficiencies of criminals that caused them to engage in illegal behavior. These efforts entailed correctional officials (1) hiring social workers, psychologists, and psychiatrists who would oversee and become involved with diagnosis and treatment and (2) creating different types of institutions for different kinds of offenders. Under this new penology, prisons would not only have different levels of security (e.g., minimum, medium, or maximum) but would also provide to inmates vocational, educational, and psychiatric counseling programs.

The second shift involved the demise of the formerly dominant Big House model of corrections and the creation of new correctional institutions. Under the Big House model, harsh discipline and the repression of inmates by prison officials was the norm. Under the new model, there was less reliance on discipline and repression. The institution’s daily regimes were less structured, inmates had greater access to recreational privileges, and mail and visitation policies were more liberal than in the Big House. Prisoners also had greater access to educational and vocational training programs and therapeutic counseling. Proponents of the correctional institution intended it to be the physical embodiment of the medical model philosophy. Unlike the Big House, prisons would no longer simply warehouse offenders and subject them to crushing boredom, harsh treatment, and menial labor. Instead, the new correctional institution offered a less harsh environment and provided inmates with individualized treatment programs intended to rehabilitate them. Correctional institutions and the medical model became dominant in American penology for the next four decades.

Further Reading: Thomas G. Bloomberg and Stanley Cohen, eds., *Punishment and Social Control*, 2003; Norvis Morris and David J. Rothman, *The Oxford History of the Prison*, 1995; Michael Tonry, ed., *Prisons*, 1999.

JOHN J. SLOAN III

PROGRESSIVE PARTY The Progressive Party of 1948 challenged the Truman administration's hard-line foreign policy initiatives toward the Soviet Union. The party was especially critical of the Truman Doctrine, with its pledge to challenge Soviet subversion of friendly governments throughout the world. This was the beginning of the Cold War stand off between the two superpowers. The Progressive Party advocated a conciliatory attitude toward, and friendship with, the Soviet Union. This position brought intense animosity toward the party and its standard bearer, Henry Wallace, in the presidential election of 1948.

Wallace's liberal ideas had earned him the hostility of southern Democrats, who persuaded President Franklin Roosevelt to dump him as the vice president candidate prior to the 1944 election. Thereafter, Wallace asked for and got the post of secretary of commerce, but he did not keep it long after Roosevelt's death. Wallace's increasing criticism of American foreign policy finally prompted Truman to fire him in 1946. As a private citizen, Wallace soon became a spokesman for the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA), which had been formed in December of 1946 from a merger of the National Citizens Political Action Committee (NCPAC) and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. Both groups had been formed to support Roosevelt in 1944. NCPAC had generally supported Truman when he took office, but as 1946 wore on it became more discontented with his leadership.

Late in 1947, Wallace decided he could force a change in American foreign policy and pioneer new domestic issues by forming a third party. The Progressive Party's founding convention was held in July 1948 in Philadelphia. It was a gathering of PCA members, ultraliberals, establishment liberals, former populists, and Communists. The new party stood for a traditional reform agenda, similar to the goals of the New Deal, but differed

markedly from the administration's foreign policy. The party platform advocated progressive taxation, federal aid to education, a women's rights amendment to the Constitution, government ownership of the power industry, national economic planning, expansion of the welfare system and Social Security, health and unemployment insurance, and repeal of segregation laws.

Wallace's barbed criticisms of Truman's foreign policy continued throughout the campaign. Wallace sought rapprochement between the United States and Soviet Union, and he insisted that the United States acknowledge that the USSR rightly had a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe by virtue of its wartime victories. If carried out, the Progressive Party platform would have dismantled American foreign policy. The platform advocated abandonment of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, but gave support to revolutionary movements in former colonial nations. These demands seemed tantamount to treason in the minds of some Americans, as did the party's support by Communists.

On election night, Wallace and his vice presidential candidate, Senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho, failed to carry a single state while getting about 1 million votes or roughly 2.4 percent of the votes cast. Wallace later left the Progressive Party because it refused to support the war in Korea. The party did poorly in the 1952 election and subsequently disbanded. After its disappearance, some of its ideas on relations with Russia, segregation, and other issues eventually regained popularity.

Further Reading: Hugh C. MacDougall Collection of Progressive Party Papers, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa; Norman D. Markowitz, *The Rise and Fall of the People's Century: Henry Wallace and American Liberalism, 1941–1948*, 1973; Edward L. Schapsmeister and Frederick H. Schapsmeister, *Prophet in Politics: Henry Wallace and the War Years, 1940–1965*, 1970.

NORMAN E. FRY

PROSTITUTION Despite the closing of the red-light districts during the Progressive Era, prostitution continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s, especially near military bases. Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), including syphilis and gonorrhea, were believed to be among the

leading medical problems of the day. In 1938 the federal government undertook a massive program to attack them through antibiotics and subsidized treatment programs.

World War II caused massive disruption in American life. While millions of young men either enlisted or were drafted, millions of young women migrated around the United States to find employment in war-related industries. More economic freedom and less supervision by parents led to dramatic increases in sexual activity.

In 1940, after passage of the Selective Service Act, the Congress passed the May Act to assuage parents who feared their boys would be subjected to moral degradation from increased exposure to prostitution. Under the guidelines of this legislation, the federal government vowed to close down the vice districts around military bases if the local officials were unwilling or unable to do so. Several hundred vice districts were raided soon after the May Act was passed, and the army claimed that more than 700 were eradicated by 1945. In addition, numerous restrictions such as curfews were placed on teenagers, to limit their contact with soldiers. Although 80 percent of men had sexual contact during their military service, only a small percentage was with prostitutes. Most sexual contact occurred with amateur girls whom soldiers referred to as Khaki-wackies, Good Time Charlottes, and Victory Girls.

In addition to shutting down vice districts, the army engaged in a series of other practices to limit prostitution. Films depicting the dangers of STDs became part of basic training. The army worked with local and national organizations to promote healthy alternatives to gratuitous sex for soldiers, such as United Service Organizations' dances, competitive athletic events, and films. Finally, the Army made antibiotics available to any soldiers who thought that they might have contracted an STD. Sometimes, the effectiveness of these drugs undercut the army's efforts to reduce prostitution, making it seem to some soldiers that STDs were no worse than the flu. The army also distributed condoms to soldiers in an effort to reduce STDs.

Nevertheless, the army did allow some regulated vice districts to remain open. The most famous was Hotel Street in Honolulu, Hawaii,

where brothels intermingled with bars and tattoo parlors. Because of its proximity to the front, and because the police strictly regulated the brothels, the federal government did not close it down. Men began lining up at 9 AM to pay three dollars for their turn. The prostitutes were treated like machines by their madams and operated as part of an assembly line. Some could earn \$30,000 a year if they could survive the brutal pace. Women from the mainland heard of the money to be earned at Hotel Street, but many returned when the inhumane conditions almost killed them. The strict regulation of the brothels and regular physical examinations kept the STD rate in Hawaii the lowest of any American military district. The army was surprised to discover that STDs were spread not by prostitutes, but by the amateur girls, leaving few avenues of regulation.

Following the war, federal, state, and local governments reduced the resources they devoted to antiprostitution campaigns, focusing their efforts instead on combating homosexuality, child molestation, and rape.

Further Reading: Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations and the Status of Women During World War II*, 1981; Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii*, 1992; Francis Merrill, *Social Problems on the Homefront*, 1948.

GREGORY DEHLER

PROTESTANTISM The impact of World War II is difficult to measure. The war was central in many American lives and undoubtedly religious values sustained them in this time of personal and national crisis. Theological issues, for example, were muted as Americans pulled together for the war effort as ideally represented in Norman Rockwell's painting of church members praying together. War, of course, is a great challenge to the cultural status quo and normative behavior. World War II and the 1940s were no exception.

Historic theological disagreements among mainstream denominations and sects existed in the 1940s. Many Americans, however, picked their religious beliefs and church membership based on the minister's personal appeal. Protestants, in many different denominations, were the majority and

controlled the heights in politics and culture. The situation changed during the second half of the twentieth century. In brief, issues—such as free will, the ministry of Jesus, and the status of the Bible—divided Protestants. The issues became especially sharp from the end of World War II to the present. The origins of these cultural and theological battles turned on the issues dividing liberal Protestantism and fundamentalism.

Early in the twentieth century in reaction to the liberal (non-Calvinist) drift of many urban churches and denominations, many theological conservatives, strong in the rural South, argued for biblical infallibility and several other traditional points—“the fundamentals” of the faith. Accordingly critical elements in the continuing conflicts were functions of class and status. The Scopes trial was a sore point for both camps. By 1945 most Protestant leaders were in the modernist or liberal camp—often more concerned with social and public policy than exploring the faith via biblical scholarship.

The American practice of holding regular revivals illustrated the social problem for many modernists—it was unseemly. Yet the revival was a vital part of Protestantism in America from The Great Awakening to the latest TV religious program. Revivalism contributed to American abolitionism before the Civil War. The evangelicals were not always on the wrong side of an issue. From George Whitefield in colonial times to Billy Graham who began his successful ministry in the 1940s, evangelical ministers had their followers. Nevertheless as philosophical naturalism, varied forms of Darwinism, and general secularization emerged, revivals lost their appeal for many Americans.

In reaction to the extreme style of Frank Norris, minister of the First Baptist Church in Dallas, Texas, J. Elwin Wright and Harold Ockenga, in 1942, established the National Association of Evangelicals, which was pointedly nondenominational. Creating a popular front of Protestant church organizations, it sought to renew theological emphasis on Jesus’s love in the process of personal salvation. It also avoided, if possible, theological hairsplitting that historically caused membership decline in the Protestant churches in the past. The organization’s field of ministry

was urban America, which became a significant presence in American life in the 1940s.

Radio programs replaced the tent revivals starting in the late 1930s and by the 1940s were an important part of many listeners’s lives. For example, in 1943 Charles Fuller’s *Old-Fashioned Revival Hour* had an audience of 20 million listeners a week. Nearly 500 radio stations carried the program. Fuller’s message was not the emotionalism of hell’s fire and damnation of Billy Sunday’s sermons in the 1920s. Fuller’s preaching style was that of a trusted friend dealing with everyday issues.

Over time, such efforts led to the mega church, which took on aspects of entrainment rather than the traditional forms of worship. Mega churches often stress personal feelings and positive thinking in opposition to the elements of Calvinism in historic Protestant congregations.

In the 1940s, as in other times, many Americans experienced some sort of crisis. Religion often helps with a solution. Evangelical Protestants remained a strong presence in American life regardless of liberal or modernist Protestantism. In many respects both forms of Protestantism contributed to a civic religion, which combines religious images, vague emotional appeals, and biblical sentimentalism with patriotic themes and on occasion hard public policy issues.

Further Reading: Patrick Allitt, *Religion in America Since 1945: A History*, 2003; Dennis McCann, *Christian Realism and Liberation Theology*, 1981; Robert Moats Miller, *American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919–1939*, 1960.

DONALD K. PICKENS

PSYCHOLOGY The traditional starting point for psychology as a discipline separate from philosophy is 1879, when Wilhelm Wundt founded a laboratory at the University of Leipzig. For most of recorded history, of course, philosophers including Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, etc., had discussed psychological ideas. However, the 1879 date is significant in that this was the first time that someone had systematically separated psychology from philosophy by describing psychology as an experimental discipline.

From that time forward, psychology has had

a somewhat checkered history. Before the turn of the century, psychology moved from being an offspring of philosophy to a discipline that had its own empirical methods of investigation. Unfortunately there was no general agreement as to what the experimental method ought to be. For one group of psychologists, the structuralists, introspection was the methodology of choice. Introspection was developed by Wundt as a technique that would help the psychologist determine the structure of consciousness (hence the school of thought known as structuralism). Other psychologists (most notably William James) argued that knowing about the function of consciousness was more important (hence the school of thought known as functionalism). Functionalists could not agree on a research methodology, but did agree that it should bring about a fundamental understanding of the reasons for consciousness.

In the early part of the twentieth century John B. Watson argued strongly that the most important issue that should concern psychologists was that which was directly observable: namely, behavior. Watson was one of the first psychologists to argue strongly that there is little difference between the laws that govern behavior for humans and for nonhumans (an issue that grew largely out of the work of Darwin). Thus, according to Watson, one could in fact derive laws of behavior that would apply equally to both humans and other animals.

Watson probably would have become one of the most famous psychologists of the twentieth century if he had not been fired from his post at Johns Hopkins University because of a scandalous affair. However, his mark on psychology is indelible, because his work led directly to the work of arguably the most important psychologist of the century, B.F. Skinner.

Burrhus Frederick Skinner was interested in becoming a writer for much of his youth. However, once he failed at being a writer, he returned to school and discovered the work of Watson. Watson's work emphasized the importance of careful observation, measurement, and manipulation of behavior as a means of understanding the complexities of human action. By skillfully applying these ideas Skinner devel-

oped one of the most comprehensive theories of human behavior that had been developed to that point, as well as up to this point. According to this theory, the main control of behavior was the consequence that followed the behavior. Thus, if we perform a behavior, and it is followed by a desirable consequence (called reinforcement), we perform the behavior again. Conversely, if we perform a behavior and it is followed by an aversive consequence, we are less likely to perform the behavior again (called punishment).

During the 1940s Skinner's ideas were undoubtedly the most influential in the development of the field. Skinner was able to utilize his skills at building things to develop an entire research methodology to uncover the reasons for behavior. He built a machine called an operant chamber (some called it a Skinner Box) that allowed for careful control of the consequences of behavior. Using this apparatus, Skinner developed his comprehensive theory designed to predict and control behavior.

In addition, Skinner worked on projects that were considered to be groundbreaking at the time, even going so far as to offer to train pigeons to guide bombs during the waning days of World War II. In addition, Skinner developed theories of teaching, learning, language and behavior control that were markedly different from all forms of psychology as they existed at the time. Even today, Skinner's theories are considered to be important components of modern experimental psychology.

Other contributions to psychology during the 1940s include the groundswell of research in social psychology, testing (including IQ testing) and the development of new and innovative therapeutic techniques, such as Rogerian Therapy.

Further Reading: B.F. Skinner, *Behavior of Organisms*, 1938; David Hothersall, *History of Psychology*, 2003; Raymond Fancher, *Pioneers of Psychology*, 1985.

CHRISTOPHER M. HAKALA

PSYCHOLOGY (CHILD) A specialty within the discipline of psychology, child psychology represents the scientific study of behaviors and mental processes of children from conception to, and sometimes through, adolescence. Like

their predecessors, child psychologists in the 1940s focused on normal children, seeking to describe and account for the development of children's cognitive, social, emotional, physical, and behavioral domains. More recently, applied child or applied developmental psychologists have adopted a more idiographic approach, focusing on abnormal or problematic aspects of development.

Society's view of children has varied over time. Until about 1750, children were valued primarily as cheap, unregulated labor. Coincidentally, they received little psychological attention until the early twentieth century, when society awarded them a position of privilege within the nuclear family. Psychologists began to appreciate children as qualitatively different from adults and, consequently, interesting subjects of study.

For several decades prior to 1940, special education programs served the practical purpose of providing school-based services to children with education-related deficiencies. Likewise, children with serious mental health issues accessed mental hygiene agencies. The decade of the 1940s brought with it significant advances in the discipline's professionalization, which, in turn, supported development of applied practice specialties within the discipline. Children with special schooling or mental health needs soon became the purview of one of the burgeoning applied specialties of school or clinical psychology, respectively.

An enduring challenge has been to determine what directs development—biological or environmental factors. During the 1940s, the prevailing view that children were shaped by external rather than internal forces was reflected in theories and treatments. The decade was considered an age of expansion in psychology generally, though less dramatic in child psychology. Prominent theories emphasized behavioral approaches and normative development, and a scientific bent was evident. Theories that could not garner scientific support were eschewed.

In decades preceding the 1940s, John B. Watson, Arnold Gesell, and Jean Piaget advanced three powerful theories directed specifically at children. During the 1940s, B.F. Skinner added to Watson's work on conditioning behaviors. Where-

as Watson emphasized events and responses (behaviors) that occur simultaneously, Skinner demonstrated that events following a given behavior are instrumental in determining whether that behavior is repeated or not. Skinner showed that a behavior could be strengthened or diminished depending on whether it was rewarded or punished subsequently. Gesell's view of the natural unfolding of a maturational map was echoed in the influential Progressive Education Movement, spearheaded by John Dewey. It advocated attention to individual learners and encouraged use of instructional methods consistent with what was known about child development. These ideas were akin to those of Gesell, who asserted that internal, biological factors guide maturational processes in healthy, productive directions. Piaget stressed that cognitive development occurs in discrete stages. He designed tasks to demonstrate qualitative differences among the stages, thereby providing empirical evidence to support his theory.

For much of the 1940s, psychoanalytic psychotherapies dominated children's treatment. Although Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, did not address children, his daughter Anna Freud was renowned for her pioneering work in child psychotherapy, beginning in the 1920s. Virginia Axline's seminal volume on play therapy, which was published in 1947, represented a radical departure from psychoanalysis. Even today, her work is cited frequently. Axline regarded play as a primary means of communication for children and promoted nondirective play therapy. This technique stood in sharp contrast to the highly directive approach of psychoanalysis.

Child psychology in the 1940s also began to influence society and the family. Benjamin Spock's *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* and the coverage of some of B.F. Skinner's work in the *Ladies' Home Journal* marked the beginning of this trend, which has made the field more accessible to the general public.

Further Reading: Donald K. Freedheim and Irving B. Weiner, eds., *History of Psychology*, 2003; Richard M. Lerner, *Concepts and Theories of Human Development*, 2nd ed., 1986; Warren R. Street, *A Chronology of Noteworthy Events in American Psychology*, 1994.

JANET F. CARLSON

PULLER, LEWIS BURWELL (June 26, 1898–October 11, 1971), U.S. Marines' general. Lewis "Chesty" Puller was born in West Point, Virginia. His formal education began with local public schools and ended with one year, 1917, at Virginia Military Institute. In 1918 he enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps (USMC), seeking a commission and assignment to the American Expeditionary Force. Puller was one of the first marine recruits to train at Parris Island, South Carolina, and after boot camp he was retained in the cadre that developed the facility. By the time he was commissioned, the war was over and budget cutbacks forced him onto the inactive reserve list. Undeterred, Puller enlisted again and shipped out to Haiti, where he saw action against Caco insurgents, for which the Haitian government decorated him. After Haiti, Puller was again commissioned, failed flight school, served at Pearl Harbor, then began five years in Nicaragua. There he fought Sandino rebels and won his first two Navy Crosses.

After Nicaragua and a tour at the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia, Puller served in China before taking command of the marine detachment aboard Captain Chester W. Nimitz's *Augusta*. In 1942 Puller, a major, led the Seventh Marines at Guadalcanal, where he won his third Navy Cross. At Cape Gloucester, New Britain, he won the fourth in 1944. Later he headed the First Marines at Peleliu.

After the war Puller helped organize the Marine Reserves, then served at Pearl Harbor until recalled to command the First Marines in Korea for the Inchon landing. His performance during the withdrawal from Chosin Reservoir brought Puller his fifth and final Navy Cross. Promoted to brigadier general in 1951 and major general in 1953, Puller assumed command of the Second Marine Division at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, until a stroke forced him into retirement as a lieutenant general in 1955. His last public performance took him back to Parris Island in 1956. There he testified at drill instructor Sergeant Matthew McKeon's court-martial for leading a recruit platoon into a tidal river at night and losing six men. Puller did not defend killing troops in training but voiced support for tough training that would make the difference between survival and death in combat.

In the 1940s and 1950s Chesty Puller was the universal Devil Dog. His bulldog jaw, barrel chest, thunderous voice, documented courage, and raw determination made him the epitome of the U.S. Marine. He died in Hampton, Virginia.

Further Reading: P.V. Puller, *Lewis, American National Biography*, 1962; Jon T. Hoffman, *Chesty: The Story of Lieutenant General Lewis B. Puller, USMC*, 2001; Lewis B. Puller Jr., *Fortunate Son*, 1991.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

QUEBEC CONFERENCE

This name was given to two wartime meetings between U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill, on August 17–24, 1943 (code name Quadrant) and September 12–16, 1944 (Octagon). Despite having more or less the same attendees and the same Canadian location, the first and second conference agendas were very different, reflecting the stages of the war at which they took place. Quadrant was dominated by the question of whether to make the major Anglo-American effort in 1944 a large-scale invasion of France. The U.S. delegates, who had been consistently more enthusiastic about this project than their British counterparts, arrived determined to settle the issue. Superficially, this was achieved; the two leaders and their military staffs accepted the provisional scheme, drafted by a planning committee set up at the earlier Casablanca Conference, for what would eventually become Operation Overlord. Roosevelt also extracted a concession from the British that the eventual commander in chief of this cross-Channel invasion would be American. Churchill, however, despite his outward concurrence, continued to hope that a landing in Normandy would ultimately prove unnecessary, a prospect that seemed to be buttressed by news of fascist Italy's surrender shortly after the first conference ended. At Quadrant Roosevelt and Churchill also signed a secret agreement that their two countries would pool their resources in order to develop an atomic bomb and that such a weapon would only be used with the consent of both powers—an agreement that the United States largely disregarded. By the time of the second Quebec Conference, over twelve months after Quadrant, the principal issue was no longer successful prosecution of the war, but rather the shape of the postwar settlement. Roosevelt and Churchill approved dividing Germany into occupation zones and provisionally agreed to the so-called Morgenthau Plan drawn up by Roosevelt's long-serving Treasury secretary. It was a Carthaginian Peace



proposal to deindustrialize Germany permanently, so drastic and imprudent that the State Department and the British Foreign Office hurriedly combined to smother it at birth. The Americans also agreed, albeit reluctantly,

that British forces would begin to take a larger than previous role in the battle against Japan. Roosevelt's aides, suspecting that Churchill's motive was to prop up British imperial interests in Southeast Asia, were correspondingly lukewarm about this offer of assistance. Despite an ostensible show of unity, Octagon did not much advance the cause of Anglo-American understanding.

Further Reading: Steve Weiss, *Allies in Conflict: Anglo-American Strategic Negotiations, 1938–44*, 1996; David Woolner, ed., *The Second Quebec Conference Revisited*, 1998.

ALAN ALLPORT

QUISLING, VIDKUN ABRAHAM LAURITZ

(July 18, 1887–October 24, 1945), Norwegian politician and fascist leader. Born at Fyresdal in Norway, Quisling, after an early career in the army, served as minister of defense in the conservative Agrarian Party government from 1931 to 1933. He resigned to form the fascist Nasjonal Samling (National Unity) Party, in which he exercised absolute power. After meeting with Adolf Hitler, Admiral Erich Raeder, Alfred Rosenberg, and other high German officials in December 1939, Quisling urged a German invasion of Norway, which occurred on April 9, 1940. Quisling was minister president in this Nazi-occupation puppet government. Norwegians strongly resisted his endeavors to convert churches, schools, and young people to National Socialism. A champion of Nordic racial superiority, Quisling sent thousands of Jews to perish in concentration camps. In fact, about 75 percent of the Jewish inhabitants of Trondheim died in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. Quisling, an inept, self-deluding, and opportunistic political figure whom the Germans tolerated, offered little as a manifestation of

indigenous Norwegian fascism and became highly unpopular. A Nazi collaborator during World War II and a traitor to his country and people, Quisling remained in power until the surrender of the German forces in Norway on May 7, 1945, which ended his dictatorship. Quisling was arrested and tried for high treason and crimes against humanity and against the Norwegian people. He was sentenced to death on September

17, 1945, by a Norwegian court and executed by shooting at Akershus Castle in Oslo. Thereafter his name, like that of Benedict Arnold, became synonymous with treason.

Further Reading: Hans F. Dahl, *Quisling: A Study in Treachery*, 1999; Paul M. Hayes, *Quisling: The Career and Political Ideas of Vidkun Quisling, 1887–1945*, 1971; Hoidal, *Quisling: A Study in Treason*, 1989.

LEONARD SCHLUP



RABI, ISIDOR ISAAC (July 29, 1898–January 11, 1988), physicist. Rabi was born in Raymonov, Austria, and in 1899 emigrated with his family to the United States. He attended New York City public schools and in 1919

received a BS in chemistry from Cornell University. He earned a PhD in physics at Columbia University in 1927. Between 1927 and 1929 he traveled to Europe on fellowship, doing research with Nobel laureates Neils Bohr, Wolfgang Pauli, and Werner Heisenberg. In 1929 Rabi returned to Columbia as lecturer in theoretical physics, rising in 1937 to professor.

In 1940 he became associate director of the Radiation Laboratory at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, working on the Manhattan Project, the code name for the atomic bomb program. Rabi worked on the development of both the bomb and radar. Like Manhattan Project colleagues Richard Feynman and J. Robert Oppenheimer, Rabi feared that nuclear weapons, if powerful enough, might extinguish life on earth.

In 1945 he returned to Columbia and began research on the generation of electricity from a nuclear reaction at the Brookhaven National Laboratory for Atomic Research in Long Island. The disintegration of an atom releases energy from the nucleus. The release of this energy in a flash is an explosion, but its release at a rate sufficient to boil water produces steam, which rushes through a chamber, spinning a turbine and thereby generating electricity. Like Albert Einstein, Rabi used his prestige as a physicist to promote peace.

Rabi received in 1939 the prize from the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1942 the Elliot Cresson Medal of the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, in 1944 the Nobel Prize in physics, and in 1948 the Medal of Merit, the highest civilian honor, from Congress and Great Britain's King's Medal for Service in the Cause of Freedom.

In 1959 the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovoth, Israel, appointed Rabi to its board of

governors. He was a fellow of the American Physical Society and a member of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, and of scientific societies

in Brazil and Japan. He served on the General Advisory Committee to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the U.S. National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In 1955 he was U.S. delegate and vice president of the Science Advisory Committee of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Geneva, Switzerland.

Rabi died in New York City.

Further Reading: Daniel J. Kevles, *The Physicists: The History of a Scientific Community in Modern America*, 1995; John S. Rigden, *Rabi: Scientist and Citizen*, 2000; Curt Supplee, *Physics in the Twentieth Century*, 1999.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

RACIAL PASSING Racial passing is the attempt by members of nonwhite minority groups to transfer their identities to Caucasian, that is, to pass for Caucasian. The effort is, of course, clandestine to avoid detection, making impossible a precise tabulation of how many nonwhites engage in the practice. Sociologist John H. Burma estimated in 1946 that 110,000 blacks were living as whites, with the number increasing by 2,500 a year. In 1947 Walter White, the president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), multiplied the number of blacks who crossed the color line each year nearly five-fold to 12,000. *Ebony Magazine* in 1948 offered the largest estimate—5 million blacks passing for white with an additional 40,000 to 50,000 each year.

African Americans were not alone in passing for Caucasian. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's February 1942 executive order that the army intern Japanese Americans living on the West Coast in camps throughout the United States led Fred

Korematsu to have plastic surgery and to falsify his draft card and name. When police in San Leandro, California, questioned him on May 30, 1942, about his race, Korematsu claimed to be Clyde Sarah, a name he chose for its Caucasian rather than Japanese origin. His ancestry, said Korematsu, was Spanish-Hawaiian. Police uncovered the truth and turned him over to the army for internment. Korematsu fought internment, a battle he lost in 1944 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against him in *Korematsu v. United States*.

A second case of racial passing attacked the practice of segregation in housing. To preserve their neighborhood as all white, homeowners and realtors often agreed never to sell property to blacks. A court in Washington, DC, evicted an African American, James Hurd, from a house whose previous owner had signed a covenant pledging not to sell his house to anyone of African descent. Hurd attempted to circumvent the eviction by trying to pass for a Mohawk Indian. The U.S. Supreme Court in 1948 in *Hurd v. Hodge* affirmed his race as Negro but overturned his eviction on the grounds that it violated the Fourteenth Amendment.

Racial passing sparked controversy among blacks as well as whites. Poet Langston Hughes applauded racial passing as a joke on racism. *Ebony Magazine* founder John H. Johnson dismissed the issue of passing as a fiction, anticipating the consensus, which would coalesce in the 1980s in molecular biology, that humans cannot be divided into races. Since the human population does not have enough genetic diversity to warrant its division into races or, in the parlance of biology, “subspecies” a person cannot therefore pass from one nonexistent category to another. Black critics countered that race was all too real in the United States. They opposed passing because it undermined racial solidarity and tacitly reinforced the prejudice that Caucasian was the most desirable race.

Further Reading: Kevin R. Johnson, ed., *Mixed Race America and the Law*, 2003; Gayle Wald, *Crossing the Line: Racial Passing in Twentieth-Century U.S. Literature and Culture*, 2000; Walter White, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White*, 1996.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

RADAR Radio detecting and ranging (radar) is the use of a transmitter that emits a radio wave with the aim of deflecting it from an airplane so that it bounces back to the transmitter. By sending a series of such waves, each of which rebounds to the transmitter, one can track an airplane’s path. The military application is obvious: a gun that fires into the path of an airplane tracked by radar can destroy the plane. Escalating tensions in Europe spurred the United States and European nations to develop radar in hopes of destroying enemy bombers. Germany developed radar in 1936 with Britain following in 1938.

Although the United States was not a combatant at the outbreak of World War II in 1939, American military planners understood the urgency of developing radar suitable for operation aboard ship (a moving rather than stationary transmitter) to protect the U.S. fleet. That year the battleship USS *New York* was the first ship to track an airplane by radar. The U.S. fleet at Honolulu, Hawaii, did detect the approach of Japanese bombers by radar on December 7, 1941, but dismissed the danger on the grounds that Japan was not brazen enough to attack the stronghold of American naval power in the Pacific.

By then, Germany had squandered its early lead in development. The French surrender in 1940 persuaded Adolf Hitler that Germany would soon end the war. Instead, British and American physicists and engineers accelerated a joint program to increase the precision of radar and its coordination with anti-aircraft guns. Precision lay in developing radar of greater frequency (smaller wavelengths). The greater the frequency, the larger is the number of waves that will strike and rebound from an airplane per second. The effect is comparable to watching a moving car with one glance per second versus one glance per minute.

Once in the lead, the United States and Britain never surrendered their advantage in precision. Scientific triumphs, of which radar and the atomic bomb were conspicuous examples, sealed the defeat of the Axis in World War II.

Further Reading: Reg Batt, *The Radar Army: Winning the War of the Airwaves*, 1991; Robert Buder, *The Invention That Changed the World: How a Small Group of Radar Pioneers Won the Second World War*, 1996; David

E. Fisher, *A Race on the Edge of Time: Radar—The Decisive Weapon of World War II*, 1991.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

RADIO During the Great Depression radio was central to the political discourse. President Franklin D. Roosevelt addressed the public in his famous fireside chats, an opportunity to elaborate his agenda without the filter of journalism. His critics, Catholic priest Charles Coughlin among them, used radio to attack the New Deal and to outline their policies.

Radio assumed an even larger role during World War II, offering listeners what print journalists could not: instant reporting of the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Battle of Britain, the use of two atomic bombs against Japan, and other episodes that galvanized the public. Edward R. Murrow of the Columbia Broadcasting System set the standard for radio journalism with his objective tone and dispassionate reporting of facts. The objectivity of Murrow and other radio journalists was more symbol than substance. They never missed an opportunity to report an Allied victory or an Axis setback. The Cold War further eroded objectivity's pretense, clearing the airwaves of reporting that strayed left of center. The Cold War shaped radio into the voice of anti-Communist consensus.

Radio entertained as well as informed and indoctrinated Americans. Musicians performed their latest works, often live, over the air, in contrast to the packaged production of today's music videos. As early as 1914 musicians helped form the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) to collect royalties; during the 1930s the money issue divided musicians and radio broadcasters. Broadcasters paid musicians a flat fee for a single live performance but nothing when they played a recording of that performance, often many times over the course of weeks. Musicians believed they deserved royalties for the repeated use of their work, but broadcasters countered that they owed musicians nothing because they had agreed to a flat fee. Under ASCAP pressure, broadcasters agreed in 1937 to pay 3 to 5 percent of revenues from adver-

tisements as royalties, but this agreement expired in 1940.

The same argument arose with records, but the U.S. Supreme Court acted swiftly, ruling in 1940 that when a radio station bought recorded music the station could play the music as often as it wished. The ruling cleared the way for broadcasters to replace live performers with records and to create a new radio persona, the disk jockey. Broadcasters therefore had no incentive in 1940 to renew their agreement to pay royalties. ASCAP responded in 1941 by pulling the music of its performers from radio and the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) followed suit the next year. Broadcasters retaliated by recruiting rhythm and blues and country and western musicians to join their own organization, Broadcast Music Incorporated. The result was stalemate, with broadcasters refusing to concede to ASCAP and AFM demands for a new royalty agreement.

More worrisome than ASCAP and AFM to broadcasters was the rise of television after World War II, which shrank radio's audience and advertisers. Desperate for revenues, a few broadcasters in 1948 proposed subscription radio. Radio should, they asserted, follow the path of newspapers and magazines by charging a fee for access to content. Fee for access, some thought, might replace advertisers. For five cents a day or \$18 a year, listeners could buy access to news and entertainment without commercial interruption. The idea succumbed to pressure from advertisers, though cable television would resurrect it in the 1970s.

Further Reading: Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo, *Rock 'n' Roll Is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Music Industry*, 1977; Donald G. Godfrey and Frederic A. Leigh, eds., *The Historical Dictionary of American Radio*, 1998; John Ryan, *The Production of Culture in the Music Industry: The ASCAP-BMI Controversy*, 1985.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

RAILROADS America's railroads faced a variety of challenges in the 1940s. Although World War II generated much passenger and freight traffic, it also stretched an already weakened industry well beyond its capacity and further stalled

modernization efforts delayed by the Great Depression. The streamlined trains of the immediate postwar period represented a high point in intercity passenger travel, but increased automobile ownership, along with government policies that favored other forms of transportation, presaged the increased competition that the industry would face from the 1950s onward.

American railroads had reached their peak in 1916 when they carried three-quarters of intercity freight and 98 percent of intercity passengers on 254,000 miles of track. By 1930, competition from automobiles, intercity buses, and commercial airlines had caused railroad passenger services to operate at a deficit. The Great Depression brought a dramatic decline in freight revenue, forcing all railroads to cut back on expenditures and causing weaker carriers to declare bankruptcy. By 1940, track mileage was down to 233,000 and the industry was struggling to operate with increased efficiency. The first streamlined passenger trains were introduced in the late 1930s and by 1940 could be found throughout the nation.

In 1941 diesel locomotives were first used in intercity freight service, following the introduction of switchers in the 1920s and passenger units in the 1930s. Diesels were more efficient (though initially more expensive) than the steam locomotives they replaced and significantly cheaper than the infrastructure needed for electric trains. During World War II, the federal government chose not to nationalize the railroads as it had done in World War I. Between 1942 and 1945; railroads carried record freight and passenger traffic (during those years posting the only industry-wide passenger profits since 1930).

Following World War II, railroads upgraded their passenger fleets through large investments in equipment. In 1945, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad introduced the first vista dome car (a coach with a raised, glass-enclosed observation deck), which would soon become a staple on the western transcontinental trains (the cars could not be used on many eastern lines because of tight clearances). That same year also saw the introduction of sleeping cars from New York to West Coast cities, eliminating the need to change trains (and often stations) in Chicago. Although

passenger amenities increased on many of the premier trains, the abandonment of secondary trains and routes begun in the Great Depression continued. In 1949, the number of passengers carried by commercial airlines surpassed those conveyed by Pullman in its national fleet of sleeping cars for the first time.

Further Reading: G. Freeman Allen, *Modern Railways*, 1980; Albro Martin, *Railroads Triumphant*, 1992; John F. Stover, *American Railroads*, 1961.

JOHN H. HEPP IV

RANDOLPH, ASA PHILIP (April 15, 1889–May 16, 1979), labor and civil rights leader. Born in Florida to a family that stressed education, Randolph graduated from Cookman College in 1907. Faced with racial prejudice, he moved in 1911 to New York City, where he enrolled in night classes at City College. The radical ideologies of the day attracted him and he began a career in journalism. Drawing on Marxist thought (although he was never a Communist) and the ideas of Frank Lester Ward, who believed that Darwinian evolution could be used in a liberal reconstruction of culture and society, Randolph stressed economic security and trade unionism. Married in 1913, by 1917 Randolph and his wife, Lucille Campbell, were publishing *The Messenger* with a pacifist, trade union, and civil rights orientation.

During this period he alternatively advocated integration and racial exclusivity, sparked by his opposition to Marcus Garvey. The Russian Revolution separated him from previous supporters; Randolph remained a strong anti-Communist all his life. By 1925 he led the struggle to organize the sleeping car porters. His organization had indifferent success until the New Deal's advent. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters became an important part of the Roosevelt coalition and Randolph became a presence in reform and labor circles.

Randolph threatened a march on Washington in 1941 unless blacks received a share of the wartime prosperity. President Franklin D. Roosevelt responded with an executive order creating the Fair Employment Practices Committee, which banned discrimination in defense industries and

government agencies. Randolph became a close ally of the Truman administration and supported the desegregation of the armed forces. He worked with the various programs and events of Martin Luther King's organization, helping prepare the March on Washington in 1963. Randolph also cooperated with white liberals such as Leon H. Keyserling on the Freedom Budget, which stressed increased government support for infrastructure and full employment.

Randolph's trade unionism and economic concerns often put him at odds with the black power movement. He believed economics held the key to African American equality, which, in a sense, was his updating of Booker T. Washington's message. Randolph, a man of great integrity, had supporters, black and white, who shared his vision of a truly integrated, color-blind society. He stressed the symbiotic relationship between civil rights and organized labor, both employing non-violent, mass civil disobedience to attain their goals.

Further Reading: Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait*, 1973; Paula A. Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph: Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement*, 1990; Joseph F. Wilson, *Tearing Down the Color Bar: A Documentary History and Analysis of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*, 1989.

DONALD K. PICKENS

RANKIN, JEANNETTE (June 11, 1880–May 18, 1973), congresswoman and social activist. Born on a ranch outside Missoula, Montana Territory, Rankin graduated in 1902 from the University of Montana. Unfulfilled as an elementary school teacher and enamored of the settlement house movement, she enrolled in the New York School of Philanthropy in 1908 to study social work. She soon embraced women's suffrage as the most likely vehicle to achieve substantive reform, campaigning nationwide for its enactment.

In November 1916 Rankin won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives as a Republican, becoming the first woman ever elected to that body. On April 6, 1917, she was one of fifty members of Congress who voted against the United States' entry into World War I. Her stand was widely condemned, even by such suffragists

as Carrie Chapman Catt, who insisted that Rankin's antiwar position jeopardized the women's movement. After a single, controversial term, Rankin unsuccessfully sought her party's nomination for the Senate. Believing her future in Montana politics at an end, Rankin moved to rural Georgia and established a center for peace studies. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s she frequently appeared on Capitol Hill to lobby in favor of disarmament and neutrality.

In 1940, Rankin returned to Montana, where she had maintained her voting residence, and launched a successful campaign for a second term in the U.S. House. Throughout 1941 she worked with Senator Burton K. Wheeler, a fellow Montanan, to stave off what they considered a rush to war. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, Rankin on December 8, 1941, cast the lone vote in either chamber against declaring war on Japan, making her the only representative who voted against American entry into both world wars. As she prepared to leave office in December 1942, she publicly questioned the administration's version of the events that had led to combat in the Pacific and suggested that Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt had colluded to provoke Japan. A fervent admirer of the teachings of Mohandas Gandhi, she made seven trips to India, the first at age sixty-six and the last at age ninety. Her commitment to pacifism and social activism never wavered; indeed, it intensified as she grew older. On January 15, 1968, she led a crowd of 5,000 women—the Jeannette Rankin Brigade—in a march on the U.S. Capitol to demand an end to American involvement in the Vietnam War. She died in Carmel, California, a few weeks before her ninety-third birthday.

Further Reading: Kevin S. Giles, *Flight of the Dove: The Story of Jeannette Rankin*, 1980; Hannah Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin: First Lady in Congress*, 1974; obituary in *New York Times*, May 20, 1973.

THOMAS H. APPLETON JR.

RATIONING Within a year of America's entry into World War II, the government's defense program gave way to a "victory program," and the military was given first priority on goods and

supplies. Production of most consumer goods made from raw materials such as steel, aluminum, and rubber shifted to the production of wartime items, including tanks, ships, and airplanes. The change created domestic shortages. Automobile production ceased in 1942; nylon and silk went into parachutes, not women's stockings; boots were made for the armed forces, while new shoes for civilians were not; and production of new radios and other appliances also ceased. Metals, rubber, and sugar became scarce as Pacific supply routes fell.

As a result, rationing of goods became one of the key components of the victory effort. In 1942, this task was given to the Office of Price Administration (OPA), a federal price-control agency created to regulate wartime inflation. The OPA set up ration boards in every county in the country—8,000 boards nationwide. The OPA began issuing war ration books for every member of every household, containing different colored ration stamps that were validated as items were rationed. Over 200,000 volunteers aided the agency in administering these ration books. Each color represented a different point value and food (i.e., red stamps for meat, butter, fats, and cheese, and blue for canned goods). Shoppers had to shop by both price and point value.

In May 1942, rubber became the first nonfood item rationed with War Ration Book One. In October 1942, fuel oil was rationed in most parts of the country, and in December 1942, gasoline rationing was introduced everywhere. Gasoline ration stickers had to be displayed on the windshield, with allotted amounts dependent upon the car's primary use.

Sugar was the first food item rationed under Ration Book One, followed by coffee and meat later in 1942. Butter rationing began in February 1943, followed by canned, frozen, and dried fruit and vegetables, and cheese. In total, nearly one-third of civilian food items were rationed during the war. Besides rationing food, Americans were encouraged to be more self-reliant by growing their own. The Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) revived the World War I Victory Garden program, urging Americans to plant vegetable gardens in order to ensure an adequate food supply for the home front and the troops. This effort was very

successful, and 40 percent of the fresh vegetables consumed in the United States came from the nearly 20 million wartime victory gardens planted in private homes, businesses, schools and government agencies.

In the spring of 1942, the War Production Board limited the amount of fabric that could be used in men's and women's garments. Women's skirts became narrower and shorter, and men's clothes no longer featured jacket elbow patches, pant cuffs, and vests. The government also encouraged Americans to "Use it up, wear it out, make it do or do without," urging them to recycle metals, paper, rubber, and even household waste fats and greases, which were used to make explosives and other munitions. As part of this recycling effort, the OCD instituted a series of very successful scrap drives. Nationwide collections were held for tin, steel, newspaper, and rubber. The first drive, held in mid-1941, resulted in collection of 70,000 tons of aluminum from donated pots and pans. That same year, 5 million tons of scrap steel were collected in just three weeks.

During World War I, rationing had been largely voluntary, so World War II marked the first time that rationing had been mandatory in the United States. Although rationing ended at the close of the war, sugar rationing continued well into 1946. The OPA was officially abolished in 1947.

Further Reading: Stan Cohen, *America's Home Front During World War II*, 1991; W.A. Nielander, *Wartime Food Rationing in the United States*, 1947; Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front, U.S.A.: America During World War II*, 2001.

JUDITH B. GERBER

RAYBURN, SAMUEL TALIAFERRO (January 6, 1882–November 16, 1961), Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. Sam Rayburn was born in Tennessee, but his family moved to near Commerce, Texas, in 1887. Rayburn graduated from East Texas Normal State and taught school for three years. He later graduated from the University of Texas Law School. For six years he served in the state House of Representatives, becoming speaker. There, Rayburn proved a progressive Democrat. He supported bank deposit

insurance, public school improvements, regulation of utilities, limitations of hours for working women, and pure food standards.

In 1912 he won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, where he remained until his death. He was a quiet man, whose life turned on his job and his relationships with future vice president John N. Garner and future president Lyndon Baines Johnson. Briefly married, Rayburn dedicated himself to politics. By 1932 he was a force in the House and a major creator of New Deal legislation. Rayburn was particularly proud of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1934. It corrected some of the injustices created by Samuel Insull, whose holding company empire had collapsed because of illegal mismanagement. All the major bills passed over Rayburn's desk. In 1937, he became majority leader and, three years later, Speaker. He supported New Deal domestic programs and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's foreign policies. He kept in close touch with the voters in his district, returning often to take the public pulse. Rayburn also placed many federal agencies in his northeast Texas district.

He worked closely with President Harry S. Truman and the Eisenhower administration. Although not impressed with John F. Kennedy's style as a senator, Rayburn proved a loyal Democrat. He was disappointed that Lyndon Johnson did not receive the Democratic nomination in 1960; he did live to see his "son" become president of the United States. Rayburn was an interesting man and politician. He was a man of steady habits, but not inflexible. Raised a segregationist, he changed over the years and quietly pushed civil rights legislation through Congress, in part because he sought to further the political ambitions of his friend, Lyndon Johnson.

Further Reading: Anthony Champagne, *Congressman Sam Rayburn*, 1984; Anthony Champagne, *Sam Rayburn: A Bio-Bibliography*, 1988; Sam Rayburn Papers, University of Texas at Austin.

DONALD K. PICKENS

REAGAN, RONALD WILSON (February 6, 1911–June 5, 2004), actor, anti-Communist activist, and president of the United States.

Employed by Warner Brothers Studios, Ronald Reagan was an emerging star in 1940. His most memorable performances came in quick succession, including his roles as George Gipp in *Knute Rockne: All American* (1940), George Custer in *Santa Fe Trail* (1940), and Drake McHugh in *King's Row* (1941). Reagan achieved additional fame through Warner Brothers' exploitation of his marriage to actress Jane Wyman, in a publicity campaign to show the studio as virtuous and wholesome. The studio used its influence to delay Reagan's military draft as long as possible, using prescient reasoning. The conflict interrupted his film career, which never recovered its former trajectory.

Called into the service in 1942, Reagan failed the physical examination on account of poor vision and was denied overseas service. Owing to his professional experience, he was reassigned to the First Motion Picture Unit of the Army Air Corps, where he narrated over 400 training films. Reagan reached the rank of captain before his deactivation in December 1945.

Throughout the 1930s and early 1940s Reagan was an outspoken liberal Democrat and supporter of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He also flirted with several organizations even further to the left. But as the Cold War took hold in the wake of World War II, and tensions in the world appeared more ominous, Reagan began to sense that Communism was a genuine threat to the United States at home and abroad. Hollywood was a deeply divided community on the question of the emerging Cold War. In July 1946 Reagan entered the fray by proposing that the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (HICCASP) denounce Communism as it had done fascism. The committee's refusal to do so caused Reagan and others to resign. In September a strike by the Conference of Studio Unions (CSU) rocked Hollywood. Reagan saw the CSU as a front for the Communist party to take over Hollywood and subvert American culture. As a member of the board of directors of the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), Reagan advocated that SAG members denounce the strike and cross the picket lines. For the next five months Hollywood was convulsed in violence. Throughout the entire time, Reagan spoke out forcefully

against Communism in the face of physical threats. After the strike, he continued his anti-Communist crusade and was elected SAG president. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) gave him an informant's code name and he testified as a friendly witness before the House Un-American Activities Committee in October 1947. Reagan's reports to the FBI affected other actors' careers, including the blacklisting of Larry Parks, Howard DaSilva, and Alexander Knox. Reagan supported President Harry S. Truman in the election of 1948. Reagan's constant political activism contributed to his divorce from Wyman in 1949.

Reagan's acting career declined in the 1950s as he increasingly became involved in conservative Republican politics. He served as governor of California from 1967 to 1975 and as the fortieth president of the United States from 1981 to 1989. **Further Reading:** Lou Cannon: *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime*, 1991; William Pemberton, *Exit with Honor: The Life and Presidency of Ronald Reagan*, 1997; Peter Schweizer, *Reagan's War: The Epic Story of His Forty Year Struggle and Final Triumph over Communism*, 2002.

GREGORY DEHLER

REAL ESTATE REDLINING AND BLOCKBUSTING During the post–World War II housing boom, federal programs that insured lenders against risk resulted in easily accessible home loans and low interest rates. Government agencies utilized “redlining” (designating minority communities as undesirable), a policy that reflected long-standing prejudices. Redlining influenced how and where financial institutions lent money for home ownership and construction. Some real estate agents capitalized on the housing boom by employing “blockbusting” (using fears that minorities might be moving in to induce panic selling at bargain prices) to encourage rapid turnover of property. Redlining and blockbusting spread racially segregated residential neighborhoods and accelerated the flight of white Americans to the suburbs.

Redlining emerged from policies of the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC). This New Deal agency provided refinanced and low-interest

home loans and a program of extended payments that put home ownership within the reach of more people. The HOLC developed color-coded ratings to use in its appraisal system. A green ranking indicated that the area had new housing stock, was in demand, and contained families of similar background whose income derived from businesses or professions. Neighborhoods with any significant Jewish population, however, were seldom rated green, even if the housing was in excellent condition. Blue and yellow ratings indicated an intermediate status. Neighborhoods populated predominantly by African Americans, as well as urban residential sections with congestion and buildings in close proximity to each other, almost automatically earned a red rating, the lowest in the system. Even a small percentage of African American residents could relegate an area to this level, indicated graphically by red lines marking its borders on HOLC-produced maps.

During the 1940s, two federal loan programs instrumental in encouraging loans for housing emulated HOLC appraisal methods and neighborhood evaluation practices. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was a result of the Federal Housing Act of 1934; the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, popularly known as the GI Bill, established the Veterans Administration (VA) home loan program. The FHA guaranteed loans for the bulk of a property's value, insuring lenders against loss and allowing young families to buy homes with a low down payment and an extended repayment period. The VA program instituted similar policies.

Although the HOLC had lent money within redlined neighborhoods, most FHA- and VA-insured loans were made outside of urban areas or areas with large African American populations. The standards established by these agencies influenced the actions of real estate agents, banks, and other financial institutions. They decreased the resources available to people in redlined neighborhoods, contributed to a further deterioration in urban housing stock, and encouraged the development of homogeneous suburban neighborhoods populated by white families.

Like redlining, blockbusting existed before the 1940s, but the financial incentives provided by

the postwar housing boom made this practice increasingly attractive to those who could benefit from it. Real estate agents who employed blockbusting played upon white residents' fears of falling property values and conflicting social standards. The real estate agents sold or rented a few residences in white neighborhoods to African Americans; white families became reluctant to move into the areas, and many resident whites eventually sold their property and moved out. Lending policies of the FHA and VA, which favored new construction in suburbs, gave these families the means to leave urban neighborhoods facing integration for homes outside the cities. Realtors profited by selling or renting the newly available property to African Americans, who were chronically short of housing. Although the tactics violated professional realtors' ethical standards, potential profits often overrode such considerations.

The HOLC created redlining and the FHA and VA institutionalized it, making the long-standing practice of housing segregation part of federal program policy. Blockbusting developed as a real estate business technique. During the housing boom of the 1940s, redlining and blockbusting affected how the country's cities changed and how its suburbs developed.

Further Reading: Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, 1985; Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, 1994; Henry Louis Taylor Jr. and Walter Hill, eds., *Historical Roots of the Urban Crisis: African Americans in the Industrial City, 1900–1950*, 2000.

SUZANNE JULIN

REED, DONNA (January 27, 1921–January 14, 1986), film actor and television star. Born in Denison, Iowa, Donna Belle Mullenger attended Los Angeles College, where she appeared in several plays, won a beauty contest, and was named Campus Queen. After her photograph appeared in the Los Angeles papers in 1941, MGM gave her a screen test and put her under contract. In her first film, *Babes on Broadway* (1941), she appeared under the name Donna Adams. She made most of her films during the 1940s, including *Shadow of the Thin Man* (1941), *The*

Courtship of Andy Hardy (1942), *The Human Comedy* (1943), *Thousands Cheer* (1943), *See Here*, *Private Hargrove* (1944), *They Were Expendable* (1945), *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1945), *Faithful in My Fashion* (1946), *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946), *Green Dolphin Country* (1947), *Beyond Glory* (1948), and *Chicago Deadline* (1949). Reed won the Best Supporting Actress Oscar for *From Here to Eternity* (1953). Nominated for an Emmy Award each year from 1959 to 1962, Reed starred in ABC's *The Donna Reed Show* (1958 to 1966). She played Eleanor Southworth Ewing in *Dallas* for the 1984–1985 season. An antinuclear activist and anti-Vietnam War protester, Reed cofounded the Another Mother for Peace organization. She died in Beverly Hills. Her third husband, Grover Asmus, established the Donna Reed Foundation after her death.

Further Reading: Deborah G. Felder, *A Century of Women: The Most Influential Events in Twentieth-Century Women's History*, 1999; Jay Fultz, *In Search of Donna Reed*, 2002; Brenda Scott Royce, *Donna Reed: A Biobibliography*, 1990.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

REED, STANLEY F. (December 31, 1884–April 2, 1980), associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Reed was born in Minerva, Kentucky. After training in the law at the University of Virginia, Columbia, and the Sorbonne, Reed sat in the Kentucky state legislature from 1912 to 1916. He served in the army during World War I and then returned to private practice. A Democrat, Reed served in President Herbert Hoover's administration as counsel for the Federal Farm Board and then as general counsel to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

When Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt took office in March 1933, the moderate Reed was appointed solicitor general of the United States. There he argued many of the important cases concerning the constitutionality of New Deal legislation. He energetically backed Roosevelt's programs. On January 25, 1938, Reed was appointed to the Supreme Court. During his nineteen years on the bench, Reed authored 231 opinions, twenty concurring and eighty-eight dissents. Some of his most important opinions were *Erie Railroad v.*

Tompkins (1938), a separate opinion, and majority opinions in *Morgan v. Virginia* (1946), *Adamson v. California* (1947), *United States v. Columbia* (1948), *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), and *United States v. DuPont* (1956). Among his noted dissents were *Marsh v. Alabama* (1946), *Illinois ex rel. McCollum v. Board of Education* (1948), and *Standard Oil Co. v. Federal Trade Commission* (1951).

Opposed to “government by judges,” Reed was a cautious jurist who sought to restrain his colleagues from favoring rulings that coincided with a particular social philosophy. He sided with the government in its efforts to prosecute alleged Communists for subversive activities. He upheld the Hatch Act, a law barring federal employment to anyone belonging to an organization advocating the violent overthrow of the government. In national security and criminal justice cases he backed the government. Yet he also played a pivotal role in the Court’s efforts to end segregation and promote constitutional protection of racial equality.

Reed retired on February 25, 1957. For a brief period he served as chair of President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Civil Rights Commission. Reed lived longer than any other former Supreme Court justice.

He died in Huntington, Long Island.

Further Reading: Warren E. Burger, “Stanley Reed,” *Yearbook 1981 of the Supreme Court Historical Society*, 1981; Clare Cushman, *The Supreme Court Justices*, 1993; Francis William O’Brien, *Justice Reed and the First Amendment: The Religion Clauses*, 1958.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

REIFEL, BENJAMIN (September 19, 1906–January 2, 1990), Native American public leader. Benjamin Reifel whose Lakota name was Lone Feather, was the first federally recognized Native American to serve in Congress. He was born on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota and received a BA from the College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts at Brookings, South Dakota, in 1932. Reifel was as fluent in the Lakota dialect as in the English language and as much at ease playing tribal music on a flute as singing hymns in an Episcopal chapel. In 1933 he entered

public service as a U.S. Farm Extension Agent (“boss farmer”) on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. In 1934, U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier appointed him to translate and explain the Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act to tribal groups across the northern Great Plains. Reifel promoted political and economic change in the tribes until 1942, when he left for service in World War II. He served in France and Germany and rose to the rank of major. Following discharge in 1946, he returned to the U.S. Indian Field Service. There, except for an interruption to earn a doctorate in public administration at Harvard between 1949 and 1952, he held critical positions as U.S. superintendent on the Fort Berthold, North Dakota, and Pine Ridge Reservations and as regional director at the Indian Bureau Area Office at Aberdeen, South Dakota.

Leaving the area office in 1960, Reifel won election to five consecutive terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, where he represented a mainly non-Indian constituency in eastern South Dakota. As the only Native American in Congress, he enjoyed success as a creative legislator during the civil rights era. After his voluntary retirement in 1971, he returned briefly to public service at President Gerald Ford’s request in 1976 to accept appointment as U.S. commissioner of Indian Affairs, closing the office in 1977 and transferring its responsibilities to another office in the Interior Department.

Although Reifel’s public career spanned more than four decades, he regarded the 1940s as pivotal years in his educational advancement as well as his public service. He epitomized the success of leaders in a unique generation of Native Americans to preserve ancestral values yet flourish in ways most honored by non-Indians. Throughout the history of the United States, few Native Americans have matched his public service accomplishments.

Further Reading: Gail Hamlin-Wilson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Indians of the Americas*, 1991; *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989*, 1989; John S. Painter, “Traditional Sioux Leader: Benjamin Reifel,” in Herbert T. Hoover and Larry Zimmerman, eds., *South Dakota Leaders*, 1989.

HERBERT T. HOOVER AND CAROL GOSS HOOVER

RELIGION World War II and the beginnings of the Cold War provoked varied responses and shaped major activities of religious groups during the decade. The European bloodshed elicited intense debate between and within denominations. Most Protestant clergy, often pacifist in the 1930s in response to the extreme militarism of World War I, came around to support American participation in a spirit that has been called “cautious patriotism.” Theologian Reinhold Niebuhr and others attacked residual pacifism and promoted “preparedness.” Chaplains did their part, while on the home front churches and synagogues provided theological justification and spiritual resources in support of troops.

After V-J Day, a former ally, the Soviet Union, turned into a threatening Cold War enemy. Meanwhile, the United Nations (UN) became a new instrument for international activity among moderate and liberal denominations, just as the formation of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1948 promoted Christian unity among them. Roman Catholicism was not part of the WCC, and conservative Protestants opposed both it and the UN. They had organized into a boldly fundamentalist American Council of Churches in 1941 and, the next year, a more moderately evangelical National Association of Evangelicals. Young evangelists like Billy Graham began to give a public face to evangelical causes after many people had considered mass evangelist movements passé.

Resisting what they perceived as Catholic aggression and a threat to democracy, the Protestant left and right united twice more (in 1939 and 1951) to oppose diplomatic recognition of the Vatican. Meanwhile, Catholicism’s support of the war effort and opposition to Communism moved it further into the mainstream. Leaders like the future television star Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen began publishing statements that indicated Catholicism’s pursuit of a new and popular role in American life.

Jews, supportive of the war effort, became preoccupied with the trauma of European Jewry during Hitler’s genocidal Holocaust and then transferred their energies to support the new nation of Israel in 1948. While many Reform rabbis earlier had not been Zionist supporters of such

a state, reaction to the Holocaust led most to re-appraise their stand and to see Israel as a unifying cause in Judaism.

Despite rivalries and tensions among the major faith groups, there were efforts, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, to bring them together in credible ways. Interfaith proponents invented the concept of a “Judeo-Christian” civilization battling for its values against totalitarianisms. Increasingly, social scientists and the public began to speak of a Protestant-Catholic-Jewish nexus, as evidenced by religious leaders supporting the military, especially through the chaplaincy, and then backing efforts, such as the Marshall Plan, to rebuild Europe.

With movements of women’s liberation still two decades away, women assumed ever more visible roles in religious leadership on the home front. Many women chafed, however, at their general segregation into auxiliaries and aid societies, with few denominations open to their becoming ordained clergy. Steps leading to a measure of racial integration in the military were not matched in significant ways among the churches. African American churches became more visible in the North, as defense industries attracted southern migrants, who brought their churches with them. As many whites fled the inner cities, blacks established strong congregations in the church buildings left behind. Swedish social scientist Gunnar Myrdal’s *American Dilemma* (1944) was one of many observations that severe segregation and prejudice marked American life and had to be addressed. The internment of Japanese American citizens after the attack on Pearl Harbor, criticized by only a minority in the churches, was also an obvious blot on the religious record of Christian majorities.

Church and synagogue attendance trends stabilized during the war, but after it, returning veterans weary of prewar Depression and wartime upheavals began settling down and finding religious organizations congenial. Still, talk of a revival of religious interest on a national scale had to wait for the 1950s.

Further Reading: Martin E. Marty, *Under God, Indivisible, 1941–1960*, vol. 3, *Modern American Religion*, 1986; Mark Silk, *Spiritual Politics: Religion and America Since World War II*, 1988; Gerald Lawson Sittser, *A Cautious*

Patriotism: The American Churches and the Second World War, 1997.

MARTIN E. MARTY

REPUBLICAN PARTY The more conservative of the two major American political parties, the Republicans spent the 1940s in opposition. The 1930s had been a tough decade for the Republican Party. It had been blamed for the Great Depression and associated with the unpopular president, Herbert Hoover. Its ills were compounded by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's unusual political acumen and luck. Roosevelt skillfully used his New Deal program to build a strong political coalition behind the Democrats. It included labor unions, intellectuals, urbanites, blacks, and women in addition to southerners, whose support was generally taken for granted.

By 1940 the Republican Party was deeply divided. It was outnumbered in the House of Representatives 261–164 and in the Senate 69–23, although House minority leader Joseph Martin of Massachusetts skillfully built coalitions with southern defectors to stop most of the administration's bills. Internal dissension compounded the damage, as a moderate, cosmopolitan wing from the well-to-do East battled isolationist midwestern conservatives for the party's soul. Weak national leadership exacerbated these tensions. The electorate identified with the party's midwestern conservatives, who appeared to be solely obstructionists with few alternative policy ideas. These tensions were epitomized by the Republicans' inability to select either Thomas Dewey from New York or the Ohioan Robert A. Taft for their 1940 presidential candidate. Instead, they settled on Wendell Willkie, an outsider with no political experience. Running an abysmal campaign, Willkie blew whatever chance the Republicans had to capture the White House, and Roosevelt won his unprecedented third term as president. The attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, resolved the internal bickering of the Republicans and they closed ranks.

In 1942's midterm elections, Republicans picked up forty-seven House seats and nine senators amid public discontent over rationing, wage controls, and a lack of good news from the front.

Historians believe that Republicans benefited from wartime migration that made voting difficult for the more Democratic-oriented working class. The Democrats still maintained a lead of ten seats in the House and twenty-one in the Senate, but, aided by southerners, Republicans were able to roll back New Deal programs no longer needed now that the Depression was over.

Still, the country stood behind the president, and Roosevelt won his fourth presidential election in 1944 over Dewey. It was a personality contest that Dewey was ill-suited to win. With Roosevelt successfully waging the war, the Republicans could only criticize the New Deal. Yet the war was so all-encompassing that this criticism made little sense.

Roosevelt's death and the nation's postwar economic troubles allowed the Republicans to capture control of the Eightieth Congress in 1946. This was the Republicans' first taste of power since 1930. They passed several spending cuts, tax cuts, and the Taft-Hartley Act, which weakened labor unions, reversing a New Deal trend.

Optimistic about the outcome of the 1948 presidential election, Republican candidate Dewey ran a complacent campaign. President Harry Truman won with a solid 301 electoral votes to Dewey's 189, despite two minor parties that pulled over 2 million popular and thirty-eight electoral votes from Truman's totals. Democrats also recaptured Congress. Within a year of winning the election, Truman was beset with a series of problems including the Communist takeover of China and the Rosenberg espionage scandal that weakened him and the Democrats. As the Cold War took hold, the Republicans gained strength by portraying the Democrats as weak on Communism at home and abroad. A younger generation of World War II veterans invigorated the Republican Party. A national leader of presidential stature was all that was needed. The prayers of Republicans were answered in 1952 when General Dwight D. Eisenhower captured the nomination and then the White House.

Further Reading: Donald Johnson, *The Republican Party and Wendell Willkie*, 1960; George Mayer, *The Republican Party, 1854–1966*, 1967; Richard Norton Smith, *Thomas E. Dewey and His Times*, 1986.

GREGORY DEHLER

REUTHER, WALTER (September 1, 1907–May 9, 1970), labor leader. Born in Wheeling, West Virginia, Reuther was deeply influenced by his father's beliefs in democratic socialism and labor activism. His education included graduation from Fordson High School in Dearborn, Michigan, and brief attendance at Detroit City College. He worked as a diemaker in the auto industry in Detroit from 1927 to 1932 and, as a number of American workers did during the Great Depression, at Gorki in the Soviet Union from 1933 to 1935. Reuther joined the newly formed United Auto Workers (UAW) in 1936. He quickly rose to prominence as a member of the union's executive board and as a labor organizer in the American auto industry.

Reuther's power increased during the early 1940s when he attacked the Communists in the UAW. His sojourn at Gorki had altered his view of socialism. Although he admired the social activism of Soviet government, he also learned to detest the brutality and authoritarianism of Communist regimes. Like many early American industrial unions, the UAW had few Communists as members, but its leadership was disproportionately Communist. At the 1940 UAW convention, elections put Reuther's faction in control of the executive board, where it removed Communists from UAW staff positions. At the 1941 convention, Reuther secured an amendment to the UAW constitution barring members of Communist, fascist, and Nazi organizations loyal to foreign governments from holding international union offices. During World War II, Reuther continued to gain popularity at the expense of the UAW's Communists by opposing an ironclad no-strike pledge. Communists supported the pledge as the best way to ensure continued industrial production to aid the embattled Soviet Union.

In the immediate postwar period, Reuther positioned himself to assume UAW leadership through his skillful handling of the General Motors strike of 1945–1946. He demanded extremely high wage increases and the union's participation in what was normally regarded as a managerial decision—the pricing of autos. Although the latter proposition failed because of the company's firm opposition, workers received substantial pay hikes. Reuther thereby established the union's

typical pattern in future labor-management negotiations: using threats to management's powers to win generous increases in compensation for workers. In 1946, Reuther was elected president of the UAW with the support of Catholic and New Deal Democrat workers. His advocacy of progressive causes in American politics, coupled with opposition to Communism at home and abroad, appealed to rank and filers. Union members also rewarded his tireless dedication to labor's cause, as demonstrated by his attention to the fundamentals of organizing and contract bargaining.

Reuther's presidency marked the end of Communist influence in the UAW. During the late 1940s, he pioneered several innovations in collective bargaining, including wage increases based on productivity gains, cost-of-living pay hikes, and company-funded pensions and medical insurance. Reuther remained president of the UAW for the rest of his life. He died in an airplane crash near Pellston, Michigan.

Further Reading: John Barnard, *Walter Reuther and the Rise of the Auto Workers*, 1983; Anthony Carew, *Walter Reuther*, 1993; Bill Goode, *Infighting in the UAW: The 1946 Election and the Ascendancy of Walter Reuther*, 1984.

MICHAEL S. FITZGERALD

RICKEY, BRANCH (December 20, 1881–December 9, 1965), baseball pioneer. Born in Lucasville, Ohio, Rickey received two diplomas and a law degree from the University of Michigan. In 1913 he became the first general manager of the St. Louis Browns. In 1917, he became manager and president of the St. Louis Cardinals. Although he could not make his teams winners, he displayed a genius at organizing and promoting the game. Among his pioneer efforts were Ladies' Days, a promotion that allowed women to watch the baseball game free or at a reduced rate when attending with a man (the early crowds had a bad reputation for misconduct), and the "Knot Hole Gang," was meant to allow children, particularly boys to watch the games at a reduced price. (The term originated with the idea of a knothole in the old wooden fences, through which children would peek at games.) Similar activities turned attending a ball game into a necessary

habit. At spring training he developed the sliding pit and the batting cage. In 1927 he sanctioned the first regular radio broadcast of a major league game. His greatest organizational achievement was the farm system, in which minor-league teams supplied prospects to the Cardinals through working agreements. The result was impressive.

By 1940 Rickey had a system of thirty teams, providing talent that led to six pennants and four World Championships. As a good judge of baseball talent, he sold and traded players to other clubs and made money. Eventually, forced out of the St. Louis organization because of his strong managerial style and the envy of other people in the club, he turned the Brooklyn Dodgers into a serious challenger to his old team. In October 1945, he signed Jackie Robinson to a minor-league contract. Two years later, Robinson became the first African American in the modern era to play big-league ball. In 1947 and 1949 the Dodgers won the National League pennant.

Once again, for reasons similar to those in St. Louis, Rickey was forced out of his position, but he made money out of his dismissal. From 1951 to 1960 he was associated in various positions with the Pittsburgh Pirates. The club won the World Series in 1960. His presidency of the Continental League, a possible third major league, forced the majors to accept expansion of their franchises. In 1963, Rickey served in an advisory capacity to the Cardinals. He died in Columbia, Missouri. He was elected to the Major League Baseball Hall of Fame in 1967.

Further Reading: Harvey Frommer, *Rickey and Robinson: The Men Who Broke Baseball's Color Barrier*, 1982; Andrew O'Toole, *Branch Rickey in Pittsburgh: Baseball's Trailblazing General Manager for the Pirates, 1950–1965*, 2000; Murray Polner, *Branch Rickey: A Biography*, 1982.

DONALD K. PICKENS

ROBINSON, JACK ROOSEVELT (January 1, 1919–October 24, 1972), major league baseball player who ended segregation. Jackie Robinson was born in Cairo, Georgia, but grew up in Pasadena, California, where he faced segregated facilities. From his youth, Robinson fought against

Jim Crow. In 1939 Robinson entered the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), where his track and football exploits garnered a national reputation. In 1940 he became the first UCLA student ever to earn three letters in a single season. Although he led his football conference in scoring twice, he was not named to the all-division team because he was black. In order to support his mother, he left UCLA before he obtained a degree.

Robinson was drafted in 1942. His college credits won him acceptance into officer candidate school, even though his application was denied the first time Robinson submitted it. After graduating as a second lieutenant in January 1943, he was assigned to the segregated facilities at Fort Riley, Kansas. In 1944 he was reassigned to a black armored unit at Fort Hood, Texas. That July Robinson was arrested for refusing to move to a different seat on a bus. He was returned to the base and interrogated by the military police. Charged with insubordination, Robinson was tried before a military court-martial. He received legal assistance from the NAACP. In a four-hour trial, Robinson was acquitted. In the meantime, his unit had shipped out. Reassigned, he began to get in trouble again by questioning why the War Department did not offer black soldiers the same recreational facilities as whites. In November, he was honorably discharged for an ankle injury that he had sustained in college.

In 1945 Robinson played shortstop for the Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro Leagues. At season's end, Brooklyn Dodgers owner Branch Rickey determined that Robinson was the perfect candidate to be major-league baseball's first black player in the twentieth century. After a three-hour interview, Rickey, satisfied that Robinson possessed the necessary commitment and temperament, offered him a contract at a salary greatly exceeding his pay with the Monarchs. Robinson had to promise that he would not respond to racial epithets. He played the 1946 season for the Montreal Royals, a Dodgers minor-league team. He led the International League with a .349 batting average. Robinson and his wife, Rachel, were subjected to racial jeers and even death threats, but Robinson comported himself well.

On April 15, 1947, Robinson broke major-league baseball's color line when he took first base for the Dodgers at Ebbets Field. Once again Robinson was subjected to name-calling from fellow players and fans. Before the season, some of the Dodgers circulated a petition to keep Robinson off the team. Players on other teams called for a strike. They reconsidered when National League president Ford Frick threatened to suspend any player who struck. Some, including future Hall of Famer Bob Feller, claimed that Robinson could never play on a major-league level. Of course, had blacks truly been inferior, there would have been no need to ban them. Unfortunately, an early season slump only added to the enormous pressure on Robinson. He did receive support, however, from the thousands of black fans that his presence brought to the ball field for the first time. Robinson finished the year with a .297 batting average and was named Rookie of the Year.

Robinson was an integral part of the Brooklyn Dodgers league championship seasons of 1947 and 1949. In 1949 he won the Most Valuable Player Award. He retired in 1956 with a .311 lifetime batting average and was elected to the baseball Hall of Fame in 1962, his first year of eligibility.

He died in New York City.

Further Reading: Arnold Rampersad, *Jackie Robinson: A Biography*, 1997; Jackie Robinson, *Breakthrough to the Big League: The Story of Jackie Robinson*, 1965; Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy*, 1983.

GREGORY DEHLER

ROBINSON, SUGAR RAY (WALKER SMITH JR.) (May 3, 1921–April 12, 1989), boxer. Born in Ailey, Georgia, Smith began boxing in Harlem, in New York City, under his own name, then as Ray Robinson, another fighter whose amateur certificate Smith had borrowed. Trainer and lifelong mentor George Gainford, admiring his prowess in 1939, termed him “sweet as sugar.” As Sugar Ray Robinson, Smith built a legendary career.

In 1939 Robinson won the New York Golden Gloves Championship, culminating eighty-nine

amateur victories, sixty-nine by knockout, without defeat or draw. Turning professional, he won the featherweight championship that year and the lightweight championship the next. Between October 4, 1940, and October 31, 1941, he won twenty-six consecutive fights, an average of nearly one every other week. Pundits had never seen a boxer win week after week, seemingly tireless. They thought him unbeatable and gushed at his speed, agility, strength, elusiveness, and flamboyance. So elusive was he that several opponents complained that they might have beaten Robinson if only they could have hit him. In little over a year he established a new standard of boxing excellence.

By January 1943 Robinson had amassed thirty-nine straight victories, the most savage an October 1942 brawl against middleweight Jake La Motta. Robinson had expected to dispatch La Motta, slow, awkward, and easy to hit, early in the fight. Instead, the bout went all ten rounds and ended with La Motta's taunting Robinson for his inability to floor him. His confidence shaken, Robinson lost to La Motta in their rematch on February 5, 1943, Robinson's first defeat in 129 amateur and professional fights.

The loss convinced Robinson to drop one class to welterweight, a division he dominated to such a degree that champion Marty Servo refused to fight him. In response, the New York State Athletic Commission stripped Servo of the title, clearing the way for a championship bout between Robinson and Tommy Bell. Robinson won the fight on December 20, 1946, and remained welterweight champion until 1951, when the temptation to fight La Motta a third time led Robinson to relinquish the welterweight crown. Robinson prevailed on February 14, 1951, taking the middleweight title from La Motta, though Robinson was again astonished at his inability to knock La Motta to the canvas. The two would battle three times more, Robinson winning all.

Robinson was as prodigal as he was talented. Worth \$4 million at the height of his career, he spent it all on New York City nightlife, fast cars, and an entourage that included a secretary, barber, masseur, voice coach, trainers, women, and a dwarf as mascot. After several attempts at retirement, Robinson left the ring for good in 1970

with a record of 179 wins, nineteen losses, six draws, and two no contests. He died in Culver City, California.

Further Reading: Robert Anasi, *The Gloves: A Boxing Chronicle*, 2002; Arthur R. Ashe Jr., *A Hard Road to Glory—Boxing: The African-American Athlete in Boxing*, 1993; Sugar Ray Robinson, *Sugar Ray*, 1970.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

ROCKWELL, NORMAN PERCEVEL (February 3, 1894–November 8, 1978), artist. Born in New York City, Rockwell at nineteen became the first art editor of *Boy's Life Magazine*. In March 1916 he sold his first two oil paintings to *The Saturday Evening Post*; his work would adorn the cover until 1963.

Rockwell occupied an uncertain position in the 1940s. He admired the work of Jackson Pollock, but had no connection to abstract expressionism. Critics saw in this movement and in all modern art a series of stylistic innovations. Because Rockwell was not innovative, critics rated his work low rather than high art. Some labeled him an illustrator rather than an artist. His 322 covers for the *Post* seemed to confirm this judgment.

Rockwell was a popularizer, a man who churned out work for mass consumption and who hungered for approval from ordinary Americans. His illustrations made an immediate connection with viewers, a necessity if his work was to sell copies for the *Post*. He was an ad man who catered to the tastes of American consumers in the postwar era of affluence. His illustrations accompanied the ads of Ford Motor Company, General Electric, Sun-Maid Raisins, and Hallmark Cards.

Rockwell prized nostalgia and simplicity above commentary on social and economic issues, and he remarked that he painted America as he wished it to be rather than as it was. He resurrected the small town as a subject of art. Children at play and the grocer at work peopled his canvasses. His paintings of soldier Willie Gillis (1941–1946) and Rosie the Riveter (1943) became icons of America's war against fascism and Nazism abroad and at home. Rockwell's America was white, Protestant, patriotic, industrious, and innocent. This America, though it does

not exist, is not out of vogue. In this sense his paintings transcend the man. Rockwell won the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1977. He died in Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

Further Reading: Maureen Hart Hennessey and Anne Knutson, *Norman Rockwell: Pictures for the American People*, 1999; Sherry Marker, *Norman Rockwell*, 1998; Karal Ann Marling, *Norman Rockwell*, 1997.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

ROMAN CATHOLICISM The decade of the 1940s was a transitional time for the Church of Rome. Through the 1940s, Protestants remained America's largest religious grouping. Roman Catholics in the United States faced several problems. Historically, theirs was an immigrant church stemming from the large nineteenth-century migrations. These immigrants were generally from southern and eastern Europe and often Catholic in affiliation. Generally, they dwelled in American urban centers. Physically, they located in enclaves, which often were well-kept neighborhoods with a vital community life. Because of varied political and constitutional issues, Catholics maintained their own educational system, often leading to a type of social isolation and intellectual ghetto.

Thanks to World War II and other historical trends, Catholicism changed. With limited immigration, native-born converts filled the church. As the children of new immigrants prospered in America, they moved into the larger political culture where the Americanization process was quite effective. University of Notre Dame football, with its subway alumni (non-college ethnics living in urban America), and movies such as *Going My Way* (which illustrated the human quality of clergy dealing with issues of crime and redemption in the urban slums) made Catholicism seem less unfamiliar to non-Catholics. A film such as *A Walk in the Sun* stressed the common bonds of all Americans, regardless of religious practices. And as the Cold War developed, the social conservatism of the Roman Church put it in harmony with many Protestants. The fact that the Vatican opposed the Soviet Union and was a strong Cold War ally of the United States contributed to the church's Americanization.

Bishop Fulton J. Sheen (1895–1979) was a good example of the process. His television show dealt with theological issues, “practical” applications of belief, and explorations of the faith, presented in a warm, salesmanship-like manner. In some areas of the country, his popularity was paramount.

By the time of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) and the rule of Pope John XXIII, Catholicism had greatly reduced its “foreign” flavor. Generally, Vatican II reforms found acceptance among both Catholics and non-Catholics. Educational issues, censorship, and birth control lost their edge in cultural politics, as abortion and related medical-ethical issues came to the foreground. Starting in the 1940s, many books about being Catholic became available. American cultural pluralism was a powerful force at work on all religious beliefs and practices.

In interesting fashion, serious writers and intellectuals replaced the popular 1940s figures. While “old-time religion” could be found on the radio dial, Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971) and Paul Tillich (1886–1965) presented the Protestant understanding, while Jacques Maritain (1882–1973) gave the Catholic perspective. Will Herberg, a Jew, celebrated this theological pluralism in his writings. Such a theological popular front was matched by the pluralism of the Eisenhower administration. In fact, the rise of secular conservatism, from Eisenhower to Reagan, drew on this increase in religious sentiment, as modernism increased its presence in American life. Men such as Tillich, Niebuhr, and Herberg discussed a broad range of topics.

Finally, the rise of relativism, expressed in the popular culture and following the rise of totalitarianism—a foe from World War II—made the Protestant-Catholic rivalries appear dated and largely irrelevant. Since the 1940s, evil had manifested itself. Catholicism offered a meaningful defense. In the same way, Niebuhr’s thesis in *Moral Man and Immoral Society* found believers and readers among Roman Catholics. He argued that while individuals at times achieve moral purity, groups rarely do. They often lead to brutal intolerance of human weakness and create great evils and human suffering. A gentler theology was more attractive than a harsh ideology.

Further Reading: Patrick Allitt, *Religion in America Since 1945: A History*, 2003; Christopher O. Lynch, *Selling Catholicism: Bishop Sheen and the Power of Television*, 1998; Robert A. Orsi, *Gods of the City: Religion and the American Urban Landscape*, 1999.

DONALD K. PICKENS

ROMMEL, ERWIN JOHANNES EUGEN (November 15, 1891–October 14, 1944), German general. Rommel, known as the “Desert Fox” for his North African battlefield victories during World War II, was born in Heidenheim an der Brenz, Württemberg. In 1910 he joined the 124th Württemberg Infantry Regiment as an officer cadet. During World War I, he fought as a lieutenant in France, Romania, and Italy. He described his combat experiences and his ideas for training soldiers in *Infanterie greift (Infantry Attacks)*, published in 1937.

After Germany’s annexation of Austria in 1938, Colonel Rommel assumed command of the officers’ school in Wiener Neustadt. When World War II began, he became commander of troops guarding Adolf Hitler’s headquarters. Although Rommel had no experience leading armored forces, in February 1940 he took command of the Seventh Panzer Division and in May led its drive through France. His boldness and initiative caught the Führer’s attention.

In February 1941, Rommel flew to Libya to command German troops in support of the faltering Italian army. Following his victories in the deserts of North Africa, Hitler promoted him to field marshal. Because the North African theater was low among Hitler’s priorities, Rommel fought his battles with limited supplies and few reinforcements. But scarce matériel and exhausted troops eventually overcame Rommel’s Afrika Korps. The attack Hitler ordered on Cairo and the Suez Canal in the summer of 1942 was halted by British forces at el-Alamein, sixty miles from Alexandria. Rommel was forced onto the defensive in October 1942 when the British launched the second Battle of el-Alamein and pushed the Axis back to Tunis. In March 1943 Hitler ordered Rommel home, but by 1944 he had been entrusted with the defense of the French channel coast.

During the spring of 1944 Rommel joined a conspiracy to remove Hitler from power and negotiate a peace with the Allies. On July 17, six weeks after D-day, an air attack on his car wounded the general, sending him to the hospital. Three days later an attempt on Hitler's life failed, and Rommel's role in the conspiracy came to light. Hitler offered Rommel a choice between hanging and suicide. Near Ulm, Germany, on October 14, the Desert Fox poisoned himself. Reich officials declared him dead of wounds and deserving of state burial with military honors.

Rommel remains a charismatic figure whose champions trumpet his combat prowess in hopes of distancing him from the Nazis. Success on the battlefield notwithstanding, however, generals and their armies cannot be separated from the governments behind them. Rommel's war record cannot be isolated from the evil of Nazism.

Further Reading: David Fraser, *Knight's Cross: A Life of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel*, 1993; Jon Latimer, *Alamein*, 2002; John Pimlott, ed., *Rommel: In His Own Words*, 1994.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

ROOSEVELT, ANNA ELEANOR (October 11, 1884–November 7, 1962), first lady of the United States. Arguably the most important American woman of the twentieth century, Roosevelt was born Anna Eleanor Roosevelt in New York City, niece of Theodore Roosevelt. She received private tutoring in her home then, after age fourteen attended Allenswood Academy near London, England. After graduating she did not attend college, which she later regretted. In 1905 she married distant cousin Franklin D. Roosevelt. After he captured the presidency in 1932, she emerged as the most active first lady up to that time.

Eleanor Roosevelt held weekly press conferences with women reporters and traveled widely. Between 1933 and 1945, she dictated over 2,500 newspaper columns, wrote 300 magazine articles, delivered countless speeches, and published six books. Even before World War II, she perceived the dangers of fascism, labeling Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini as perverters of humanity.

During World War II, Roosevelt served briefly as assistant director of the Office of Civilian

Defense, toured U.S. military bases abroad, and comforted wounded American troops. While functioning as the president's eyes, ears, legs, and conscience, she balanced her interest in civil rights with her husband's political realities. If he saw what could be done, she visualized what should be done, often badgering the chief executive until he caved in.

After Franklin's death on April 12, 1945, Eleanor refused to retreat into retirement. She stepped out of his shadow and her subsequent achievements were numerous. President Harry S. Truman appointed her as a U.S. delegate to the United Nations General Assembly. She served in 1945, again from 1949 to 1952, and once more in 1961 and 1962. As chair of the Commission on Human Rights of the Economic and Social Council in 1946, she helped draft the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. Roosevelt was hailed as the "First Lady of the World."

Undeterred by controversy, she could chastise politicians, world leaders, and church officials as easily as ordinary citizens. When, for example, in July 1949, Cardinal Francis Joseph Spellman, archbishop of New York, caustically accused Roosevelt of anti-Catholicism and discrimination because of her opposition to federal aid for parochial schools, she bluntly and publicly reminded him that the final judgment of human worthiness rested with God, not appointed cardinals. Having had her early domestic life dominated by her mother-in-law and having discovered her husband's affair with her social secretary, Roosevelt turned disillusionments to her own advantage. More liberal than Franklin Roosevelt, she worked to promote racial equality and championed desegregation of America's armed forces. She also helped found Americans for Democratic Action in the late 1940s. Humanitarian, diplomat, social reformer, political activist, crusader for peace and human dignity, civil rights advocate, endorser of progressive causes, proponent of women's rights, supporter of civil liberties for all Americans, politician, and complex human being, Eleanor Roosevelt left an enduring legacy.

She died in New York City.

Further Reading: Tamara Hareven, *Eleanor Roosevelt: An American Conscience*, 1968; Stella K. Hershman, *The*

Candles She Lit: The Legacy of Eleanor Roosevelt, 1993; Leonard Schlup and Donald Whisenhunt, eds., *It Seems to Me: Selected Letters of Eleanor Roosevelt*, 2001.

LEONARD SCHLUP

ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO (January 30, 1882–April 12, 1945), president of the United States. Fifth cousin to twenty-sixth president Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt was born in Hyde Park, New York. He received an AB from Harvard College in 1904, attended Columbia University School of Law without taking a degree, married his distant cousin Eleanor Roosevelt in 1905, and passed the New York State Bar in 1907. The law practice yielded to political ambitions; success in state politics fueled national aspirations. Despite his contracting polio in 1921, his ascent culminated in his election in 1932 as the thirty-second president. He might have relinquished office in 1940, bowing to the tradition against presidents' serving more than two terms. That year, however, Roosevelt was reelected, with Henry A. Wallace replacing John Nance Garner as his vice president.

Foreign policy eclipsed the New Deal's domestic agenda during Roosevelt's third term. In January 1941 he signaled the shift by disavowing the right of labor to strike amid U.S. war mobilization. That August he and British prime minister Winston Churchill pledged in the Atlantic Charter their alliance to defeat fascism and Nazism. Once across the Rubicon, Roosevelt displayed the caution and pragmatism that had characterized the New Deal. He followed President Woodrow Wilson's World War I strategy of refusing to be drawn into the heaviest fighting. Rather, in Europe he deferred to Churchill's call for an invasion of the Continent via the circuitous route of North Africa, while the Soviet Union bore the casualties. He sent matériel and money to General Chiang Kai-Shek in China and Vietnamese nationalist Ho Chi Minh in Indochina, in hopes of sparing U.S. forces. At home, caution yielded to a preoccupation with internal security that eroded civil liberties. In 1940 Roosevelt gave the Federal Bureau of Investigation broad latitude to spy on Americans and in February 1942 he directed the U.S. Army to intern Japanese

Americans living along the Pacific coast for the war's duration.

The decision to seek a third term cleared the way for a fourth. Despite frail health, Roosevelt was determined to guide the United States to victory and to shape the peace, but party leaders and business executives, fearful that he might die in office, thought Wallace too liberal to succeed him. At their urging Roosevelt changed running mates again, this time choosing Missouri senator Harry Truman. Roosevelt defeated Republican candidate and New York governor Thomas E. Dewey in 1944 by 3 million votes, the narrowest of his four triumphs. Victory put Roosevelt on the threshold of momentous decisions. At his January 1945 inauguration, Manhattan Project physicists and engineers were just six months from testing the first atomic bomb (a uranium bomb), leaving its use to presidential prerogative. The wartime alliances with Joseph Stalin and Ho Chi Minh might have allowed the United States to forge lasting ties with the Communist world if only the president could have perpetuated them. These decisions and others that would shape the peace fell to Truman when Roosevelt died in Warm Springs, Georgia.

Further Reading: Otis L. Graham Jr. and Meghan Robinson Wander, eds., *Franklin D. Roosevelt: His Life and Times: An Encyclopedic View*, 1985; Warren F. Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman*, 1991; Ted Morgan, *FDR*, 1985.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

ROSENBERG, JULIUS (May 12, 1918–June 19, 1953) and **ETHEL** (September 28, 1915–June 19, 1953), first spies to be executed in peacetime for passing atomic secrets to the USSR. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were born and reared in New York City. Julius had a passion for religion and his family believed that he would eventually become a rabbi. Instead, he enrolled at City College (CCNY), an ideological hothouse where debates about the relative merits of Trotskyism and Stalinism raged. He became active and eventually a leader in the Young Communist League. He graduated with a degree in electrical engineering. Thereafter Julius remained politically active, giving much

of his spare time to supporting a white-collar professional union, the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.

For her part, Ethel (née Greenglass) aspired to be an actress and singer, but was forced by economic circumstances to work as a secretary for a shipping company. She became caught up in labor disputes, and she too eventually entered the Young Communist League. By 1936, when the couple met, they were both committed Communists. They married in 1939. Shortly afterward Julius, having worked as a freelance engineer for several local firms, obtained a permanent position as an Army Signal Corps junior engineer. He held the job until the spring of 1945, when he was suddenly dismissed for having concealed his Communist Party membership. He briefly worked for Emerson Radio Corporation before setting up his own machine shop in partnership with his two brothers-in-law and a neighbor.

Desiring to help the Soviet Union and its people, Julius passed U.S. military secrets to the Soviet government via KGB agent Alexander Feklisov, whom he met more than fifty times between 1943 and 1946. In November 1944 Julius recruited his brother-in-law, David Greenglass, to obtain information on the Manhattan Project. In December Julius provided the Soviets with a working proximity fuse for the atom bomb, and in January 1945 Greenglass offered his own notes and a sketch of a high-explosive lens from the project.

Julius believed that the atom bomb was so destructive that it was his duty to share its secrets so neither nation could use it against the other. And, at that time, the Soviet Union was an ally of the United States. Ethel, it was said, knew and approved of Julius's actions. On July 17, 1950, Julius was arrested. Three weeks later, on August 11, so was Ethel. On March 6, 1951, in New York City's federal courthouse at Foley Square, the trial of the Rosenbergs and conspirator Morton Sobell, a former CCNY schoolmate, under the 1917 Espionage Act began. The charge was conspiracy to commit espionage; the defendants were alleged to have participated in a plot to obtain national defense information pertaining to the atomic bomb for the benefit of the Soviet Union. The principal prosecution witness

against the Rosenbergs was Ethel's younger brother, David Greenglass, and Max Elitcher, a former close friend, was the chief prosecution witness against Sobell. Harry Gold, the confessed American accomplice of British spy Klaus Fuchs, was, according to the federal prosecutor, the necessary link to the Rosenbergs. Judge Irving R. Kaufman presided. On April 5, 1951, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were sentenced to death. They were both executed by electric chair at Sing Sing Prison in New York. The conduct of the Rosenbergs' trial, the extent of their guilt, and their executions were, and continue to be, subjects of considerable controversy.

Further Reading: Alexander M. Bickel, "The Rosenberg Affair," *Commentary* (January 1966): 69–76; Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth*, 1997; Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir, *Invitation to an Inquest*, 1983.

NATHAN ABRAMS

ROSWELL INCIDENT Since the early 1980s, a complex legend has grown up surrounding the alleged crash of an unidentified flying object (UFO) on a ranch near Roswell, New Mexico. Presented as proof of both the existence of extraterrestrials and a massive government conspiracy to conceal their existence, the Roswell incident has inspired numerous books and served as a plot device for such films as *Independence Day* and the long-running television series *The X Files*. Tales of a wrecked spaceship and its alien crew, now supposedly hidden away in the depths of Area 51 (a mysterious military installation in the Nevada desert), have a core of historical fact—as with many popular beliefs.

In the late 1940s, the U.S. military launched project Mogul, a top-secret attempt to create high-altitude listening devices capable of detecting Soviet atomic bomb tests. As part of the project, a group of engineers at New York University received an unclassified army air force contract to develop balloons that could carry listening devices aloft and maintain a constant altitude for at least forty-eight hours. In June 1947 the New York University group, led by project engineer Charles B. Moore, began launching trains of balloons from the Alamogordo Air Field in New

Mexico. The early flights proved unsuccessful. The balloon trains drifted eastward and could not maintain a fixed altitude.

At the same time, the national media began circulating reports of “flying disks,” a popular term at the time for unidentified aircraft, often assumed to be secret military vehicles. On June 4, 1947, a balloon train held together with distinctively patterned purple tape and carrying three radar reflectors disappeared in the vicinity of Roswell and crashed on the J.B. Foster ranch. Ranch manager William W. Brazel discovered the debris ten days later while inspecting the property. He did not report his find, however, until July 7, when he visited Roswell. Authorities notified the air force. Two officers, Major Jesse A. Marcel and Captain Sheridan Cavitt, went to the ranch to collect the bits and pieces. The next day the base public relations office issued a statement identifying the wreckage as the remains of a flying disk, or in modern terms, a UFO. However, once the connection of the broken pieces to Mogul was confirmed, the air force issued a retraction and attempted to dismiss the debris as the remains of a weather balloon, which it clearly was not. The worn rubber, the unusual-looking radar reflectors, the purple tape that, with some imagination, appeared to be an alien language, and a very real government attempt to conceal a top-secret project all combined to form the basis of the Roswell crash myth.

Considerable excitement about the flying disk circulated in Roswell during July, but then interest faded. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, the tale of the Roswell crash reemerged with several variations, including reports of other flying disks passing over Roswell and the discovery of a crash site complete with bodies of the ship’s crew. So persistent did stories of the Roswell incident become that Congress ordered a full investigation in 1994. No evidence of an alien crash was discovered.

Further Reading: Charles Berlitz and William Moore, *The Roswell Incident*, 1980; Beson Saler, Charles A. Ziegler, and Charles B. Moore, *UFO Crash at Roswell: The Genesis of a Modern Myth*, 1997; Richard L. Weaver and James McAndrew, *The Roswell Report: Fact Versus Fiction in the New Mexico Desert*, 1995.

VERNON L. PEDERSEN

ROUTE 66 (1926–1985), American highway. Route 66 epitomizes American automobile travel and the spirit of being on the road in the early twentieth century. In 1926 only 800 miles of this highway were paved, but all of it was paved by 1937. Today, Route 66 crosses eight states and three time zones. Almost all 2,448 miles remain intact and drivable from Chicago to St. Louis, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Amarillo, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Flagstaff, and on to the end of the Santa Monica Pier in Los Angeles. Federal Writers’ Project *State WPA Guides* for each of the states through which Route 66 runs provide detailed descriptions of this highway during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Route 66 remains the single greatest wartime manpower mobilization in the history of the nation. The government invested about \$70 billion in capital projects throughout California, a large portion of which were in the Los Angeles–San Diego area, because it had a highway artery to the rest of the country. This enormous capital outlay assured the creation of new industries that provided thousands of civilian jobs during World War II. One traveler, Robert William Troup Jr., a pianist for the Jimmy Dorsey Band from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, wrote the song “Get Your Kicks on Route 66,” which Nat King Cole released in 1946. Along this famous highway, the tourist industry’s cabin camp or tourist cottage through the 1940s and 1950s evolved into the modern motel. Similarly, the gasoline filling station evolved into pleasant rest stops, such as Soulsby’s Shell Station (Mount Olive, Illinois) and the Tower Fina Station (Shamrock, Texas). The highway’s appellations include the Mother Road (from John Steinbeck’s *Grapes of Wrath*, 1939), the Main Street of America, and the Will Rogers Highway. Beat writer Jack Kerouac wrote of such highway travel in his *On the Road* (1955). Nelson Riddle sang the theme song for *Route 66*, a television series (1960–1964) that starred Martin Milner and George Maharis. Although Route 66 was officially decommissioned in 1985, Interstates 55, 44, 40, 15, and 10 replace much of the old road today. The National Route 66 Museum is in Clinton, Oklahoma, and the Oklahoma Route 66 Museum is in Elk City, Oklahoma.

Further Reading: Nick Freeth, *Route 66: Main Street USA*, 2001; Tom Snider, *Route 66 Traveler's Guide and Roadside Companion*, 2000; Michael Wallis, *Route 66: The Mother Road*, 1990.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

RUSTIN, BAYARD TAYLOR (March 17, 1912–August 24, 1987), African American pacifist and civil rights organizer. Rustin was born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, reared by Quaker grandparents, and adopted their views on non-violence and equality. Rustin attended Ohio's Wilberforce University, Cheyney State Teachers College in Pennsylvania, and the City College of New York, without graduating. While a student, he began organizing for City College's Young Communist League. He became disillusioned after the Communist Party's about-face on the issue of segregation in the American military.

He then became associated with A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph's planned march on Washington was called off when President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, forbidding racial discrimination in defense plant employment. At the beginning of World War II, Rustin worked with the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and its noted coexecutive secretary, A.J. Muste (who helped shape Rustin's nonviolent civil disobedience views), the American Friends Service Committee, the War Resisters League (WRL), and the Socialist Party.

During the 1940s the organizer-activist emerged as a respected leader in social justice causes. In 1942, he defied Jim Crow seating on a bus near Nashville and was beaten at the police station. Rustin refused alternative service after the United States entered the war. Found guilty of violating the Selective Service Act, he spent three years at the federal penitentiary in Ashland, Kentucky. After his release, Rustin and other FOR members staged the 1947 journey of reconciliation through four segregated states, testing the Supreme Court's recent ruling banning seating discrimination on interstate transportation. This nonviolent demonstration predated the sit-ins and freedom rides of the modern civil rights movement. Rustin's resistance to North Carolina's Jim

Crow law brought twenty-eight days on a chain gang. Between 1947 and 1952, he traveled to India and Africa to witness the Indian and Ghanaian independence movements.

Rustin served twelve years as WRL executive secretary, helped form the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, advised Martin Luther King Jr., and was instrumental in organizing two youth marches for integrated schools in 1958 and 1959. The high point of Rustin's political career was the August 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, of which he was chief architect. In the late 1970s and 1980s, Rustin served as a delegate for Freedom House, monitoring elections and the status of human rights in El Salvador, Chile, Haiti, Poland, Grenada, and Zimbabwe.

Rustin lived in the shadow of civil rights leaders King and Randolph, possibly because of his earlier association with Communism and his homosexuality. His pacifism was the central force in his strong presence in the struggles for racial equality and human rights.

Rustin died in New York City.

Further Reading: Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubled Times I've Seen: A Biography*, 1998; John D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin*, 2003; Daniel Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 1999.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

RUTHERFORD, LUCY PAGE MERCER (April 26, 1891–July 31, 1948), Eleanor Roosevelt's social secretary. Mercer was born in Washington, DC, to a prominent Roman Catholic family from Maryland. Educated in private schools, she worked to support herself. By 1914 she was Eleanor Roosevelt's social secretary. She met and fell in love with Franklin D. Roosevelt, the handsome undersecretary of the navy. Four years later, Eleanor discovered love letters between the two. Franklin and Eleanor discussed divorce, but reconciled for family, financial, and political considerations. Eleanor and Franklin never shared a bed again. He became serious about his career and she rededicated her life to various good works and reform. Their children probably suffered from some sort

of upper-class parental neglect. Nevertheless, Eleanor and Franklin maintained a successful partnership.

As for Mercer, in 1920 she married Winthrop Rutherford, a wealthy widower with six children, and they subsequently had one daughter together. He lived until 1944. Her relationship with Franklin Roosevelt continued. She attended his 1932 inauguration and, after her husband's death, she and Franklin began regular visits—often organized by his daughter Anna. Eleanor

did not know about them. She was crushed to learn that Lucy was present that 1945 afternoon in Warm Springs, Georgia, when Franklin had his fatal stroke.

Lucy Rutherford died in Aiken, South Carolina, where she had lived in retirement.

Further Reading: Ellen Feldman, *Lucy*, 2004; Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt: Volume One, 1884–1933*, 1992; Resa Willis, *FDR and Lucy: Lovers and Friends*, 2004.

DONALD K. PICKENS



SALK, JONAS EDWARD (October 28, 1914–June 23, 1995), physician and virologist. Born in New York City, Salk received a BS from City College in 1934 and an MD from New York University School of Medicine in 1939. Between 1940 and 1942 he was an intern at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York City, where his research centered on the immune response to viruses.

A virus is a sequence of nucleotide bases enclosed in protein. Once in the body, a virus or any pathogen (a microbe that causes disease) triggers an immune response akin to a burglar tripping an alarm. A class of cells functions as security guards patrolling a building for criminals. These cells scan the protein on the surface of every cell in the body, differentiating an invader from a normal cell. Having detected a pathogen, they signal the immune system to produce an array of antibodies, each of unique molecular structure, until one type latches onto the surface of a pathogen, targeting it for destruction. Each type of antibody is specific to a pathogen as a key is specific to a lock. The immune system keeps on file a library of antibodies, a molecular memory of all the pathogens that have infected the body.

Salk and other physicians understood the principal of immunization, whereby introduction into the body of a pathogen in weakened form stimulates the immune system to produce antibodies. Danger lies in the possibility that a pathogen, even an attenuated one, may multiply throughout the body. This led Salk to experiment with dead pathogens, which, by definition, cannot replicate. After his internship he pursued this work as a research fellow at the University of Michigan in 1942, research associate in 1944, and assistant professor of epidemiology in 1946. His first success came with the use of dead (nonreplicating) strains of influenza from which he produced vaccines. The U.S. Army between 1943 and 1945 inoculated soldiers with these vaccines. Salk directed the Virus Research Laboratory at the University of Pittsburgh between 1947 and 1964, serving as associate research professor of bacteriology in 1947, research professor in 1949,

professor of preventive medicine in 1955, and Commonwealth Professor of Experimental Medicine in 1957.

He shifted his research in 1947 to poliovirus, developing a vaccine in 1953. A 1955 University

of Michigan trial confirmed the safety and effectiveness of the vaccine. By 1956 physicians had vaccinated 30 million Americans against polio and by 1958 half of all Americans under age forty. The number of polio cases in the United States dropped from 38,478 in 1954 to 5,485 in 1957 and to 910 in 1962. His research on influenza and polio won grants from the National Research Council and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, now the March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation. In 1963 he founded and was the first director of the Salk Institute for Biological Studies in La Jolla, California. He died in La Jolla, California.

Further Reading: Marjorie Curson, *Jonas Salk*, 1990; Victoria Sherrow, *Jonas Salk*, 1993; Jane S. Smith, *Patenting the Sun: Polio and the Salk Vaccine*, 1990.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

SANDBURG, CARL (January 6, 1878–July 22, 1967), American poet, folksinger, biographer. Sandburg was born in Galesburg, Illinois. After eighth grade, he quit school, and at age nineteen he became a hobo. In 1903 he began playing the guitar, and in 1927 he published *American Songbag*, a collection of 280 folk songs.

Sandburg volunteered for the Sixth Infantry in the Spanish American War in 1898, saw no combat, and later that year enrolled at Lombard College in Galesburg, Illinois, where he also worked as a fireman. He published his first book of poems, *Restless Ecstasy*, in 1904. In 1914 Sandburg's poems appeared in *Poetry* and won its Levinson Prize, and in 1916 he published *Chicago Poems*. Sandburg wrote a two-volume biography *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (1926), and then a four-volume *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (1939), which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1940.

Sandburg published his only novel, *Remembrance Rock*, in 1948. He died in Flat Rock, North Carolina.

Further Reading: Penelope Niven, *Carl Sandburg*, 1991; Carl Sandburg, *Always the Young Stranger*, 1953; Phillip R. Yanella, *The Other Carl Sandburg*, 1996.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

SCHLESINGER, ARTHUR MEIER, SR. (February 27, 1888–October 30, 1965), historian. Born in Xenia, Ohio, Schlesinger received a BA in history and political science from Ohio State University in Columbus in 1910, a PhD in history from Columbia University in 1917, and taught in succession at Ohio State, the University of Iowa, and Harvard University. His elevation to the presidency of the American Historical Association affirmed his status as a historian and the status of social history as a discipline. Throughout his career, Schlesinger rejected the traditional curriculum and scholarship in history for their myopic focus on politics, diplomacy, and war. Statesmen and generals were affluent white men whose lives revealed little about the past as most people experienced it. Schlesinger broadened the study of history by including in it the lives of ordinary people. In 1946 he published *Learning How to Behave*, an example of historical scholarship as he envisioned it should be. The book examined the history of etiquette in the United States, a topic that allowed him to study the role of women in American society. Women bore the burden of behaving decorously and teaching etiquette to children. In 1949 Schlesinger published *Paths to the Present*, his first book of essays, demonstrating a range to his prose that the profession of history seldom allows, so heavy is its demand for scholarship as prerequisite to tenure and promotion.

At his death in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Schlesinger was writing a multivolume social history of the United States. His son, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., edited and published in 1968 what was to have been the first volume, *The Birth of the Nation*. The next year he brought out his father's last work, *Nothing Stands Still*, a third collection of essays.

Further Reading: Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *A Life in the Twentieth Century: Innocent Beginnings, 1917–1950*, 2000; Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr., *In Retrospect: The History of a Historian*, 1963; Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr., *Nothing Stands Still*, 1969.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

SCIENCE Historians and physicists regard the development of the atomic bomb as America's principal scientific achievement of the 1940s. In 1939 Hungarian physicist Leo Szilard and Italian physicist and Nobel laureate Enrico Fermi persuaded German physicist Albert Einstein—all three were émigrés—to sign Szilard's letter warning President Franklin D. Roosevelt that Germany might develop an atomic bomb. They urged an American program designed to beat Germany to it.

The government responded slowly. In February 1940 the National Bureau of Standards established a committee with a \$6,000 budget to examine the idea's feasibility. In 1941 the group began a program to develop an atomic bomb under Vannevar Bush, director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, and the next year the U.S. Army assigned the program, with the code name Manhattan Project, to Brigadier General Leslie R. Groves.

Groves surrounded himself with Nobel laureates: Fermi, Arthur Holly Compton, and Ernest O. Lawrence. In December 1942 Fermi perfected the technique of disintegrating uranium atoms and releasing energy from their nuclei by bombarding them with neutrons. His breakthrough led to the first atomic bomb, a uranium device. By 1945 Fermi and his colleagues had sufficient uranium and plutonium to build three bombs: two of uranium and one of plutonium. On July 16, they detonated a uranium bomb in Alamogordo, New Mexico, ushering in the atomic age. The remaining two weapons, dropped on Japan in August, ended World War II.

This achievement overshadowed successes in other fields. Since the 1920s, crop breeders had developed strains of hybrid corn offering insect and disease resistance and providing higher yields than traditional varieties. By 1945 U.S. farmers planted hybrids on 95 percent of corn acreage.

Two years earlier the Department of Agriculture had begun trials with DDT, the first of a new generation of insecticides. Agricultural science achieved such prestige by the 1940s that one of the hybrid-corn revolution architects, Henry A. Wallace, rose to be Roosevelt's vice president in 1941 and to run as a Progressive for president in 1948.

Wallace was not the only agricultural scientist to distinguish himself. In 1943, Selman A. Waksman, a microbiologist at Rutgers University and the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, discovered streptomycin. It was the first antibiotic effective against tuberculosis. The discovery won him the 1952 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine. Waksman was the first U.S. agricultural scientist to win the award.

The Manhattan Project and agricultural science achievements demonstrate the practicality of American science, an orientation that Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin had made its core. This practicality obscures the theoretical dimension of American science during the 1940s, a dimension evident in the work of evolutionary biologists. Confusion continues to mar an understanding of the field. The traditional narrative of resistance to the theory of evolution by natural selection ignores that Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) convinced all but a few naturalists (now called biologists) of the fact of evolution. Controversy, however, swirled over its mechanism: natural selection. By 1920 selectionists were in the majority. They sought to develop mathematical models describing the rate at which new species might evolve. But such models depended on a rigorous definition of *species*, a term over which naturalists had struggled for two centuries.

In 1937 Theodosius Dobzhansky, then at the California Institute of Technology, set the boundary between species by asserting that organisms that cannot breed to yield fertile offspring cannot be members of the same species. Dobzhansky's definition left unclear whether organisms that could, but did not, interbreed to yield fertile offspring were members of the same species. Ernst Mayr clarified the problem in 1942 by defining a species as a reproductive population of organisms. Such a population includes all organ-

isms that do or can interbreed to produce fertile offspring. An organism's sterility does not preclude its species membership. A human male with an inadequate sperm count nonetheless remains a member of the species. This is the modern definition of *species*.

The 1940s marked the beginning of the antibiotic era in medical science. Clinical trials of penicillin in 1940 and 1941 paved the way for its use on Allied troops in 1943 and civilians in 1945. Scientists discovered several antibiotics that decade. In separate lines of research, Jonas Salk in 1943 developed vaccines against influenza and in 1947 began his quest for a polio vaccine.

Further Reading: *McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of Science and Technology*, 2002; Marc Rothenberg, ed., *The History of Science in the United States*, 2001; *Science and Technology Desk Reference*, 1993.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

SEABORG, GLENN THEODORE (April 19, 1912–February 25, 1999), chemist. Seaborg was born in Ishpeming, Michigan. In 1933 he received a BS in chemistry from the University of California at Los Angeles and in 1937 a PhD in chemistry from the University of California at Berkeley.

He remained at Berkeley as a laboratory assistant, rising to instructor in 1939, assistant professor in 1941, and professor in 1945. The next year he became director of chemical research at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley, becoming the laboratory's associate director in 1954. That year President Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed Seaborg to the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission, the agency Congress had charged with developing nuclear weapons and power plants. In 1958 he became chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley; in 1959 a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee; and in 1961 chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Seaborg was a codiscoverer of plutonium and, between 1942 and 1946, along with physicist and Nobel laureate Arthur Holly Compton, directed its production at the University of Chicago as part of the Manhattan Project, the atomic bomb program. Seaborg created plutonium by adding a

neutron to uranium, creating a transuranium element (an element heavier than uranium) that decayed into plutonium. Like uranium 235 (its mass in grams per mole), plutonium disintegrates upon bombardment by neutrons, releasing energy from its nucleus. Seaborg's work led to the development of the first plutonium bomb in 1945. That August the U.S. Army Air Corps dropped a plutonium bomb on Nagasaki, Japan, ending World War II.

Seaborg discovered eight elements in addition to plutonium, all transuranium elements, discoveries that won him the 1951 Nobel Prize in Chemistry. Other awards include the John Ericsson Gold Medal from the American Association of Swedish Engineers, the Nichols Medal from the New York Section of the American Chemical Society in 1948, the John Scott Award and Medal of the City of Philadelphia in 1953, the Perkins Medal from the American Section of the Society of Chemical Industry in 1957, the Enrico Fermi Award from the Atomic Energy Commission in 1959, nomination as Swedish American of the Year by the Vasa Order of America in 1962, and the Franklin Medal from the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia in 1963.

Seaborg was an honorary fellow of the Chemical Society of London and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He was a Fellow of the American Institute of Chemists, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the American Physical Society.

He died in Lafayette, California.

Further Reading: Darleane C. Hoffman, Albert Ghiorso, and Glenn T. Seaborg, *The Transuranium People: The Inside Story*, 2000; Sharon B. McGrayne, *Prometheans in the Lab: Chemistry and the Making of the Modern World*, 2001; Glenn T. Seaborg, *Adventures in the Atomic Age: From Watts to Washington*, 2001.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

SEGREGATION, a means by which legal enactments called “Jim Crow laws” were adopted to separate whites and blacks in schools, public transportation, theaters, hotels, and restaurants. Segregation was prominent and had its legal roots in place prior to the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, but during Reconstruction, as newly freed

slaves asserted themselves as American citizens, whites felt a need to solidify their dominance in American culture and society. A capstone of this effort was the 1896 Supreme Court decision, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which legalized segregation and became the benchmark for state laws that supported it.

By 1940 segregation was firmly entrenched and, over the years, had delivered two societies in America—one white, one black—with barriers so impassable that neither group was bound to respect the other. Jim Crow laws codified discrimination and white supremacy in America, and some people were convinced that segregation would last indefinitely. It was expanded to every section of the country and to every area of society. Its stated purpose was to separate the races with equal accommodations, but in reality it provided preferential treatment for white Americans and insured that black Americans would not have equal protection under the law or equal opportunities in any sector.

Segregation's proponents developed irrational beliefs to justify discrimination and the subjugation of African Americans. They even located Biblical scripture allegedly supporting white dominance over black people. Most important, they convinced many people that any alternatives to a segregated society would provide an open season for black men when no white woman would be safe. The concocted fears of miscegenation served white supremacy well. They deepened the division between the races and were a powerful ally for segregation and the maintenance of discrimination.

Despite the entrenchment of segregation north and south, powerful forces were unleashed in the 1940s—many growing out of World War II—that would begin to erode its effectiveness. Most of the struggle to derail segregation was waged at the local level where a growing militancy among African Americans, coupled with their increasing voting power, began to exact changes. This militancy was manifest in the threat of A. Philip Randolph and his porters' union to organize a mass demonstration in Washington, DC, in 1942. The threat led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue an executive order banning discrimination in defense industries and federal

agencies. Segregation required a senseless duplication of basic facilities, often interfering with the war effort. The NAACP made use of this rationale to gain gradual support from the federal government in removing some Jim Crow laws. The NAACP won a landmark decision in 1946 when the Supreme Court ruled against segregation in interstate travel. This decision paralleled and complemented the line of attack that was simultaneously being developed in education and that subsequently led to the desegregation of public schools.

Other factors that undermined segregation were the activism and advocacy of African American women's clubs and organizations, political leftists, the immense popularity of black sports figures who were living refutations of black inferiority, black churches whose clergy often served as ambassadors to the white community to mediate disputes along the color line, and black veterans who returned home from serving overseas reluctant to accept segregation. The action taken by President Harry S. Truman in 1948 to desegregate the armed forces provided additional momentum. Truman was disturbed by the treatment given to returning black veterans in the South and made a powerful statement against segregation in his landmark address to the NAACP. These modest gains against segregation set the stage for the 1954 Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, which led to the end of legal segregation in America.

Further Reading: John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, 1974; James Jackson Kilpatrick, *The Southern Case for School Segregation*, 1962; C. Eric Lincoln, *The Negro Pilgrimage in America*, 1960.

BERMAN E. JOHNSON

SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT (1948) Immediately after World War II, demobilization of the armed forces was initiated. This was accomplished over a period of months. A point system had been established, giving men credit for months of service and overseas duty. Those having the longest period of service were separated first.

President Harry Truman, prompted by Cold War concerns and alarm over demobilization's rapid pace, appointed an advisory committee in December 1946 to explore the feasibility of implementing a plan for universal military training. Official American thinking was now dominated by the belief that the best way to secure peace and restrain Soviet expansion was by maintaining a strong military presence in the world. The largest peacetime military establishment in American history was developed with one-third of the federal budget, \$12 billion, earmarked for the army and navy in 1947. Proponents of the committee's plan insisted that military training and discipline would raise the level of effective citizenship. General George C. Marshall, now secretary of state, believed such training would maintain military strength without the fear of a standing army and that its cost would be minimal compared to the existing scale of national expenditures.

Truman's plan encountered opposition on two fronts: peace groups and Congress. New peace groups such as the Post War World Council and the National Council against Conscription challenged the idea of universal military service on the premise that it posed a threat to democracy and was too expensive. Congress, at first, also rejected the committee's initial report on the grounds that it would violate Americans' rights and create a militaristic environment.

On March 3, 1947, Truman recommended that the Selective Service Act of 1940 be discontinued. But when the armed forces fell from over 2 million to 1.4 million by early 1948, the president requested that Congress reenact selective service. On June 24, 1948, a new law was passed requiring registration for all men between the ages eighteen and twenty-six and a period of twenty-one months of active duty for those inducted into military service. The new act was used either as a means of universal military training or as a service measure to expand the regular army. It encouraged voluntary enlistment for those wanting to select their service and branch rather than being at the mercy of local draft boards. The act also excluded from consideration for deferment the conscientious objector whose motivation was primarily political or ethical, rather than religious,

and imposed severe penalties on anyone guilty of advising resistance to the law or interfering with its operations. The 1948 law was replaced during the Korean War with the 1951 Universal Military Training and Service Act.

Further Reading: John W. Chambers II, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America*, 1987; J. Gary Clifford and Samuel R. Spencer Jr., *The First Peacetime Draft*, 2000; Arthur A. Ekirch Jr., *The Civilian and the Military*, 1956.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

SELECTIVE TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT (1940) The policy of drafting men into the military first occurred in the North during the Civil War. A draft law was introduced during World War I with the Selective Service Act of 1917. Registration was required for all men between ages eighteen and forty-five. Pacifists from the historic peace churches—the Brethren, Mennonites, and Quakers—were granted conscientious objector (CO) status.

On July 1, 1940, Congress passed the Selective Training and Service Act by one vote. Also known as the Burke-Wadsworth Act, it was the first peacetime draft in U.S. history. Signed into law on September 16, it required all males between the ages twenty-one and thirty-six to register for the draft. COs were exempted on the basis of training and belief and given the opportunity to serve their country by doing work of national importance under civilian direction.

On October 16, 1940, registration for the peacetime draft began, with over 16 million men signing up. By month's end, compulsory conscription started. The initial law provided that not more than 900,000 men were to be in training at any one time, and it limited service to twelve months. The provision also mandated no service beyond the limits of the Western Hemisphere, except in U.S. possessions.

In 1941, after the German invasion of Russia and growing tensions with Japan, the act was extended to eighteen months. After Pearl Harbor, a revised selective service law mandated that men between eighteen and forty-five were liable for military service, and registration was required for all men between eighteen and sixty-five. The first

director of Selective Service was Dr. Clarence Dyskstra, president of the University of Wisconsin. Lieutenant Colonel Lewis B. Hershey succeeded him on March 15, 1941. Following Pearl Harbor, the period of service was extended for the war's duration plus six months. From 1940 to 1947, over 10 million men were inducted into the armed forces. The Selective Training and Service Act expired in 1947 and was replaced in 1948 by a new statute resulting from the escalation of Cold War tensions.

The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 was significant for two reasons. First, it was the first peacetime conscription act in American history. Second, for the first time as well, the act recognized conscientious objection as a matter of individual conscience, not group affiliation or creed, as had been the case in World War I. The act provided for the rapid expansion of military training while also respecting conscience based on religious training and belief.

Further Reading: John W. Chambers II, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America*, 1987; J. Gary Clifford and Samuel R. Spencer Jr., *The First Peacetime Draft*, 2000; Arthur A. Ekirch Jr., *The Civilian and the Military*, 1956.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

SHELLEY V. KRAEMER (1948) This U.S. Supreme Court decision involved the question of whether state court enforcement of racially discriminatory restrictive deed covenants constituted state action. J.D. Shelley, an African American living in Missouri, had purchased residential property from a white person in St. Louis. The seller did not know that the papers to the property contained a restrictive agreement, preventing ownership or occupancy by anyone other than a Caucasian. The seller's neighbor, Louis D. Kraemer, owned other property subject to the restriction. He filed a lawsuit to prevent Shelley from taking ownership. Kraemer also sought to divest title of the property from Shelley. The trial court denied Kraemer relief, but the Missouri Supreme Court subsequently reversed the decision. Shelley appealed.

The matter reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1948. The issue pitted the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause against private,

color-based restrictive covenants. The Supreme Court favored the amendment. The high court held that property rights clearly were among those protected from discriminatory state action. Lower court enforcement of the agreement did violate the Constitution, because the effect of the state court action was to force white sellers to racially discriminate against willing African American buyers.

Shelley represented a successful challenge to judicial enforcement of agreements between property owners to exclude persons of designated races, a prevalent practice up to that time. Missouri's enforcement of private racial restrictions was struck down on the grounds that it had denied Shelley equal protection under the law. The case represented another judicial step forward in the postwar struggle for racial equality in America.

Further Reading: Robert F. Cushman, *Leading Constitutional Decisions*, 14th ed., 1971; Kermit L. Hall, ed., *The Oxford Guide to United States Supreme Court Decisions*, 1999; *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1, 68 S.Ct. 836, 1948.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

SHIRER, WILLIAM LAWRENCE (February 23, 1904–December 28, 1993), American journalist, broadcaster, and historian. Born in Chicago, Shirer attended Coe College, a small Presbyterian school in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, graduating in 1925. There he worked for the college newspaper, *Coe Cosmos*, and then a Cedar Rapids daily. His first job was with the *Paris Tribune*. During his career he lived and worked in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Rome. He became fluent in French and German and gained a working knowledge of Spanish and Italian.

It was his work in Germany as foreign correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune* and later for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in the late 1930s that established his reputation. He was a reporter in Berlin before Hitler's seizure of power and then during the first seven years of the Third Reich. In 1937 Shirer replaced Edward R. Murrow, after his return to Britain, as the principal CBS European correspondent, based first in Vienna, then in Berlin. In 1938 he began a series of radio broadcasts, typically introduced

by the phrase "This is Berlin." These broadcasts made him famous across America.

Significantly, in May 1940, because of a radio transmission error, he announced the fall of France some weeks before Hitler was able to conquer it. Throughout Shirer's time in Germany he worked hard to avoid Nazi censorship, but when this became impossible by December 1940 he returned to the United States. Thereupon he began broadcasting a news program from New York. After the end of World War II he returned to Germany and was present at the Nuremberg trials. During his time in Germany he gained access to a good portion of the 1,400 tons of secret German documents that the Allies captured intact. These documents formed the basis of research for his seminal work *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany* (1959). He also witnessed the birth of the United Nations at its inaugural meeting in San Francisco on April 24, 1945. Shirer died in Boston. He is widely regarded as one of the greatest of all American foreign correspondents, and his firsthand accounts of some of the most important events of the twentieth century are a lasting testimony to the role journalists can play in preparing history's first draft.

Further Reading: William L. Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 1941; William L. Shirer Papers, George T. Henry College Archives, Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany*, 1959.

WENDY TOON

SHOCKLEY, WILLIAM BRADFORD (February 13, 1910–August 12, 1989), physicist and engineer. Born in London, Shockley and his parents settled in California in 1913. He received a BS in physics from the California Institute of Technology in 1932 and a PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1936. That year he joined Bell Telephone Laboratories as a research physicist, studying the electrical properties of semiconductors.

Shockley interrupted this research during World War II, when he was research director of the Anti-Submarine Warfare Operations Research Group for the U.S. Navy and expert consultant

to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. In 1946 the Office of the Secretary of War awarded Shockley the Medal of Merit. Between 1947 and 1949 Shockley was scientific adviser for the Policy Council of the Joint Research and Development Board, a War Department agency.

In 1947 he returned to Bell Laboratories, where he, John Bardeen, and Walter Brattain developed the first transistor. A transistor is both conductor and insulator. It carries a current as a conductor but not as an insulator. As a conductor, a transistor is on and has the binary digit 1; as an insulator, it is off and has the binary digit 0. Smaller than the vacuum tube, the transistor allowed manufacturers of electronic devices, particularly of computers, to miniaturize their components. The result is the wide availability and affordability of computers small and light enough to be portable. Shockley, Bardeen, and Brattain shared the 1956 Nobel Prize in Physics for their research on semiconductors and their development of the transistor.

In 1955 Shockley left Bell Labs to become director of the Shockley Semi-Conductor Laboratory of Beckman Instruments in Mountain View, California. Research gave way to entrepreneurship, as Shockley oversaw the production of transistors. In 1963 he returned to academe as the first Alexander M. Poniatoff Professor of Engineering Science at Stanford University.

There Shockley sullied his reputation by insisting that blacks were less intelligent than whites and that the gap in intelligence was hereditary. If true, blacks could never equal whites in intelligence. Shockley abhorred interracial marriage and thought that a high birthrate among blacks endangered the evolutionary fitness of humans. Other scholars rightly criticized Shockley for his racism and for feigning expertise in genetics and evolutionary biology, fields in which he had no training.

Shockley was a fellow of the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a member of the National Academy of Sciences and the American Institute of Physics. His inventions accrued more than ninety patents and his publications number three books and more than 100 scientific papers.

Shockley died in Palo Alto, California.

Further Reading: Burton Feldman, *The Nobel Prize: A History of Genius, Controversy and Prestige*, 2000; Roger Pearson, *Race, Intelligence and Bias in Academe*, 1997; Michael Riordan and Lillian Hoddeson, *Crystal Fire: The Invention of the Transistor and the Birth of the Information Age*, 1998.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

SINATRA, FRANCIS ALBERT (December 12, 1915–May 14, 1998), American singer. Frank Sinatra, born in Hoboken, New Jersey, dropped out of high school for a music career. His Hoboken Four won the *Major Bowes Original Amateur Hour* radio talent contest in 1935. Sinatra was a singing waiter at the Rustic Cabin in Englewood, New Jersey, until 1939, when bandleader Henry James heard him on the radio and signed him.

Sinatra first recorded on July 13, 1939, but by the next year he was working for Tommy Dorsey. Dorsey featured Sinatra on sixteen Top Ten Hits, including “I’ll Never Smile Again.” He then appeared with Dorsey’s band in *Las Vegas Nights* (1941) and *Ship Ahoy* (1942). Sinatra recorded Cole Porter’s “Night and Day” under his own name in 1942. He went to work for Benny Goodman at the Paramount Theater in New York, where on New Year’s Eve, 1942, young girls screamed and swooned over him, America’s first genuine teen idol. The American Federation of Musicians banned musical recording for a time in 1943 when Sinatra had four Dorsey hits on the Top Ten charts. Sinatra’s “All or Nothing at All” with Harry James hit number one in September 1944. Columbia Records recorded Sinatra singing a cappella in 1943. Musicians union protests ended further a cappella recordings.

Sinatra received his first film credit in *Reveille with Beverley* (1943). After two more films, MGM put him under contract, and eight of his recordings were chart successes in 1945. He also sang in 1945’s most successful film, *Anchors Aweigh*. Sinatra claimed six hits in 1946. *The Voice of Frank Sinatra* topped the album charts in 1946, and Sinatra acted in *Till the Clouds Roll By*. He returned to radio and appeared in five more films, including *On the Town* (1947). In

1947–1948 he had two singles hits and two album hits, *Songs by Sinatra* (1947) and *Christmas Songs by Sinatra* (1948).

During the 1950s Sinatra sang on radio, appeared on television, and played a dramatic role in *Meet Danny Wilson* (1952). He had hits until Elvis Presley captured the singles charts in 1956 and the Beatles captured the album charts in 1964. Sinatra came back with *Sinatra '65* and *September of My Year*. He recorded through the 1990s. In 1985 Sinatra received an honorary degree from Stevens Institute (Hoboken), and he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. He died in Los Angeles.

Further Reading: Donald Clarke, *All or Nothing at All*, 2001; Kitty Kelley, *His Way*, 1985; Nancy Sinatra, *Frank Sinatra: An American Legend*, 1995.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

SLEEPY LAGOON CASE, racial atrocity. Along a rural road outside Los Angeles, near a gravel-pit swimming hole appropriated by young Mexican Americans who had been excluded from public swimming pools, a gang member named José Diaz was found unconscious on August 2, 1942. Newspaper reporters dubbed the premises Sleepy Lagoon. Diaz never regained consciousness; he died from a skull fracture, according to the autopsies.

Investigations found that Diaz had attended a house party in the vicinity the preceding evening. Although no proof of murder was established and no murder weapon ever found, twenty-four youths, all Mexican Americans except one Anglo, were arrested that fall and charged with murder. Two of the defendants underwent separate trials and were eventually released. The remaining defendants were tried on sixty-six charges. Charles W. Fricke, a Los Angeles Superior Court judge, heard the case. He demonstrated his own bias against Mexicans by allowing the prosecution to repeatedly stereotype the defendants as unkempt and filthy Mexicans. The defense complained that throughout the lengthy court proceedings the defendants were denied changes of clothing and haircuts and thus began to mirror the prosecution's stereotype. The *Los Angeles Times*, the Hearst newspapers, and the local press printed

sensationalist articles highlighting the alleged Mexican criminal activity. In January 1943, without concrete evidence, seventeen of the Mexican defendants were convicted and sentenced on charges ranging from assault to first-degree murder. The jury found the other five not guilty.

The verdict led to the creation of the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, chaired by Carey McWilliams, which appealed the convictions. Two years later in October 1944, the California District Court of Appeals reversed the charges because of the bias of the first trial and lack of evidence.

Further Reading: Ian F. Haney Lopez, *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice*, 2003; Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Ribera, *Mexican Americans/American Mexicans*, 1993; F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*, 1996.

SANTOS C. VEGA

SMITH, GERALD LYMAN KENNETH (February 27, 1898–April 15, 1976), minister, publisher, and right-wing crusader. Gerald L.K. Smith, as he was known, was born in Pardeeville, Wisconsin, and raised in rural towns in that state. He graduated from Valparaiso University in Indiana in 1917. Though lacking formal seminary training, Smith became a minister in the Disciples of Christ denomination, serving parishes in Illinois and Indiana. From 1929 to 1933 he was a pastor in Shreveport, Louisiana, then became national director of Louisiana governor Huey P. Long's Share Our Wealth Society. In 1937 he launched the Committee of One Million, which he called "a nationalist front against Communism."

By 1939 he had settled in Detroit, where he broadcast weekly over WJR. He bitterly attacked the New Deal, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and President Franklin Roosevelt's interventionist foreign policy. Conversely he favored neutrality, military preparedness, and the suppression of "un-American" activities. In 1942 he launched a monthly magazine, *The Cross and the Flag*, and unsuccessfully sought the Republican Senate nomination. In 1943 he proclaimed formation of the America First Party (unrelated to the America First Committee of

1940–1941), running as its presidential candidate the following year. Its three-point victory program included defeating Roosevelt's bid for a fourth term, sending Communists back to Moscow, and making Vice President Henry Wallace a milkman in China. In 1944 the party garnered fewer than 2,000 votes. By mid-decade anti-Semitism increasingly had become Smith's trademark, and he had no qualms about distributing *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* and *The International Jew*, the latter a series of articles first appearing in Henry Ford's defunct *Dearborn Independent*.

In 1946 Smith renamed his organization the Christian Nationalist Crusade, which had its headquarters in St. Louis. Two years later he was presidential candidate of the Christian Nationalist Party, running on a platform that included racial segregation, financing of a back-to-Africa movement for willing blacks, severance of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, liquidation of the United Nations, and the deportation of all supporters of the Zionist movement. (In both 1944 and 1948 Smith's running mate was Harry A. Romer, formerly an organizer for Father Charles E. Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice.) In 1948 fewer than a hundred votes were registered for his party. By the late 1950s his movement had greatly declined. In his later years Smith moved to Eureka Springs, Arkansas, where he constructed a seven-story statue of Jesus (*the Christ of the Ozarks*) and staged a passion play. In 1973 he published a highly colored account of his life, *Besieged Patriot*.

Further Reading: Glen Jeansonne, *Gerald L.K. Smith: Minister of Hate*, 1988; Leo P. Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War*, 1983; Gerald L.K. Smith Papers, University of Michigan.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

SMITH, MARGARET MADELINE CHASE (December 14, 1897–May 29, 1995), political leader. Born in Skowhegan, Maine, Smith, wife of Congressman Clyde Harold Smith, taught at an elementary school in her region and later became commercial manager of a telephone company as well as circulation manager for the county

weekly newspaper, *Independent-Reporter*. Smith worked as her husband's secretary while he was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

She was elected as a Republican by special election in 1940 to fill the vacancy caused by his death, and she won reelection until 1949. She worked diligently to secure passage in 1948 of the Women's Armed Services Integration Act. Known for her military expertise and commitment to preparedness, Smith, who wore a single red rose each day, was an interventionist in foreign affairs. In 1948, with Thomas E. Dewey carrying Maine's electoral votes, Smith won the first of four contests for a U.S. Senate seat. She served from 1949 to 1973, losing in 1972 to Democrat William A. Hathaway. Smith, a moderate Republican, briefly toyed with the GOP presidential nomination in 1964 by entering the New Hampshire primary. She chaired the Senate Republican Conference in the ninetieth through ninety-second congresses.

After her defeat in 1972, she devoted attention to the Margaret Chase Library Center, the repository of her papers, in her native city, where she died. One of the few female politicians during the 1940s, Smith achieved national attention and fought for her ideas. The first Republican woman to serve in the Senate, the first woman to capture a senatorial position without first being appointed to it, and the first woman to win elections to both houses of Congress, Smith was one of the most influential women of her day.

Further Reading: Janann M. Sherman, "Margaret Chase Smith: The Making of a Senator," PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1993; Margaret Chase Smith, *Declaration of Conscience*, 1972; Patricia W. Wallace, *The Politics of Conscience: A Biography of Margaret Chase Smith*, 1995.

LEONARD SCHLUP

SMITH ACT Congress passed the Smith Act in 1940 after the Nazi-Soviet Pact caused the public to fear that extremist political groups might join hands in committing internal subversion. The legislation was officially the Alien Registration Act, but commonly called the Smith Act after Representative Howard W. Smith, a Virginia Democrat. He wrote its antisubversive section, which made it a crime to advocate the overthrow

of the U.S. government by force or violence or to belong to an organization that advocated such action. Violators were subject to fines and imprisonment of up to twenty years.

The Smith Act first targeted the Trotskyist organizers of a 1941 transportation strike in Minnesota. Later, after America's entry into World War II, the law was employed against a group of anti-Semites. The most famous use of the Smith Act, however, came after the war with prosecution of eleven national-level leaders of the domestic Communist Party (CPUSA). Although the United States had allied itself to the Soviet Union during the war, allowing the CPUSA to thrive, the alliance quickly deteriorated after Germany's surrender. As a result, the Truman administration found itself faced with an increasingly hostile international opponent aided by a vigorous domestic organization, entrenched politically through the Progressive Party of former vice president Henry Wallace and enjoying a strong position in organized labor as well.

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, feared that in the event of a war with the Soviet Union—which Hoover considered almost inevitable—America could be crippled by activities of well-placed American Communists more loyal to the Soviet Union than to their homeland. Although Hoover had opposed the detention of Japanese Americans during World War II, he through the Communist Party was a much more serious threat. Accordingly, he sought legal authority to detain potential subversives in wartime. Congress denied Hoover that power, forcing him to find other legal means to disable the Communist Party should war break out.

The Smith Act seemed to suit Hoover's needs, and he requested that the Justice Department use the measure against the CPUSA's top leadership. In 1948 all twelve members of the party's top executive body were indicted: national chair William Z. Foster, national secretary Eugene Dennis, and political bureau members Gil Green, Henry Winston, John Williamson, Jacob Stachel, Robert G. Thompson, Benjamin J. Davis, John Gates, Irving Potash, Carl Winter, and future party leader Gus Hall. Because of ill health, Foster's case was separated from that of his

colleagues and he was never tried. The remaining defendants went to trial in New York City in January 1949.

The prosecution did not attempt to prove that the indicted Communists were active revolutionaries. It simply charged that they advocated overthrowing the government. Defense attorneys countered that the CPUSA had always advocated a constitutional path to socialism. Eugene Dennis, who defended himself, characterized the proceedings as an attempt at thought control. *Daily Worker* cartoonist Fred Ellis compared the trial to Adolf Hitler's suppression of the German Communist Party. All eleven defendants received guilty verdicts and were released on bail pending appeal. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the convictions in 1951. Only seven defendants reported to prison, however. The other five disappeared, either to flee the country or continue their work underground.

Several more Smith Act trials of state-level Communist Party leaders took place during the 1950s, resulting in 129 indictments, ninety-three convictions, and ten acquittals.

Further Reading: Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes, *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself*, 1992; Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party During the Second World War*, 1982; Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism*, 1995.

VERNON L. PEDERSEN

SOCIALIST PARTY During the 1930s, the Socialist Party continually lost ground. The party was electorally insignificant, except for such strongholds as Milwaukee; Reading, Pennsylvania; and Bridgeport, Connecticut. Its presidential candidate, Norman Thomas, had polled 881,951 votes in 1932, which was 2.5 percent of the total vote cast that year, but only 187,342 in 1936. The group suffered from defection to the New Deal, a major factional schism between the Militants (led by Thomas) and the Old Guard (centering on the garment unions), and opposition to its anti-interventionism when World War II broke out in 1939. In 1938 the Socialists had founded the Keep America Out of War Congress, which included six major peace organizations and

lasted until Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. In the party's major vehicle, the eight-page *Call*, party leader Thomas attacked "delusions" of fellow liberals while a weekly column by Lillian Symes assailed the interventionist press. The weekly *American Guardian*, edited by Oscar Ameringer of Oklahoma City, served as the *Call*'s Great Plains version.

In 1940 the socialist presidential ticket of Thomas and Maynard Krueger, an economist at the University of Chicago, polled only 187,572 votes, only 0.4 percent of some 45 million votes cast. The platform accused the New Deal of turning from "its failure to conquer poverty at home to armament economics in the hope of war-time profits." Once the United States entered the war, the party leadership divided between giving the war effort "critical support" (Thomas's position) or "political nonsupport" (the view of party national secretary Travers Clement); it ended up using equivocal wording denouncing war generally but avoiding condemnation of the current conflict. By then party ranks were less than a thousand. In 1944 Thomas again ran for president. This time his running mate was Darlington Hoopes, an attorney from Reading who had served three terms in the Pennsylvania assembly. Adopting a platform that repudiated unconditional surrender by calling for an armistice with newly installed democratic regimes of Germany and Japan, the party garnered only 80,518 votes. Four years later Thomas was again standard-bearer, running alongside Tucker P. Smith, an economics professor at Olivet College in Michigan. This time the platform advocated an end of all colonialism, an international police force, internationalization and demilitarization of all waterways, and admission of at least 40,000 displaced persons into the United States. Thomas was publicly dreaming of forming a broad social-democratic coalition that might even shed the "socialist" label. The party ran slightly better than in 1944, garnering 140,260 votes. In subsequent years the already decimated party fell prey to increased schism and membership loss; its death in 1972 went almost unnoticed.

Further Reading: Justus D. Doenecke, "Non-interventionism of the Left: The Keep America Out of the War Congress," *Journal of Contemporary History* 12 (1977):

221–236; Howard Rae Penniman, "The Socialist Party in Action: The 1940 National Campaign," PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1942; W.A. Swanberg, *Norman Thomas: The Last Idealist*, 1976.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

SOCIOLOGY When Austrian sociologist Paul Lazarsfeld came to the United States in 1933, he judged American sociology amateurish and sought through a Rockefeller Foundation grant to professionalize it by bringing the research institute to campus. The institute was to be as autonomous as is possible with a university bureaucracy, its own fiefdom within the university kingdom. So long as it won grants, paid the university overhead for use of its facilities, and published literature that added to the university's renown, administrators would leave the institution alone. Its cadre of sociologists would not dissipate their energy in the classroom, but instead concentrate exclusively on research. Lazarsfeld believed he had imported this model from Europe although it had been a feature of U.S. universities for decades. Since the late nineteenth century the Department of Agriculture had established independent laboratories at land-grant universities and agricultural experiment stations, drawing to them scientists who had the luxury of eschewing teaching in favor of research.

Despite the success of this model in the agricultural sciences, American sociology in the 1940s was slow to embrace the research institute. Sociologists looked to the past for their research model, borrowing from the work of Columbia University sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd. In 1929 and 1937 they published studies of Middletown (Muncie, Indiana) in an attempt to understand how people interact to earn a living and build a sense of community in a modern American city. University of Chicago sociologists W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt followed the Lynds in studying class in Newburyport, Rhode Island. In 1941 they published *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, concluding that Newburyport did not have the traditional three classes—lower, middle, and upper—but a finer gradation of six. The point was that Americans, at least those in Newburyport,

were more class-conscious than sociologists and historians had supposed. Other studies followed, perhaps the most notable in countering the dogmas of capitalism being Warner and J.O. Low's *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, published in 1947. Their conclusion, that capitalism alienated both worker and manager and treated both as commodities, resonated with Marxists rather than Wall Street financiers, though Warner and Low had done nothing original; they had merely applied Marxian analysis to a strike at a Newburyport factory, trading the Lynds for Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

The attention to class and labor should not overshadow the work of sociologists during World War II. University of Wisconsin sociologist Samuel A. Stouffer led a cohort of colleagues in publishing two volumes in 1949: *The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life* and *The American Soldier: Combat and Its Aftermath*. In their pages Stouffer and his colleagues offer the insights each generation learns anew: the monotony of army life, the intensity of the bond between soldiers in the face of death, the terror of combat, the grief over losing a friend, the hatred of death. These lessons are important but, like the Newburyport studies, unoriginal.

Anthropologist Ruth Benedict made the crucial contribution to wartime sociology. The Office of War Information hired her to study the attitudes and values of the Japanese. The War Department classified her work, allowing Benedict to publish it only in 1947 in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. However, having completed her research by 1945, Benedict advised the Truman administration to allow Japan to retain its emperor as a condition of surrender, given the value the Japanese placed on respect, obedience, authority, and hierarchy. As in the other studies, Benedict broke no new ground; her purpose was not to be original but to help the Truman administration define terms of surrender that Japan would accept. Benedict, in her wartime role as sociologist, may have thus contributed as much as American physicists to ending the war in the Pacific.

Further Reading: Jeffrey Alexander, ed., *The Classical Tradition in Sociology: The American Tradition*, 1997; Michael D. Grimes, *Class in Twentieth Century American*

Sociology: An Analysis of Theories and Measurement Strategies, 1991; Stephen P. Turner and Dirk Kasler, *Sociology Responds to Fascism*, 1992.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

SOVIET ATOMIC BOMB The explosion of an atomic device in the Soviet Union in 1949 came years before anyone in the United States had predicted. It fundamentally altered the postwar balance of power and created a bipolar world. Overcoming a technological and scientific deficit, the USSR developed the bomb quickly because of its highly centralized government control over resources and personnel. This made possible a focus on a few high-priority projects key to Soviet security. The Soviet government also used prison labor in the project, as it did in building a hydrogen bomb.

Another aid to the weapon's rapid development may have been the skill of Soviet espionage. The first Soviet device was a very close copy of the first one built by the United States. There were several informants on the Manhattan Project and associated research projects who passed on information to the Soviets. By the beginning of 1945, Soviet intelligence had a clear general picture of the Manhattan Project. The Manhattan Project also influenced the Soviet bomb project in that it influenced the decisions of Ivan Kurchatov, its director. The Soviets chose to focus on certain research areas rather than others because of what the Manhattan Project was doing.

Once the United States used atomic bombs successfully in Japan in 1945, Soviet efforts expanded rapidly. However, the Soviet project was just as influenced by the *Official Report on the Development of the Atomic Bomb Under the Auspices of the United States Government* (compiled by physicist Henry DeWolf Smyth) as by the Japanese bombs. Soviet political figures pushed for a bomb quickly, urging Kurchatov and his team to follow the American model, which the Smyth report detailed, minus technical material on the bombs themselves. By the end of 1945, the Soviets had stolen through espionage enough information on the American bomb for one of their engineers to make a blueprint of it. Everything

had to be rechecked and recalculated, but Kurchatov's team knew that the Manhattan Project had produced a weapon that worked.

Some Soviet scientists did argue that they could find a cheaper, easier way to build an atomic bomb. Stalin and Soviet politicians, however, were most interested in getting a device quickly. While they did not necessarily trust the intelligence information from the United States and suspected disinformation, they also did not trust the recommendations of Soviet scientists, who had to argue vigorously whenever they wanted to do anything different from what Soviet intelligence told them American scientists had done.

The Soviet scientists did succeed, exploding their first atomic device on August 29, 1949, near Semiplatinsk in Central Asia. By that time, however, the United States had a nuclear-armed bomber force. Its mainland remained impervious to nuclear attack from the Soviet Union for a number of years.

Nonetheless, in 1949, the Soviet detonation, among other incidents, caused American policy makers to take a stronger foreign policy stance regarding the threat of Communism. This surprise pushed the United States to double its efforts to expand its nuclear arsenal as rapidly as possible. While a major focus remained on an atomic air offensive led by the U.S. Air Force's Strategic Air Command, there was now also a high priority placed on preemptive capabilities. The United States felt a need to strike the Soviet Union so hard that it could not possibly strike back with its own nuclear arsenal. Expanding its definition of the nation's "vital interest," the Truman administration asked for a large increase in military force to protect it.

Further Reading: David Holloway, *The Soviet Union and the Arms Race*, 1983; David Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb*, 1994; Nikolaus Riehl, *Stalin's Captive: Nikolaus Riehl and the Soviet Race for the Bomb*, 1996.

LINDA EIKMEIER ENDERSBY

SPAM, canned meat product that fed millions of Americans during World War II. Hormel Foods developed America's first canned ham during the 1920s. The product lost its market

share to imitators in the late 1930s, but revived after Hormel gave its ham and spiced pork mixture its catchy name. Spam became legendary, a staple of American meals during the 1940s, eaten on the home front and the war front. It did not require refrigeration and was not rationed.

During the war, Hormel produced 15 million cans of Spam each week. Spam became a B-ration served alternately with other meats in military camps. By 1945 more than 100 million pounds of Spam had been shipped to forces overseas. Much of this amount was produced by the 448 women whom Hormel hired to replace its male employees serving overseas. Spam was so ubiquitous that it worked its way into the American language. Uncle Sam became Uncle Spam, and food depots were known as Spamville.

Spam itself gained the praise of leaders at home and abroad. Years after the war, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev credited it with feeding the Russian army during World War II, and British prime minister Margaret Thatcher described it as a wartime delicacy. Even President Dwight D. Eisenhower acknowledged Spam's vital role.

Further Reading: Richard Dougherty, *In Quest of Quality: Hormel's First 75 Years*, 1966; Spam Museum, Austin, Minnesota; Carolyn Wyman, *SPAM: A Biography*, 1999.

NORMAN E. FRY

SPOCK, BENJAMIN McLANE (May 12, 1903–March 15, 1998), pediatrician, author, and activist. Spock was born in New Haven, Connecticut. After graduating from Yale, he attended medical school at Yale and Columbia, completing his studies with postgraduate work in pediatrics and psychiatry. His plan was to combine the two in dealing with infants. With internship in New York City's Hell's Kitchen, Spock dealt with basic, practical, and real issues of child development. By 1933 his practice in pediatrics was under way.

The decade of the 1940s was critical in Spock's life. At first rejected for military duty for health reasons, he served as a psychiatrist in the navy from 1944 to 1946. At the request of Donald P. Geddes of Pocket Books, Spock began writing his book, *Baby and Child Care*. It

was published in 1946 and enjoyed huge success. Spock did not make a significant profit from it until several editions later, but he continued to revise the text. Therefore, the book's edition is a handy way to see the evolution of his views on child rearing. By 1972 it had sold 24 million copies; only the Bible and Shakespeare have sold more copies. Meanwhile, Spock taught at several well-known medical institutions and maintained a private practice until his retirement in 1967.

His book became a target in the cultural wars that marked American life during the last half-century. First Spock was an "expert," and his contribution to the Americanization of Freud was significant. Later he was charged with being too permissive and not providing "structure" for youth. To right-wing critics, Spock "caused" the excesses of the 1960s, particularly regarding sex, drugs, and loud music. The truth, of course, is a bit more complex. His political activities encouraged his critics. As spokesman for the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, he opposed the Vietnam War in well-covered public demonstrations. He was tried and convicted of criminal conspiracy to aid and abet resistance to the Selective Service, a decision overturned on appeal. He ran for president on the People's Party ticket in 1972, receiving 76,000 votes. Feminists disliked his second marriage, to Jane Cheney, who was twenty-eight years younger than he, and denounced his teachings as sexist. Later editions of *Baby and Child Care* answered such criticism, as Spock addressed the role of fathers, sitters, and day care centers in contributing to the well-being of infants and children. He died in La Jolla, California.

Further Reading: Lynn Z. Bloom, *Doctor Spock: Biography of a Conservative Radical*, 1972; Thomas Maier, *Dr. Spock: An American Life*, 1998; Benjamin Spock, *Spock on Spock: A Memoir of Growing Up with the Century*, 1989.

DONALD K. PICKENS

SPORTS (COLLEGE) In 1940 the armed forces began drafting men regardless of their student status, leaving colleges and universities to scramble for athletes. Schools filled their sports

rosters with sophomores and, after 1942, freshmen in lieu of juniors and seniors, who had left school to join the service. After 1942, colleges and universities awarded an increasing number of scholarships to attract talent, though University of Notre Dame president Father Hugh O'Donnell opposed them as antithetical to the amateur ideal.

In the midst of war, college sports became quasi-military. The lexicon of war pervaded college football, as pundits wrote of the blitz, red dog, aerial attack, and bomb. In 1943, H. Alonzo Keller, a protégé of illustrator Norman Rockwell, drew two soldier-athletes on the cover of the program for the Army-Notre Dame football game, making obvious the link between militarism and sports. In 1945, West Point superintendent Maxwell Taylor boasted of the academy's program to recruit athletes on the grounds that they made strong battle leaders. The prewar veneer of sportsmanship gave way to a win-at-all-costs mentality that paralleled the war effort.

During the war the virtues of the citizen-soldier trumped those of the student-athlete. In 1942 the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) canceled tournaments in gymnastics, fencing, and wrestling for lack of teams. The organization also declared freshmen eligible for varsity competition in all sports. The NCAA intended the decision on freshmen as nothing more than a wartime expedient. Instead, it sharpened the debate over the balance between scholarship and sports. Purists perceived an assault on academe, undercutting the notion that students, at least in their first year, should concentrate on the rigors of study. By contrast, apologists asserted that what was good for sports was good for higher education.

Purists and apologists clashed at the University of Chicago, whose president, Robert M. Hutchins, had in 1939 disbanded the football team. Disaffected students rejoiced in 1941 at the fencing team's sixth consecutive Big Ten title and in the yearbook proclaimed the university king of the Big Ten conference. An apostle of Big Physics rather than the Big Ten, Hutchins, who in 1945 lured Nobel laureate Enrico Fermi from Columbia University, withdrew Chicago from the conference on March 8, 1946.

By contrast, land-grant universities, conscious of their origin as cow colleges, used sports to attract students and retain alumni loyalty. Intent on elevating the status of Michigan State University through sports, John Hannah, president since 1941, guided the university in 1948 into the Big Ten. Ohio State University, a conference powerhouse, could measure its progress from A&M outpost to multiversity in NCAA and Big Ten titles. In 1944, perhaps its best year of the decade, Ohio State won NCAA championships in swimming and golf, and quarterback Lee Horvath won the Heisman Trophy. Mal Whitfield, Jesse Owens's successor at Ohio State, won in 1948 Olympic golds in the 800 meters and 1,600-meter relay and in 1948 and 1949 NCAA titles in track and field.

Kenneth L. Wilson, Big Ten commissioner between 1945 and 1961, steered a middle course between Chicago's antijock sentiments and Ohio State's frenetic athleticism. Sports were an arena of fair play and esprit de corps. The adage that sports build character became, for Wilson, an antidote against Communism. In tallying winners and losers, college sports prepared athletes for the winnowing process of the free market. Out of the cauldron of college sports emerged the Cold War's foot soldiers.

Further Reading: Benjamin G. Rader, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Televised Sports*, 2004; Dale Raterman, *The Big Ten: A Century of Excellence*, 1996; Murray Sperber, *Onward to Victory: The Crises That Shaped College Sports*, 1998.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

SPORTS (PROFESSIONAL) During the 1940s professional sports thrived despite the challenge posed by World War II. Minor-league baseball was decimated by the war, as many players joined the military, but the majors persevered. President Franklin Roosevelt encouraged the latter to continue operation and asked P.K. Wrigley to lead an effort to create a women's baseball league to aid public morale. The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League, established in 1943, grew to eight teams by 1946.

The New York Yankees and St. Louis Cardinals dominated baseball during the 1940s, the

Yankees winning four World Series and the Cardinals three. The postwar years witnessed baseball's integration when Jackie Robinson joined the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947 and other African Americans soon followed.

The National Football League (NFL) lost 638 players to military service. Rosters were so taxed that the Pittsburgh Steelers and Philadelphia Eagles were forced to play as one team in 1944. Other teams pushed on with older players. The Chicago Bears were the strongest NFL team during the decade and the stars of the day included Sammy Baugh and Steve Van Buren. The NFL also became integrated when Kenny Washington and Woody Strode entered the league in 1946.

Of the major American sports, professional basketball went through the most profound changes in the decade, becoming both a faster and higher-scoring game, witnessing the birth of the National Basketball Association in 1949, and becoming a truly nationwide public pastime for the first time.

Remarkable achievements occurred in other sports as well. The Toronto Maple Leafs won five Stanley Cups in the National Hockey League (NHL), Gordie Howe began his twenty-five year career there, four different horses—Whirlaway (1941), Count Fleet (1943), Assault (1946), and Citation (1948)—won the triple crown, and Joe Louis dominated heavyweight boxing. Sugar Ray Robinson won titles as both a welterweight and middleweight during the decade and faced Jake LaMotta in a series of memorable fights. Auto racing may have suffered the most from wartime demands, largely because of rationing of rubber and gasoline. The Indianapolis 500 was canceled from 1942 to 1945, but Wilbur Shaw and Mauri Rose were leading drivers in the years preceding and following. Don Budge was the top figure in men's professional tennis until he received injuries during military training. Then Bobby Riggs eclipsed him. Famous male professional golfers included Byron Nelson, Ben Hogan, Sam Snead, and Jimmy Demaret. Babe Didrikson Zaharias and Louise Suggs brought recognition to the otherwise-ignored world of women's professional golf.

Further Reading: Robert Peterson, *From Cages to Jumpshots: Pro Basketball's Early Years*, 2002; Jules

Tygiel, *Baseball's Greatest Experiment*, 1984; James V. Young and Arthur F. McClure, *Remembering Their Glory: Sports Heroes of the 1940s*, 1977.

WADE DAVIES

STALIN, JOSEPH (December 6, 1879–March 5, 1953), Soviet leader. Born Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili in Gori, Georgia, near Tiflis, he took the revolutionary name “Stalin,” meaning “man of steel,” in 1913. During the same year, he wrote his first important political essay and became a member of the central committee of the Bolshevik political party.

In 1924, after Vladimir Lenin’s death, Stalin became head of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. During the 1930s, his policies brought oppression and fear through agricultural collectivization and purges. By decade’s end he possessed complete and sole power.

The Soviet Army was weakened in Stalin’s push for power, which included a purge of army officers in the late 1930s. (Estimates for the number of deaths in gulags and purges range widely from 1 million to 30 million, mostly in the 1930s.) As World War II approached, Stalin reacted to the growing military threats abroad by signing a nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany in 1939. As a result, Stalin oversaw the annexation of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Bessarabia in 1940. He did not expect the pact with Germany to last, however. It bought him time to prepare for the coming war, although the Soviet Union was still unprepared when the Germans invaded in 1941. Stalin took over supreme direction of military operations and became marshal of the Soviet Union. His first response to the rapid German advance, however, was to blame the generals they defeated, several of whom Stalin ordered shot. He eventually struck the right note when he addressed the Soviet people and asked for their aid in this “Great Patriotic War,” urging them to fight for their motherland, Russia, as they had for centuries. It was simple patriotism that brought mass support to Stalin during the war. As the Germans came close to Moscow, he chose to remain there in the Kremlin, and his troops also refused to give up. Stalin did manage to run the war effectively through a state defense committee,

and the Soviets eventually pushed Germany back. By the beginning of 1943, Soviet victory became not only possible, but also probable.

Stalin shifted his focus from the day-to-day war effort to the plans for postwar peace. During the conflict, he met several times with the other Allied leaders. He wanted the Western leaders to open a second front with Germany and to agree not to seek a separate peace. Stalin also sought to influence the postwar world order and make gains for Communism. The agreements resulting from meetings in Teheran (December 1943), Yalta (February 1945), and Potsdam (July 1945) carved out a new world order for both the West and the Soviet Union. Cooperation, however, was short-lived. The USSR established military and political control over the liberated countries of Eastern and Central Europe. While it had been agreed at Yalta to allow free, democratic elections in these countries, Stalin “influenced” the process. The United States tried to use the Marshall Plan to influence East European countries, such as Poland. Stalin responded by installing Communist governments in one country after another.

From 1945 until his death, Stalin resumed his repressive measures at home and conducted foreign policies that contributed to the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the West. He instituted new purges after the war, including one that killed 1,000 Communist Party members. The gulag population in the Soviet Union increased from 1.5 to 2.5 million between 1945 and 1950. Due to Stalin’s death in 1953, he added only a few thousand after the war to the millions who had already died in the purges and gulags before 1940. He was on the brink of a purge of doctors when he died in Moscow. He was posthumously denounced by Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev at the Twentieth Communist Party Congress in 1956 for crimes against the party and for building a “cult of personality.” Nonetheless, the Cold War that Stalin had begun with the West, particularly the United States, continued for almost four decades after his death.

Further Reading: Robert Conquest, *Stalin: Breaker of Nations*, 1991; David Downing, *Joseph Stalin*, 2002; Dmitri Antonovich Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*, 1991.

LINDA EIKMEIER ENDERSBY

STALINGRAD (September 12, 1942–February 2, 1943), World War II battle. Considered the turning point of the Russo-German war, Stalingrad was the product of Adolf Hitler's concentration of forces in southern Russia. Hitler sought to gain access to the oil fields of the Caucasus region. The city was located along the River Volga, and its fall would have opened the way for German troops to advance as far as the Caspian Sea. For this reason, and because the city bore his name, Joseph Stalin ordered that it be defended to the last man. Hitler was equally determined to see it in German hands.

Responsibility for the operation was given to the German Sixth Army, under command of General Friedrich von Paulus. German forces first crossed the Volga and entered Stalingrad in mid-September, and during several weeks of heavy street fighting they managed to win control of roughly two-thirds of the city. Meanwhile, however, the Soviet High Command had identified a weak spot in the German lines north and south of the city, where critical sections of the line were being held by the Romanian Third and Fourth armies, neither of which was believed able to withstand serious assault. On November 19 Soviet forces under the command of Lieutenant General N.F. Vatutin attacked the Romanian Third Army, whose defense crumbled almost immediately. The following day, a second offensive against the Romanian Fourth, by troops commanded by Lieutenant General Andrei Yeremenko, was similarly successful. The trap had been sprung, and by month's end the German Sixth Army in Stalingrad was completely surrounded.

The Soviets fully expected von Paulus to try to break out, and indeed he sought permission from Hitler to do so. The Führer's message was unequivocal: von Paulus must continue to hold the city. The German General Staff quickly organized a new force to come to the relief of the Sixth Army, which in the meantime would be supplied by airlift. The relief force, placed under the command of Field Marshal Erich von Manstein, launched its attack in mid-December, but the offensive was called off by the end of the month after failing to crack the Soviet lines. The airlift, meanwhile, was an even more dismal

failure. Hermann Göring, commander of the German Luftwaffe, promised that his aircraft would deliver 300 tons of supplies a day to von Paulus's besieged troops, but in the end considerably less than half that amount reached the Sixth Army.

With the Germans in Stalingrad apparently left to their fate, the Soviets in January 1943 began closing in on von Paulus. By the 22 the last airfield was in Russian hands, making any sort of resupply impossible. Von Paulus requested permission to surrender, but Hitler refused. After another week of fighting, German control over the city was limited to two small pockets. On the 31—ironically on the same day that Hitler promoted him to field marshal—von Paulus and his headquarters surrendered the part of the city that they held. The other pocket—under direct orders from Hitler to fight to the end—did precisely that, until all contact with it ceased on February 2.

Stalingrad was not the first German setback along the Russian front, nor was it the worst defeat that the Germans would suffer during the war. Nevertheless, of the 250,000 German soldiers who entered Stalingrad in the autumn of 1942, no fewer than 200,000 were lost in the struggle for the city. More important, the battle marked the turning point of the war in the East, ending once and for all the German blitzkrieg and handing the initiative to Stalin.

Further Reading: Anthony Beevor, *Stalingrad*, 1999; David M. Glantz and Jonathan House, *When Titans Clashed: How the Red Army Stopped Hitler*, 1995; Richard Overy, *Russia's War: A History of the Soviet War Effort, 1941–1945*, 1997.

JOHN E. MOSER

STANWYCK, BARBARA (July 16, 1907–January 20, 1990), actor. Born in Brooklyn in New York City, Barbara Stanwyck became a Hollywood star during the 1940s. She personified the strong, independent woman. Her notable films included *Ball of Fire* (1941), *Double Indemnity* (1944), and *Sorry, Wrong Number* (1948). Many of her films were part of an important film genre of the period, film noir, (moodily and darkly shot films with morally ambiguous plots and alienated characters). *Double Indemnity* was a classic of this genre, with Stanwyck's portrayal of the

scheming, seductive murderess one of her finest and most memorable. Although Stanwyck often played in dramas and melodramas, she also had a strong comedic instinct, demonstrated well in the popular *Christmas in Connecticut* (1945). Stanwyck avoided being tied to the Hollywood contract system, choosing instead a freelance career moving between studios. In 1944, she was the industry's highest-paid woman. She spent the decade married to Robert Taylor, one of Hollywood's leading male actors. Stanwyck was one of the defining actors of the decade and an influential figure. She died in Santa Monica, California.

Further Reading: Homer Dickens, *The Films of Barbara Stanwyck*, 1984; Alex Madsen, *Stanwyck*, 1994; Jane Ellen Wayne, *Stanwyck*, 1985.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

STEEL STRIKE OF 1946 The end of World War II resulted in the cancellation of numerous wartime contracts. Many workers lost their jobs, while others forfeited overtime pay and emergency benefits. As prices continued to rise, organized labor demanded wage increases to prevent a severe decline in real earnings. Industry stood firm against concessions.

President Harry Truman hoped that labor-management problems could be resolved. He urged a stepped-up reconversion program and a return to the normal collective bargaining process. Organized labor insisted that its patriotic acceptance of the no-strike pledge during the war was grounds for government support of wage and fringe-benefit increases. In November 1945, Truman held a national labor-management conference to create peacetime machinery for settling industrial disputes. It bore little fruit. By the end of 1945, major Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) unions launched an all-out attack against the mass production industries. At the beginning of 1946, almost 2 million workers were on strike. During the year, almost 5 million were idled at one time or another.

In early 1946 the steel industry held center court. On January 12 Truman issued a statement calling on Philip Murray, CIO president and head of the United Steel Workers of America, to call

off a strike. Truman also appointed a fact-finding board to apply public pressure to both labor and management. When the board recommended an increase of eighteen and a half cents per hour, the Steel Workers representatives accepted on behalf of their members. The union had initially asked for thirty cents. On January 18, Benjamin F. Fairless, chief negotiator for the United States Steel Corporation, announced the company's rejection of the proposed settlement. Three days later, 750,000 steel workers closed down the nation's mills, temporarily crippling the country's manufacturing.

On February 17, after the Truman administration allowed the corporation to increase its prices, a settlement was reached. In exchange for an eighteen and a half cents hourly wage increase, provision was made for a price hike averaging \$5 per ton. The agreement became the pattern for settlements in other industries.

Despite Truman's prolabor sympathies, public opinion turned against the unions because of dislocations and rising prices. In June 1947, over Truman's veto, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act. The new law substantially altered the 1935 Wagner Act—labor's Magna Carta—by placing new restrictions on unions, protecting employers in the collective bargaining process, and guaranteeing the public's interest against undue inconvenience or injury resulting from strikes or lockouts.

Further Reading: Barton J. Bernstein, "The Truman Administration and the Steel Strike of 1946," *Journal of American History* 52 (March 1966): 791–803; Foster Rhea Dulles, *Labor in America: A History*, 3rd ed., 1966; U.S. Department of Labor, *Collective Bargaining in the Basic Steel Industry: A Study of the Public Interest and the Role of Government*, 1961.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

STEINBECK, JOHN (February 27, 1902–December 20, 1968), American novelist. Steinbeck was born in Salinas, California, and studied at Stanford University from 1919 to 1925. He published his first novel, *Cup of Gold*, in 1929, and with *In Dubious Battle* (1936) he became a noted writer. His *Of Mice and Men* (1937) and *The Long Valley* (1938) were California novels.

The Grapes of Wrath (1939), most popular of that genre, won the Pulitzer Prize and was adapted into an Academy Award–winning film in 1940. The novel sold 300,000 copies in 1941 alone. That same year Steinbeck published with Ed Ricketts a nonfiction book, *The Sea of Cortez*, which treated marine biology research in northern Mexico. Patriotic work by Steinbeck during World War II included *The Moon Is Down* (1942) and *Bombs Away* (1942); he also worked as a war correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune*. After the war, Steinbeck returned to the plight of the downtrodden in *Cannery Row* (1945), *The Red Pony* (1945), *The Pearl* (1947), and *East of Eden* (1952). Novels adapted to film include *Of Mice and Men* (1939), *Tortilla Flat* (1942), *The Moon Is Down* (1943), *The Pearl* (1948), *The Red Pony*, (1949), *East of Eden* (1955), and *Cannery Row* (1982). Steinbeck wrote *A Russian Journal* (1948), based on his trip to the USSR in 1947. In 1950 Steinbeck moved to New York City. In 1961 he published his last work of fiction, *The Winter of Our Discontent*. He won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1962, the same year he published *Travels with Charlie across America*. Steinbeck died in New York. In the 1990s, Herbert N. Forerstel listed *Of Mice and Men* as the second and *The Grapes of Wrath* as the thirty-fourth most frequently banned book. *The Grapes of Wrath* still sells 100,000 copies annually, and all of Steinbeck's books remain in print.

Further Reading: Jackson J. Benson, *The True Adventures of John Steinbeck, Writer*, 1984; Thomas Kiernan, *The Intricate Music: A Biography of John Steinbeck*, 1979; Jay Parini, *John Steinbeck*, 1994.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

STEVENSON, ADLAI EWING, II (February 5, 1900–July 14, 1965), governor, diplomat, and presidential nominee. Named after his paternal grandfather, who was vice president of the United States from 1893 to 1897, Stevenson was born in Los Angeles, California, but raised in Bloomington, Illinois. He earned a bachelor's degree from Princeton University in 1922 and a law degree from Northwestern University in 1926. Stevenson practiced in Chicago from 1927 to 1941, except for the years 1933 to 1935, when

he served as special counsel to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and assistant general counsel for the Federal Alcohol Administration. Following his return to Chicago, Stevenson became president of the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations and, after 1939, chaired the Chicago chapter of William Allen White's interventionist Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

From 1941 to 1944, Stevenson was special assistant to Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, in which capacity he inspected naval facilities and helped in labor mediations and speech writing. Assigned to the Foreign Economic Administration, he headed a mission to Italy in 1943 to survey economic needs attending liberation. In 1944 he returned to Europe as a member of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, an air force position. The next year the State Department asked Stevenson to organize support for the embryonic United Nations (UN). Special assistant to Secretaries of State Edward Stettinius and James Byrnes, Stevenson was deputy chief of the U.S. delegation to the UN Preparatory Commission and a member of the American team to the UN conference at San Francisco in 1945. Stettinius's illnesses gave Stevenson a crucial role in shaping the UN's structure. He served as senior adviser to the U.S. delegation in the UN in 1946 and as alternate delegate from 1946 to 1947. A tireless diplomat and shrewd negotiator, Stevenson found the foreign policy experience especially fulfilling.

In 1948 Stevenson was elected governor of Illinois by the largest plurality in the state's history, helping President Harry Truman carry the state's electoral votes. As governor, Stevenson cleaned up state government. He had inherited from his Republican predecessor corruption and scandal. Stevenson overhauled and reorganized the administration, attacked gambling, introduced economies, and vetoed the Broyles loyalty oath bill. Nominated as the Democratic Party's presidential standard-bearer in 1952 and 1956, Stevenson lost both times to the popular Dwight D. Eisenhower. From 1961 until his death, Stevenson served as U.S. ambassador to the UN under Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Stevenson died in London.

Further Reading: Jeff Broadwater, *Adlai Stevenson and American Politics*, 1994; Kenneth S. Davis, *The Politics of Honor: A Biography of Adlai E. Stevenson*, 1967; Porter McKeever, *Adlai Stevenson: His Life and Legacy*, 1989.

LEONARD SCHLUP

STIEGLITZ, ALFRED (January 1, 1864–July 13, 1946), photographer and editor. Born in Hoboken, New Jersey, to a wealthy Jewish family, Stieglitz enjoyed a first-rate education in the United States and Europe, trained as an engineer. His first love, however, was the camera. Between 1882 and 1885, he began experimenting. Both the art and science of the photograph captivated him for the remainder of his life. His achievements are still considerable. His camera and his “eye” accompanied him everywhere, bringing more than 120 artistic honors and awards.

When his father, who appreciated culture, nevertheless insisted that his son have a solid, sensible business, Stieglitz established the Photochrome Engraving Company. After his father’s death, Stieglitz dedicated his life to photography. He edited *American Amateur Photographer*, *Camera Notes*, and other publications. His influence was extensive. So avidly did he seek technical purity in his work that he relegated his family to a distant second in his life. Always demanding and a bit self-centered, he clashed with any assumed authority. With fellow artists of camera and paint, he established galleries to display their work. His most famous was 291, his Fifth Avenue address. He was a great talker and enjoyed sharing his views with fellow artists and modernists.

Stieglitz and Edward Steichen developed a close business and artistic partnership. Together they contributed to the creation of modernism and its New York development, working with the French impressionists. To them, painting and photography were equals. By 1922 Stieglitz was editing *MSS Magazine*. His one-person show of 116 photographs was a brilliant success in 1923. In 1934 he had his last show and in 1937 he stopped taking pictures. He gave the Metropolitan Museum of Art a large collection of his work.

In 1924 Stieglitz divorced his first wife and married Georgia O’Keeffe, whom he had known since 1916. During their marriage he took thousands of pictures of O’Keeffe. She was destined to become the major female painter of the twentieth century. Their marriage was passionate and a bit unconventional. They lived in hotels, spending summers at Lake George in upstate New York and in New Mexico, which O’Keeffe discovered in the 1930s. By World War II she went west to her greatest artistic achievements. He remained in New York, where he died. His legacies are vast, covering many artistic disciplines.

Further Reading: Robert M. Crunden, *American Salons: Encounters with European Modernism*, 1993; Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of the New Century*, 2001; Alfred Stieglitz Papers, Yale University; Richard Whelan, *Alfred Stieglitz: A Biography*, 1995.

DONALD K. PICKENS

STIMSON, HENRY LEWIS (September 21, 1867–October 20, 1950), statesman and cabinet official. One of the most respected and experienced government officeholders from the era of Theodore Roosevelt to that of Harry Truman, Stimson was born in New York City. He earned a bachelor’s degree from Yale in 1888 and a law degree from Harvard two years later. As a Wall Street lawyer, Stimson identified with the Republican progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt, who persuaded him to enter politics. In Stimson’s only campaign for elective office, he lost the New York gubernatorial contest in 1910. The following year he emerged as President William Howard Taft’s secretary of war. He served in various diplomatic assignments for President Calvin Coolidge before becoming President Herbert Hoover’s secretary of state. In 1932 he proclaimed what became known as the Stimson Doctrine, by which the United States would not recognize a treaty or agreement formulated by acts of war or aggression.

In 1940 President Franklin D. Roosevelt summoned Stimson to Washington to fill the cabinet post of secretary of war, a move designed to deflect partisan criticism of Roosevelt’s preparedness program. Stimson served ably, favoring lend-lease and vigorously prosecuting the war.

Regrettably, Stimson's racial prejudice played a role in his approving the decision to intern about 100,000 individuals of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast. It was Stimson who informed President Truman about the Manhattan Project and the atomic bomb after Roosevelt's death in 1945. Stimson was also instrumental in influencing the president's plan to drop the bomb on Japan in August 1945. Arguing against the Morgenthau Plan to partition and deindustrialize Germany as a scheme that would prove detrimental to the postwar European economies, Stimson helped dissuade Roosevelt and Truman from implementing it. In 1948 Stimson published his memoirs, *On Active Service in Peace and War*. A person of integrity who advocated a postwar policy of global leadership for America, Stimson died on Long Island, New York.

Further Reading: Richard Current, *Secretary Stimson: A Study in Statecraft*, 1954; Godfrey Hodgson, *The Colonel: The Life and Wars of Henry Stimson, 1867–1950*, 1990; Henry L. Stimson Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

LEONARD SCHLUP

STONE, HARLAN FISKE (October 11, 1872–April 22, 1946), associate and later chief justice of the Supreme Court. Stone was born in Chesterfield, New Hampshire. He graduated from Amherst in 1894 and from Columbia University Law School in 1898. Shortly thereafter, Columbia hired him to teach law. From 1910 to 1923, Stone served as dean. A progressive Republican, Stone was selected by President Calvin Coolidge to become U.S. attorney general. After only a year, Coolidge nominated him to the Supreme Court in 1925.

Stone emerged as one of the Court's leading dissenters. He often sided with Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., Louis Brandeis, and later Benjamin Cardozo. During the New Deal's early years, Stone voted to sustain President Franklin D. Roosevelt's legislation. In the 1936 case *United States v. Butler*, which struck down the Agricultural Adjustment Act, Stone cautiously warned his colleagues to exercise more self-restraint.

Roosevelt's court-packing scheme failed, but the Court made an important ideological shift in

1937. Stone was no longer in the minority, and Roosevelt was able to appoint seven new justices over succeeding years. In a rather mundane case regarding federal regulation of milk content, *United States v. Carolene Products* (1938), Stone reaffirmed that Congress had the power to regulate interstate commerce. His place in judicial history was established with his famous Footnote 4. The Court created a two-tiered standard of legislative review, and his commentary became the basis for subsequent judgments in cases protecting the democratic process and individual rights. His opinion marked a decided shift in the Court's emphasis on protecting civil rights and liberties more.

In 1941 Stone became chief justice. He presided over a fractious Court. Felix Frankfurter and Robert Jackson detested Hugo Black, and William O. Douglas despised Frankfurter. Stone proved incapable of managing these strong personalities. He was, rather, a judicial craftsman of the highest rank and respected teacher. In one of his significant opinions as chief justice, Stone gutted the Tenth Amendment in *United States v. Darby Lumber Co.* (1941), which upheld Congress's authority to regulate wages and hours. In *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943), Stone affirmed the constitutionality of restrictions on the civil liberties of Japanese Americans during World War II, despite his own liberal tendencies. During his Supreme Court career, Stone supported the essence of limited government and respect for the Bill of Rights.

He died in Washington, DC, having had the shortest term as chief justice in over 200 years.

Further Reading: Clare Cushman, *The Supreme Court Justices*, 1993; Samuel Konefsky, *Chief Justice Stone and the Supreme Court*, 1945; Alpheus T. Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law*, 1956.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

STRAVINSKY, IGOR FEDOROVICH (June 17, 1882–April 6, 1971), composer. Stravinsky was born in Oranienbaum, a town near St. Petersburg, Russia. Following his parents' wishes that he become a lawyer, Stravinsky received a law degree from St. Petersburg University in 1905. By then, however, he had already

abandoned law as a profession. In 1900 he had met the Russian composer Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, who, until his death in 1908, took on Stravinsky as his private pupil. Despite the intimacy of this relationship, little of Stravinsky's music has the romanticism that marked Rimsky-Korsakov's compositions.

Stravinsky made his reputation with a trio of works, the ballets *Firebird Suite* in 1910, *Petrushka* in 1911, and *The Rite of Spring* in 1913. The music is strident and discordant with rapid changes in tempo and decibel level. The effect agitates rather than soothes, so much so that the Paris premiere of *The Rite of Spring* in 1913 caused a riot. The tumult did not bother Stravinsky, who was suspicious of people who praised his compositions. For all his music's energy, it lacks the pyrotechnics of the compositions of his compatriot Serge Prokofiev.

Despite professional success, catastrophe struck Stravinsky's personal life in 1939 when tuberculosis killed his elder daughter and wife. Stravinsky and his younger daughter both contracted the disease, and he was bedridden when he learned of his mother's death. The trauma led him that year to abandon the USSR for New York City. In 1940 he married the artist Vera Sudeikin and moved to California. In 1945 he became a naturalized citizen. The post-World War II rift between the United States and USSR anguished Stravinsky, as did Joseph Stalin's censorship of music. Stravinsky's distaste for Communism put him in the mainstream of U.S. public opinion and above reproach, as anti-Communist rhetoric became increasingly fierce during the late 1940s.

Stravinsky's settlement in the United States corresponded with a change in his music. His *Symphony in C* in 1940 and *Symphony in Three Movements* in 1945 are less discordant and more transparent than his earlier music, marking his turn to neoclassicism. These symphonies have a refinement and balance reminiscent of late eighteenth-century music. His *Orpheus* in 1947 marked Stravinsky's return to ballet. The next year he began composing the opera *The Rake's Progress* with libretto by the American poet W.H. Auden. The opera premiered in 1951 in Venice, the city of Claudio Monteverdi and Antonio Vivaldi, Italy's baroque masters. The

premiere signaled Stravinsky's growing interest in baroque music.

During Stravinsky's last years, he conducted his repertoire for recording, leaving a legacy of his music as he wished it to be heard. He died in New York City.

Further Reading: Paul Horgan, *Encounters with Stravinsky: A Personal Record*, 1989; Michael Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky*, 1995; Jann Pasler, ed., *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist*, 1986.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

SUBURBIA In 1945 Kump, Wurster and Bernardi, a firm of architects in Los Altos Hills, California, designed the first prefabricated house, standardizing its construction as Henry Ford had the manufacture of automobiles. In 1947 William Levitt, owner of Arthur Levitt and Sons of Boca Raton, Florida, adapted Ford's assembly line to the building of houses, partitioning construction into a series of low-skill jobs that workers repeated ad nauseam all day. Levitt hired nonunion labor and accelerated the work pace to the point that he could boast of building a house in twenty-four minutes. Having cut costs and spiked productivity, Levitt sold houses for as little as \$6,990.

He carved out his first suburb on land that had been a 1,500-acre potato field on Long Island, symbolic of the postwar expansion of houses and shopping malls at the expense of farms. In March 1949 Levitt opened Levittown to buyers, selling 1,400 houses in three hours. By 1950 he had sold 10,000 houses and expanded his housing developments to New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Levitt attracted veterans with the promise of Veterans Administration loans but turned away blacks and single women. The result was homogeneity. People of similar age, upbringing, education, and occupation clustered in neighborhoods. Suburbanites worshipped at the same churches. Their children attended the same schools and played on the same Little League baseball team. Conservatism prevailed in religion and politics. Levitt felt certain that complacency and conformity were bulwarks against Communism: the suburbanite was too busy fretting over dandelions and crabgrass to reflect on social and political

issues. The living-room television obviated the need for thought by giving the suburbanite pre-packaged opinions. Schedules assumed the rigidity of factory production, with the drone of lawn mowers and the smell of herbicide and car wax marking the passage of each weekend. Each street resembled the others with its row of ranch houses, single-car garages, manicured lawns, concrete driveways, and television antennae.

Suburbs tended to isolate people. The white picket fence was the postwar equivalent of the medieval moat, behind which suburbanites retreated from the workaday world. The kitchen provided food, the living room entertainment and news, and the backyard recreation. A self-contained unit, the suburban home fostered inertia. The postwar glorification of domesticity encouraged women to stay home, exacerbating their isolation and the monotony of routine. Men fared no better. The suburb lengthened the commute to work on a bland stretch of highway, fostering the same isolation and tedium.

The suburb also exacerbated class differences. The affordability of suburban homes encouraged an exodus from the city, leaving the poor there to eke out an existence. The suburb symbolized the rise from working to middle class. Having left the city, the suburbanite allowed it to decay. Businesses and capital fled the city and tax revenues declined, widening differences in crime rates and the quality of public schools between suburb and city. The suburb became the secular equivalent of a Calvinist sanctuary of the elect, the symbol of postwar affluence and an affirmation of thrift and diligence as patriotic and personal virtues. The suburbanite was the new self-made person. A sanctuary, the suburb preserved its exclusivity in the 1940s. By 1950 only 23.8 percent of Americans lived in the suburbs, despite the affordability of houses, compared to 32.3 percent in the city and 43.9 percent in the countryside.

Regional variation in suburban architecture survived the onslaught of conformity. Suburbs in the South retained the Greek columns of the plantation manor as if to resurrect an antebellum era of gentry and leisure. Those in the Southwest retained the arch, courtyard, and tile roof of the traditional Catholic mission. Spanish in origin, the style represented a triumph of Mediterranean

design over the functional simplicity of Levittown. A third variant of suburban design centered on the stick style of southern California. Its gable roof and spacious porch emphasized the elegance of line and triangle: architecture as homage to geometry.

The suburb allowed its residents to escape the noise, smell, and crime of the city. If it did not isolate residents from disease, it was nonetheless a buffer against the full force of the outbreaks of polio, influenza, and other contagions that swept the cities. In contrast to urban areas, the suburb offered a larger house and yard, attractive qualities for those families with children. The suburban neighborhood full of children offered ready playmates. The suburb, at least during the 1940s, was not the tangle of ordinances and bureaucrats that cities had become. More than their urban counterparts, suburbanites had a voice in local affairs, particularly the governance of public schools.

Further Reading: M.P. Baumgartner, *The Moral Order of a Suburb*, 1988; Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia*, 1987; Roger Silverstone, ed., *Visions of Suburbia*, 1997.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

SUPREME COURT The Supreme Court was busy during the 1940s. Its recent battle with the Roosevelt administration had not settled big issues. New Deal economic policies were established, but still subject to legal challenges. Also, new concerns emerged over civil liberties and related topics.

The internal security issue, particularly the assumed Communist threat, drove Roosevelt to cooperate with J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in helping pass the Smith Act of 1940. The legislation made it unlawful to advocate the violent overthrow of the government. The act became a symbol of the emerging Cold War culture after World War II. The Dies Committee, a forerunner of the House Un-American Activities Committee, contended that the New Deal agencies were filled with security risks. In a 1943 money bill, the Dies Committee banned three individuals from the federal payroll. They had been associated with “questionable” front organizations, assumed to have ties

with the Communist Party. Pressured by events, Roosevelt signed the bill in haste. Three years later, the Supreme Court unanimously agreed that it was unconstitutional; the three were restored to federal service and reimbursed back pay.

Much of the constitutional dispute centered on Roosevelt's use of executive agreements. In *United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation* (1936), the Court ruled that the presidency was nearly free of any congressional control in conducting foreign policy, except in raising revenue. The decision allowed Roosevelt to aid the Allies in such ways as the destroyers-for-bases deal. Roosevelt was very cautious in completing the arrangement because of other potential legal restraints. These developments contributed in the fullness of time to charges of an "imperial" presidency.

Directing the war effort also meant that Roosevelt faced constitutional issues over regulations and government contracts. In 1944, the Supreme Court, in *Steuart and Company v. Bowles*, upheld Office of Price Administration sanctions against an oil company pricing policy. In the same year, it approved rent control in *Bowles v. Willingham*. Government seizures of private property for the war effort led to much litigation, but most issues were settled in lower courts. Some scholars believed that Roosevelt bent the Constitution in this area but did not break it.

In relocating American citizens of Japanese descent, the Court's record was shameful. A policy driven by fear and greed in California disrupted many lives. Under executive order, relocation camps were established for Japanese Americans, many of whom were native-born citizens. In *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943), the Court ruled on a limited part of the policy but allowed the major injustices to remain. Turning on technicalities, the Court avoided a final judgment regarding coerced evacuation and internment. In 1988 Congress passed financial redress legislation, paying \$20,000 to each remaining internment camp survivor. The history of this subject was not America's finest hour.

During the Truman presidency, the Supreme Court upheld government loyalty programs conducted in a questionable manner and prosecutions

under the Smith Act. *Dennis v. United States* (1951) approved the government policy by denying a right to advocate revolution. The Cold War, with deep and significant consequences for domestic life, was under way.

On other issues, the Truman White House had limited success. In 1951 Republican isolationist senator John W. Bricker of Ohio offered a constitutional amendment requiring congressional approval of all United Nations policies and giving Congress the power to regulate executive agreements. The administration beat back the effort. The presidency remained supreme in shaping foreign policy. Truman suffered defeat in the *Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company v. Sawyer* after the government had taken over the steel industry because a strike by the United Steelworkers was hurting the Korean War effort.

Further Reading: Alonzo L. Hamby, *Beyond the Fair Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism*, 1973; Melvyn Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*, 1992; James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974*, 1996.

DONALD K. PICKENS

SYNTHETIC QUININE (CHLOROQUINE)

During the 1940s American scientists led the effort to eradicate malaria. Chloroquine was one of two weapons against the disease. The second was dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT), an insecticide the U.S. Department of Agriculture demonstrated lethal against innumerable species of insects in trials between 1942 and 1944. Victory in World War II gave American scientists, flush with success and federal money, their opportunity. In 1948, at the invitation of the United Nations World Health Organization, American scientists used chloroquine and DDT throughout Latin America, Africa, and Asia, spreading the influence of American science around the globe.

Chloroquine has its roots in pre-Columbian South America. Since prehistory, Peruvians have consumed a beverage made with the pulverized bark from trees of the genus *Cinchona* to reduce malarial fevers. Quinine, an extract of that bark, is the antimalaria agent. *Cinchona* trees are native to Peru, giving Spain a monopoly

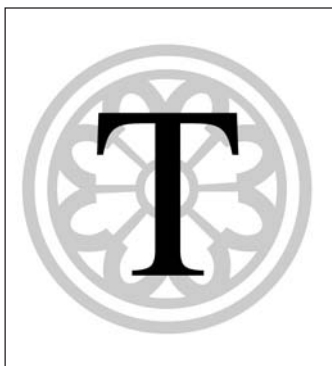
on quinine production and stimulating other European nations to develop an alternative. In 1934 German chemists synthesized chloroquine and in 1943 the U.S. Army confiscated it from German troops at Tunis, Tunisia. The U.S. Army, Navy, and Marine Corps issued it as a prophylactic to Americans in both theaters of the war.

The human body maintains the initial dose of chloroquine for six to ten days, after which the kidneys excrete half in one to two months and half of the remaining half (one quarter of the original dose) in the next one to two months. The successive halving continues until only a negligible fraction of chloroquine remains in the body. Chloroquine will lower the fever of

someone with malaria in one to two days. A person without malaria using chloroquine will not develop the disease when bitten by a mosquito carrying the parasite that causes the disease. Like any drug, chloroquine has side effects; the most serious are hallucinations and psychosis, though these develop in only a minute fraction of chloroquine users.

Further Reading: José A. Najera, Bernhard H. Liese, and Jeffrey Hammer, *Malaria: New Patterns and Perspectives*, 1992; Irwin W. Sherman, ed., *Malaria: Parasite Biology, Pathogenesis and Protection*, 1998; Matt Wahlgren and Peter Perlmann, eds., *Malaria: Molecular and Clinical Aspects*, 1999.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO



TAFT, ROBERT A. (September 8, 1889–July 31, 1953), conservative Republican spokesman and U.S. senator from Ohio. Born in Cincinnati, Taft was the son of former president William Howard Taft. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1938, campaigning against the New Deal and big government. He was reelected in 1944 and 1950.

In the Senate, Taft spoke out against the New Deal, even though he supported some of its programs, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps and federal housing. Most of the time, he vehemently opposed President Franklin D. Roosevelt and later President Harry S. Truman on nearly everything. Taft was an ardent isolationist who believed that Roosevelt was trying to drag the nation into war. He voted against the Selective Service Act of 1940, which created the first peacetime draft in American history. Taft attempted to decrease the army's size. Once war came, he proposed to pay for it with an increase in income taxes and the establishment of a federal sales tax instead of through borrowing. In 1944 he fought attempts to create a federal ballot for the millions of men in military service, arguing that they would feel compelled to vote for the Democratic commander in chief.

After the war, Taft resumed his isolationist stance. He firmly opposed the Bretton Woods plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Although his alternative of an international court of justice was not created, Taft reluctantly supported the United Nations only because it was not an entangling military alliance. Although deeply committed to anti-Communism, Taft offered no alternative to the containment policy of President Truman, of which he was critical. Taft voted in favor of aid to Greece and Turkey only because Truman had committed American prestige to the cause. Taft was a leader in the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress, which pushed through several tax cuts and the famous Taft-Hartley Act, which reversed the trend of the New Deal labor policy by placing restraints on unions.

His name, his willingness to take on Democratic presidents, and his swing-state residence propelled Taft to the ranks of perpetual potential presidential candidates, even though he lacked the personality to attract

voters. He lost the nomination in 1940 when he deadlocked with Thomas Dewey of New York. He did not actively seek the Republican nomination in 1944. In 1948 Taft entered several primaries, but lost the nomination because Republicans feared he could not defeat Truman.

Taft died in New York City.

Further Reading: Caroline Harnsberger, *A Man of Courage: Robert A. Taft*, 1952; John Moser, "Principles without Program: Senator Robert A. Taft and American Foreign Policy," *Ohio History* 108 (1999): 177–192; James T. Patterson, *Mr. Republican: A Biography of Robert A. Taft*, 1972.

GREGORY DEHLER

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT Known officially as the Labor Management Relations Act, this legislation was designed to modify significantly the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (the Wagner Act). Since its passage in June 1947, it has functioned as the second most important American labor-relations law. It weakened unions in American life, while enhancing forces resisting unionization. It deemed several union actions "unfair labor practices," to counterbalance a similar set of illegal company actions prohibited by the Wagner Act.

Under Taft-Hartley, unions could be sanctioned for using violence, threats of violence, or property destruction against employers or employees. Unions were also forbidden from engaging in secondary boycotts (striking one company to force it to cease doing business with another), striking over jurisdictional disputes (quarrels with other unions over which will represent a group of workers or which union's workers will do what work in the workplace), and contributing to federal election campaigns. The law also expanded the National Labor Relations Board from three

to five members and separated the office of the general counsel, which had prosecutorial functions, from the board itself, which served to judge alleged violations; protected employers' free speech rights to denounce unionization, while continuing to forbid threats or promises of benefits in exchange for antiunion votes; authorized the president of the United States to halt strikes with eighty-day injunctions for national security reasons; and required union officials to sign anti-Communist affidavits. Taft-Hartley banned the closed shop, which required all employees in a workplace to belong to the union, and allowed states to outlaw both the union shop, which requires all employees to pay union dues, and other forms of "union security" agreements. (Contrary to popular belief, an employer and/or union cannot compel a worker to join a union; they can only compel dues payment. This is a distinction with a difference, because dues-paying, non-union member employees keep their jobs in a union shop, but avoid following union directives, such as calls to strike.) Finally, the law provided a way to remove unions from workplaces. This procedure, called a "decertification election," ended a union's representation of workers by a majority vote.

This legislation was named for Senator Robert Taft of Ohio and Congressman Fred Hartley of New Jersey, the bill's principal sponsors. A wave of antiunion sentiment had swept the nation during World War II and the immediate post-war years. The United Mine Workers offended public opinion by calling wartime strikes in the coalfields, despite a no-strike pledge. Massive strikes in 1945–1946 in the steel, auto, coal, and railroad industries created a threatening image of all-powerful unions disrespectful of the public interest. Plausible charges of corruption, racial discrimination, and Communist influence weakened sympathy for them. Republican midterm election victories in 1946 put Congress under control of the GOP and conservative Democrats, who made Taft-Hartley a top legislative priority. The law was enacted over Democratic president Harry Truman's veto. Taft-Hartley's immediate impact was to strengthen public perceptions of the Republicans as a probusiness party at war with the economic needs of workers, while solidifying

the GOP's relationship with businessmen, bankers, and some nonunion Americans. Conversely, Democratic self-portrayals as the party of the "average working citizen" were greatly enhanced. Union support for Democrats increased after Taft-Hartley, as did talk of a third, laborite party in the United States. The law's negative effect on organized labor became apparent only after several decades. By 1982 nineteen states, mostly in the South and West, had outlawed the union shop. Plant relocations from the Northeast and Midwest to these areas characterized industrial reorganization after 1970, increasing the number of nonunion workplaces. The so-called right-to-work laws prohibiting the union shop had provided directional signposts to companies seeking an antiunion political and public climate in which to operate.

Further Reading: James A. Gross, *Broken Promise: The Subversion of U.S. Labor Relations Policy, 1947–1994*, 1995; James A. Gross, *The Reshaping of the National Labor Relations Board: National Labor Policy in Transition, 1937–1947*, 1981; James T. Patterson, *Mr. Republican: A Biography of Robert A. Taft*, 1972.

MICHAEL S. FITZGERALD

TEHERAN CONFERENCE, first wartime conference held by the "Big Three" Allied powers. The talks took place from November 28, to December 1, 1943, in Teheran, Iran. The meeting was attended by delegations headed by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin. It was the first face-to-face meeting between Roosevelt and Stalin.

After the Russian military victories at Stalingrad and Kursk, the defeat of the Nazi forces was reasonably assured. The greatest question facing the participants was how soon and at what cost. For the USSR, Germany still posed a severe security threat. Stalin remembered that the Bolsheviks came to power as a result of Russia's interminable suffering at the end of World War I. Allied assistance in defeating the Nazis would ease these concerns. For their part, the Americans and English understood that unless they had actual troops in Germany when the war concluded, to say nothing about France and the Low

Countries, it was unlikely that Stalin would voluntarily share power in the postwar era.

As a result, planning for Operation Overlord dominated the military discussions in Teheran. When pressed, Roosevelt committed the Allies to a May 1944 amphibious invasion of northern France. The Allies hoped that such an invasion, coordinated with military operations in southern France and on the Russian front, would be the final piece of the strategy that would defeat the Third Reich. Roosevelt's firm commitment to a massive second front signaled that the Americans were now the senior partner in the Atlantic alliance.

The political issues breached at Teheran had far greater, and longer-lasting, consequences than the Normandy invasion, however. While some firm conclusions were reached, such as the postwar borders of Poland (being the Oder River in the west and the "Curzon Line" in the east) and some idea of the Soviet borders in the north, little was actually decided. It was simply assumed that Germany would be divided, some sort of elections would take place in Poland and the Baltic states, France would lose a significant portion of its Asian empire, and an international body would be formed with active American involvement during the postwar years. While these goals would take firmer shape at the Yalta Conference in 1945, it is clear in hindsight that the general outlines of the Cold War were drawn at Teheran.

Further Reading: Keith Eubank, *Summit at Teheran*, 1985; Paul D. Mayle, *Eureka Summit: Agreement in Principle and the Big Three at Tehran, 1943*, 1987; Keith Sainsbury, *The Turning Point: Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill, and Chiang-Kai-Shek, 1943: The Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran Conferences*, 1985.

DAVID BLANKE

TELEVISION The history of television has several themes: scientific development of the medium, program content, and ownership. In the 1940s, the technology of television was well articulated. The exact date for television's origin is uncertain because the inventions and their modifications rapidly progressed from the work of Thomas Edison to Philo Farnesworth. Farnsworth was not only a major contributor to the technology of television; his successful lawsuit against

David Sarnoff and RCA allowed Farnsworth to benefit financially from his contributions. The long-range effect of the lawsuit was the encouragement of rapid technological improvements and reduced prices for consumers.

The technology went back to a rotating disk that transmitted pictures over the wire. It was named the Nipkow disk after its German inventor, Paul Nipkow, in 1884. In 1929 Russian Vladimir Kosma Zworykin created the cathode-ray tube, the means for successful transmission. He also invented the iconoscope, an early television camera. Many other individuals aided in the development of possibly the most important instrument for communication in human history. The New York World's Fair in 1939 was the first place that people saw this visual wonder.

Major technical developments happened in the 1940s. In 1948, Louis Parker invented the television receiver. Later in the decade cable TV first appeared in the mountains of Pennsylvania as Community Antenna Television or CATV. Although it was crude, the first transmission of color television occurred in 1946.

In the late 1930s electronic television was perfected and several nations began broadcasting to a very limited audience. In the United States by 1941 the prospect for the industry was dim. No one was buying sets, with cost and availability the major factors. Broadcasting was limited to the late afternoon and evening. Some improvement in transmission took place from the standard established in 1939. The first commercial aired July 1, 1941. NBC broadcasted a ten-second spot for Bulova watch, and the network realized a seven-dollar profit. Other networks began airing commercials that fall.

On December 7, 1941, CBS carried news of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. All manufacture of TV equipment was stopped for the duration of the war, with only limited broadcasting and a few stations. (In England all broadcasting was halted until June 7, 1946.) During the war the Nazis broadcasted from the Eiffel Tower in Paris and the United States experimented with TV-guided missiles in the Pacific.

By 1946 the United States resumed production with RCA leading the way with the 630-TS. Priced at \$352 it sold over 43,000 sets by 1949

before going out of production. An early critic, David F. Zanauck, believed that “television won’t be able to hold on to any market it captures after the first six months. People will soon get tired of staring at a plywood box every night.” Meanwhile on May 9 NBC offered “Hourglass,” the first hour-long musical program. The Joe Louis–Billy Conn fight was broadcasted on June 19 to a record 140,000 customers mostly in bars. A year later, 1 million people watched the Joe Louis–Jersey Joe Walcutt fisticuffs. Gillette paid \$100,000 to sponsor the fight. The Du Mont network on October 2 presented “Faraway Hills,” the first soap opera.

On May 7, 1947 with 44,000 sets in use, Kraft Television Theater was the first dramatic series presented by NBC. Within a few months “kinescopes” were used to record live shows to save or sell to stations. The first telecast of a World Series game was offered on September 30. Politics was not far behind. President Truman addressed the nation on October 5 and a month later “Meet the Press” debuted. Near the end of the year “Howdy Doody Time” appeared on NBC.

Stations cost a million dollars each with seventy-three added in 1948. Baseball games in New York were now routinely aired. From Boston to Richmond was the longest network of programming, with forty-two hours available per week. The average set was on for seventeen hours a week. The presidential nominating conventions were first broadcast in 1948.

By August 1949, over 2 million sets existed in the country with sales 600 percent ahead of 1948, and reduced prices for some models. “Captain Video” made its first appearance on the Du Mont Network. Ownership of TV sets rapidly increased across the country. By 1950 over 8 million sets were receiving programming from 107 stations.

The pent-up purchasing power created during World War II allowed more Americans to consider a television set as an essential item for their homes. Technical advances followed and in a brief time television was available twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, shaping and directing American life and culture.

Further Reading: George Everson, *The Story of Television: The Life of Philo Farnsworth*, 1949; David E. Fisher,

Tube: The Invention of Television, 1997; John O’Neill, *Plato’s Cave: Television and Its Discontents*, 2002.

DONALD K. PICKENS

TELLER, EDWARD (January 15, 1908–September 9, 2003), father of the hydrogen bomb. Born in Budapest, Hungary, Teller received a BS in chemical engineering from the Institute of Technology in Karlsruhe, Germany, in 1927. The next year he entered the University of Munich but lost his right foot when struck by a streetcar. While learning to walk using a prosthesis, Teller transferred to the University of Leipzig to study under Nobel laureate Werner Heisenberg. There Teller received a PhD in physical chemistry in 1930. Adolf Hitler’s rise to power in Germany prompted Teller to flee to Denmark in 1934, Great Britain in 1935, and the United States later that year; he became a United States citizen in 1941.

The next year Teller joined Enrico Fermi at the University of Chicago in achieving the first controlled reaction among uranium atoms, opening the way to construction and use of the first two uranium bombs in 1945. Even in 1942, however, the relationship between Teller and Fermi was tense. Teller had proposed a hydrogen bomb as an alternative to a uranium bomb, but Fermi, the project leader, rejected the proposal, believing that a uranium bomb would be quicker to build. Given fears that the Nazis were likewise working on a uranium bomb, Fermi believed that Teller’s idea would only delay progress. Teller doubted that the Nazis were making progress toward a uranium bomb, a surmise that was confirmed after the war. He countered that U.S. physicists might never again have an opportunity to build a hydrogen weapon, as they could not be sure of postwar congressional funding. Given possibly their only opportunity at such a goal, Teller urged Fermi to take full advantage by building a hydrogen bomb.

Teller got his wish in 1949. The Soviet uranium bomb detonation and China’s fall to Communism that year swayed Congress and President Harry Truman to bankroll Teller. Even then, Teller did not avoid controversy. He and Nobel laureate in chemistry Harold C. Urey believed that failure to build a hydrogen bomb would be

tantamount to conceding the arms race to the USSR and China, both of which would surely build a hydrogen bomb. The realities of the Cold War carried the day despite opposition from Albert Einstein, chemist Linus Pauling, and J. Robert Oppenheimer, former director of the Manhattan Project. Teller thus won a Pyrrhic victory. Congress and Truman had validated his aim of building a hydrogen bomb but at cost to his status among physicists. Teller understood that the building of a hydrogen bomb would end any chance he had to win a Nobel Prize. With Einstein and Fermi against him, no Nobel laureate in physics would nominate him for the award.

Further Reading: Peter Goodchild, *Edward Teller: The Real Dr. Strangelove*, 2004; Hans Mark and Lowell Wood, eds., *Energy in Physics, War and Peace: A Festschrift Celebrating Edward Teller's 80th Birthday*, 1988; Edward Teller, *Memoirs: A Twentieth-Century Journey in Science and Politics*, 2001.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

THOMAS, NORMAN MATTOON (November 20, 1884–December 19, 1968), Socialist Party leader. Born in Marion, Ohio, Thomas attended Bucknell University for a year and received a BA from Princeton in 1905 and a BD from Union Theological Seminary in 1907. After settlement work and serving pastorates in New York City, in 1918 he joined the Socialist Party, soon becoming its leader. Through his life he repeatedly ran for public office, ranging from New York alderman to the presidency of the United States, a post he sought six times.

In 1938 Thomas spearheaded formation of the Keep America Out of War Congress (KAOWC), a coalition of the Socialist Party and pacifist groups. In 1939, with fellow radical Bertram D. Wolfe, Thomas published *Keep America Out of War: A Program*, a position he updated in *We Have a Future* (1941). His column in the eight-page weekly *Call* opposed intervention in World War II. A 1940 presidential bid pulled fewer than 200,000 votes. In 1941 Thomas, while not joining the anti-interventionist America First Committee (AFC), spoke at two major AFC rallies, received AFC funds for a Sunday broadcast, and undertook two college tours sponsored by the committee. He

broke this relationship once Charles A. Lindbergh gave his Des Moines speech of September 11, 1941, in which the aviator located Jews foremost among those seeking war.

When the United States entered the conflict, Thomas transformed the KAOWC into the Post War World Council, a body that gave him a personal forum for years afterward. During the war, he opposed internment of Japanese Americans, racial segregation in the army, and the saturation bombing of Germany, voicing such views in *What Is Our Destiny* (1944). Thomas warned against the designs of the Soviet Union and called use of the atomic bomb “the greatest single atrocity of a very cruel war.” His 1944 presidential race, which he entered reluctantly, was the greatest such defeat of his life, as he drew only 80,518 votes.

Once the war ended, Thomas sought a Jewish-Arab federation in Palestine, opposed the Truman Doctrine as smacking of imperialism, and favored much of the Marshall Plan. He voiced his plea for disarmament in *Appeal to the Nations* (1947). He attacked the House Un-American Activities Committee and testified against the Mundt-Nixon bill, which would have required registration of all Communist political organizations and Communist Party members. In 1948 Thomas ran for president for the last time, receiving 140,260 votes. In 1949 he opposed American intervention in China, Indonesia, and Indochina, but bucked his own party by testifying in favor of the Atlantic alliance. In his final two decades he endorsed nuclear disarmament, the civil rights movement, and American participation in the Korean War, while opposing the conflict in Vietnam.

Further Reading: Stephen Mark Gens, “Paranoia Bordering on Resignation: Norman Thomas and the American Socialist Party, 1939–1948,” PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 1982; Bernard K. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress: Norman Thomas and the Decline of American Socialism*, 1970; W.A. Swanberg, *Norman Thomas: The Last Idealist*, 1976.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

TOBACCO AND CIGARETTE SMOKING, twentieth-century addiction. By 1940, cigarettes had become Americans' favorite form of tobacco use, supplanting other methods such as plug

tobacco and pipe smoking. In that year, 181.9 billion cigarettes were sold in the United States; by 1950, despite growing indications that cigarettes presented a health hazard, that number reached 369.8 billion.

The popularity of cigarettes had grown after World War I because of mass production, wide distribution, advertising methods, and increased acceptance of women smokers. The onset of World War II accelerated cigarette smoking. As the country went to war, cigarettes became an integral part of society, widely seen as an antidote to tension and a reward for a job well done. War photographs and news films pictured GIs with cigarettes in their mouths or between their fingers. As hundreds of thousands of women joined branches of the armed forces or took over traditionally male jobs in war-based industries, they embraced cigarette smoking in greater numbers. Tobacco companies shipped massive numbers of cigarettes overseas, where they were available at low cost to soldiers. Cigarettes were also included in combat rations. Federal policies encouraged tobacco production by farmers. Movies represented cigarette smoking as sophisticated and romantic.

Tobacco companies played on the war theme in their advertising, creating a connection between smoking and patriotism. Advertisements routinely showed soldiers and war workers smoking. In 1942, a billboard advertising Camel cigarettes was erected in Times Square in New York City and attracted great attention. Two stories high and a half-block wide, its several versions portrayed the head and shoulders of a serviceman with steam coming out of his mouth in the shape of a smoke ring. The American Tobacco Company, forced to change the colors of its Lucky Strike package after war demands for chromium and copper powder affected production, publicized the transition as another contribution to the war effort.

Even as cigarettes were becoming an increasingly entrenched element of American society during the 1940s, the medical community began warning of their dangers. In 1938, a Johns Hopkins University study reported shorter life spans for cigarette smokers. An article in *Reader's Digest* in 1942 refuted advertisements claiming that some brands contained fewer irritants than

others, and stated that all cigarettes were dangerous. Subsequently, the Federal Trade Commission filed complaints against four of the largest cigarette manufacturers for portraying their products as posing no health hazards. In 1944, the American Cancer Society began to warn consumers about the dangers of smoking. Tobacco companies countered with advertising featuring doctors who smoked their cigarettes and experts who conducted studies finding no adverse effects from cigarette smoking.

By decade's end, nearly half of the country's citizens over age eighteen smoked cigarettes. In 1950, the annual death rate from lung cancer among men reached twenty for every 100,000, up from five for every 100,000 in 1930. In the early 1950s, individuals began filing lawsuits against tobacco companies for breach of warranty and negligence, and Americans became more aware of the health risks that tobacco use posed.

Further Reading: Harold V. Corday, *Tobacco: A Reference Handbook*, 2001; Richard Kluger, *Ashes to Ashes: America's Hundred Year Cigarette War, the Public Health, and the Unabashed Triumph of Philip Morris*, 1996; Cassandra Tate, *Cigarette Wars: The Triumph of "The Little White Slaver,"* 1999.

SUZANNE JULIN

TOJO, HIDEKI (December 1884–December 23, 1948), Japanese prime minister and war minister. Born in Tokyo as the third son of a low-caste samurai family, Tojo attended the military academy and army staff college, where he gained a reputation for hard work, persistence, and loyalty, if not for great intelligence. He served in a variety of posts both in Japan and in China before being asked to join Prince Konoe Fumimaro's second cabinet as war minister in July 1940. In this capacity, he was a powerful advocate for continuing the war against China at all costs. He was also a supporter of closer relations with Germany, urging the cabinet to conclude the Tripartite Pact in September.

Domestically he helped to bring about the dissolution of domestic political parties, creating in their place the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. Finally, he pushed for a hard-line policy against the West. At his insistence, the cabinet

sent troops into southern Indochina in July 1941; as a result the United States imposed an almost complete trade embargo on Japan. He then served as the driving force in urging the cabinet to go to war against the United States if a diplomatic solution were not found by October.

When such a solution did not emerge, Konoé resigned rather than lead the country into war, and Tojo succeeded him as prime minister, while still retaining the post of war minister. Tojo, concluding that the country had to choose between war and dishonor, approved the attack on Pearl Harbor and ordered the military campaigns that brought most of East and Southeast Asia under Japanese control by the middle of 1942.

In addition to the positions of prime minister and war minister, he also served for various periods as home minister, minister of education, minister of commerce and industry, minister of munitions, foreign minister, and chief of the general staff, making him the most powerful politician in modern Japanese history. He used his authority to crack down on internal dissent, arresting his political opponents and placing firm controls on virtually all aspects of public life, including the press and the economy. Strictly speaking, however, Tojo was not a dictator, since there were many constraints on his power. He continued to govern at the pleasure of the emperor, and he did so in accordance with the Japanese constitution. He also had to deal with alternative centers of power in Japanese society, such as the bureaucracy, the navy, and the country's major industrial corporations, the *zaibatsu*.

These limits to Tojo's authority became clear when the tide of war began to turn against Japan, particularly after U.S. forces captured the strategic island of Saipan in June 1944. Faced with growing pressure from court officials, naval officers, and senior statesmen, Tojo was forced to resign from all his government posts, leading to the establishment of a new cabinet under Koiso Kuniaki. Tojo went into retirement, but after Japan's defeat the U.S. occupation forces ordered his arrest. When the arresting military police officers arrived, he tried to avoid capture by shooting himself in the chest, but he survived the wound and was imprisoned after recovery. In 1946 he went on trial before the International

Tribunal for the Far East in Tokyo, indicted on fifty counts of war crimes, including conspiracy to wage an aggressive war, crimes against peace, and atrocities committed against Allied prisoners of war. He was found guilty and was executed by hanging at the Sugamo prison in December 1948.

Further Reading: Courtney Browne, *Tojo: The Last Banzai*, 1998; Robert J.C. Butow, *Tojo and the Coming of the War*, 1961; Ben-Ami Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan*, 1981.

JOHN E. MOSER

TOKYO ROSE, nickname given to various women who made radio propaganda broadcasts in English for Imperial Japan. The best known was Iva Ikuko Toguri (1916–), an American citizen of Japanese descent who was visiting a sick aunt in Tokyo when war broke out between the United States and Japan in December 1941. She was threatened with imprisonment if she did not agree to work as a disk jockey for an English-language program called *The Zero Hour*. Her job was to play popular American music designed to make U.S. soldiers and sailors homesick, although many officers believed that her broadcasts actually improved their men's morale. She originally broadcast under the name Anna—short for “announcer”—but later adopted the nickname Orphan Annie in recognition of the fact that she seemed to have no country of her own. Nevertheless, Toguri was the only American broadcasting for Japan who refused to renounce her citizenship. She would later claim to have assisted three American prisoners of war who were secretly subverting Japanese propaganda broadcasts.

In 1945 Toguri converted to Catholicism and married a Portuguese citizen named Felipe d'Aquino. However, they were not together for long, for after the war Iva d'Aquino was arrested by U.S. authorities and held without trial for two years. She was eventually convicted in the Twelfth District Court in San Francisco on one count of treason in October 1949, and was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine. She served at the Federal Reformatory for Women in Alderson, West Virginia, and was released in 1956 for good behavior. Thanks to an inheritance from her father she was able to pay

off her fine by 1972. Five years later two of the witnesses who had testified at her trial admitted having been coached by the prosecution, leading to a full pardon by President Gerald R. Ford on his last day in office. She lives quietly today in the Chicago area.

Further Reading: Masayo Duus, *Tokyo Rose*, 1983; Russell Warren Howe, *The Hunt for "Tokyo Rose,"* 1990; John Phillips, *If This Be Treason: World War II's Collaborators, from Tokyo Rose to Marshal Pétain*, 1998.

JOHN E. MOSER

TOURISM During the interwar years, tourism became an important economic and social force in the United States. Inexpensive automobiles, low gasoline taxes, improved road systems, and the promotion of the national parks helped an extensive tourism industry develop. Even the Great Depression did not stop Americans from traveling.

As the 1940s began, industry leaders voiced optimism about tourism's future. The disruption of overseas travel by the war in Europe served to restrict Americans to their own shores, and the growing acceptance of the five-day workweek offered more opportunities for weekend and vacation travel. The improved national economy and the potential for increased defense spending promised to provide citizens with more money to pay for trips. Airlines reported increases in recreational travel, car registration and gasoline consumption increased markedly, and the fledgling motel industry experienced a surge in business. In addition, travel within the United States took on a patriotic cast. President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared 1940 as "Travel America Year," and in 1941, the Department of Interior's U.S. Travel Bureau listed the defense of democracy as one of the potential outcomes of American travel.

This optimistic outlook began to fade as war threatened and the nation began to guard its resources. Gasoline and tire rationing restricted the ability to travel after America's entry into World War II. In some heavily populated regions, the movement of military personnel and an influx of defense workers utilized parts of the tourism infrastructure, but tourist destinations in isolated

locales suffered from a lack of customers. As an industry, tourism became almost nonexistent during the war years.

After World War II ended, Americans had money to spend and several years of hard work, sacrifice, and immobility behind them. They were anxious to take to the road again. The end of rationing and the production of new tires and new cars enabled them to do so. By 1946, U.S. tourism was booming. The motel industry expanded rapidly, gas stations upgraded, and road improvements further encouraged travel. Fresh attractions developed. The 1945 opening of Las Vegas's Flamingo Hotel launched a new type of tourist destination. Ski resorts flourished as postwar prosperity offered more people the opportunity to take part in activities formerly the preserve of the well-to-do. By decade's end, tourism had resumed a vital role in the country's economy and society.

Further Reading: Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910–1943*, 1979; John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America*, 1981; Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West*, 1998.

SUZANNE JULIN

TRACY, SPENCER (April 5, 1900–June 10, 1967), actor. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Spencer Tracy was one of the most significant actors in Hollywood cinema through the 1940s. He had already established his reputation as a leading box office star for MGM in the 1930s, winning two consecutive Academy Awards in that decade, for *Captains Courageous* (1937) and *Boys Town* (1938). His popularity continued through the 1940s, although he made fewer films and they tended to be of lesser critical acclaim. Few suitable roles were offered to him through the years of World War II, and he made only four films. He returned to Broadway stage shows in 1945. Notably, however, Tracy starred in several films with his off-screen partner Katharine Hepburn in the 1940s, including *Woman of the Year* (1942), *State of the Union* (1948), and *Adam's Rib* (1949). Few of his other 1940s films were particularly memorable, despite his continuing popularity.

Tracy's personal life attracted much attention. He had a continuing problem with alcohol. A devout Catholic, he remained married to his wife, Louise, although he had an enduring love affair with Hepburn from the time of their first movie together until his death. His son John was deaf, and his wife worked to help deaf children and their families, including establishing the John Tracy Clinic for research on the University of Southern California campus in 1942. Despite the controversy surrounding Spencer Tracy's personal life and behavior, he was one of the major stars of the 1940s and continued to be much admired within the profession until his death in Hollywood, California, not long after the filming of *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?*

Further Reading: Bill Davidson, *Spencer Tracy*, 1987; Donald Deschner, *Films of Spencer Tracy*, 1968; James Fisher, *Spencer Tracy: A Bio-bibliography*, 1994.

AMANDA LAUGESSEN

TRIPARTITE PACT, alliance signed by Germany, Italy, and Japan in Berlin on September 27, 1940. According to its provisions, Germany was to have a free hand in setting up a new order in Europe, while Japan would be free to establish its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Each signatory pledged political, economic, and military assistance if the others were attacked by any power not yet involved in the European war or in the war between China and Japan.

The origins of the pact lay in the Anti-Comintern Pact, a largely symbolic agreement concluded among Germany, Italy, and Japan in 1936 and directed against the Soviet Union. Efforts in the next several years to turn this into an actual alliance met with failure, however, because Tokyo was looking for German assistance against the Soviets while Berlin sought an arrangement directed against the United States and Great Britain. The Japanese government lost all interest in these negotiations in August 1939, when Hitler concluded a nonaggression pact with Stalin. However, after the German conquest of the Low Countries and France in the spring of 1940, talks between the two powers were renewed, since Tokyo feared that without a more formal agreement the German government

might attempt to seize French and Dutch colonies in the Pacific.

The door was further opened to a Japanese alliance with Germany and Italy (which were already allied through the 1939 "Pact of Steel") by the appointment of the ardently pro-German Matsuoka Yosuke as Japanese foreign minister in July 1940. Matsuoka immediately informed the German government of his desire for such an agreement, and by September an envoy named Heinrich Stahmer was dispatched from Berlin. The final draft was completed and signed before the end of the month.

Both Germany and Japan had high expectations of the Tripartite Pact. Hitler hoped it would divert the United States' attention away from the European war, thus reducing the flow of American aid to Great Britain. On the other hand, Matsuoka believed that it would turn U.S. attention away from Tokyo's efforts to create the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. At the same time, the Japanese government hoped that the alliance would restrain the Soviet Union in eastern Asia and encourage Stalin to look to the Middle East to satisfy his ambitions.

Ultimately the Tripartite Pact failed to accomplish any of these goals. There is no evidence that it had any impact on U.S. aid for the British. Meanwhile, its effect on U.S.-Japanese relations was the opposite of what Japan intended. Interpreting the alliance as an unfriendly gesture, the Roosevelt administration retaliated by placing an embargo on scrap metal to Japan. And although the cabinet of Prince Konoe Fumimaro repeatedly denied that the pact put Japan under any obligation to declare war on the United States if the latter attacked Germany, Americans viewed the pact as proof of a global fascist conspiracy. Japan, Washington insisted, could prove its good faith only by repudiating it altogether.

The U.S. entry into World War II revealed the Tripartite Pact to be, in one historian's words, a "hollow alliance." Neither the German nor the Japanese government was really willing to engage in any joint strategic planning, and there never was any discussion of postwar plans. Hitler made repeated efforts to encourage Japan to launch an attack on the Soviet Union, but there was little enthusiasm for this in Tokyo.

Ultimately, the signatories viewed the pact as a diplomatic tool, and not a military alliance of the sort that emerged among the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. Above all, the Tripartite Pact was an agreement designed to keep the United States out of the war, so after the events of December 1941 it became all but irrelevant.

Further Reading: Johanna Meskill, *Hitler and Japan: The Hollow Alliance*, 1966; Paul W. Schroeder, *The Axis Alliance and Japanese-American Relations*, 1958; Gerhard Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*, 1994.

JOHN E. MOSER

TROUT, ROBERT ALBERT (October 15, 1909–November 14, 2000), newsman. Born Robert Albert Blondheim in Washington, DC, he eventually changed his surname to Trout to obscure his German ancestry. After graduating from Central High School in Washington, he worked odd jobs while trying to establish himself as a writer. In 1931 his career turned on luck. While working as a janitor at WJSV, a radio station in Alexandria, Virginia, Trout substituted for a broadcaster who had not reported for work. Although he had no preparation in broadcast journalism, the polish and professionalism of his performance won Trout a permanent position. The next year Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) bought the station and renamed it WTOP. Trout returned to Washington as WTOP's news director. In 1933 he transferred to CBS headquarters in New York City, where he was Edward R. Murrow's protégé.

Trout joined Murrow in London in 1940 to cover the Battle of Britain. Like Murrow, Trout reported events amid the tumult of air raid sirens and anti-aircraft guns, giving broadcast journalism an unprecedented immediacy. Equally important, such coverage of events built sympathy for the British in heroic defense of their homeland against the Nazi barrage.

The apex of Trout's war correspondence came on June 6, 1944 (D-day), when the Allies invaded France's Normandy coast, then fortified by German troops. Reporting the assault from CBS headquarters, Trout began his broadcast at 3 AM Eastern Standard Time, an hour when most radio

stations did not transmit. For more than seven hours of uninterrupted broadcast, Trout interspersed his observations with those of Murrow and other CBS reporters, fashioning himself in the process into radio's first anchor.

Trout's success stemmed from his skill at improvisation, including an ability to deliver news by the journalistic equivalent of stream of consciousness. That journalism mimicked, however loosely, the technique of the twentieth-century novel should surprise no one, given the porous border between journalism and fiction. Ernest Hemingway had been a journalist, and Trout had aspired to write novels in the style of Jack London. Trout displayed his talent as improviser to full effect when he learned of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945. In the midst of a broadcast, Trout dispensed with matters at hand to deliver a twenty-five-minute tribute to Roosevelt without the aid of a single prompt.

In April 1946 *Robert Trout with the News Till Now* debuted on CBS. The program allowed Trout to institutionalize his role as anchor. So successful was he that television made the anchor a staple of news programming.

Trout died in New York City.

Further Reading: Tony Chiu, *CBS: The First 50 Years*, 1998; Tom Lewis, *Empire of the Air: The Men Who Made Radio*, 1993; Robert Slater, *This Is CBS: A Chronicle of Sixty Years*, 1988.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

TRUMAN, BESS (ELIZABETH WALLACE) (February 13, 1885–October 18, 1982), first lady. Bess Truman was born in Independence, Missouri, and attended the Barstow School for Girls, in Kansas City, Missouri, from 1904 to 1906. She energetically performed her duties as the first lady, but her style was decidedly different from that of her predecessor, Eleanor Roosevelt, who had given press conferences and often spoke as a surrogate for her husband. Bess Truman was intensely private. She refused to give press conferences and, when asked about the Truman administration, usually advised questioners to talk to the president if they wanted policy answers. However, she did answer the large volume of letters sent to her at the White House. On

occasion, she responded to written questionnaires, but she rarely revealed pertinent information to curious reporters. Truman's aloofness gained her the reputation as being cold, but people who knew her well described her as a warm, intelligent person with a keen sense of humor.

Bess Truman was one of the hardest-working first ladies. She reorganized the formal White House social season, which had been canceled during the war, and she personally took part in the planning of formal White House receptions, teas, and dinners. Interested in the social history of the White House, she carefully followed the protocols and precedents that other first ladies had instituted. As a ceremonial representative of the White House, Truman helped raise money for the March of Dimes and was the commander of the American Cancer Society. She served as the honorary chair of the Girl Scouts, Women's National Democratic Club, and the Home Hospitality Committee of War Recreation Services. She loved music and was the first president's wife to attend an opening night at the New York Metropolitan Opera.

Washington was never home to Bess Truman. She wanted to return to Independence, and she even encouraged her husband to leave the presidency after his first term. When she found out that Thomas E. Dewey was the Republican candidate, however, she changed her mind and encouraged the president to run for a second term. Their daughter Margaret accompanied them on the campaign trail. In President Truman's second term, Bess Truman continued to be actively involved in the social ceremonies of the position. Although she was never a political first lady, Bess Truman was popular and well respected for being down-to-earth.

She died in Independence, Missouri.

Further Reading: Clifton Daniels, *Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen: A Memoir*, 1984; Robert H. Ferrell, ed., *Dear Bess: The Letters from Harry to Bess Truman, 1910–1959*, 1983; Margaret Truman, *Bess Truman*, 1986.

NORMAN E. FRY

TRUMAN, HARRY S. (May 8, 1884–December 26, 1972), president of the United States. Born in rural Lamar, Missouri, Harry Truman never

attended college and was the last man to enter the presidency without a university degree. He gained national prominence with his election to the United States Senate in 1934 and reelection in 1940. Near the end of his first term, Truman conducted the hearings that led to the Wheeler-Truman Transportation Act of 1940, intended to bring fair competition to the transportation industry. His role on this committee attracted national attention. In his second term, Truman chaired the Truman Committee, which brought efficiency to war production by transforming the inept Supply Priorities and Allocation Board into the Office of Production Management in 1942. As the 1944 general election approached, disgruntled southern Democrats ousted the liberal-leftist vice president, Henry Wallace, and selected Truman, who was trusted by both ardent New Dealers and southerners. After Roosevelt's death, skeptics predicted that Truman would be a disaster as president, but during his two terms he proved decisive in both foreign affairs and domestic politics.

Truman knew few details of foreign policy or the conduct of the war when he took office, but he was soon making epic choices. In 1945, he made the controversial decision to end the war against Japan quickly by using the atomic bomb. The war's end brought not only peace, but also an era of increasing confrontation with the USSR. An anonymous article (written by George Kennan) in the quarterly *Foreign Affairs* urged the economic and military containment of Communism where U.S. interests would most be threatened. Adopting this concept, Truman initiated the policies that created the Cold War standoff between the United States and the USSR. The Truman Doctrine of 1947 pledged \$400 million to help Greece fight a Communist takeover, but its pledge to combat internal or external subversion anywhere on the globe was a direct challenge to the USSR. The Marshall Plan of the same year gave \$13 billion in aid to rebuild the economies of Western Europe and undermine the appeal of Communist parties. Western Europe was also united into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as a counter to Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe. The Four Point program in 1949 promised aid to developing countries

where Communism might have an appeal. Establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency and Truman's decision in 1950 to build a hydrogen bomb were the final elements in a foreign policy structure that transformed the United States into a superpower adversary of the USSR.

Truman encountered opposition to his domestic policies, but he kept intact the basic New Deal policies and helped give the Democratic Party a tradition that brought victories in congressional elections for nearly five decades. After the Republicans took over Congress in 1946, it looked as though Truman would be easily defeated by the Republican presidential candidate, Thomas E. Dewey. Truman's unexpected victory in 1948 saved the Democratic Party's social agenda. Truman had campaigned on a platform known as the Fair Deal: health care, Social Security, public housing, pro-labor policies, and other ideas which expanded the New Deal. Truman defeated Dewey despite deep divisions within his own party. Angry southern Democrats walked out and formed their own party, the Dixiecrats, after a civil rights plank was included in the party platform. Liberal Democrats and others on the political left who disliked Truman's anti-Soviet policies supported the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace and its conciliatory policies toward the USSR. Through folksy campaigning and sheer effort, Truman kept intact the political center that would dominate the Democratic Party for two decades and keep alive both the welfare state and America's superpower role in the world.

Truman died in Kansas City, Missouri.

Further Reading: Donald R. McCoy, *The Presidency of Harry S. Truman*, 1984; David McCullough, *Truman*, 1992; Harry S. Truman Papers, Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

NORMAN E. FRY

TRUMAN, MARGARET (February 17, 1924–) president's daughter. Margaret Truman was born in Independence, Missouri, the only child of Harry S. Truman and Bess Truman. Margaret attended a private girls' school in Washington and later graduated from George Washington University in 1946 with a history degree. She gained national prominence after her father became president.

She was now required to be guarded by Secret Service agents, and the last vestige of her private life was gone. Margaret was called upon to perform numerous ceremonial duties. She met foreign dignitaries, launched ships, named buildings, substituted as a hostess for her mother, and constantly denied rumors that she was engaged to any young man she was seen with in public. As a public person, Margaret Truman fell under the relentless gaze of the journalists, but she fared well. The press compared her unaffected modesty and good social sense to her mother's. During the election of 1948, she went on the campaign trail and made almost every whistle-stop with her parents.

Margaret Truman had ambitions to become a concert singer. During the winter of 1944, while still a student at George Washington University, she went to New York and auditioned, under an assumed name, for a voice coach. He encouraged her to develop her singing talent. In March 1947, Truman finally got her opportunity to perform. Her music coach arranged an audition with Karl Krueger, the conductor of the Detroit Symphony, who asked her to debut on his regular weekly radio broadcast. She sang before a studio audience of music critics and a radio audience estimated at 15 million. The worst critical review concluded that she had an average trained voice. The best evaluation suggested that she was talented, but needed more practice. In August 1947, she performed with the Hollywood Bowl Symphony before an audience of 15,000. Over the next three months, she appeared in more than thirty cities.

In 1949, Margaret hired a new manager whom she instructed to wait for specific requests and to accept no undignified offers. During the 1949–1950 season she did thirty stage performances and two broadcasts. One of the broadcasts was a live performance before a Carnegie Hall audience. Shortly before the Carnegie Hall performance, she signed a long-term exclusive contract with RCA-Victor Red Seal Records. By 1950, the president's daughter was on the brink of a singing career, but a negative review in the December 5, 1950, issue of the *Washington Post*, by music critic Paul Hume, evoked an angry response from President Truman and marked the

beginning of the end of Margaret's music career. She continued to occasionally perform on stage, radio, and television, but by 1956 she had abandoned her music career for marriage and family rearing.

Further Reading: David McCullough, *Truman*, 1992; Margaret Truman, *Letters from Father: The Truman Family's Personal Correspondence*, 1981; Margaret Truman, *Souvenir: Margaret Truman's Own Story*, 1956.

NORMAN E. FRY

TRUMAN DOCTRINE The Truman Doctrine realigned the foreign policy of the United States to counter the expansion of Soviet influence after World War II. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, British prime minister Winston Churchill and later Clement Attlee, and U.S. president Harry Truman met in Potsdam, Germany, two months after Germany's surrender to discuss the European peace and the final efforts to defeat Japan. This meeting produced no firm agreements and increased distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe and Soviet aid to Communist revolutionary movements around the globe further increased American distrust of its former ally. By 1947 it was obvious that the United States would have to take a larger role in world affairs to ensure some sort of lasting postwar peace.

The Truman administration confronted a foreign policy crisis in February 1947 when Britain announced that its own severe economic problems would force it to suspend military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. Greece at the time was involved in a civil war that Communist forces seemed on the verge of winning, and the USSR was pressuring Turkey to allow naval bases in the region and safe passage through the Dardanelles. If either of these countries yielded to Soviet influence, the Mediterranean and the Middle East could possibly have fallen under the influence of the USSR. Secretary of State George C. Marshall and his undersecretary, Dean Acheson, urged Truman to frighten a reluctant Congress with the specter of Communist expansion and its threat to the United States in order to get aid for Greece and Turkey. Truman therefore had congressional support when he announced

the Truman Doctrine, which promised \$400 million in military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. Truman's pledge to help free people resist subjugation by armed minorities or outside forces directly challenged Soviet sponsorship of Communist insurgencies.

The Truman Doctrine was the foundation of a foreign policy structure that grew dramatically over the next three years. During an address at Harvard University in June 1947, George Marshall outlined a plan for massive economic aid to Europe. In July of the same year, George F. Kennan anonymously penned an article on the policy of containment in the journal *Foreign Affairs*. Kennan called for economic pressure on the Soviet Union in places deemed important to U.S. national security. Both ideas formed the core of the Marshall Plan in 1947.

The Marshall Plan grew out of State Department concern that Western Europe was making little progress toward economic prosperity. Communist parties seemed on the brink of control in France and Italy. To stave off a parliamentary takeover by Communists, Secretary of State Marshall proposed cash grants to help restore Western European economies. Money was also offered to Eastern Europe, but Stalin attacked the offer as a scheme to undermine Soviet influence. Marshall's plan helped Europe, but heightened Cold War tensions. In 1948 Congress created the Economic Cooperation Administration, which funneled \$13 billion into Western Europe over five years. The success of the Marshall Plan convinced State Department policy makers that the financial might of the United States could thwart Communist insurgency anywhere. The Point Four plan in 1949 offered aid to developing countries, but there was less success in helping the economies of poor nations.

American policy gradually changed to also include military aid to Europe through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In 1949, NATO was a formidable military alliance of twelve nations united to resist Soviet military might. In 1950, a secret National Security Council paper, NSC-68, enunciated an American strategy to take on Communist aggression wherever it appeared. The Truman Doctrine, with its narrowly designed purpose to save Greece and Tur-

key, had grown into a policy with a global perspective within three years.

Further Reading: Melvin P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, The Truman Administration, the Cold War*, 1992; David McCullough, *Truman*, 1992; Harry S. Truman Papers, Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

NORMAN E. FRY

TUGWELL, REXFORD GUY (July 10, 1891–July 21, 1979), New Dealer and academic. Tugwell was born in Chautauqua county, New York, and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton School in 1915. He received a doctorate in economics there in 1922. He spent the 1920s as a successful academic. In the 1930s he was a member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Brains Trust, a Department of Agriculture administrator, and director of the Resettlement Administration.

Tugwell was in transition in the 1940s. As the decade opened, he chaired New York City’s Planning Commission. There he attempted to professionalize planning as a new discipline, applicable to practical life situations, but clashed with Robert Moses, who was known as “New York’s empire builder” and Fiorello La Guardia, who was the city’s mayor. Tugwell’s ideas on planning differed with Moses’s conception of how New York should develop. In 1941, his New Deal friend, Harold Ickes, secretary of the interior under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, asked Tugwell to conduct a study on Puerto Rico’s 500-acre law, which prohibited anyone from owning more than 500 acres of land on the island, even though major corporations continually violated that law. After reading Tugwell’s report, Ickes recommended to the President that Tugwell be appointed governor of Puerto Rico. Tugwell accepted.

From 1941 to 1946, he worked closely with Luis Muñoz Marin and the Populares Party. They facilitated a political transformation on the island while guarding against Axis attacks. Tugwell set up a water resources authority, helped develop the University of Puerto Rico, revised the budgeting process, created the Puerto Rican Development Company, and established a development bank. Tugwell was most proud of his Planning

Act of 1942, which established a planning board and attempted to implement ideas expressed in his article “The Fourth Power.” Finally, he tried, with Munoz Marin, to revise the Organic Act, which explained Puerto Rico’s status in the United States so that the island would be self-governing. Here, he met intense opposition locally and from Washington, and few changes could be effected.

By 1946, Tugwell was again ready for a change. He found himself very much in demand at universities. Accordingly, he served at a number of institutions, including the University of Chicago, the London School of Economics, Howard University, and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, California. During these years Tugwell wrote on Franklin D. Roosevelt, the atomic bomb, planning, and the importance of rewriting the American Constitution. In 1948 Tugwell worked for Henry Wallace’s Progressive Party presidential campaign. He served in the academic world until his death in Santa Barbara, California.

Further Reading: Michael V. Namorato, *Rexford G. Tugwell: A Biography*, 1988; Michael V. Namorato, ed., *The Diary of Rexford G. Tugwell: The New Deal Years*, 1992; obituary in *New York Times*, July 24, 1979.

MICHAEL V. NAMORATO

TUPPER, EARL SILAS (July 28, 1907–October 5, 1983), chemist, manufacturer, and inventor of Tupperware. Born on a farm in Berlin, New Hampshire, Tupper early in life demonstrated ambitious interests in invention and entrepreneurship. In 1938 he formed the Earl S. Tupper Company in Leominster, Massachusetts. He used experience he had gained in plastics design and manufacturing while working in 1937 for DuPont and the earlier techniques of Bernard Doyle, and others.

After World War II, the conservative and somewhat reclusive Tupper turned his attention from defense contracts to developing plastics for the consumer market. Because plastics were still in their infancy and because the product had a reputation for being brittle and smelly, Tupper needed to convince skeptics of its value. In 1945 he found a method for purifying black

polyethylene slag into a flexible, tough, non-greasy substance dubbed Poly-T. Tupper also pioneered in making an airtight and watertight lid, which he patented in 1947.

Experimenting with his new shatterproof, durable, odorless, and inexpensive product in department stores, where sales languished, Tupper confronted a wary public unaccustomed to dealing with these products. In 1948, at a Sheraton Hotel in Worcester, Massachusetts, he conferred with Thomas Damigella of Massachusetts and Brownie Wise of Florida, two successful salespeople who sold household products as well as Tupperware as part of their inventory. With them he discussed various distribution plans.

The Tupper-Wise approach, modeled on the home party plan of Stanley Home Products, and expanded and refined by Wise, called for holding Tupperware parties in people's homes to sell Tupperware products for the kitchen and house. These demonstrations displayed the value of the product better than docile department store shelves. The Tupperware parties became enormously successful. At the height of their popularity, Tupperware demonstrations started every two seconds somewhere in the world, and nearly 118 million people attended a Tupperware gathering. Tupperware was hailed as the biggest food storage breakthrough since the glass-canning jar. Wise, an impoverished single mother, served as vice president of the company from 1951 until her dismissal in 1958, when Tupper sold the company to Rexall (Dart Industries) for \$16 million. He nevertheless remained with the business until his retirement in 1973, when he moved to Costa Rica, where he later died. The combination of the self-styled Yankee genius of Tupper with the entrepreneurial motivations of Wise, a consummate but flamboyant saleswoman, produced a lucrative business that changed the manner of keeping foods. Worldwide sales totaled \$1.2 billion by 1997.

Further Reading: Alison J. Clark, *Tupperware: The Promise of Plastic in 1950s America*, 1999; Wayne Hemingway and Keith Stephenson, *Cocktail Shakers, Lava Lamps, and Tupperware: A Celebration of Lifestyle Design from the Last Half of the 20th Century*, 2004; Earl S. Tupper Papers, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Washington, DC.

LEONARD SCHLUP

TUSKEGEE AIRMEN, heroic African American pilots. The U.S. Army Air Force's 99th Pursuit Squadron, and later the 332nd Fighter Group, who trained in Tuskegee, Alabama, became renowned both for their wartime combat record and for their struggle against institutional racism. The origins of the Tuskegee flight school can be traced to a meeting in May 1939 between two members of the National Airmen's Association (NAA)—a black pilots' lobby—and Missouri's senator Harry S. Truman. The NAA wanted support to overturn the army air corps's traditional rejection of non-white pilot candidates; although Truman saw that immediate integration of the air corps was politically unrealistic, he did agree to sponsor a bill that would allow African Americans to serve in the federal government's Civilian Pilot Training Program. Their training would take place at the Tuskegee Institute (now Tuskegee University) in Macon County, Alabama. Located about forty miles from Montgomery, Tuskegee was a historically black college founded by Booker T. Washington in 1881. It had long taken an interest in aviation training.

By December 1940 several black pilots had completed their ground and flight training at Tuskegee, and plans were under way to develop a fully functioning airfield at the institute. That same month the army air corps, pressured by first lady Eleanor Roosevelt and other influential political figures, submitted a proposal to the War Department to assemble an experimental all-black fighter squadron. African American leaders were disappointed at the news that nonwhite aircrews would be allowed into the military only on a segregated basis, but the air corp's proposal did at least provide an opportunity to kill off the long-standing canard that blacks were physiologically unsuited to the stress of combat aviation. The 66th Air Force Contract Flying School was established at Tuskegee in early 1941, and on July 19 the newly formed 99th Pursuit Squadron began its training program with an initial intake of twelve cadets and one officer, Captain Benjamin Davis Jr. Primary flight instruction took place at Tuskegee's Moton Field, before transfer to the neighboring Army Air Field where trainees were initiated in the handling of the P-51 Mustang fighter aircraft. Mechanics, armorers, administrative staff, and other ground crew were also trained at Tuskegee.

Despite inadequate facilities and the uncooled disdain of high-ranking air force officers, by March 1942 the first class of five Tuskegee airmen had graduated with their flight wings. Thirteen months later the 99th, commanded by Davis (now a lieutenant colonel) was transferred to North Africa for a tour of combat duty. The squadron—nicknamed “The Lonely Eagles”—was assigned ground-attack and bomber escort roles, and on July 2, 1943, it claimed its first enemy kill when Captain Charles Hall shot down a German Focke Wolfe 190. The success of the 99th led to establishment of the all-black 332nd Fighter Group, consisting of three other Tuskegee-trained squadrons, which served in the Mediterranean theater. Black aircrew were also trained for the 477th Bombardment Group, which flew twin-engine B-25s, but the war ended before they could see combat. In all, 992 pilots trained at Tuskegee during World War II. They flew 1,578 missions, shooting down 251 enemy aircraft without the loss of a single escorted bomber, and won 850 medals. Moreover, their efforts contributed in no small way to the eventual desegregation of the U.S. military in 1949.

Further Reading: Charles Dryden, *A-Train: Memoirs of a Tuskegee Airman*, 1997; Charles Francis, *The Tuskegee Airmen: The Men Who Changed a Nation*, 1997; Robert J. Jakeman, *The Divided Skies: Establishing Segregated Flight Training at Tuskegee, Alabama, 1934–1942*, 1992.

ALAN ALLPORT

TWENTY-SECOND AMENDMENT (1951). President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s sudden death on April 12, 1945, put Harry S. Truman in the presidency. The Twenty-second Amendment, which prevents a president from being elected more than twice, was sent to the states by the Eightieth Congress on March 21, 1947, and took effect on February 26, 1951, when Minnesota became the thirty-sixth state to approve it. Congressional Republicans were determined that no

one would repeat Roosevelt’s breaking of the two-term tradition by being elected to third and fourth terms. A qualifying clause also prevented Truman from running for reelection more than once after the amendment’s adoption. The amendment does allow a president to serve up to ten years in office. Specifically, a vice president who takes over the presidential office and serves fewer than two years may still be reelected twice.

Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s popularity in the 1950s led to a minor attempt to repeal the amendment. That effort ended when he left office in 1961. Initially, there had been some concerns that the amendment would render a president less effective in the last two years of the second term. Such was not the case with Eisenhower. Rising Cold War tensions enabled him to maintain a strong White House presence, and the fears quickly dissipated.

In the early 1990s, at the depths of an economic recession due to the Cold War’s end, the Twenty-second Amendment was cited as a precedent in a national movement to establish Congressional term limits. Growing resentment against incumbents had been fueled by widespread layoffs in defense and other allied industries, as well as competition from foreign imports in the automobile industry. In 1995, however, the Supreme Court struck down all state laws limiting congressional terms, stating that they were unconstitutional because they did not deal with age, residency, or citizenship. The popularity of President Bill Clinton during the middle stages of his second term, especially among minorities and Hollywood celebrities, resulted in minor discussion about repealing the amendment. That, too, abated during his impeachment trial. The vast majority of Americans today accept the two-term limitation as part of the nation’s constitutional process.

Further Reading: William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II*, 1991; Eric F. Goldman, *The Crucial Decade—And After: America, 1945–1960*, 1960; William E. Leuchtenburg, *A Troubled Feast: American Society Since 1945*, 1973.

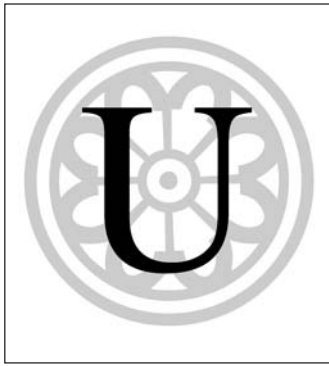
CHARLES F. HOWLETT

UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS (UAW)

American Federation of Labor (AFL) leaders organized the UAW in 1935 at a convention in Detroit, Michigan. The next year the UAW bolted to affiliate with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). In 1937 the UAW coordinated a nationwide effort to unionize autoworkers. That year Ford Motor Company alone among automakers repulsed the UAW, but on April 1, 1941, more than 10,000 employees at Ford's River Rouge complex in Dearborn, Michigan, surrounded the plant with a picket line of cars. Within a week, the UAW had enrolled more than 100,000 Ford workers under a union-shop contract.

Flush with success, the UAW might have pressed its advantage. Instead it abandoned its members at the North American Aviation plant in Inglewood, California. Workers—angry that generous government contracts had not trickled down as wage increases—struck in June 1941 and appealed to UAW headquarters for aid. The National Defense Mediation Board deemed the strike a threat to war mobilization and pressed UAW leaders to condemn the strike as a wildcat (unauthorized) walkout. The UAW succumbed, branding strikers Communist zealots and ordering them back to work. Strikers refused, demonstrating how little influence the UAW had over rank-and-file members when they ignored its plea for solidarity. President Franklin Roosevelt sent 2,500 troops to end the strike. Crestfallen, strikers returned to work convinced that the UAW had betrayed them.

They were not alone in their dissatisfaction with the UAW. Thrice in 1941 African American autoworkers struck Dodge, a division of Chrysler, to protest discrimination on the job and within the UAW, which, they charged, neither promoted them within the union nor pressed their grievances against management. African Americans found themselves second-class citizens within the UAW, an injustice that was too familiar in the United States. In 1943, 3,000 black workers struck Ford's River Rouge



plant over these issues. That year the Ku Klux Klan countered by recruiting 25,000 white UAW members to strike a Packard factory in Detroit when a foreman gave two blacks jobs that whites had held. UAW

President R.J. Thomas belatedly summoned the nerve to condemn the strike and to expel from the UAW workers who remained on strike.

Women fared little better. To be sure, they held more leadership positions within the UAW than did blacks, and in 1944 the UAW convened a conference to draft policy on maternity leave and unemployment compensation for female workers. These policies, however, seldom made a difference in how automakers treated women workers, according to Millie Jeffrey, first head of the UAW Women's Bureau. The UAW voiced only token protest when automakers fired women as the demand for labor fell at the end of World War II.

Yet the war's end reinvigorated the UAW. In 1945 the union fought General Motors (GM) for higher wages without an increase in car prices in hopes of dampening inflation. GM offered a 10 percent wage increase without a commitment on car prices. UAW president Walter P. Reuther rejected the offer, proposed federal arbitration, and asked GM to divulge its World War II profits as evidence that GM, contrary to its claims, could afford to increase wages without increasing prices. Only in 1948 did the UAW and GM reach an accord. GM gave workers a cost-of-living adjustment indexed to inflation and an annual wage increase tied to productivity gains. In return, the UAW conceded GM's right to set car prices. This agreement set the postwar labor-management agenda.

Further Reading: John Barnard, *Walter Reuther and the Rise of the Auto Workers*, 1983; Kevin Boyle, *The UAW and the Heyday of American Liberalism, 1945–1968*, 1998; Martin Glaberman, *Wartime Strikes: The Struggle Against the No-Strike Pledge in the UAW During World War II*, 1980.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

(UMW) The UMW struggled for better wages, improved health care, retirement benefits, and safety protections for coal miners throughout the 1940s. The miners used the strike as the means to compel employers to accept their demands. This tactic enraged both the public and presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, who thought that striking was unpatriotic during the war and bad for the economy in the postwar years. John L. Lewis, the fiery UMW leader, was usually blamed for the strikes, but the miners often went out on their own wildcat strikes, forcing Lewis to find a way to end the conflicts on favorable terms.

In 1943, over a half-million miners went on a series of strikes for better pay and safety in the mines. Urban workers made about \$15.50 a day, but miners made less than half that rate, about \$7.00. The UMW blamed the National War Labor Board (NWLB) for their low wages. In the so-called Little Steel Formula, the NWLB had granted steel workers a modest pay increase that put a cap on wages. The UMW challenged this cap with strikes. When the strikes began in May 1943, President Roosevelt seized the mines and turned over their operation to the secretary of the interior, Harold J. Ickes. To settle the strike, Ickes had to overturn the wage cap set by the NWLB. The UMW began another round of strikes in 1946 to get health care, disability, and retirement plans in all contracts. The government again seized the mines at the orders of President Truman. On May 29, 1946, the secretary of the interior, Julius A. Krug, agreed to an hourly wage increase and a five-cent royalty on each ton of coal that would be used to fund welfare and retirement plans.

The success of the UMW came with increasingly restrictive federal laws. The 1943 Smith-Connally Act allowed the president to seize mines and plants when strikes threatened wartime production. The 1947 Taft-Hartley law included a number of measures that restricted the right to strike. Eventually, the decline in coal production after the war and the introduction of automation in the coal mines meant fewer tons of coal and fewer jobs. With fewer jobs and far less support from the federal government, the UMW had entered a period of decline by the end of the decade.

Further Reading: Melvyn Dubofsky and Warren Van Tine, *John L. Lewis: A Biography*, 1988; Nelson Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home*, 1982; Robert H. Zieger, *John L. Lewis: Labor's Leader*, 1988.

NORMAN E. FRY

UNITED NATIONS (UN) America's refusal to join the League of Nations after World War I prompted Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration to take the lead in establishing a new worldwide collective security system. Shortly after the United States entered World War II, Roosevelt decided that a new international organization should be created. He determined that it should not be part of the peace treaty and that its adoption should be concluded before the war's end, in order to avoid Congressional resistance and the collapse of Allied unity. Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Undersecretary Sumner Welles were the administration's principal leaders in developing the proposal.

On January 1, 1942, twenty-six Allied governments issued the Declaration of the United Nations, drafted by the U.S. State Department. The document called for a postwar general security system and affirmed their commitment to the principles of the Atlantic Charter. On March 16, 1943, a bipartisan Senate team offered a resolution calling for the United States to take the initiative in creating an international peace organization. On June 15, Democrat J. William Fulbright offered a similar proposal in the House. Supported by both houses of Congress, Roosevelt pushed ahead with the idea. On August 21, 1944, Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union consented to the American text of the charter calling for a Security Council, a General Assembly, a Secretariat, and an International Court of Justice. The United Nations name was also chosen.

At Yalta, in February 1945, the finishing touches to the proposed charter were ironed out among Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. On April 25, the United Nations Conference on International Organization met in San Francisco. Secretary of State Thomas T. Stettinius headed the U.S. delegation. Fifty nations debated the new organization's structure, with the powers and procedures of the Security Council prompting the

most heated debates. On June 6, 1945, the big powers closed ranks and agreed on a voting formula stating that no individual Security Council member could prevent consideration and discussion of a dispute or situation brought to its attention.

On June 26, fifty-one nations, now including Poland, signed the United Nations Charter. The United States was the first to ratify, and on October 24, the charter took effect. The UN's principal organs were a General Assembly, composed of all nations that had joined; an Economic and Social Council; a Trusteeship Council to address territories formerly held by the Axis powers; an International Court of Justice; a Secretariat; and an eleven-member Security Council. The latter's five permanent members—the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, France, and China—each had veto power over any proposed resolution. The other six members were elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. The Security Council was the enforcer of UN decisions. It could use partial or complete economic sanctions as well as employing air, sea, and land forces supplied by various nations. How effective the UN's actions were depended solely upon the permanent members' veto in the Security Council. Any one veto could block efforts to impose sanctions, military or otherwise, intended to resolve acts of international aggression.

In January 1946, Trygve Halvdan Lie of Norway was selected as the compromise candidate for the post of secretary-general. The UN's first real test occurred on May 15, 1948. After British withdrawal from Palestine, the first Arab-Israeli War began when Egypt and Transjordan entered Palestine to protect the Arab population and to maintain "security and order." The conflict was finally resolved in February 1949, when the UN brokered an Israeli-Egyptian armistice agreement. A year later, a UN military police action started when North Korea invaded South Korea.

Further Reading: Sydney D. Bailey and Sam Dawer, *The United Nations: A Concise Political Guide*, 1995; Stephen Ryan, *The United Nations and International Politics*, 2000; John D. Stoessinger, *The United Nations and the Superpowers: China, Russia, and America*, 4th ed., 1977.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

UNITED STATES V. CLASSIC (1941). This U.S. Supreme Court decision upheld congressional regulation of primary elections. The basis for the decision was that the electoral system was a unitary process subject to Congress's regulatory powers.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Texas sought to bar African Americans from voting in primaries. The state's Democratic convention established white primaries, based on the 1935 Supreme Court decision in *Grovey v. Townsend*. In that case the Court had upheld color bars, since no state statute specifically authorized color discrimination and because the party convention had inherent power to set up the qualifications of its members. As a consequence, the Texas courts took no action in the matter. Previously, a series of white primary cases, *Nixon v. Herndon* (1927), *Nixon v. Condon* (1932), and *Grovey* (1935), had failed to resolve the issue. Based on these rulings, Texas refused to permit African Americans to vote in primaries. Other southern states followed suit.

In 1941, the Supreme Court settled the issue in *United States v. Classic*. In this ruling, a federal indictment was upheld charging various state officials, who were conducting a primary election under Louisiana law, with willfully altering and falsely counting the ballots. The issue before the Court was whether the rights of qualified voters to participate in the Louisiana primary and to have their ballots counted were rights "secured by the Constitution." The Court concluded that the U.S. Constitution did protect the right in Article 1, Section 2. The result of a primary in the one-party South often determined the result of the general election, even if the latter did not discriminate.

The Supreme Court's opinion found it essential that congressional power over "elections" extend to primaries. In anticipating the argument that a private primary or party convention would not constitute state action, the high court opined that Article 1, Section 2, applied to actions of individuals as well as of states. *Classic* established a needed basis for judicial intervention in the voting process as a means of preventing racial discrimination and protecting voting rights in state party primaries.

Further Reading: Kermit L. Hall, ed., *The Oxford Guide to United States Supreme Court Decisions*, 1999; John E. Nowak, Ronald D. Rotunda, and J. Nelson Young, *Constitutional Law*, 3rd ed., 1986; *United States v. Classic*, 313 U.S. 299, 61 S.Ct. 1031, 1941.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

UNITED STATES v. DARBY (1941). This Supreme Court case dealt specifically with the commerce clause of the U.S. Constitution. The 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act had prescribed maximum hours and minimum wages for workers who manufactured goods for interstate commerce, and prohibited interstate shipment of goods made by workers not employed in compliance with the law. Fred Darby, a lumber manufacturer in Georgia, was charged with violating the act. The district court quashed the indictment, finding the law inapplicable to Darby's employees, who were involved in manufacturing, not interstate commerce. The government appealed the decision.

When the matter reached the Supreme Court, the issue to be decided was whether Congress could establish and enforce wage and hour standards for the manufacture of goods for interstate commerce. The high court reversed the judgment. Chief Justice Harlan Stone, noting the majority opinion, observed that the interstate shipment of manufactured goods is clearly subject to congressional regulation. Stone also pointed out that Congress had adopted the policy of excluding from interstate commerce all goods produced for that commerce that did not conform to the specified labor standards, and thus Congress may choose appropriate means for carrying out that policy. Finally, the Court ruled that the act is directed at the suppression of "unfair" competition in interstate commerce, a valid purpose.

This case overruled *Hammer v. Dagenhart* (1918), in which the Supreme Court had invalidated the child labor law, banning shipment in interstate commerce of goods made by child labor. *Darby* upheld the direct regulation of the hours and wages of employees engaged in the production of goods for interstate shipment. It also upheld the requirement that employers who sold items for interstate commerce keep records of the

hours and wages of all employees. The ruling protected an important New Deal achievement.

Further Reading: Jerome A. Barron and C. Thomas Dienes, *Constitutional Law*, 1986; Robert F. Cushman, *Leading Constitutional Decisions*, 14th ed., 1971; *United States v. Darby*, 312 U.S. 100, 61 S.Ct. 451, 1941.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA (USW) Delegates of the Steelworkers Organizing Committee (SWOC), an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, gathered on May 14, 1942, in Cleveland, Ohio. Clinton S. Golden, chair of the constitution committee issued and the delegates ratified a proposal to rename SWOC the United Steelworkers of America. Three days later the delegates elected Philip Murray president, David J. McDonald secretary-treasurer, and Golden and Van A. Bittner assistants to the president.

The USW faced its first challenge in the Little Steel Formula whereby the National War Labor Board (NWLB) raised wages at U.S. Steel 15 percent above their January 1, 1941, level. Far from boosting wages, the decision merely codified the wage gains that workers in several industries, including steel, had made that spring, signaling that the NWLB would do little to increase real wages for the duration of World War II. To counterbalance the Little Steel Formula, the NWLB mandated a closed shop: universal membership at a unionized workplace. The provision energized the USW, which swept through U.S. Steel and Crucible Steel with more than 90 percent of steelworkers voting to uphold the USW rather than another union as their bargaining unit and thus as their closed shop. In February 1942, the USW won workers a paid vacation, one week for fewer than five years' service and two weeks for five or more years. The USW consolidated its control of metalworkers by merging with the Aluminum Workers of America International Union on January 30, 1944.

The end of World War II restored labor's right to strike. Between January 21 and February 15, 1946, the USW called a nationwide strike of 750,000 steelworkers, winning a wage increase of eighteen and a half cents per hour. Thereafter

negotiations between labor and management shifted to pensions. When neither the Federal Mediation Service nor President Harry S. Truman brokered a settlement, 20,000 Alcoa workers walked off the job on October 1, 1949, in a strike that spread to steel. Bethlehem Steel and U.S. Steel agreed on October 31 and November 11, 1949, respectively, to pay retirees a pension of \$100 per month minus their Social Security pension, which then averaged \$37.50.

Blacks did not always share these gains. In 1949 the USW recruited the Ku Klux Klan to intimidate a local of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union that represented black iron miners in Birmingham, Alabama. The USW, borrowing Cold War rhetoric, justified the tactic by declaring the union a haven for Communists. Racists and anti-Communists flocked to the USW. Bereft of support, the miners' local collapsed under the assault, leaving the USW free to organize white miners.

Further Reading: Paul F. Clark, Peter Gottlieb, and Donald Kennedy, eds., *Forging a Union of Steel: Philip Murray, SWOC and the United Steelworkers*, 1987; Philip W. Nyden, *Steelworkers Rank-and-File: The Political Economy of a Union Reform Movement*, 1984; United Steelworkers of America, Education Department, *Then and Now: The Road Between: The Story of the United Steelworkers of America*, 1974.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

UNIVAC The Universal Automatic Computer (UNIVAC) was the culmination of several innovations during the 1940s that led to the first commercially successful computer. UNIVAC was the brainchild of Dr. John W. Mauchly and his former graduate student, Dr. J. Presper Eckert. The first machine built by Mauchly and Eckert was the Electronic Numeric Integrator and Computer (ENIAC). ENIAC was built to calculate firing and bombing tables for the U.S. Army. The project started in 1942, but was not completed until war's end. However, it was used successfully in 1944–1945 to do extensive calculations for the Manhattan Project's Los Alamos Laboratory in New Mexico. ENIAC was a massive machine that contained 17,468 vacuum tubes, 70,000 resistors, 10,000 capacitors, 1,500 relays, 6,000 manual

switches, and 5 million solder joints. It covered 1,800 square feet of floor space and weighed 30 tons. It could perform 5,000 additions and 357 multiplications in a second, a thousand times faster than any other calculating machine. ENIAC was programmable in name only. It took hours or even days to rewire it to solve another problem. A year later, Mauchly and Eckert founded their own company to build the Binary Automatic Computer (BINAC). This machine used magnetic tape instead of punch cards.

In 1946, the Census Bureau offered a contract to Mauchly and Eckert to build a third computer. The machine cost more than the contract ceiling of \$400,000, but UNIVAC was a marvel of technology compared to ENIAC. It included a stored program concept, compared to the cumbersome wired panels of ENIAC, and a secondary memory on magnetic tape, as compared to the ENIAC's function table and punch cards. Instead of having to rewire for different functions, UNIVAC's input and output included a typewriter, cards, and a printer. UNIVAC was faster than ENIAC, 2.25MHz compared to 60–125 KHz, and did division functions six times faster. The memory size of UNIVAC was 1,000 words compared to ENIAC's twenty words. Yet UNIVAC was much smaller, using only 5,400 vacuum tubes and 352 square feet of floor space. The first UNIVAC, completed in 1951, set the stage for the modern commercial computer of the early twenty-first century. The Census Bureau eventually purchased forty-six UNIVACs from the Remington Rand Corporation, which had bought out Mauchly and Eckert in 1950. The UNIVAC design would bring America into the computer age.

Further Reading: Paul Frieberger and Michael Swaine, *Fire in the Valley: The Making of the Personal Computer*, 2000; Scott McCartney, *ENIAC: The Triumphs and Tragedies of the World's First Computer*, 1999; Michael R. Williams, *A History of Computing Technology*, 1985.

NORMAN E. FRY

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS In 1945, the United Nations (UN) was formally chartered to bolster international peace and prevent conflict. Its member states pledged to promote respect for the human rights of all people

established the Commission on Human Rights, and with the responsibility of drafting a document setting forth the rights and freedoms expressed in the UN's charter. On December 10, 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a formal declaration that for the first time explicitly detailed individual rights and freedoms as being universal.

The thirty articles in the declaration cover the range of human rights. The first two outline the main premise that human beings are equal simply because of the principle of human dignity and, as a result, human rights are universal. Articles three to twenty-one lay out civil and political rights; articles twenty-two to twenty-seven outline the economic, social, and cultural rights to which all humans are entitled; and articles twenty-eight to thirty set out a larger protective framework, ensuring that all human rights will be universally enjoyed. After proclaiming the declaration, the General Assembly urged all member countries to publicize its text.

The declaration grew out of World War II's discrimination, oppression, and crimes against humanity. At the time of the document's adoption, there were fifty-eight UN member states, representing a wide range of political systems, cultures, religions, ideologies, and living standards. This meant that the declaration's authors worked together to create a document reflecting these different viewpoints and traditions and

incorporating common values inherent in the world's principal legal, religious, and philosophical systems. The declaration was adopted overwhelmingly.

The Declaration of Human Rights owed much to the efforts of Eleanor Roosevelt, the driving force behind it. Known for her humanitarianism and compassion, she chaired the UN's Commission on Human Rights. More than anyone else, it was she who wanted a statement that would be recognized by all nations, and she strongly advocated for true universality in it.

The declaration represented the first time that individuals' human rights and freedoms were documented in such detail and it also marked the first international recognition that these rights and freedoms were applicable to every person. This not only made the document historically significant, but also allowed it to endure as a universally accepted standard of achievement for all nations, affecting people's lives and leading to human rights legislation around the world. The Universal Declaration has been translated into 250 languages and is the foundation of international human rights law.

Further Reading: Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, 2002; Paul Lauren, *The Evolution of International Human Rights*, 2003; Johannes Morsink, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Origins, Drafting, and Intent*, 1999.

JUDITH B. GERBER

V-E DAY (May 8, 1945), Allied victory in Europe. After Adolf Hitler's suicide on April 30, 1945, Grand-Admiral Karl Doenitz succeeded as head of the German state. From the outset, Doenitz stalled Germany's inevitable defeat in order to allow German civilians and soldiers fleeing the Russians to surrender instead to the Americans and British. On radio, Doenitz alternated between announcing that the Germans were prepared to join Great Britain and the United States in a fight against Bolshevism and advising his troops to surrender to the Americans and British. General Dwight Eisenhower adamantly maintained that the Germans must surrender unconditionally to the Allies, including the Soviet Union.

Doenitz's first overture was made on May 3, when his emissary Admiral Hans-Georg von Friedeburg offered to negotiate terms for the surrender of troops based in northern Germany, Holland, and Denmark, including those fighting the Soviets, to British field marshal Bernard Montgomery. The following day Montgomery presented a surrender document for the Germans to sign that applied only to the 600,000 troops facing his own command, the Twenty-first Army Group.

On May 5 Friedeburg called on General Eisenhower at his headquarters in Rheims, France. This time Friedeburg attempted to surrender only to the Americans and not the Soviets. Eisenhower curtly refused, threatening to close his lines to German troops and civilians. On May 6 General Alfred Jodl met with Eisenhower's chief of staff, Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith. Maintaining that there would be no negotiation, Smith presented the Germans with a document of unconditional surrender to go into effect on May 8. On the seventh, after reading a short statement asking for "generosity" from the victorious Allies, Jodl signed the surrender in Eisenhower's map room. Eisenhower intended to keep the secret until Germany formally surrendered to the Soviets. At that point, the three Allied powers would jointly announce the demise of Nazi Germany. However, a reporter from the



Associated Press leaked news of the surrender.

Although the capitulation to Eisenhower applied to the Eastern front as well, the Soviets demanded that since they had done the bulk of fighting against the

Germans there should be a formal surrender to them as well. On May 9 Field Marshall Wilhelm Keitel signed the surrender for the Germans in Berlin. This was not a separate surrender but a ratification of the Rheims document. Stalin declared May 9 Victory in Europe Day. Most German units surrendered at the appointed hour. It took two days for the news to reach the surrounded German forces in Bohemia.

While there was near pandemonium in the celebration of V-E Day in London and Moscow, the event was somewhat overshadowed in the United States by the ongoing war against Japan. Only in New York City was there a sense of celebration.

Further Reading: Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, 1948; James Sidney Lucas, *Last Days of the Reich: Collapse of Nazi Germany, May 1945*, 2000; Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*, 1994.

GREGORY DEHLER

V-J DAY (August 15, 1945), Allied victory over Japan. Throughout 1945, the Allies had been successfully rolling back the Japanese empire, moving to within 400 miles of Japan itself. Fearing hundreds of thousands of American casualties if Japan had to be invaded, President Harry S. Truman decided to use the awesome power of the atomic bomb to cow the Japanese into the unconditional surrender demanded by the Potsdam declaration of July 17, 1945. On August 6 the first atomic bomb was detonated over Hiroshima, killing at least 60,000 instantly. Three days later a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, killing at least 30,000. In between the two bombings, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and invaded Manchuria.

On the night of August 9, Emperor Hirohito

presided over a stormy cabinet meeting to discuss Japan's future. Led by the war minister, the hard-liners wanted the government to negotiate an end to the war on the terms that Japan itself not be occupied. Feeling that defeat was inevitable and that further American atomic attacks made resistance futile, a dove faction led by the foreign minister wanted to surrender on the proviso that the emperor as an institution be preserved. With the cabinet unable to come to a consensus, the ministers, in an unprecedented move, asked Hirohito for advice. The emperor tipped the balance on behalf of the doves. The Japanese ambassadors in Sweden and Switzerland communicated to the Allies that their government was prepared to surrender if the emperor would not be deposed.

The American government responded that the Japanese Emperor would be subject to the surrender, but that the institution itself would survive. On the night of August 15, Emperor Hirohito recorded a statement announcing the unconditional surrender of Japan. That evening a small group of officers attempted to overthrow the government and destroy the recordings, but was crushed by forces loyal to the emperor. The following day, Hirohito's recording was played on Japanese radio, the first time ever his voice was carried over the airwaves. In the United States, Truman announced the surrender of Japan and appointed General Douglas MacArthur commander of the occupation forces. One week later U.S. troops began arriving in Japan. Over 7 million Japanese soldiers and sailors became prisoners of war. On September 2, 1945, a formal surrender was signed by representatives of the Japanese government aboard the USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay.

Unlike V-E Day, V-J Day was marked by extensive celebrations throughout the United States. Jubilant Americans honked their automobile horns, rang church bells, set bonfires, threw confetti, and conducted parades. Servicemen even grabbed women they did not know and kissed them, becoming the visual symbol that Americans most associate with the end of World War II.

Further Reading: Jim B. Smith and Malcolm McConnell, *The Last Mission: The Secret Story of World War II's Final Battle*, 2002; Gerhard Weinberg, *A World*

at Arms: A Global History of World War II, 1994; Thomas Zeiler, *Unconditional Defeat: Japan, America and the End of World War II*, 2004.

GREGORY DEHLER

VANDENBERG, ARTHUR HENDRICK (March 22, 1884–April 18, 1951), U.S. senator. Born in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Vandenberg studied law, became editor of the *Grand Rapids Herald*, and entered Republican politics. In 1928 he won election to the U.S. Senate, a position he held until death. His domestic policy position evolved throughout the 1930s. He generally supported the New Deal in 1933 and 1934. As the decade continued, however, his opposition grew; by its end, Vandenberg helped lead the conservative coalition that successfully thwarted many of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's domestic proposals.

Vandenberg's foreign policy views underwent an even greater series of transformations. An ardent proexpansion nationalist who endorsed the diplomatic initiatives of President Theodore Roosevelt, Vandenberg opposed President Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy until the United States entered World War I. Upon the conflict's conclusion, Vandenberg favored Senate ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and American participation in the League of Nations. The European turmoil of the 1930s moved Vandenberg toward isolationism and made him a champion of neutrality legislation.

His isolationist position again changed during World War II. He emerged as an architect of an internationalist and bipartisan foreign policy based on consensus among the president, congressional leaders, and the State Department. In a widely reported and critically acclaimed speech on January 10, 1945, Vandenberg outlined his postwar objectives and strongly endorsed creation of the United Nations. A delighted Roosevelt, wanting to avoid Wilson's mistake of excluding senators and Republicans from the peacemaking process, appointed Vandenberg to serve at the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco from April through June 1945. The gathering drafted the organization's charter.

Serving with Vandenberg was first lady Eleanor Roosevelt. They developed a close working relationship, both advocating international cooperation for world peace and recognizing that the United States would have to assume bold leadership in world affairs. Together, they symbolized the bipartisanship that marked U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War's early years. Vandenberg died in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Further Reading: Obituary in *New York Times*, April 19, 1951; C. David Tompkins, *Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg: The Evolution of a Modern Republican, 1884–1945*, 1970; Arthur H. Vandenberg Papers, Michigan Historical Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

LEONARD SCHLUP

VENEREAL DISEASE Venereal disease is a category of diseases that derives its name from Venus, the Roman goddess of love, demonstrating that the ancients connected these diseases with sex. This connection tainted venereal disease with immorality and irresponsibility in puritanical America. No wonder a Gallup Poll in 1940 revealed that 46 percent of respondents feared syphilis, a venereal disease, as the greatest threat to public health. During the 1940s the United States averaged 220,000 new cases of syphilis and gonorrhea a year, with a peak of 373,296 cases in 1947.

Then as now, more Americans suffered from gonorrhea than syphilis. Women are three times more likely than men to contract gonorrhea, which can cause infertility, arthritis, and blindness. Although gonorrhea is not fatal, it leaves victims more vulnerable to bacterial infections, such as pneumonia, which can be. In contrast, syphilis is a strange and at times deadly affliction. Two-thirds of those infected with the bacterium that causes syphilis develop no symptoms, but syphilis does not spare the other third. The bacteria attack the valves of the vascular system, including those of the heart. The aortic valve, which bridges the left ventricle and the aorta, the largest artery, is particularly vulnerable. Valve deterioration allows blood to flow back into the ventricle, causing death from heart failure. Were this fate not horrible enough, syphilis bacteria also attack the central nervous system, including the

brain, causing insanity and deterioration in the control of movement and the function of organs. In 1940 perhaps 10 percent of patients in mental institutions had undiagnosed syphilis.

Given the prevalence of gonorrhea and lethality of syphilis, the U.S. military tried during World War II to eradicate venereal disease among its troops. The military launched a program featuring posters linking patriotism and chastity and statistics that tallied the dead and insane in order to frighten GIs into good behavior. For their part, soldiers paid scant attention to the warnings. The failure of moral suasion led the military to round up prostitutes wherever it stationed servicemen. Physicians protested that the suppression of prostitution might lead troops to vent their urges in rape and homosexuality. In any case, the military found more to fear from “victory girls”—young women who considered promiscuity with GI’s patriotic—than prostitutes because servicemen had sex with local women more than with prostitutes. While senior commanders loudly excoriated these victory girls, they quietly distributed condoms to their soldiers, sailors, and marines.

During the 1940s the U.S. Public Health Service launched a program to identify and treat those with venereal disease, recording in 1949 a country and western song that warned against the fate of “a cowboy who’s dead, lame, or blind.” Many Americans adopted a sanctimonious attitude, blaming venereal disease on a lack of morality or self-control. In their view the best check against venereal disease was moral instruction in the home and at church.

The production of penicillin, the first antibiotic, in large quantities in 1943 shifted the debate from morality to medicine. Penicillin kills the bacteria that cause gonorrhea and syphilis. Why should a soldier regret a night of debauchery when he could get a shot of penicillin as a precaution next morning? The cavalier use of penicillin, however, could only fail. In a population of billions of syphilis or gonorrhea bacteria, the genetic luck of the draw leaves a few immune to penicillin. These immune bacteria reproduce by cell division, passing this immunity to offspring. From the exponential growth in the number of these bacteria arose penicillin-resistant

strains of syphilis and gonorrhea. The ancient diseases of Venus have withstood the assault of modern medicine.

Further Reading: Allan M. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States Since 1880*, 1985; J. Dennis Fortenberry and Lawrence S. Neinstein, *Syphilis*, 2002; *Professional Guide to Disease*, 2001.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

VENONA, code name of a classified military intelligence project to decrypt messages sent between Moscow and Soviet diplomatic missions in the United States. One of the best-kept Cold War secrets, VENONA was not made public until 1995, after the Soviet Union's implosion. When World War II opened in Europe, the Roosevelt administration decided to routinely copy all outgoing diplomatic traffic, even though most of the messages were encoded and unreadable. In 1943 Colonel Carter Clarke, Chief of the U.S. Army's Special Branch, authorized an attempt to break the Soviet code to determine whether Joseph Stalin was considering a separate peace with Adolph Hitler. Although World War II saw the development of highly sophisticated encoding devices such as the famous German Enigma machines, the Soviets relied on a more labor-intensive system using one-time pads that produced a virtually unbreakable code.

Soviet agents encoded their messages using a standard code book that turned words into blocks of letters. The one-time pads added an additional level of encryption by substituting random groups of letters for the standard code blocks. Only someone with an identical code pad could decipher the message. Each sheet on a one-time pad was to be destroyed after a single use but wartime shortages of code pads forced the Soviets to reuse their pads resulting in the repetition of code groups. Repetition of symbols is the key to breaking any code and it enabled Clarke's specialists to decrypt thousands of the cables. Even with the Soviet error the task proved so difficult that the first messages were not rendered into readable text until 1946. By then, the project's original purpose had become academic. Yet the Cold War's arrival gave the decryptions a new cogency

and worsened an already deteriorating relationship. They revealed existence of an extensive Soviet espionage apparatus in the United States, and the active participation of hundreds of American citizens therein. Altogether the cables contained coded references to 349 Americans who provided the Soviets with information on diplomatic, economic, and military activities. The cables contained sufficient contextual information to permit positive identification of a number of individuals, among them State Department official Alger Hiss, Treasury Department assistant secretary Harry Dexter White, presidential aide Lauchlin Currie, and a host of spies associated with the Manhattan Project. They included Julius Rosenberg, David Greenglass, Klaus Fuchs, and Theodore Alvin Hall. More frightening were the more than 200 who could not be identified. This group included agents in the Office of Strategic Services, the Navy, the White House, and two more to this day, unidentified spies at Los Alamos. The army imposed tight security on the VENONA project, restricting the number of officials with access to the intelligence data and carefully disguising the source of the information.

As a result of the VENONA revelations, the Truman administration instituted its controversial loyalty oath program and the FBI arrested a number of the spies named in the cables. Unfortunately the need to keep VENONA secret from the Soviet Union meant that only cases where additional evidence of espionage existed could be prosecuted. Because of this, the case against the Rosenbergs appeared terribly insubstantial and the case against Alger Hiss rested almost entirely on the testimony of the disreputable Whittaker Chambers. No corroborating evidence existed against Theodore Alvin Hall, allowing him to escape prosecution and move to England; he was not publicly identified as a spy until 1997. Some authorities believe that the decision to keep VENONA a secret contributed to the polarization of the Cold War and Red Scare, as the public could not fully evaluate the Soviet threat or the true nature of domestic Communism without the unambiguous facts revealed in the decoded cables. Had VENONA been made public, they believe that much of the subsequent divisive

debate over the motives behind the Red Scare, the Truman loyalty oath program, and the guilt of the Rosenbergs could have been avoided.

Further Reading: John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America*, 1999; Herbert Romerstein and Eric Breindel, *The Venona Secrets: Exposing Soviet Espionage and America's Traitors*, 2000; Nigel West, *Venona: The Greatest Secret of the Cold War*, 2001.

VERNON L. PEDERSEN

VICTORY PARADES AND CELEBRATIONS

From the time the United States entered World War II in December 1941, keeping the home-front morale high was a priority for all levels of government. For instance, the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) encouraged women and children to get involved in the war effort through rationing and nationwide scrap drives for tin, steel, pots and pans, used oil, newspaper, and rubber. To keep Americans motivated for the duration, small victory celebrations were often held in conjunction with these drives.

Organized bond drives were another way to keep morale high. Countless war bond rallies and shows featured celebrities selling war bonds and exhibits of the weapons and other equipment that war bonds were supplying to the troops. One of the biggest was a 1943 "Nature of the Enemy" exhibition designed by the Office of War Information. The display was installed along the plaza of Rockefeller Center in New York City. There were also many "United for Victory" or "Victory" rallies held in large and small cities. At these events, bands played, "war heroes" paraded, and general morale boosting went on.

As the fighting ended, Americans celebrated two different victory days: V-E Day (Victory in Europe), May 8, 1945, and V-J Day (Victory in Japan), August 14, 1945. V-E Day celebrations were somewhat subdued because the war with Japan still continued. President Harry S. Truman requested that Americans refrain from celebrating in order to focus on the task ahead in the Pacific. Most ignored his request, instead breaking out into spontaneous celebrations. In New York City, over 15,000 police were mobilized to deal with the crowds that filled Times Square,

comparable to crowds at New Year's Eve. Revelers tooted horns, staged impromptu parades, and filled Wall Street's skies with confetti.

There were also organized gatherings. By far, the largest V-E Day victory parades took place in New York City, where thousands of troops marched down Fifth Avenue, complete with tanks. Other major victory celebrations occurred in San Francisco, Hawaii, and Baltimore, all complete with marching soldiers, bands, and floats.

On August 15, 1945, when the war finally ended, all across the United States people began throwing impromptu celebrations on the streets, with hugs and kisses, dancing and singing, and car horns tooting the Morse code for the letter V. The Times Square celebrations were even bigger than on V-E Day.

Further Reading: Paul Casdorff, *Let The Good Times Roll: Life at Home in America During WWII*, 1989; Stan Cohen, *V for Victory: America's Home Front During World War II*, 1991; Jonathan Harris, *Homefront: America During World War II*, 1984.

JUDITH B. GERBER

VINSON, FREDERICK MOORE (January 22, 1890–September 8, 1953), U.S. Supreme Court chief justice. Vinson was born in Louisa, Kentucky. He earned his BA from Centre College, Kentucky, in 1909 and an LLB from Centre in 1911. From 1924 to 1928 and 1930 to 1937, he served in Congress. There he served on the House Ways and Means Committee, earning distinction as a tax and fiscal authority. In December 1937, President Franklin Roosevelt appointed him an associate justice of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. He sat there from May 1938 to May 1943.

On May 27, 1943, he resigned from the court in order to direct the Office of Economic Stabilization from 1943 to 1945. He served briefly as federal loan administrator and as director of the Office of War Mobilization before becoming secretary of the Treasury from 1945 to 1946. In that capacity he oversaw the transition to a peacetime economy. In March 1946, Vinson chaired the Savannah conference that implemented the provisions of the Bretton Woods agreements.

That same year, President Harry S. Truman nominated Vinson as chief justice of the Supreme Court. Deep ideological divisions, marked by the dispute between justices Robert Jackson and Hugo Black, hampered the Court's effectiveness. Some on the Court, like Black, looked down on Jackson because he had never gone to law school. Some felt intellectually superior to him, and demonstrated such in their dealings with him. Vinson's ability to get along with people was the reason Truman had selected him. Vinson inherited a Court dominated by intellectual giants and prima donnas such as Black, Felix Frankfurter, and Jackson. Vinson was not in their league. The Vinson Court, annually, decided only half the cases of the Hughes Court (1930–1941). Vinson wrote relatively few important opinions himself. During these years, questions involving individual liberties, civil rights, and the relationship between governmental regulation and private enterprise occupied the Court's attention. Vinson frequently found himself on the minority side of decisions, especially the 1952 *Youngstown Sheet and Tube v. Sawyer*, in which he supported presidential authority regarding labor matters. He wrote his share of dissents, averaging thirteen per Court term, which did little to heal the division. During his first term, 36 percent of the Court's decisions were unanimous; by 1952 the percentage dropped to 19.

Vinson died suddenly in Washington, DC. He had written several significant decisions concerning internal security legislation, particularly *American Communications v. Douds* (1950) and *Dennis v. United States* (1951). On civil rights issues he wrote the Court's unanimous opinions in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950), and *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950).

Further Reading: Clare Cushman, ed., *The Supreme Court Justices*, 1993; Lisa Paddock, *Facts About the Supreme Court of the United States of America*, 1996; Melvin Urofsky, *Division and Discord: The Supreme Court Under Stone and Vinson, 1941–1953*, 1997.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

VON BRAUN, WERNHER (March 23, 1912–June 16, 1977), engineer and physicist. Born in Wirsitz, East Prussia, now Poland, into the

aristocratic Junker class, von Braun received in 1932 a BS in mechanical engineering and aircraft construction from the Berlin-Charlottenburg Institute of Technology. In 1934 he earned a PhD in physics from the University of Berlin. The German army hired von Braun, while still a graduate student, to develop long-range rockets. American physicist Robert Goddard had in 1926 launched the first liquid-fuel rocket, leaving to von Braun and others the task of increasing its range and precision. The advent of World War II complicated matters, for Adolf Hitler and his generals vacillated on how much money to apportion among conventional armaments, rocketry, and atomic weapon development.

Von Braun was never part of Hitler's cabal, though he did join the Nazi Party in 1937 and the Schutzstaffel (SS) in 1940. He would later claim to have done so solely for career advancement. Von Braun denied any interest in developing rockets as weapons, instead reminiscing over his pleasure at having received at age twelve a telescope from his mother. His interest in rocketry stemmed from science rather than savagery. The purity of these motives is difficult to square with his ties to the Nazis, his leadership in developing five types of rockets for the German army, and his supervision of the concentration camp prisoners who built them. The degree of von Braun's complicity in the mistreatment and murder of prisoners remains open.

On October 2, 1942, von Braun launched the V-2, a rocket that carried a 2,200-pound warhead and ranged 500 miles. The German army fired the V-2 on September 6, 1944, on Paris, and two days later the first of more than 1,000 against Britain. Less accurate than today's precision-guided munitions, the V-2 nonetheless alarmed the United States and Britain, who feared a nuclear attack by rockets should the Nazis develop an atomic bomb. Von Braun surrendered to the U.S. army in April 1945. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, assured that von Braun's ties to the Nazis were a matter of expedience rather than ideology, ordered the scientist's transfer to the United States on June 20. The army stationed him that September at Fort Bliss, Texas, as director of its rocketry program. Under his leadership, the Jet Propulsion Laboratory launched on February 24, 1949,

a two-stage rocket that soared 250 miles above Earth, a record to that date.

Von Braun became a naturalized citizen in 1955, joined the National Aeronautics and Space Administration as director of the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Alabama, in 1960 and rose to deputy associate administrator for planning in 1970.

He died in Alexandria, Virginia.

Further Reading: Norman Longmate, *Hitler's Rockets: The Story of the V-2s*, 1985; Ray Spangenburg and Diane K. Moser, *Wernher von Braun: Space Visionary and Rocket Engineer*, 1994; Ernst Stuhlinger and Frederick I. Ordway, *Wernher von Braun, Crusader for Space: A Biographical Memoir*, 1994.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

VON NEUMANN, JOHN (December 28, 1903–February 8, 1957), mathematician and scientist. Born Neumann Janes in Budapest, Hungary, he contributed to many of the major accomplishments of the twentieth century, including the atomic bomb, the computer, and economic game theory. His early work in Germany involved the birth of quantum mechanics in the mid-1920s, when he helped develop the mathematical framework of the theory.

In 1933, he immigrated to the United States to join the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS) at Princeton, where he worked as Albert Einstein's assistant. During World War II, von Neumann became the top theoretical expert on explosives in the United States. Through his efforts for the Manhattan Project, he contributed to the creation of the atomic bomb. His military work took him to the army's Ballistic Research Laboratory at Aberdeen, Maryland, where he served as a consultant and later sat on its scientific advisory board. Through this work, he participated in discussions with staff at the University of Pennsylvania working on the Electronic Numeric Integrator and Computer (ENIAC) project. In 1945, he drafted a report on this project that defined the key elements of a digital computer and the "stored-program" concept, which was implemented in EDVAC (Electronic Discrete Variable Computer). At the IAS, partly with U.S. government funds and partly with Radio Corpora-

tion of America (RCA) funds, he led a team that built the first digital computer capable of parallel processing—that is, able to perform calculations simultaneously rather than serially. Von Neumann's IAS computer served as a prototype for many early computers. He developed MANIAC (mathematical analyzer, numerical integrator and computer)—the fastest computer of its kind at the time—that supplied computations crucial to hydrogen bomb development in 1952.

Von Neumann also contributed to economics through creation of several tools and methods that changed the field. In 1944, he coauthored *The Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* with Oskar Morgenstern, which, along with two papers by John Nash (also at IAS), became the foundation for game theory. Game theory emerged from the study of strategic decision making. The standard problems of economic behavior were equated with mathematical notions of games of strategy. Game theory was one of the first applications of complex mathematical analysis to the social sciences.

After the war, von Neumann, unlike many of his scientific colleagues, advocated the development of a nuclear deterrence against the Soviet Union. Considered "hawkish," he maintained good relationships with the military. He served on the Atomic Energy Commission from 1955 until his death in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: William Aspray, *John von Neumann and the Origins of Modern Computing*, 1990; William Aspray and Arthur Burks, eds., *Papers of John von Neumann on Computing and Computer Theory*, 1987; Norman Macrae, *John von Neumann: The Scientific Genius Who Pioneered the Modern Computer, Game Theory, Nuclear Deterrence, and Much More*, 1999.

LINDA EIKMEIER ENDERSBY

VOORHIS ACT (1940). During the late 1930s, responding to fears of alleged subversive activities, a congressional committee headed by Martin Dies of Texas conducted a series of hearings on activities of left-wing organizations. For nearly a decade, the Great Depression had provided fertile ground for groups critical of capitalism.

In 1937, California sent Horace Jeremiah (Jerry) Voorhis to the Seventy-Fifth Congress.

He had previously worked in Upton Sinclair's End Poverty in California (EPIC) program, but left because he suspected Communist influence among EPIC and disapproved. On February 8, 1939, Voorhis, a liberal Democrat, joined Dies's House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). His appointment was an attempt to ameliorate the committee's right-wing nature. Of the seven members, four—Democrats Dies and Joe Starnes of Alabama and Republicans J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey and Noah Mason of Illinois—were ultraconservatives. Voorhis was perturbed that HUAC conducted extensive and often acrimonious investigations of left-wing groups while choosing to ignore the Ku Klux Klan. His experiences with EPIC led to his willingness to investigate Communist-front groups. Voorhis was the last liberal to remain on the committee. He resigned on February 16, 1943, replaced by Richard M. Nixon.

Voorhis's major achievement was the Voorhis Act, which required organizations advocating violent overthrow of the government to register

with the attorney general. The law applied to groups officially representing as well as those financed or indirectly controlled by foreign governments. The statute also required registration of paramilitary groups. Unlike the later Smith Act, passed prior to America's entrance into World War II, the Voorhis Act attached no criminal penalties to membership in these organizations.

The law lacked the necessary teeth to compel subversive groups to register. Most such groups simply ignored it. But Voorhis's real purpose was not to persecute or drive such organizations underground. Steadfast in his libertarianism, Voorhis naively believed that totalitarian and violent movements would be completely rejected by the American public if subjected to scrutiny. He hoped that exposure of such groups would help prevent America from drifting into the European war.

Further Reading: Paul Bullock, *Jerry Voorhis, the Idealist Politician*, 1978; Walter Goodman, *The Committee*, 1964; Ellen Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents*, 1994.

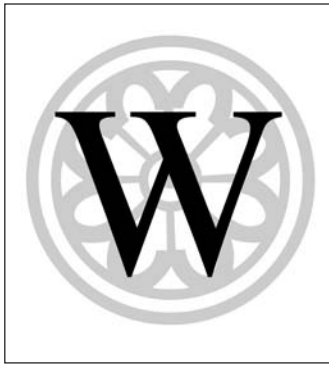
CHARLES F. HOWLETT

WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

In 1941, even before the United States entered World War II, the federal government, increasingly concerned about rising inflation, placed a ceiling on wages and prices. President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an executive order establishing the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply (OPACS) on April 11. In August the civilian supply function was transferred to the Office of Production Management and the OPACS became known simply as the Office of Price Administration (OPA). On January 30, 1942, the Emergency Price Control Act was passed to specify the agency's duties and purposes: stabilizing prices and rents; preventing profiteering, hoarding, and speculation; assuring that excessive prices did not dissipate defense appropriations; protecting people with fixed incomes; assisting in securing adequate production; and preventing a postemergency collapse of values.

Based on experiences during World War I, the government believed that tight economic controls were the only way to curb these problems. Rationing alone was not enough, because that would cause more inflation. As a result, the OPA began fixing price ceilings in April 1942, and issued a regulation setting prices at March 1942 levels. Price ceilings were placed on all commodities except farm products; rents in defense areas were also controlled. Food prices were the most heavily regulated. At the time they represented 40 percent of the consumer price index. Containing them was considered vital to restraining inflation. Eventually 90 percent of retail food prices were frozen during the war years. Price ceilings contributed to increased shortages, however. As a result, the rationing of goods became one of the key components of the victory effort. In 1942, this task was also given to the OPA.

The War Production Board was the body that determined which commodities were scarce and the amount that each civilian should get of each commodity. The OPA had autonomy in running the nation's rationing program, including setting regulations. The OPA created ration boards in



every county, some 8,000 nationwide, issued war ration books for every member of every household. They contained ration stamps that were validated as items were rationed.

The combination of price ceilings, rationing, and shortages led to black market trading of desired commodities, especially gasoline and meat. Therefore the OPA developed propaganda posters encouraging people to pay no more than ceiling prices. The posters bore such slogans as "Don't Feed Black Market Greed," "Pay Your Points in Full," and "Report Over Ceiling Prices to the OPA." Violating OPA regulations brought strict penalties, including a maximum of one year's imprisonment and a \$5,000 fine.

Over the course of the war, rubber; tires; automobiles; gasoline; sugar; coffee; meat; butter; canned, frozen, and dried fruit and vegetables; cheese; and processed foods were all rationed. Nearly one-third of civilian food items were parceled out. Rationing ended when the war did, and the OPA was abolished in April 1947.

Further Reading: Stan Cohen, *America's Home Front During World War II*, 1991; W.A. Nielander, *Wartime Food Rationing in the United States*, 1947; Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America During World War II*, 2000.

JUDITH B. GERBER

WAGNER, ROBERT FERDINAND (June 8, 1877–May 4, 1953), U.S. senator. Wagner was born in Nastatten, in Germany's Rhineland, and his family immigrated to the United States in 1886. He graduated from City College of New York and the law school at New York University. Thereafter, he combined a successful law practice with Democratic Party politics. Al Smith was a partner in both activities.

Wagner was elected to the New York Assembly as a Democrat. He led his party on the path to progressivism, directing it toward the New Deal and the activist state. Regulation of public utilities, home rule, and direct election of senators were just a few of his successful issues. A champion of organized labor, Wagner led the

legislative fight for labor reform, working to prevent another horror such as the Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire, a 1911 sweatshop tragedy in which 146 of 500 employees—mostly women and some as young as fifteen—perished in flames, many jumping to their deaths from the ninth floor. Safety, women in industry, and child labor became significant reform issues associated with Wagner's name.

Elected to the state supreme court, Wagner defended organized labor. He was urged by fellow Democrats to run for the U.S. Senate in 1926 and succeeded. He won three subsequent reelections by wide margins. With the advent of the Great Depression, Wagner became one of Washington's most active reformers. He introduced more legislation than any senator in American history. In Congress, he was Mr. New Deal: all the administration's major laws reflected his influence. He is best remembered for the Wagner Act of 1935, which encouraged labor to organize, and the Social Security Act.

In foreign policy, Wagner early recognized the evils of Hitler's Germany and warned the American people. Wagner was a Wilsonian internationalist who sought to prevent war by promoting justice. To Wagner, freedom and security were global issues. After the war he supported full employment, civil rights, and President Harry Truman's Fair Deal, including the establishment of Israel.

Wagner died in New York City.

Further Reading: Melvin Dubofsky, *The State and Labor in Modern America*, 1994; J. Joseph Huthmacher, *Senator Robert F. Wagner and the Rise of Urban Liberalism*, 1968; Robert F. Wesser, *A Response to Progressivism: The Democratic Party and New York Politics*, 1986.

DONALD K. PICKENS

WAINWRIGHT, JONATHAN M. (August 2, 1883–September 3, 1953), American general. Born in Walla Walla, Washington, to a military family, Wainwright graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1906. When World War II broke out in 1939, he was a brigadier general commanding the First Cavalry Brigade.

In February 1940, as hostilities increased, Wainwright was assigned to the Philippines and

given command of forces on Luzon. In September he was placed in command of all ground forces in the Philippines. When the Japanese invaded in November 1941, Wainwright's forces were no match for the experienced enemy, and the Americans retreated to prepared positions on the Bataan Peninsula, which controlled the entrance to Manila. In February 1942 Wainwright succeeded General MacArthur upon the latter's evacuation to Australia. The following month, Wainwright was promoted to lieutenant general. His skillful withdrawal and dogged resistance became symbols in the United States of national determination in the face of a ruthless, bloodthirsty enemy.

Unfortunately, time was on Japan's side. A large influx of refugees rapidly drained American food supplies. In April 1942 Wainwright pulled what troops he could to the Corregidor island fortress at the base of the Bataan Peninsula. On May 5, 1942, after nearly thirty days of heavy bombardment, Japanese forces made a beachhead on Corregidor. Faced with a painful choice, Wainwright decided that further resistance was futile and surrendered his forces to the Japanese the following day. His 76,000 Filipino and American troops constituted the largest captured force in U.S. military history. Wainwright issued a call for all American forces in the Philippines to surrender, and fighting ceased in June. With his troops, Wainwright made the horrific trek known as the Bataan Death March. Over the next three years, he was a prisoner of war in Luzon, Formosa, China, and Manchuria. In August 1945 he was liberated by the Soviet Army.

Throughout his term as a prisoner of war, Wainwright had no idea how he would be received by his country after the war. He was pleasantly surprised to be welcomed back a hero. On September 2, 1945, he was on board the USS *Missouri* to witness the surrender of Japan. Later he went to the Philippines to accept the resignation of Japanese forces there. Wainwright was promoted to full general and when he returned to the United States he received the Medal of Honor. After serving as commander of the Fourth Army, Wainwright retired in 1947. He died in San Antonio, Texas, and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

Further Reading: John Jacob Beck, *MacArthur and Wainwright: Sacrifice in the Philippines*, 1974; Duane P. Schultz, *Hero of Bataan: The Story of Jonathan M. Wainwright*, 1981; Jonathan M. Wainwright, *General Wainwright's Story*, 1946.

GREGORY DEHLER

WAKSMAN, SELMAN ABRAHAM (July 22, 1888–August 16, 1973), microbiologist. Waksman was born in Pryluky, Ukraine. With the aid of private tutors he received a diploma from the Fifth Gymnasium in Odessa, Ukraine. That year he immigrated to the United States. The next year he enrolled in Rutgers University, where he received a BS in agriculture in 1915 and an MS in 1916. He received a PhD in biochemistry in 1918 from the University of California, Berkeley.

Waksman concentrated his research on actinomycetes, a class of soil microbe. From this class he isolated, in 1940, actinomycin, which, like penicillin, was toxic to several strains of bacteria. In laboratory trials, Waksman discovered that actinomycin was toxic to animals as well, disqualifying it as treatment for bacterial infections in humans. In 1941 he coined the term *antibiotic* for any substance toxic to bacteria. Between 1942 and 1948 he discovered five additional antibiotics, among them streptomycin in 1943.

Unlike actinomycin, streptomycin was safe for human use. Like penicillin, it killed a range of bacteria. Yet streptomycin was no penicillin clone. It was the first antibiotic effective against tuberculosis. The discovery of streptomycin won Waksman the 1952 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine.

In 1919, Rutgers appointed him lecturer in the College of Agriculture and microbiologist at the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station (NJAES), the college's research arm. He rose to associate professor in 1925, professor in 1930, chair of the microbiology department in 1940, and director of Rutgers's Institute of Microbiology in 1949.

The emphasis on practical science at the land-grant colleges, of which Rutgers was one, and the agricultural experiment stations might have

steered Waksman toward research that benefited farmers. Yet he charted his own agenda by using funds from the Adams Act, which Congress had passed in 1906, to free scientists at the experiment stations to do research without the demand of immediate utility to farmers.

In addition to his research at Rutgers and the NJAES, Waksman, in 1931, organized a department of marine bacteriology at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution in Woods Hole, Massachusetts. There he served as marine bacteriologist until 1942, when he became trustee of the institution. A prolific writer, he authored or co-authored eighteen books and more than 400 journal articles.

Waksman held honorary degrees from universities in Greece, Spain, Germany, Israel, Italy, and Japan, and belonged to scientific societies in the United States, Denmark, the Netherlands, Canada, Sweden, Italy, Japan, Israel, Spain, and Turkey. In 1950 French premier Charles de Gaulle appointed Waksman commander of the French Legion d'Honneur, and in 1952 a poll listed him as one of the world's 100 outstanding people.

Waksman died in Hyannis, Massachusetts.

Further Reading: Sebastian G.B. Amyes, *Magic Bullets, Lost Horizons: The Rise and Fall of Antibiotics*, 2001; Eric M. Scholar, *The Antimicrobial Drugs*, 2000; John Simmons, *Doctors and Discoveries: Lives That Created Today's Medicine*, 2002.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

WALLACE, HENRY AGARD (October 7, 1888–November 18, 1965), secretary of agriculture and vice president of the United States. Born on a farm near Orient, Iowa, Wallace was the son of Henry Cantwell Wallace, secretary of agriculture from 1921 to 1924. After graduating from Iowa State College in 1910, Wallace worked for his family's magazine, *Wallace's Farmer*, holding the editorial position from 1921 until 1929.

Breaking with the Republican Party in the late 1920s over high protective tariffs, Wallace in 1932 supported the successful presidential campaign of Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt. The following year Roosevelt appointed him secretary of agriculture. In office until 1940, Wallace

promoted a reconstruction of the American agricultural system. With his keen, wide-ranging mind and endorsement of various social and economic policies, he appealed to numerous groups, including liberal intellectuals and farmers. Others viewed him as an impractical radical. In 1940 Roosevelt chose Wallace as his third-term running mate, and the ticket won handily.

As vice president, Wallace envisioned a “Century of the Common Man” consisting of domestic reform, the destruction of imperialism, the abolition of restrictions on trade, high standards of living, and an international organization. Eleanor Roosevelt, among several New Dealers, favored Wallace as the president’s successor, but scores of conservatives, southern Democrats, and traditional partisans opposed his elevation, seeing Wallace as a political menace. Dropped from the Democratic ticket in 1944 to strengthen party harmony, Wallace loyally backed the Roosevelt-Truman team. The president thereupon appointed Wallace secretary of commerce, a post he held from 1945 to 1946.

In the postwar era, Wallace refused to equate Stalin with Hitler, criticized what he perceived as the militarization of American foreign policy, and urged peace. Truman ordered Wallace to cease talking about foreign policy. Believing Wallace to be a pacifist and dreamer, Truman dismissed him. Wallace, as an outsider, continued to attack containment, the Truman Doctrine, and the Marshall Plan as products of Wall Street and an imperialistic military establishment.

In 1948 Wallace campaigned as the Progressive Party’s candidate for president on a platform endorsing Soviet-American cooperation and condemning Truman’s policies. Emphasizing foreign policy while not neglecting civil rights in his speeches in northern and southern states, Wallace crisscrossed the country enunciating his views while opponents argued that Communists controlled his political organization. On election day Wallace, together with Glen Hearst Taylor of Idaho, the party’s vice presidential nominee, garnered 1,157,057 popular votes but carried no states. Wallace’s defeat in 1948 ended his political career. He devoted the remainder of his life to scientific experiments on his New York farm. Wallace died in Danbury, Connecticut.

Further Reading: John Blum, ed., *The Price of Vision: The Diary of Henry A. Wallace, 1942–1946*, 1973; Norman D. Markowitz, *The Rise and Fall of the People’s Century: Henry A. Wallace and American Liberalism, 1941–1948*, 1973; John Maze, *Henry A. Wallace: His Search for a New World Order*, 1995.

LEONARD SCHLUP

WALTON COUNTY (GEORGIA) LYNCHING OF 1946 One of the most notorious lynchings of the 1940s, the Walton County or Moore’s Ford lynching remains unsolved today. On July 25, 1946, two African American couples—George and Mae Murray Dorsey and Dorothy and Roger Malcom—were brutally attacked and murdered by a large mob of unmasked white men in broad daylight at the Moore’s Ford Bridge, which spans the Appalachian River between Georgia’s Walton and Oconee Counties.

The incident grew out of situations general and specific. Gubernatorial elections were taking place and, for the first time since 1891, blacks could vote. Candidate Eugene Talmadge had campaigned on a racist platform, and tensions were high. Closer to home, Roger Malcom suspected that his wife, Dorothy, was having an affair with Barrette Hester, a local white landlord farmer. On July 14, 1946, Roger Malcom was agitated by Dorothy’s behavior and went to get her at Hester’s farm. During an argument, Roger stabbed Hester, inflicting a nearly fatal wound. Malcom was taken to jail in Monroe, where he remained until it became clear that Hester would survive. Meanwhile, Dorothy and the Dorseys asked Loy Harrison, another white farmer, if he would post bail. When Harrison declined, the three asked Dan Young, black owner of the Young Funeral Home. Young, preoccupied with the elections, also refused. The three returned to Harrison, who finally agreed to post bond. All four headed to Monroe in Harrison’s car; after posting bond, Harrison was to drive the two couples home. Harrison, however, took a different and longer route over to the Moore’s Ford Bridge. Several cars filled with men were waiting and blocked the car’s path. The Dorseys and the Malcoms were dragged from Harrison’s car, tied up, brutally beaten, and shot hundreds of

times with rifles, pistols, and even a machine gun. Their bodies were unrecognizable. Loy Harrison was guarded by one young man and claimed to all present that he did not recognize anyone in the mob. Released, he drove back to town to report the murders.

The significance of these murders cannot be denied, for this was the last mass lynching committed in a single day in the United States. It represents the deep divides between black and white, poor and wealthy, those seeking rights and those who refuse rights to other people. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which became involved with the murder investigation on July 26, 1946, viewed the murder as further evidence of white aggression against blacks. George Dorsey was a veteran of World War II who had received the Good Conduct Medal, the American Defense Service Medal, and the Bronze Star. The nation was outraged by the lynching of this man who had served his country. His death marked a turning point in the way lynchings were handled by the national and local governments. The NAACP further fueled the effort to investigate these crimes, but the murders have never been solved. Loy Harrison and others who might know about the lynching are all dead now.

Further Reading: S.J. Harden, *Moore's Ford Lynching*, 2001; Bruce L. Jordan, *Murder in the Peach State*, 2000; Laura Wexler, *Fire in a Canebrake*, 2003.

CYNTHIA A. KLIMA

WAR FILMS During World War II, motion pictures were the most popular form of entertainment on the American home front. Newsreels and documentaries kept the American public informed about the war effort. Stylized accounts of heroism on the battlefield served to stimulate patriotism as well as entertain, and comedies and musicals provided escapism. Weekly attendance at movie theaters averaged 90 million between 1942 and 1945, up 50 percent from the 1930s.

Films that focused on the war itself proved exceedingly popular early on. *Wake Island*, *Bataan*, *Flying Tigers*, and *The Navy Comes Through* presented sanitized versions of battle, with heroic Americans fighting against hideous

Axis villains. This initial success led to a virtual glut of war movies by 1944; by then the viewing public had tired of battle films and wanted more standard fare. Hollywood was quick to oblige.

Of the more than 300 commercial films produced between 1942 and 1945, nearly 40 percent were musicals, proving that escapism was as popular during wartime as it had been during the Depression. *This Is the Army*, *Up in Arms*, and *Star Spangled Rhythm* offered patriotism as well as entertainment. The formula was also successful in comedies, such as *Buck Privates* and *In the Navy*, which offered a lighter side of the war effort. Above all, though, studios needed to answer the question, "Will this picture help win the war?"

The federal Office of War Information (OWI), created in 1942 to consolidate government information services, worked through its Bureau of Motion Pictures to ensure that the industry was producing films that would further the war effort. In addition to oversight of commercial films, the OWI produced educational and documentary films. Some were intended for theatrical release, while others were distributed to schools, community organizations, and government agencies. Most important, OWI made certain that the American viewing public saw fare that delivered the government's view of the war. Films such as *Pittsburgh* and *The Doughgirls* detailed home front life, while others like *Casablanca*, *Sherlock Holmes and the Secret Weapon*, and *Enemy Agents Meet Ellery Queen* portrayed the triumph of Allied espionage. The depravity and inhumanity of the Nazis was the main message in B movies such as *Hitler's Children*, *Women in Bondage*, and *The Master Race*, while *Behind the Rising Sun*, *Blood on the Sun*, and *Secret Agent of Japan* showed the malevolence of the Japanese. Women were shown as being instrumental to the war effort in *Blondie for Victory*, *Four Jills in a Jeep*, and *Rosie the Riveter*.

Further Reading: Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies*, 1987; James Myers, "The Bureau of Motion Pictures: Its Influence on Film Content During World War II and the Reasons for Its Failure," PhD diss., Texas Christian University,

1998; Michael Paris, "Lessons for Democracy: American Cinema, 1942–1945," *European Review of History* 5 (1998): 85–94.

DAVID S. RICHARDS

WAR PROPAGANDA During World War II, propaganda was an important part of the war effort, both at home and abroad. Commercial and educational films, posters, advertisements, radio broadcasts, and news releases were part of a concerted effort by the American government to persuade the public to do its part to win the war. To further that end, in June 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Office of War Information (OWI), which coordinated the government propaganda campaign.

Between 1941 and 1945, Hollywood produced more than 300 feature films, most dealing with some aspect of the war. The Bureau of Motion Pictures, a branch of the OWI, oversaw commercial film production and produced educational and documentary films for distribution to community organizations. Commercial films furthered the war effort by inspiring patriotism and self-sacrifice. Films generally portrayed the enemy as ghastly villains, usually vanquished by brave Americans, while the British, Soviets, and Chinese were shown as valiant allies in a desperate struggle of good versus evil. Most accounts of battle were sanitized, minimizing American casualties.

The government propaganda apparatus made use of other media as well. Beyond official news releases, which were strictly censored by OWI and the military, OWI produced and distributed pamphlets, leaflets, and magazines, including its own periodical, *Victory*. Examples of government propaganda included guides to rationing, literature detailing the importance of maintaining war production, and brochures warning the public to be wary of spies. A wide array of data about the war effort was also disseminated by government agencies, under OWI direction. In particular, advertisements in print media and radio were popular with the government. War advertising was accomplished through a combined effort of the private War Advertising Council and various government agencies, including OWI. The Ad

Council coordinated bond drives and helped mobilize the home front, including recruiting for the armed forces and defense work. Advertisements in newspapers and magazines explained why the United States was fighting the war and detailed the liberal aims of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. Posters were distributed to defense plants and community and educational institutions to convince the public of the necessity of buying bonds, conserving food, or joining the military.

In general, wartime propaganda focused on defeating the enemy, convincing the public of the efficacy of the war, and portraying a post-war world that fit in with American values and aspirations for the future. Through a wide variety of media and methods, the American government was able to further the war effort and maintain the support of the public on the home front and abroad.

Further Reading: Gerhard Horten, "Radio Goes to War: The Cultural Politics of Propaganda During World War II," PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1995; Thomas Howell, "The Writers' War Board: U.S. Domestic Propaganda in World War II," *Historian* 59 (1997): 794–813; Allen M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942–1945*, 1978.

DAVID S. RICHARDS

WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA (LITTLE WHITE HOUSE) New York governor Franklin D. Roosevelt had the Little White House built at Warm Springs, Georgia, in 1932 prior to his 1933 presidential inauguration. He had first visited the area in 1924, hoping to find a cure for the infantile paralysis (polio) that had struck him in 1921. Swimming in the buoyant waters brought him some improvement. The small white cottage served as a miniature White House away from Washington during Roosevelt's years in office, from 1933 until 1945. There he could enjoy warm climate, escape urban congestion, and have a chance to relax with his family, advisers, friends, and dog Fala. The site suited him perfectly. On his forty-first visit to Warm Springs, Roosevelt suffered a massive cerebral hemorrhage on April 12, 1945, and died inside the Little White House while his portrait was being painted by Elizabeth

Shoumatoff. The president's widow hastened to Georgia from the White House and accompanied the body by train back to the nation's capital.

Today the Little White House is a state historic site. The house and furnishings have been carefully preserved very much as Roosevelt left them in 1945. The "unfinished portrait" is a focal point of the Little White House tour. An adjacent museum contains Roosevelt-era memorabilia. Also displayed for visitors are the guesthouse, servants' quarters, and garage, where Roosevelt's 1938 specially designed Ford roadster is kept. A small but comfortable place, the Little White House served its owner and nation for twelve tumultuous years. In 1976 Jimmy Carter opened his successful campaign for president in front of the Little White House.

Further Reading: Raymond K. Martin, *The Story of the Little White House*, 1948; Theo Lippman Jr., *The Squire of Warm Springs: F.D.R. in Georgia, 1924–1945*, 1977; Turnley Walker, *Roosevelt and the Warm Springs Story*, 1953.

LEONARD SCHLUP

WARREN, EARL (March 19, 1891–July 9, 1974), governor and Supreme Court chief justice. Warren was born in Los Angeles. He earned a Bachelor of Laws degree from the University of California in 1912. From 1926 to 1938, he was the district attorney of Alameda County. From 1939 to 1942, he was California's attorney general, known as an effective foe of racketeers. However, his chief role during World War II was carrying out the relocation of Japanese Americans to internment camps, which he later regretted.

From 1943 to 1953, Warren was elected governor of California three times. A popular chief executive, Warren's displayed liberal tendencies with his 1945 proposal for a state medical insurance program.

In 1948, Warren made an unsuccessful bid for the Republican presidential nomination. Instead he was named Thomas E. Dewey's vice presidential running mate. In 1952, Warren once again sought the presidential nomination. But the party selected the war hero, Dwight David Eisenhower, instead. In return for Warren's sup-

port, Eisenhower promised him the first vacancy on the Supreme Court. When Chief Justice Fred Vinson died unexpectedly on June 8, 1953, Eisenhower was slow to offer Warren that position. Warren pressed Eisenhower on his promise, and on October 2, 1953, the president relented. Warren's selection was due, in part, to his political acumen and ability to unite a bitterly divided Court.

The Warren Court became one of the most liberal on record, prompting Eisenhower to later remark that appointing Warren was his worst mistake in office. Warren was more a keen manager of personal relationships than a penetrating legal technician. A politician rather than a jurist, Warren was a consensus builder. His first major opinion as chief justice came in the May 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case, which proved the beginning of the end of de jure school segregation. Between 1962 and 1968, Warren presided over the liberal activist court majority. He authored the landmark 1964 decision in *Reynolds v. Sims* (an attempt to prevent states from discriminatory gerrymandering) and the often-assailed ruling in *Miranda v. Arizona* in 1966, which ruled that criminal suspects must be advised of their right to remain silent. Warren also joined the majority in such historic rulings as *Engel v. Vitale*, which banned organized school prayer in 1962, *Griswold v. Connecticut*, which articulated a constitutional right to privacy in 1965, and *Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections* (1966). The latter banned all poll taxes.

Although Warren considered his judicial obligations above all else, he reluctantly accepted chairmanship of President Lyndon B. Johnson's commission to investigate the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. A liberal Republican, Warren retired from the bench on June 23, 1969, due to Richard M. Nixon's "law and order" presidential campaign. In retirement, he worked on his memoirs. Warren died in Washington, DC.

Further Reading: Richard A. Harvey, *Earl Warren: Governor of California*, 1969; John D. Weaver, *Earl Warren: The Man, the Court, the Era*, 1967; Edward G. White, *Earl Warren: A Public Life*, 1982.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

WARREN, ROBERT PENN (April 24, 1905–September 15, 1989), writer, poet and intellectual. Warren was born in Guthrie, Kentucky. Before the 1940s, Warren made his reputation as a poet and commentator on the American South. He was a member of the Fugitives, a group of southern poets, including John Crowe Ransom and Donald Davidson, centered in Nashville. Warren and several other Fugitives were involved in the production of the book *I'll Take My Stand* (1930), an anthology of essays commenting on the current situation of the South. These writers, labeled the Agrarians, generally argued that modernization and industrialization were damaging Southern society and advocated the revival of some of the fundamental values of the traditional "Old" South. Warren was never entirely happy with being considered part of this movement, since his ideas were evolving even as the book was published. He especially tried to avoid the topic of race, which was generally elided in the Agrarians' work. Nevertheless, Warren's writing continued to grapple with, and explore the nature of, southern society.

Warren was professor of English at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, from 1942 and held the Library of Congress Chair of Poetry in 1944. Through the 1940s, he published several poetry collections, including *Eleven Poems on the Same Theme* (1942) and *Selected Poems 1923–1943* (1944). He also wrote several novels, including *At Heaven's Gate* (1943) and perhaps his most famous, *All the King's Men* (1946). The latter won the Pulitzer Prize, and Warren wrote the screenplay for the film adaptation, which was produced in 1949. *All the King's Men*, a commentary on corruption through political power, has been widely assumed to be based on the career of Louisiana governor and U.S. senator Huey Long. Warren, however, denied that he had based his character, Willie Stark, on Long. Warren was undoubtedly one of the most notable southern intellectuals of the 1940s. He resided during much of his life in Connecticut and in Stratton, Vermont, where he died.

Further Reading: Joseph Blotner, *Robert Penn Warren: A Biography*, 1997; Charles Bohner, *Robert Penn Warren*, rev. ed., 1981; Paul K. Conkin, *The Southern Agrarians*, rev. ed., 2001.

AMANDA LAUGESEN

WECHSLER, JAMES ARTHUR (October 19, 1915–September 11, 1983), liberal journalist and editor. Born in New York City, Wechsler graduated from Columbia University in 1935. While still a student, he joined the Young Communist League in 1934, but quit all Communist affiliations in 1937. He started working for *The Nation*, where in 1939 he condemned the USSR for signing the Nazi-Soviet Pact and was bitterly attacked by the Communist Party's *Daily Worker*. In 1940 he joined Marshall Field's ad-less left-wing daily newspaper *PM* as assistant editor and Washington bureau chief. After serving in the army, from April to December of 1945, he quit the newspaper, alleging that Communists had too much influence. Wechsler joined the American Veterans Committee and led its fight against Communist domination. In 1947 he began working for the then-liberal *New York Post* and in 1949 was named its editor. The paper featured liberal columnists such as Samuel Grafton, Murray Kempton, and Max Lerner. Wechsler assigned women reporters to major stories and sent an African American reporter, Tom Poston, south to cover the early years of the civil rights movement.

Wechsler was the epitome of the Cold War liberal, deeply influenced by New Deal domestic reforms, but hostile to the Soviet Union. In 1947 he was one of the cofounders of Americans for Democratic Action, which sought to distinguish between Communism and liberalism. In 1948 he backed Harry Truman for the presidency and opposed Progressive Party candidate Henry A. Wallace. Still, Wechsler excoriated the growth of so-called antissubversive laws such as the Smith Act. Denouncing the act, he said people were being tried and prosecuted for thoughts rather than actions. During the early 1950s, after the *Post* ran critical pieces about Senator Joseph McCarthy, Wechsler was summoned to testify before the senator's committee as an unfriendly witness. There he refused to withdraw his criticism but did reluctantly "name names," a controversial decision among McCarthy's critics. His explanation was that the senator wanted him to refuse in order to use his silence to further denounce him, other liberals and liberalism in general. Wechsler was also very critical of J. Edgar Hoover, the powerful director of the Federal

Bureau of Investigation (FBI), who maintained huge if innocuous FBI files about him. Wechsler responded by facetiously establishing a “sacred cow” award for Hoover. Fellow liberal civil liberties attorney Joseph L. Rauh Jr. celebrated Wechsler at his funeral for his fearlessness in mocking the all-powerful Hoover. In the end, Wechsler’s legacy is that of a crusading journalistic fighter for the underdog and an archenemy of left- and right-wing authoritarian zealots.

Further Reading: Victor S. Navasky, *Naming Names*, 1980; James A. Wechsler, *The Age of Suspicion*, 1953; James A. Wechsler, *Reflections of an Angry Middle-Aged Editor*, 1960.

MURRAY POLNER

WELK, LAWRENCE (March 11, 1903–May 17, 1992) bandleader. Welk was born in Strasburg, North Dakota, to German Russian immigrant parents. He began playing the accordion professionally as a teenager and left home at twenty-one to build a career as a musician. He formed his first band during the 1920s, playing dance venues in the Midwest and appearing regularly on radio stations.

By the beginning of the 1940s, he had embraced the popular big band structure. However, in an era of complex, sophisticated rhythms, Welk’s music was light and bouncy, characteristics that inspired him to name his style “champagne music.” His heavy German accent and unassuming manner increased his audience appeal. He held long-term jobs with major ballrooms in Chicago and toured cross-country annually; during the war years he and his band performed at military bases around Chicago and in hospitals. At the end of World War II, Welk took his band to extended engagements in California, where he continued to draw large crowds. His popularity outlasted the waning of the big band era and in the 1950s led to a television career that ended with his retirement in 1982. Welk died in Santa Monica, California.

Further Reading: Timothy J. Kloberdanz, “Symbols of German-Russian Ethnic Identity on the Northern Plains,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 8 (1988): 8–10; Christopher Leatherman, “Dakota Images: Lawrence Welk,” *South Dakota History* 32 (2002): 384; Lawrence Welk with

Bernice McGeehan, *Wunnerful, Wunnerful! The Autobiography of Lawrence Welk*, 1971.

SUZANNE JULIN

WELLES, ORSON (May 6, 1915–October 10, 1985), actor and film director. Welles was born in Kenosha, Wisconsin. He appeared in his first production at age three as “Trouble” in *Madame Butterfly* in Chicago. At ten he produced, directed, and acted in his own *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. Welles attended the Todd School (1926–1931), where he appeared in over thirty dramatic productions and made his first film *Heart of Age*, which starred Virginia Nicholson, later his first wife.

Welles participated in over 100 radio dramas between 1936 and 1940; those of 1940 included *The Citadel*, *Craig’s Wife*, *Dinner at Eight*, *Rabble at Arms*, *Huckleberry Finn*, *It Happened One Night*, *June Moon*, *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*, *Theodora Goes Wild*, *Vanity Fair*, and *Jane Eyre*. On October 30, 1938, he became famous for his *Mercury Theatre* radio program broadcast of Howard Koch’s drama *The War of the Worlds*, which was based on H.G. Wells’s novel about an alien invasion of Earth. Koch replaced Wells’s fictional English villages with actual American localities, such as Grover’s Mill, New Jersey. Welles’s dramatic presentation convinced many listeners who tuned in after the show had begun that Martians were invading the United States. Whether Welles had intended to create such a hoax or not the broadcast, and news of its being a performance so convincing as to be misconstrued for reality, made Welles’s name known throughout the nation.

Welles’s best film, *Citizen Kane*, is perhaps the most famous film ever made. Welles directed, starred in, and produced the film and also collaborated on the script with Herman J. Mankiewicz. *Citizen Kane* first screened in New York City at the Palace Theater on May 1, 1941, and it premiered at the El Capitan Theater in Los Angeles seven days later; Welles was only twenty-five years old. The film tells the story of John Foster Kane, whose dying last word, “Rosebud,” frames the search for the word’s significance in flashbacks. Kane’s life has parallels to

the biography of newspaper magnate, William Randolph Hearst.

In the 1940s Welles made *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942), *Journey into Fear* (1943), *Follow the Boys* (1944), *Tomorrow Is Forever* (1946), *The Stranger* (1946), *The Lady from Shanghai* (1947), *Macbeth* (1948), *Othello* (1949), *Black Magic* (1949), *The Third Man* (1949), and *Prince of Foxes* (1949). Welles continued to act and direct for the rest of his life; he appeared as an actor in more than thirty more films. In 1955, Welles served as writer, director, and actor in *Mr. Arkadian*. He directed and acted in *Touch of Evil* (1953). He also made *The Trial* (1962) and *F Is for Fake* (1973). He died in Hollywood, California.

Further Reading: Simon Callow, *Orson Welles: The Road to Xanadu*, 1996; Peter Conrad, *Orson Welles: The Stories of His Life*, 2003; David Thomson, *Rosebud: The Story of Orson Welles*, 1996.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

WELLES, SUMNER (October 14, 1892–September 24, 1961), diplomat and author. Born Benjamin Sumner Welles in New York City to a wealthy, prominent family, Welles earned a degree in 1914 from Harvard University. He joined the U.S. Foreign Service, specializing in Latin American affairs. He was an intelligent and a capable diplomat, but his erratic and eccentric behavior, combined with a clandestine personal life, caused many colleagues to view him as overbearing, enigmatic, and pompous. His marital problems and divorce in the 1920s did not sit well with conservative Republican administrations.

A longtime friend of Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt, Welles surfaced as President Franklin Roosevelt's adviser on Latin American affairs; in 1933 Roosevelt named him assistant secretary of state, in which capacity he became a principal architect for the good neighbor policy. Appointed undersecretary of state in 1937, much to the discomfort and misgivings of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Welles continued his close relationship with the president, attended various conferences, undertook foreign missions, and reported to Roosevelt. In 1942 he began chairing a State Department committee to plan for postwar inter-

national cooperation, drafting proposals, later modified, for establishing a United Nations. Also that year he represented the United States at the American Foreign Ministers' Conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where the collective breaking of diplomatic relations with the axis countries was negotiated. Welles was a heavy drinker who, when intoxicated, engaged in careless sexual behavior. He allowed personal gratification to interfere with his professional conduct. After Secretary of State Hull conferred with J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who maintained a file on Welles's homosexuality and other activities, the secretary in 1944 insisted on Welles's dismissal. Roosevelt thereupon discussed the matter with Welles, who formally resigned. That same year he published *Time for Decision*, an analysis of Roosevelt's foreign policy and the origins of World War II. His expertise in foreign affairs and international organizations prompted him to write several books on foreign issues over the next few years. An internationalist who favored the United Nations, Welles left a mixed record as a diplomat and foreign policy adviser. He died in Bernardsville, New Jersey.

Further Reading: Irwin F. Gellman, *Secret Affairs: Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Sumner Welles*, 1995; Frank W. Graff, *Strategy of Involvement: A Diplomatic Biography of Sumner Welles*, 1988; obituary in *New York Times*, September 25, 1961.

LEONARD SCHLUP

WEST VIRGINIA V. BARNETTE (1943). This Supreme Court case involved freedom of speech, guaranteed by the First Amendment, as related to the Pledge of Allegiance in public schools. During World War II, a major breakthrough occurred in the area of student loyalty and First Amendment rights.

In 1942 two students from a religious family in the small western Pennsylvania town of Minersville refused to recite the Pledge of Allegiance. In 1940 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Minersville School District v. Gobitis* that students were required to recite the Pledge of Allegiance. The high court mandated a compulsory flag salute for all public school students. In its 8–1

decision, the Court declared that the state educational authority may require saluting of the flag, in the interest of “national feeling and unity,” as a condition of school attendance.

In implementing the *Gobitis* decision, a West Virginia statute required all schools to conduct courses of instruction for the purpose of instilling the ideals of Americanism. In 1943 in Charleston, West Virginia, school officials expelled two sisters, Marie and Gath Barnett (the actual spelling of their last name, which was never corrected in Court papers), both Jehovah’s Witnesses, after they refused to pledge allegiance to a picture of the flag at the front of the classroom. They argued that such pledge violated the Scriptures. After the girls were called “traitors,” “Nazis,” “Japs,” and “fifth colomnists,” their father, Walter Barnett, petitioned the court.

Within the U.S. Supreme Court a significant change had taken place since the 1940 ruling. Two new justices had been appointed, and three had changed their minds, perhaps swayed by Justice Harlan F. Stone’s dissent in *Gobitis*. By a 6–3 vote, the Court now overturned *Gobitis*. The *Barnette* case was ultimately decided not as a free exercise of religion case, but as a First Amendment, free speech case. Despite strong objections from Justice Felix Frankfurter, the majority opinion, read by Justice Robert Jackson, prohibited compulsory flag salute in all public schools.

In striking down the law, the Supreme Court recognized the expressive nature of certain actions. In *West Virginia v. Barnette*, it declared that government might not prescribe what shall be orthodox in matters of opinion, politics, religion, or issues of nationalism. Thereby, First Amendment protection was extended to public school students; the state could not regulate their consciences.

Further Reading: David Manwaring, *Render unto Caesar: The Flag Salute Controversy*, 1962; *Minersville School District v. Gobitis*, 310 U.S. 586, 1940; *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624, 1943.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

WHEELER, BURTON KENDALL (February 27, 1882–January 6, 1975), U.S. senator. Born

in Hudson, Massachusetts, Wheeler graduated from the University of Michigan Law School in 1905. He moved to Butte, Montana, where he served as a state legislator from 1911 to 1913 and as the state’s district attorney from 1913 to 1918. From 1923 until 1945 he was a Democratic senator from Montana, speaking for agricultural and labor interests. In 1924 he was the Progressive Party running mate of Wisconsin senator Robert Marion La Follette. Wheeler backed much New Deal legislation, pushing the 1935 Public Utilities Holding Company Act through the Senate, but broke with President Franklin D. Roosevelt over the Supreme Court packing bill.

Though Wheeler had voted against U.S. entry into the World Court in 1935 and backed the neutrality legislation of 1935–1937, he gained still more national visibility as an anti-interventionist leader in 1940 and 1941. Heading the Senate opposition to Roosevelt’s foreign policy once World War II broke out, Wheeler was a frequent speaker for the America First Committee. In opposing the conscription act of 1940, he doubted the bill’s constitutionality. Toward the end of 1940 he called upon Roosevelt to mediate the conflict and proposed a series of peace terms that included protection of all religious and racial minorities and the return of Germany to its 1914 boundaries. During the 1941 lend-lease debate, he termed Britain history’s greatest aggressor. More important, he labeled the bill the New Deal’s “triple-A foreign policy,” alleging it would “plow under every fourth American boy,” a reference to crop destruction implemented during the Agricultural Adjustment Administration’s initial phases. Roosevelt snapped back, calling Wheeler’s statement the most untruthful, dastardly, and unpatriotic thing ever said. Four days before the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, Wheeler turned over to the *Chicago Tribune*, a vehement anti-administration newspaper, classified contingency defense plans envisioning mobilization on a wartime scale. In 1944 he opposed unconditional surrender, blaming the policy for “blowing Europe and our own boys to bits without rhyme or reason.”

In 1945 Wheeler voted to accept the United Nations charter, though he feared that the United

States might be end up overcommitted internationally while Britain and Russia picked up the spoils. In 1946 Wheeler, seeking renomination for his Senate seat, lost his party's primary; he blamed his defeat on labor defection in western Montana and deliberate misrepresentation of his prewar views, though he conceded he had not done the necessary campaigning. Once his Senate career ended, he became an attorney in Washington, DC, where he espoused strongly conservative views.

Further Reading: John Thomas Anderson, "Senator Burton K. Wheeler and United States Foreign Relations," PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1982; Burton K. Wheeler with Paul F. Healy, *Yankee from the West*, 1962; Burton K. Wheeler Papers, Montana Historical Society, Helena.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

WHITE, ELWYN BROOKS (July 1, 1899–October 1, 1985), writer and essayist. White was born in Mount Vernon, New York, and graduated from Cornell University in 1921. He freelanced before joining *The New Yorker* in 1927 as writer and contributing editor. Between 1938 and 1943, he penned a monthly column for *Harper's Magazine*.

Clarity and simplicity were the hallmarks of his work, putting White at the opposite pole from William Faulkner, whose ornate style taxed readers. Literary critics rank White well below Faulkner for insight into the complexities and contradictions of the human condition.

In 1938 White began writing children's stories for his six-year-old niece. In 1945 he published the first, *Stuart Little*, which he claimed to have derived from a dream about a boy who behaved like a mouse. In the story White transposes the characters, creating a mouse, Stuart Little, who acts like a boy. Borrowing a plot as old as Isis's search for Osiris, White sends Stuart Little in search of his lost friend, the bird Margalo. White followed *Stuart Little* with *Charlotte's Web*, perhaps his most enduring work, in 1952 and *The Trumpet of the Swan* in 1970.

White wrote twenty books of prose and poetry in addition to hundreds of essays and columns. In 1963 he won the Presidential Medal for Freedom, in 1970 the Laura Ingalls Wilder Medal, in 1971 the National Medal for Literature, and in

1978 a Pulitzer Prize special citation. He died in North Brooklin, Maine.

Further Reading: Julie Berg, *E.B. White*, 1994; Laura Baskes Litwin, *E.B. White: Beyond Charlotte's Web and Stuart Little*, 2003; Janice Tingum, *E.B. White: The Elements of a Writer*, 1995.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

WHITE, HARRY DEXTER (October 9, 1892–August 16, 1948), Treasury Department official, economist, cofounder of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and alleged Soviet spy. Born in Boston, the son of Russian immigrants, Harry Dexter White earned his doctorate at Harvard University. After briefly teaching at Lawrence College in Appleton, Wisconsin, White left academia for government service at the Treasury Department. A brilliant economist, White caught the eye of his superiors, especially Secretary Henry Morgenthau. White was appointed head of the Division of Monetary Research and ultimately became an assistant secretary.

A devout Keynesian, White served with distinction as Morgenthau's chief assistant on virtually all matters pertaining to foreign affairs, trade, and international finance. Though White left his mark on wartime economic policy, his most memorable accomplishments were in postwar planning. Together with Britain's famed economist John Maynard Keynes, White crafted the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which were designed to sustain postwar economic recovery and expand world trade. These United Nations financial institutions remain his most enduring legacy.

As the first American executive director of the multinational IMF board, White played the formative role in beginning its work. Differences with Truman administration officials and failing health contributed to White's resignation in March 1947. He became an economic consultant.

Central to White's postwar vision was close cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. His ties with members of the Soviet diplomatic community and friends who were in the service of the Soviet underground led the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to conclude that White was a security risk. In July 1948,

confessed Communist agents Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers publicly appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and charged that White and others in the federal government were involved in a Communist conspiracy. White forcefully rebutted the charges, but the stress of his appearance led to a fatal heart attack a few days later.

Only in the years after White's death did evidence emerge suggesting that indeed he was involved in a species of espionage. Today, evidence of White's complicity with the Soviet underground is substantial and convincing. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that White's association with the Soviet underground affected his loyalty to the United States or to the international institutions he helped found.

Further Reading: James M. Boughton and Roger J. Sandilands, "Politics and the Attack on FDR's Economists: From Grand Alliance to the Cold War," *Intelligence and National Security* 18, no. 3 (2003): 73–99; R. Bruce Craig, *Treasonable Doubt: The Harry Dexter White Spy Case*, 2004; David Rees, *Harry Dexter White: A Study in Paradox*, 1973.

R. BRUCE CRAIG

WHITE, WALTER (July 1, 1893–March 21, 1955), civil rights activist. Walter White is a missing link in the chain of great African American civil rights leaders. Informed Americans are aware of the general outline of leadership passing from Frederick Douglass to Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, and Martin Luther King Jr. But between DuBois's direction of the civil rights movement, which ended in the mid-1930s, and the emergence of King twenty years later, there was a gap—the truly forgotten years of the movement. During the 1940s Walter White and his organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), were at the fore.

White, an extremely light-skinned African American, was born in Atlanta. He went to work for the NAACP after graduating from predominantly black Atlanta University, and from 1931 to 1955 he served as the association's chief executive officer. During his early years with the NAACP, White distinguished himself as an

intrepid investigator of lynchings—where he made good use of his ability to pass as a white reporter.

During the 1940s White implemented a successful "Double V" program in which the NAACP campaigned for victory "at home and abroad"—and in the process boosted its membership from 50,000 to 429,000. He also linked the fight for civil rights to a struggle against colonialism in Africa. White declaimed against England and France for their imperialism and criticized American leaders for not demanding national liberation. With the coming of the Cold War, however, White toned down his criticism of America's allies. He narrowed the civil rights agenda, criticized the black Left, and enlisted the NAACP as a key component in the coalition of the Democratic Party. Behind this shift lay two major assumptions. One was a faith that capitalism and its political system could be made to work for black Americans. The other was a passionate belief that integration—even integration to the point of assimilation—was the best way to achieve the advancement of African Americans.

Because of his commitment to integration, White opposed not only segregation and discrimination but also most manifestations of black nationalism. This was especially evident in White's conflict with DuBois, whose "double consciousness" called not simply for a campaign against segregation but also for voluntary cooperation to build black institutions in the black community. White, on the other hand, was an uncompromising advocate of complete integration and a foe of any sort of separatism, voluntary or otherwise.

The postwar era saw White's two crowning achievements: the desegregation of both the U.S. armed forces and the public schools. Many people worked in these campaigns, but Walter White was the chief architect who cultivated President Harry Truman to desegregate the military. White employed Charles H. Houston and Thurgood Marshall, two able black lawyers, to carry out the campaign against school segregation. White died in New York City.

Further Reading: Poppy Cannon, *A Gentle Knight: My Husband, Walter White*, 1952; Kenneth Robert Janken, *The Biography of Walter White, Mr. NAACP*, 2003; Walter White, *A Man Called White*, 1948.

RAYMOND WOLTERS

WILLIAMS, THEODORE SAMUEL (August 30, 1918–July 5, 2002), baseball player. Born in San Diego, California, Ted Williams pursued baseball early. In 1936, at age seventeen, he joined the minor-league San Diego Padres and embarked on what would become one of history's most successful professional careers. After three seasons in the minors, Williams joined the Boston Red Sox in 1939 for a remarkable rookie campaign. Hitting .327 with 31 home runs and 145 RBIs established the "Splendid Splinter" as one of the most powerful offensive forces in the game, foreshadowing future successes. However, during Williams's second season, a slight dip in production (23 home runs and 113 RBIs), along with unfair media and fan criticism, combined to sour him on sportswriters and the Fenway Park faithful for the remainder of his career. Throughout his tenure with the Red Sox, Williams was involved in a number of ugly incidents with fans and media, and he never again acknowledged the appreciation of admirers with even a tip of his cap.

Williams responded to 1940s disappointments with arguably the most remarkable offensive season in baseball history in 1941, leading the major leagues with a .406 average, becoming the final player to surpass the .400 barrier. He enjoyed another stellar year in 1942 before World War II motivated him to enlist in the U.S. Navy. Williams eventually received a commission as a Marine Corps aviator. Although not assigned to combat during the war, Williams became a superior training pilot and set gunnery records at several domestic military installations.

Following his return to civilian life after missing three complete seasons, Williams won his first of two American League Most Valuable Player (MVP) awards in 1946. He continued to display his hitting prowess through the remainder of the 1940s, winning another MVP in 1949 and batting well over .300 until he was recalled to active duty during the Korean War.

Williams missed virtually all of the 1952 and 1953 seasons as a successful combat pilot in Korea, eventually flying more than thirty-seven missions and narrowly escaping death on several occasions. After his discharge, Williams struggled with injuries throughout the remainder

of his career. Yet only once, at age forty-one, did he hit below .300. He retired in 1960 with a .344 career batting average—the third-highest in baseball history—and was elected to the Major League Baseball Hall of Fame in his first year of eligibility. Following retirement, Williams enjoyed a fairly successful stint as manager of the Washington Senators and became one of the nation's preeminent sport fishermen.

Williams's death in Inverness, Florida, sparked a great deal of controversy when his son, John Henry Williams, chose to have his father's body cryonically preserved against the wishes of several other family members.

Further Reading: David Halberstam, *The Teammates*, 2004; Leigh Montville, *Ted Williams: The Biography of an American Hero*, 2004; Ted Williams, *My Turn at Bat: The Story of My Life*, 1969.

STEVE BULLOCK

WILLIAMS, THOMAS LANIER "TENNESSEE" (March 26, 1911–February 25, 1983), dramatist. Williams, who took the pseudonym "Tennessee" from the state where his father once lived, was born in Columbus, Mississippi, and attended public schools there and in St. Louis, Missouri, where his family moved when he was seven. Williams endured years of verbal abuse from his father, which may have scarred him. He interspersed work with brief periods at the University of Missouri at Columbia and Washington University in St. Louis, taking a degree from neither. In 1938 he graduated with a BA from the University of Iowa.

The next year he published *American Blues*, a collection of one-act plays, which won a Group Theater Award. In 1945 he published *The Glass Menagerie*, winning the Drama Critics' Circle Award. The title evokes a collection of miniature glass animals owned by Laura, a young woman who retreats to a fantasy world whenever she feels threatened. In 1947 Williams published *A Streetcar Named Desire*, which won the Drama Critics' Circle Award and a Pulitzer Prize. In 1955 Williams won his second Pulitzer for *Cat on the Hot Tin Roof*, but during the 1960s critics tired of the sex and violence in his plays. His gay lover Frank Merlo died, and Williams

suffered a breakdown that forced him into a St. Louis asylum. Upon recovery, he published three plays between 1972 and 1980. He died in New York City.

Further Reading: Harold Bloom, ed., *Tennessee Williams*, 2003; Kenneth Holditch and Richard F. Leavitt, *Tennessee Williams and the South*, 2002; Robert A. Martin, ed., *Critical Essays on Tennessee Williams*, 1997.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

WILLKIE, WENDELL LEWIS (February 18, 1892–October 8, 1944), corporate executive and political figure. Born in Elwood, Indiana, Willkie earned a bachelor's degree in 1913 from Indiana University and a law degree from that institution three years later. In 1919 Willkie moved to Akron, Ohio, where he worked in the legal department of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, practiced law, and dabbled in Democratic politics. Ten years later he relocated to New York City and by 1933 had become president of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation.

A critic of big government and much of the New Deal program, Willkie championed economic freedom. In 1939 he officially switched his political affiliation from the Democrats to the Republican Party. His engaging personality, oratorical skills, and national popularity propelled him toward the GOP presidential nomination in 1940. His rumpled suit, tousled haircut, midwestern accent, and absence of political experience attracted attention and camouflaged his status as a wealthy New York corporate executive. A dark horse nominee, Willkie garnered 45 percent of the popular vote and eighty-two electoral votes. It was a better performance than those of the two previous Republican standard-bearers, but Willkie could not match, even with the third-term issue, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's popularity. Roosevelt won handily, capturing thirty-eight states with 449 electoral votes.

It was after the election that Willkie made his most important political contribution. An internationalist, he wholeheartedly supported Roosevelt during World War II, traveled around the world in 1942, met many heads of state,

including Winston Churchill, and served as an unofficial goodwill ambassador. His views also helped to curtail the rigid isolationist sentiment that had plagued his party for over two decades. In 1943 Willkie published *One World*, an argument against colonialism and imperialism, and a recommendation for an activist American foreign policy. The short book sold more than 2 million copies within the first year. A passionate civil rights advocate, Willkie lectured on the issue across the country, wrote articles, and made radio speeches. By 1944 he had become too liberal for the Republican leaders, who prevented his renomination.

Talk of a new political realignment involving a liberal party having both men as colossal magnates emerged in 1944, but political realities and the deaths of Willkie and Roosevelt prevented such a development. An eastern establishment Republican, Willkie had a powerful voice in domestic and foreign affairs. His brand of Republicanism faded and by 1964 Barry M. Goldwater revolutionized the party by moving its strength to the South and West. Yet Willkie's eloquent plea for global thinking remains a benchmark for all time. He died in New York City.

Further Reading: Ellsworth Barnard, *Wendell Willkie: Fighter for Freedom*, 1966; Steve Neal, *Dark Horse: A Biography of Wendell Willkie*, 1984; Wendell Willkie Papers, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

LEONARD SCHLUP

WINTER WAR The Winter War (November 1939–March 1940) began when Russia invaded Finland on November 30, 1939. The conflict resulted directly from the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August, which gave Stalin the right to take over the Baltic nations, eastern Poland, and Finland. The Soviet aggressors failed to take Helsinki by Christmas and could not force surrender of the world's northern-most democracy. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev later conceded that the Soviet Union lost a million men.

Amid the Winter War, Finland on December 15 made the next installment payment due on its World War I debt to the United States, becoming the only nation to do so. As a David of democracy, emptying its pockets to pay its war debts

while fighting for its very existence, Finland won even more respect and admiration. Many isolationists compromised their former positions by offering strong moral support and even material aid to Finland. Republican isolationist champions suddenly pleading for Finland included former president Herbert Hoover and Senators Burton K. Wheeler and George Norris. Dozens of Democrats, including some noninterventionists, found themselves cheering for Finland. Among them were senators Robert K. Wagner and Millard Tydings.

A Gallup poll showed 88 percent of Americans rooting for Finland and only 1 percent backing the Russians. Domestic public opinion on isolationism was perceptively shifting as the Winter War drew to a close. On March 10, 1940, Gallup found that an astonishing 73 percent favored floating a government bond to aid Finland. By mid-March, *Time* reported that citizens unwilling to contribute to the cause suffered socially.

The evolution of public opinion from noninvolved isolationism toward some form of help was one of the Winter War's unnoticed results. By late spring, although 80 percent of Americans continued to oppose America's declaring war against the Axis powers (which then included the Soviets because of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact), yet a simultaneous majority supported giving humanitarian and military aid to victims of totalitarian attacks. The change in the public attitude came about because of the Winter War. No longer was the citizenry neutralized by the dangers of being drawn into war by British propaganda or war profiteers. As the Institute for the Study of American Public Opinion noted of the Soviets, only they could have united Rabbi Stephen Wise, a prominent Jewish leader, and Father Charles Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest accused of anti-Semitism.

The Winter War ended on March 12, 1940, with Finland's ceding some of its eastern and northern territories (Karelia and Petsamo) to the Soviets. Yet the struggle had one favorable result. Finland was the only European nation contiguous to the Soviet Union that did not fall under Communist occupation during the hot war or the Cold War that followed.

The tactical victories of Finnish ski troops over Russian panzer units influenced the U.S. War Department's decision to form a ski division for winter warfare. Most textbooks and studies of American isolationism skip over the Russo-Finnish War. They move directly from the Nazi-Soviet crushing of Poland in September 1939 to the overrunning of Norway and the fall of France in June 1940. The intervening period is often dismissed as "phony war" or the "sitzkrieg." The Winter War was something more, however. It had a significant influence in modifying American isolationism and winning public support for the extension of military aid to European victims of totalitarian aggression.

Further Reading: Eloise Engle and Lauri Paananen, *The Winter War: The Soviet Attack on Finland, 1939–1940*, 1973; Melvin G. Holli, *Emil Hurja, Franklin Roosevelt and the Birth of Public Opinion Polling*, 2002; Nikita Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers*, 1970.

MELVIN G. HOLLI

WISE, STEPHEN SAMUEL (March 17, 1874–April 19, 1949), rabbi, reformer, and the preeminent Jewish leader in America. Born in Erlau, Hungary (near Budapest), Wise came to New York at age one. The son of a rabbi, he received his BA from Columbia University in 1892 and his PhD in 1901. In 1893 he took his rabbinical ordination in Vienna. From 1893 to 1906 he served synagogues in New York City and Portland, Oregon. In 1907 Wise founded the Free Synagogue in New York, conducting its services in Carnegie Hall for almost forty years. He soon became known for his liberal theology, founding New York's Jewish Institute of Religion in 1922. He was equally famous for his prolific writings, impassioned oratory, and advocacy of social reform. For decades, he played a major role in attacking the corruption of Tammany Hall. Among his many offices, he served as editor of the journal *Opinion* and president of the American Jewish Congress (1925–1949), a body he saw as more representative of American Jewry than the elitist, German-dominated American Jewish Committee.

An ardent Zionist, Wise opposed the 1939 British White Paper severely limiting Jewish immigration into British-mandated Palestine. In the

autumn of 1942, on receiving news from Geneva of Hitler's "final solution"—that is, the massive liquidation of Europe's Jews—Wise first informed the American government. Then, on November 24, he went public with the news. From 1943 to 1946, he cochaired the Zionist Emergency Council. A friend and strong backer of Franklin Roosevelt, Wise continually and publicly fought with Cleveland rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, who managed to seize control of the American Zionist movement from him. Wise was a Democrat, Silver a Republican; Wise sought to cooperate with Britain, Silver opposed such efforts; Wise was close to Chaim Weizmann, long the dominant force in the World Zionist Organization (WZO), while Silver backed the more militant David Ben-Gurion, chair of the Jewish Agency. In March 1944 the White House authorized Wise to say that Roosevelt had never approved the White Paper and that the president approved of a Jewish national home in Palestine. In December 1946, at a meeting of the WZO held in Basel, Switzerland, Silver was able to relegate Wise to a meaningless tribute. Wise soon withdrew from the WZO, claiming it had become a "collection of personal hatreds, rancors and private ambitions." In March 1948 Wise denounced the Truman administration for its failure to insist upon implementing the United Nations plan to partition Palestine between Jews and Arabs, though the administration recognized the new nation of Israel within several months. In 1949 Wise published his autobiography, *Challenging Years*.

Further Reading: Melvin I. Urofsky, *A Voice That Spoke for Justice: The Life and Times of Stephen S. Wise*, 1982; Melvin I. Urofsky, *We Are One! American Jewry and Israel*, 1978; Stephen S. Wise Papers, American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, Massachusetts.

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES During World War I, thousands of women volunteers served in France alongside the American Expeditionary Force. With the exception of those enlisted in the regular Army Nurse Corps (ANC), they remained civilians throughout. After the conflict, they were denied compensation, medical

care, and veterans' benefits. Memories of this inequity still rankled in early 1941, when Massachusetts congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers approached the U.S. Army's chief of staff, General George C. Marshall, with a proposal to create a fully recognized women's army corps. Although public sympathy for such a plan had been gathering strength for some time, Rogers had to battle the conservative chauvinism of the peacetime military. What emerged from her proposal was a compromise scheme establishing the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), a quasi-civilian service that would work alongside the army to provide administrative support. WAAC personnel would be guaranteed uniforms, pay, quarters, and medical care, but they would not receive pensions, life insurance, supplemental overseas pay (although they might be required to serve outside the United States), or recognition as veterans. Their pay, moreover, would be lower than that of men with equivalent rank and responsibility. Despite these concessions, Rogers met with such ferocious congressional opposition that she was unable to make headway with her bill until some months after Pearl Harbor; even then, it got through the Senate by only eleven votes.

The WAAC came officially into being on May 15, 1942, with Oveta Culp Hobby, formerly the chief of the War Department's Women's Interest Section, in command. WAAC training centers in Iowa, Florida, Georgia, and Massachusetts were soon graduating recruits to serve as early warning service staff, switchboard operators, file clerks, stenographers, and motor pool drivers; as the war went on, the number of personnel in traditional women's roles decreased and the range of WAAC responsibilities broadened to include such jobs as cryptography, weather observation, parachute rigging, and sheet metal working. About 40 percent of all WAACs served with the U.S. Army Air Force. Direct participation in combat was, however, still taboo. After a brief experiment, women were barred from serving in anti-aircraft units. The success of the corps made full incorporation into the army more or less inevitable, and on July 3, 1943, the WAAC became the Women's Army Corps (WAC), with

all the rights and privileges associated with military service. By the end of the war, more than 150,000 WACs had served in every part of the world and had made a critical contribution to the U.S. Army's performance.

Women of the Army Nurse Corps stationed in Hawaii and the Philippines were the first to see action in World War II. Army nurses at Hickham Field, Schofield, and Tripler Army Hospitals performed heroically on the day of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, while medical staff attached to General Douglas MacArthur's Far Eastern command served throughout the desperate defense of Luzon and Corregidor in early 1942, often under fire from Japanese aircraft. Sixty-seven nurses were captured after the fall of the Philippines and interned until V-J Day. From an initial strength of fewer than 1,000 members, the ANC expanded to over 50,000, serving on all fronts and saving the lives of untold numbers of wounded. The need for nurses had become so grave by the beginning of 1945 that a proposal to conscript women into the ANC was within one vote of becoming law when Germany surrendered that May.

Other uniformed support services were also open to women. WAVES, or Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service, acted as auxiliaries for the navy and marines from June 1942 onward, with 86,000 women serving at 900 shore stations across the globe. The WASPs, or Women Airforce Service Pilots, performed ferrying and operational duties for the United States Army Air Force's Transport and Training Commands. Headed by pioneering aviator Jacqueline Cochran, they trained 1,000 women for important behind-the-lines duties.

Further Reading: William B. Breuer, *War and American Women: Heroism, Deeds and Controversy*, 1997; Olga Gruhzt-Hoyt, *They Also Served: American Women in World War II*, 1995; Leisa Mayer, *Creating GI Jane*, 1996.

ALAN ALLPORT

WOMEN IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT The United States' entry into World War II led to the emergence of the modern civil rights movement. This was primarily due to African American soldiers demanding more rights,

namely the desegregation of the armed forces, and black leaders calling for federal action to ensure equal access to federally funded jobs and contracts.

Many women were involved in these struggles as cofounders and leading influential civil rights organizations. These organizations included the Congress of Racial Equity (CORE), founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago using nonviolent direct-action protests; the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW), an interracial group of southern progressives who worked to expand political participation in the South; and of the Women's Political Council (WPC) founded in 1949 by professors Mary Fair Burks and Jo Ann Gibson, to focus on voter registration and citizenship educations.

Perhaps the most prominent American woman involved in the fight against discrimination and for civil rights was Eleanor Roosevelt. As first lady, she went from simply advocating expanded economic opportunities for African Americans to insisting upon racial justice and social reform, specifically, the elimination of segregation. Roosevelt was influenced by several other women involved in the fight for expanded rights, in particular Mary McLeod Bethune, head of the office of minority affairs in the National Youth Administration. Bethune, the first black woman appointed to a major federal government position, worked hard to improve the living and working conditions of African Americans by increasing job opportunities. In 1945 Bethune was one of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) representatives at the United Nations conference in San Francisco.

Anna Pauli Murray, one of the cofounders of CORE and a Howard University law student, and Virginia Durr, one of SCHW's founders, were also instrumental in the fight for civil rights.

Murray worked to end segregation on public transportation and was arrested in 1940 for refusing to sit at the back of a Virginia bus. She was an organizer and participant of CORE's 1947 Journey of Reconciliation, an antisegregation interstate bus ride. Durr was a liberal Southern activist who worked to end racist poll taxes by lobbying on Capitol Hill.

Southerner Lillian Smith, a writer and magazine editor, called for an end to segregation and to voting restrictions. She was also the author of one of the most controversial and popular novels of the time, 1944's *Strange Fruit*, the story of a love affair between a white man and black woman.

Outside Washington, other women also exerted substantial influence on the growing movement. During the war years, NAACP membership grew to almost 200,000, largely because of the work of Ella Baker, a national officer and southern field secretary. For six months in 1943, she traveled across the country, especially throughout the segregated South. Aside from her work with the NAACP, in 1946 Baker helped organize interracial bus trips to the South and helped establish the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

One of the largest women's organizations fighting for civil rights during the 1940s was the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), which in 1946 adopted the "Interracial Charter" pledging the YWCA to racial integration and the fight against segregation. By the end of the 1940s, approximately 10 percent of the YWCA's membership was African American.

The contributions of these women helped accelerate the numerous civil rights milestones throughout the decade. In June 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, spurred on largely by his wife, created the Fair Employment Practices Committee, responsible for monitoring fair employment in federal government and federal contracts. Other breakthroughs included the 1944 outlawing of the all-white election primary by the Supreme Court, the outlawing of the segregation of interstate travel in 1946, and President Harry S. Truman ending military segregation in 1948.

Further Reading: Vickie Crawford, Jacqueline Rouse, and Barbara Woods, *Trailblazers and Torchbearers: Women in the Civil Rights Movement*, 1993; Peter J. Ling and Sharon Montieth, eds., *Gender in the Civil Rights Movement*, 1990; Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 1984.

JUDITH B. GERBER

WOMEN IN THE FACTORIES Women had worked in American factories as long as factories existed in America. Nonetheless, during the 1940s, women played an augmented role. As the wartime draft required men to leave their jobs for the military, and as the increase in industrial production created more jobs, governmental and industrial leaders sought to fill the gaps in the blue-collar labor force with women workers. The government conducted a massive public relations campaign, calling for "Womanpower Days" to celebrate women's contribution in factories and issuing war posters calling for women to take factory jobs. Factory owners collaborated to woo women workers, setting up stores within factories and initiating training programs for women workers. This campaign was very successful. Five million women entered the labor force between 1940 and 1944, and by 1944, one out of every five production-line workers in automobile plants was a woman.

Even more important than the sheer numbers was that 3 million women found themselves in industrial jobs that had been reserved for men before the war. These women built not only cars, but also airplanes, ships, and munitions; women operated cranes, tested machine guns, worked as factory guards, and worked in mines. In another dramatic expansion of women's rights, businesses and the government—both desperate to get women into the factories—sometimes went so far as to offer free child care.

Because of factory safety codes, radical changes took place in the way women dressed during the 1940s. In many factories, employers required workers to dress in slacks and low-heeled shoes; in munitions factories, women were forbidden to wear jewelry (even wedding rings) that might cause a spark, or woolen sweaters. These developments were highly publicized, especially through war songs like "Rosie the Riveter," which celebrated factory women as war heroes. Women wore these slacks outside work, in greater numbers and with greater public acceptance. By contrast, before the war slacks had been a rarity on women.

Despite these changes, women nonetheless faced significant disadvantages within the factories. Wage differentials increased during the

war: factory women received on average thirty-one dollars a week while males received fifty-five dollars. Additionally, the new definitions of “women’s work” never abolished the concept of a gendered division of labor; factory owners continued to keep male and female workers in gender-specific jobs whenever possible. Women workers also faced scorn, harassment, and sometimes open hostility from male employees. Finally, while some unions worked to represent women factory workers, others tried to make sure that men received preferential hiring. As the war continued and victory neared, questions arose about what would happen to women factory workers when peace came. Many women workers had no desire to continue to bear the double burden of paid work as well as housework; in 1944, when it appeared that the Allies would win, women began leaving their jobs. Other women, however, found paid work a liberating experience, but factory owners, male workers, and public opinion were all turning against them.

By the end of 1944 working mothers, who had been celebrated early in the war, were now blamed for what was seen as an increase in juvenile delinquency. Additionally, factory owners laid off women workers in huge numbers as defense production began to slow and the labor shortage showed signs of easing. In the year 1945 alone, 3.25 million women out of 18 million in the workforce left their jobs, whether through layoffs or their own decisions, and the number of women workers continued to decline throughout the decade. By 1950, the number of women in the workforce had returned to pre-war levels.

Further Reading: Kathleen L. Endres, *Rosie the Rubber Worker: Women Workers in Akron’s Rubber Factories During World War II*, 2000; Susan E. Hirsch, “No Victory at the Workplace: Women and Minorities at Pullman During World War II,” 241–262, in Lewis A. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsch, eds., *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness During World War II*, 1996; Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex During World War II*, 1987.

DANIEL OPLER

WOMEN’S MAGAZINES At the beginning of the twentieth century, few women’s magazines were being published, and their circulation was limited to several thousand readers. By the 1940s more than a dozen publications existed, and by mid-century their readers numbered in the millions. Women’s magazines, also known as “service” magazines, are designed specifically for female readers and have been around longer than any other type of American magazine.

During the 1940s, women’s magazines grew in popularity, and by the start of World War II, they dominated magazine sales. The primary reason is that there was not as much media influence competing for readership as there is today (until the late 1940s, there was no television). In contrast to current times, most issues were obtained through subscription.

Women’s magazines exerted a powerful influence on American women by offering guidance on marriage, housekeeping, raising children, culture, and fashion.

The most popular women’s magazines of the 1940s were *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies’ Home Journal*, *McCall’s*, and *Woman’s Home Companion*. All had subscriber lists between 2 and 8 million, but readership was actually higher because subscribers passed them around to families and friends. By far the most popular was *Ladies’ Home Journal*. In 1940, it had the largest circulation of any magazine in the world. It is today the longest-running, most widely circulated women’s magazine.

All the magazines had similar features, including fiction, poetry, and articles on fashion and beauty. The bulk of each issue was composed of informational articles on homemaking, including cooking, cleaning, motherhood and child care, home decorating, and marriage. There were also occasional articles by famous authors and celebrities, and some content covering world and cultural issues such as medical or scientific breakthroughs. The rest of the magazine, sometimes hundreds of pages, was made up of ads.

Other types of popular women’s magazines were more specialized, primarily fashion magazines such as *Harper’s Bazaar* and *Mademoiselle*. Also, *Glamour*, *Seventeen* (the longest-running youth-oriented magazine), *Redbook*, and

Cosmopolitan were targeted to single young women, offering advice on clothes, dating, and job hunting.

The content of women's magazines in the 1940s can be divided between the war years and postwar years. During World War II, magazines and the rest of the print media were used to encourage women to support the war effort. Women's magazines used elaborate propaganda campaigns to advise readers how to dress, how to remain feminine while working in wartime jobs, and how to fulfill wartime obligations by rationing, victory gardening, and buying war bonds. After victory, the focus shifted to women's domestic roles as homemakers, wives, and mothers. In addition, women's magazines began to face competition from other sources, including the newly invented television and later, the women's liberation movement and women's full-time entry into the workforce.

Further Reading: Kathleen Endres and Therese Lueck, eds., *Women's Periodicals in the United States*, 1966; John Tebbel, *The Magazine in America, 1741–1990*, 1991; Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *A History of Popular Women's Magazines in the United States, 1792–1995*, 1998.

JUDITH B. GERBER

WORLD WAR II IN EUROPE The Nazi attack on Poland, on September 1, 1939, closed a period of diplomatic cowardice and ethical drift in Europe. For some time, it had been apparent that Adolf Hitler's German government desired war and that its systematic destruction of reachable Jews was an integral part of state policy. For the first two years of the conflict, Germany ruled Europe by conquering France and threatening invasion of the United Kingdom. Two major events changed the dynamic. First, instead of risking an English Channel crossing, Germany invaded the USSR on June 22, 1941, and was soon caught in a deadly struggle of attrition. Second, on December 8, the United States joined the Allies. American manpower and war production meant ultimate victory.

After an Anglo-American campaign in North Africa and Sicily, one issue remained. When would a second front be launched by cross-channel assault? Soviet leader Joseph Stalin

demanded a second front to ease the desperate military situation in the east. British prime minister Winston Churchill advocated an Allied attack through Greece into the Balkans calling the region Europe's soft underbelly. It was a vain and foolish dream of an old Anglo imperialist. For example, the Allied campaign in Italy never conquered the entire nation. At war's end, the Allies were stuck in the Italian Alps. The United States had early on committed to a Europe First policy, which meant that the defeat of Germany was the top Allied objective. To that end, the Allies opened the second front on June 6, 1944. They established a beachhead on the French Coast, broke the Nazi line, and dashed for Paris, at a great human cost in blood. Air power contributed to the final victory. Long-range bombing was of limited success, but tactical capture of the sky let the Allies coordinate closely air and ground strikes against men and matériel.

As early as the Casablanca Conference of 1943, the Allies had proclaimed a policy of Germany's unconditional surrender. They would not make the same mistake they had in 1917. Now they insisted on a total victory in this total war.

Despite the Battle of the Bulge, the Allies rushed toward Berlin. German resistance in the East was failing, and the question was whether the Russians should be allowed to liberate Berlin.

Unsatisfactory resolution of these issues contributed to a Cold War between the Allies and the USSR by the end of 1947. At the Yalta Conference of 1945 the Western Allies had agreed not to attempt to prevent the Soviets from being the major presence in Eastern Europe, which they had liberated from the Nazis. Berlin was divided into four zones and Germany was partitioned, as a temporary measure, into four as well. Germany remained divided until the end of the Cold War.

Further Reading: John Keegan, *The Second World War*, 1989; Adrian R. Lewis, *Omaha Beach: A Flawed Victory*, 2001; Norman Polmar and Thomas B. Allen, ed., *World War II: The Encyclopedia of the War Years, 1941–1945*, 1996.

DONALD K. PICKENS

WORLD WAR II IN THE PACIFIC Several factors were unique to the Pacific theater. First

was the strong presence of racism on both sides. It often dictated behavior that turned out to be costly in blood and money for both the victor and vanquished. This mutual racism heightened the conflict's nature as a total war. Both local populations and the military suffered greatly. A second factor was the dropping of the atomic bomb. Having underestimated the Japanese capacity for a war of attrition, a basic concept of the island-hopping campaign, the United States assumed that an invasion of Japan's home islands was too costly and thereby justified or rationalized the use of two atomic bombs. The third factor was the fate of European colonies in the Pacific and Asia. Would they return to the antebellum status quo or become independent nations? Finally, would Japan's emperor remain on the throne?

From the Pearl Harbor attack until the American victory at the Battle of Midway, when the Americans won control of the ocean by the destruction of the Japanese navy and air force, these questions were in the background. As the military situation brightened, they came forth as the Soviet Union tried to use diplomatic leverage to enter the war against the Japanese. Because of General Douglas MacArthur's pride (really hubris), the United States moved island by island toward the Philippines at a great cost. With control of the ocean, some island Japanese troops could have been starved into surrender. With the capture of the Philippines, it was clear that Japan would lose the war, but the later battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa were the scenes of savage fighting. On Okinawa, the Americans suffered 50,000 casualties (12,000 dead); the Japanese sustained 117,000 casualties (110,000 dead). For some time, the American air force attacked Japanese cities and military installations. Given the prospect of the Allies' invasion of the Japanese mainland, the dynamics of the Manhattan Project, and the Allies' diplomatic assumption of Japan's unconditional surrender, the use of the atomic bomb was certain.

In addition, the weapon brought the war to an end and kept the Red army from being an army of occupation. The reconstruction of Japan was MacArthur's project. The irony was interesting. MacArthur was the political sweetheart of conservatives, who hated the New Deal and all its

works, but he gave defeated Japan a liberal constitution and representative government. The emperor kept his throne.

Consequences of the war were many. No longer requiring a large military budget, Japan experienced a postwar expansion, embracing capitalism and the latest trends in popular culture. The United States was now the dominant force in the Pacific and Asia, challenged only by Communist China and Russia. Nationalism increased, resulting in the Korean War and the Vietnam conflict. Anti-American sentiment remained high as the United States established its containment policy by constructing air bases and placing armies along the Pacific Rim when the Cold War came to the Pacific. Soon the region would struggle with the dangers of an expanding number of nations with atomic weapons and a hostility toward the United States.

Further Reading: Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought at the Dawn of the Atomic Age*, 1985; John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, 1986; William S. Graebner, *The Age of Doubt: American Thought and Culture in the 1940s*, 1991.

DONALD K. PICKENS

WORLD WAR II ON THE HOME FRONT

The global conflict of 1939–1945 killed millions of people and destroyed resources and cultures, yet the American civilian population escaped with scant damage beyond the relatively small percentage of relatives of service personnel killed in action. The U.S. mainland suffered no direct attacks. In fact, the war effort pulled the nation out of the Great Depression. Unused capacity was suddenly tapped. The massive economic mobilization buried the Axis powers. America produced both “guns and butter.”

The war transformed the home front. One can scarcely think of an aspect of American life left unchanged. Several generalizations are valid. First, the relationship between the individual and the national government was altered, not only because of selective service but also by the movement of soldiers to new military installations throughout the land. Civilians, white and black, came to the city to produce for the front.

Migrations generated ethnic tensions that exploded in Detroit and Los Angeles. White hill folk contributed their presence and behaviors, often creating a clash of folkways.

Later, concern with veterans and related issues contributed to the welfare state. People looked toward the federal government to answer many societal problems. The presidency became the dominant branch of the government, and, for most Americans, President Franklin D. Roosevelt was a towering hero. During the conflict, censorship and propaganda became part of public policy. Federal authority committed all resources to the war effort, as demonstrated in the Manhattan Project. Early efforts to gain federal help for children's day care began during the war years. Issues of youth crime and misbehavior worried some policy makers, as societal norms were remolded. Young people had more money, and the market began shaping goods and services in their direction.

Women enlisted in the military and got jobs in factories, boosting war production. They were first encouraged by the federal government, but, as the Allied situation improved later, discouraged from continuing this work. Nevertheless, many women stayed on the job. Often they had no other choice, since divorce and abandonment increased.

The policy of "relocation" of American citizens of Japanese descent was one of the saddest events in the nation's history. Nevertheless, some significant steps were taken in what came to be called the civil rights movement.

Meanwhile, organized labor supported the war effort. When the USSR and the United States became allies, persecution of the left eased. Soon it resumed and increased, however, with the onset of the Cold War. When the Japanese government surrendered in the late summer of 1945, Americans were not worried about any future issues. In a limited sense, and for a moment, to them the world seemed at peace.

Further Reading: John Morton Blum, *V Was For Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II*, 1976; Keith E. Eiler, *Mobilizing America: Robert P. Patterson and the War Effort, 1940–1945*, 1997; Martin Folly, *The United States and World War II: The Awakening Giant*, 2002.

DONALD K. PICKENS

WRIGHT, FRANK LLOYD (June 8, 1867–April 9, 1959), American architect. Wright was born in Richland Center, Wisconsin. Wright devised an architecture that included rather than excluded nature; his organic style gave rise to his prairie style and his Usonian style. Wright attended but did not finish his schooling at the University of Wisconsin. At age twenty he went to work as a draftsman for Joseph Lyman Silsbee in Chicago. Later, as chief draftsman of Chicago's Auditorium Building for Louis Sullivan, Wright often designed houses on the side, a practice for which Sullivan eventually fired him. Between 1889 and 1913 Wright developed his prairie style with twenty-five structures in Oak Park, Illinois, the largest collection of his work in a single locale. His most famous house is Edgar Kaufman's Fallingwater (1936) in Mill Run, Pennsylvania. Wright was a pacifist who encouraged conscientious objection among his employees, for which he was investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The Museum of Modern Art held his retrospective in 1940, and he received several awards and honors. Little was built anywhere in the United States during World War II, and only a few new Wright houses appeared between 1941 and 1945. Wright constructed the Unitarian Meeting House (1943) in Madison, Wisconsin, implemented curve in the design of the Jacobs House (1943), and used circles and spirals in the S.C. Johnson Research Tower (1944). After World War II, Wright designed the Guggenheim Museum (1943), the Mrs. Clinton Walker House (1948) in Carmel, California, the Maynard Buehler House (1948) in Orinda, California, and the V.C. Morris Shop (1948) in San Francisco. Wright's practice grew considerably through the 1940s to include 270 houses for the decade. Wright built 420 buildings in all but eleven states. He also designed buildings in Canada, Egypt, England, Iraq, and Japan. Wright believed that the love of an idea is the love of God. Wright died in Phoenix, Arizona, and is buried in the graveyard of his Unity Chapel at Taliesin in Wisconsin.

Further Reading: Trewin Coppleston, *The Life and Works of Frank Lloyd Wright*, 2002; Thomas A. Heinz, *The Vision of Frank Lloyd Wright*, 2000; Robert McCarter, *Frank Lloyd Wright: Architect*, 1977.

LARRY D. GRIFFIN

WRIGHT, RICHARD (September 4, 1908–November 24, 1960), author. Born in Roxie, Mississippi, Wright was raised by his mother and grandmother, who protected him as much as possible from the meanness of the segregated South. His family's religious beliefs discounted the virtues of literature, but he produced short stories and hundreds of haiku poems. He was self-taught, a source of both strength and weakness. After working briefly in Memphis, Wright went to Chicago. There he joined the Communist Party, but by 1942 left because of its meddling with his artistic freedom. Marxism, however, remained a part of his writing philosophy until he discovered French existentialism.

In Chicago he worked at the post office and later the Negro Theater unit of the Works Projects Administration. By 1937 he was in New York City, where he headed the *Daily Worker's* Harlem Bureau. His short fiction gathered critical attention as he published in small magazines. *Native Son* (1940), written in the idiom of naturalism, introduced Bigger Thomas to the American public. The Thomas character brought Wright national fame, and the book was later made into a stage play. His autobiographical *Black Boy* (1945) recorded the horrors of racism.

By 1947, Wright suffered from both physical and mental problems. He settled in Paris, where he soon absorbed the main current of French thought, existentialism. One result was *The Outsider* (1953), but it did not enjoy the artistic success of his earlier novels. Drawn to Pan-Africanism, he denounced colonialism but puzzled over what to put in its place. His work shaded into journalism, as shown in his *White Man, Listen* (1959).

In the same year he published *The Long Dream*, the first novel of an unfinished trilogy. He died in his adopted Paris. Wright prepared the way for authors such as James Baldwin, as well as for honest and candid reporting of American race relations. His craft still commands a large readership around the world.

Further Reading: Michael Fabre, *The World of Richard Wright*, 1985; Edward Margolies, *The Art of Richard Wright*, 1969; Eugene E. Miller, *Voice of a Native Son: The Poetics of Richard Wright*, 1990.

DONALD K. PICKENS

WRIGHT, SEWALL GREEN (December 21, 1889–March 3, 1988), geneticist. Born in Melrose, Massachusetts, Wright received a BS from Lombard College in 1911, an MS from the University of Illinois in 1912, and a PhD from Harvard University in 1915. He took his degrees in zoology, having concentrated his courses and research in genetics. In 1915 he became senior animal husbandman at the U.S. Department of Agriculture and in 1925 an associate professor in the Department of Zoology at the University of Chicago. Much of his research centered on the genetics of the guinea pig.

Between 1941 and 1947 Wright published with Columbia University biologist Theodosius Dobzhansky five papers on genetic variability within a species of fruit fly. Wright used mathematical equations to describe gene frequencies, demonstrating the value of mathematical models in studying variations among organisms. In 1947 Wright embroiled himself in a dispute with British geneticists Ronald A. Fisher and E.B. Ford over the role of natural selection in explaining genetic variability among organisms. Wright maintained that natural selection was only one of several mechanisms of evolution and seemed to suggest that the random fluctuation of genes in small populations is as important as natural selection. His emphasis on evolution by the spread of genes through small populations brought his work close to that of Harvard University biologist Ernst Mayr. Fisher and Ford disagreed with Wright, giving natural selection primacy over random drift as the mechanism of evolution. Although Wright never acknowledged the correctness of Fisher and Ford, after 1949 he moved toward their position. In 1949 Wright published a paper critical of Soviet genetics. In repudiating Mendelian genetics, Soviet geneticist Trofim Lysenko had resurrected the erroneous belief in the inheritance of acquired characteristics of French naturalist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck. With Joseph Stalin's support, Lysenko silenced dissent among scientists, and it was this repression of ideas, coupled with the retreat to Lamarckism, that Wright criticized.

In 1954 Wright retired from the University of Chicago and the next year became Leon J. Cole Professor of Genetics at the University of

Wisconsin, Madison. Between 1968 and 1978 he published his four-volume *Evolution and Genetics of Populations*, a summary of the achievements in the field of population genetics. His awards included the Elliot and Kimber Awards from the National Academy of Sciences in 1947 and 1956, the Weldon Medal of the Royal Society of London in 1947, the National Medal of

Science in 1966, and the Balzan Prize in 1984. Wright died in Madison.

Further Reading: Ernst Mayr, *The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution and Inheritance*, 1982; William B. Provine, *Origins of Theoretical Population Genetics*, 1971; William B. Provine, *Sewall Wright and Evolutionary Biology*, 1986.

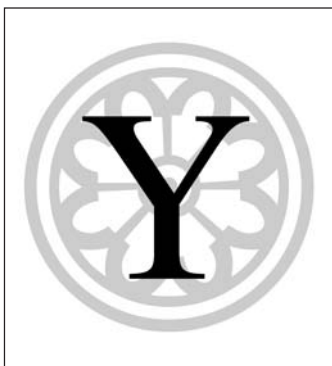
CHRISTOPHER CUMO

YALTA CONFERENCE The top Allied leaders in World War II met at the Black Sea resort of Yalta in the Crimea on February 3–12, 1945. U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet marshal Joseph Stalin considered the shape of postwar Europe as the Allied forces closed in on Berlin. By February 1945, the Allies had pushed Nazi Germany to the brink of collapse and the end of the war loomed. Soviet forces outnumbered American and British forces in Europe, so Stalin bargained from a strong position.

Roosevelt wanted to form a better personal relationship with Stalin, as he foresaw future problems in U.S.-Soviet relations. He preferred a peaceful postwar world order. Roosevelt was in poor health, however, and would die within two months of the conference. At Yalta, Stalin appeared insistent on dominating Eastern and Central Europe. He drew a hard line and resisted Roosevelt's efforts.

The Allied leaders announced the following agreements: occupation of Germany by the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union in four separate zones; a conference of the signatories of the United Nations Declaration to open at San Francisco on April 25, 1945, to establish a world peace organization; an eastern boundary of Poland following the Curzon Line, which gave the Soviet Union about one-third of prewar Poland; and freely elected democratic governments in liberated Europe.

However, some agreements were kept secret until after the war. One provision decided on a large-power voting formula in the new world peace organization. A supplementary secret regarded Soviet gains and the continued war with Japan. The Soviets officially agreed to enter the war in the Far East after Germany surrendered; in return, they would receive the Kurile Islands, the southern half of Sakhalin, and an occupation zone in Korea after the war, plus privileged rights in Manchuria and in the Chinese cities of Dairen and Port Arthur and on the Manchurian railways.



Contrary to Roosevelt's hopes, U.S.-Soviet relations after the conference did not include a great deal of trust. Relations deteriorated into a Cold War that lasted four decades. The provisions agreed to at Yalta caused

early friction. Stalin broke the agreement by suppressing democratic movements and elections in several Eastern European countries after Germany's defeat.

Roosevelt's weakness at Yalta was later used politically in the United States. In particular, Senator Joseph McCarthy cited the problems of Yalta to accuse Democratic administrations of being "soft" on Communism and to urge the United States into an anti-Communist crusade.

Further Reading: Diane Shaver Clemens, *Yalta*, 1970; Richard F. Fenno, *The Yalta Conference*, 1972; Jean Laloy, *Yalta: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 1988.

LINDA EIKMEIER ENDERSBY

YAMAMOTO, ISOROKU (August 4, 1884–April 18, 1943), Japanese naval officer and chief planner of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Born the son of a schoolteacher, Yamamoto attended the Imperial Naval Academy, where he graduated seventh in a class of 191. After receiving his commission, he served in the Russo-Japanese War, where he lost two fingers during the Battle of Tsushima Strait.

Yamamoto was one of the first naval leaders to conclude that aircraft carriers, not battleships, were the key to a successful navy, and by the mid-1920s he was widely recognized as an expert on naval aviation. It was his demand for a fast carrier-based fighter that led to development of the Zero by Mitsubishi. In December 1936 Yamamoto was appointed navy vice minister, and in that emerging as a critic of the army's efforts to conquer China. Believing that Japan's future security required good relations with Great Britain and the United States, he also argued against those who advocated closer relations with Germany. Both positions made him deeply unpopular among extreme nationalists, and therefore in

August 1939 he was given a new assignment: commander in chief of Japan's main naval force, the Combined Fleet.

Ironically, one of Yamamoto's first major tasks as fleet commander was to develop a strategy for war against the United States. While he believed it was possible to win some initial victories, he had no confidence whatever in his country's ability to outlast the Americans in a long war. However, he was deeply impressed when British carrier aircraft conducted a successful attack on Italian battleships at Taranto in 1940, seeing it as a model for a strike against the American Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor. Most of his colleagues believed such a plan too risky, but ultimately it was accepted. After months of preparation, the attack was launched on December 7, 1941; Japan's 353 planes flying from six carriers managed to sink no less than six battleships and ten smaller vessels and to destroy more than 150 aircraft.

With Yamamoto directing naval strategy, the Japanese fleet scored a series of brilliant triumphs in the remainder of 1941 and the early months of 1942. But while he was being hailed as a genius, he remained pessimistic about his country's chances. His plan to force the Americans into a naval battle at Midway turned into a disaster for Japan when American military intelligence learned the exact size and location of the Japanese strike force. It was now Japan's turn to suffer from an air attack, as U.S. planes caused the loss of four Japanese carriers. The defeat at Midway turned the tide of the war in the Pacific, forcing postponement of Japan's planned offensives and a shift toward a defensive posture in the South Pacific.

In the summer of 1942, U.S. Marines landed on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands, and Yamamoto committed to defending those islands. While he succeeded in inflicting heavy casualties on American forces, he was unable to prevent the loss of Guadalcanal. And while he managed at the end of the year to evacuate 13,000 troops from the island—under the very noses of the U.S. fleet—his efforts cost the Japanese navy dearly. By the spring of 1943 Yamamoto was suffering from a severe lack of trained pilots.

In order to better coordinate the defense of the Solomons, Yamamoto moved his headquarters to Rabaul in early April 1943. He immediately

decided on a tour of air bases in the region, and plans for this inspection were broadcast five days before he was scheduled to leave. The U.S. Navy intercepted the message and dispatched a group of fighters to shoot down his plane as it approached Bougainville. They succeeded, and his body was recovered from the dense jungle soon afterward. He was given a state funeral back in Tokyo.

Further Reading: Hiroyuki Agawa, *The Reluctant Admiral*, 1982; Edwin P. Hoyt, *Yamamoto: The Man Who Planned Pearl Harbor*, 1990; John Deane Potter, *Yamamoto: The Man Who Menaced America*, 1965.

JOHN E. MOSER

YOUTH AND YOUTH CULTURE A youth culture emerged in the 1940s as a subset of U.S. popular culture. The word *teenager* came into use as a label for its members. Conscious of their status, they chose attire setting themselves apart from both children and adults. Teen girls wore bobby-sox, white socks rolled down to their ankles, with pleated skirts or jeans, the latter rolled up just below the knees. An alternative was to wear knee-high football socks with stripes the color of the high school football team. These socks were fashionable among girls dating football players. Girls wore a boy's shirt or a blouse with the tails out. They reserved dresses, high-heeled shoes, and jewelry, often in imitation of an actress, for dates or school dances.

Teen boys wore untucked shirts and jeans rolled above the ankle to show off white socks and loafers. For dates or school dances, a suit or sports coat and tie prevailed. Black and Latino teen boys patterned themselves after singer and teen idol Frank Sinatra by wearing a zoot suit: a top that was a hybrid between a shirt in its shapelessness and a sports coat in appearance. The top had large lapels and padded shoulders that narrowed down to the waist. A boy tucked the top into pants with a high, tight waist. The pants flared widely through the thighs only to narrow again at the ankles. The result was the appearance of broad shoulders, a trim waist, and stout thighs, akin to the body of a male athlete. Blacks and Latinos completed the look with a broad hat, tie, and long key chain.

Attire was a means of establishing status, the desideratum of youth culture. A hierarchy of cliques and a girl's place within a clique defined her status. Boys established their status by their prowess at sports, particularly football, though in working-class areas fistfights often sufficed. This system dictated the pairing of quarterback and head cheerleader, unrepentant outcast and promiscuous vamp, and everyone in between. High school dances codified these relationships.

Music was (and remains) a signature of youth culture. Sinatra became a cult figure upon launching a solo career in 1942. That a congressman denounced him as a cause of juvenile delinquency only heightened Sinatra's status among teens. When he sang on October 12, 1944, at a sold-out Paramount Theater in New York City, more than 10,000 teen girls mobbed the location. Another

20,000 gathered at Times Square in hopes of catching a glimpse of him.

Along with music, dance became a mark of youth culture. The jitterbug, which adults considered a prelude to intercourse rather than a type of dance, was the rage among teens in the 1940s. Demanding stamina and strength, the jitterbug allowed teens to show off their athleticism. The fast pace made it possible to switch partners repeatedly in the course of an evening, thereby identifying those with agility and strength. Youth culture was in the 1940s a Darwinian struggle for status and access to guys or girls.

Further Reading: Richard Maltby, ed., *Popular Culture: The Twentieth Century*, 1994; Robert Sickels, *The 1940s*, 2004; Michael V. Uschan, *A Cultural History of the United States through the Decades: The 1940s*, 1999.

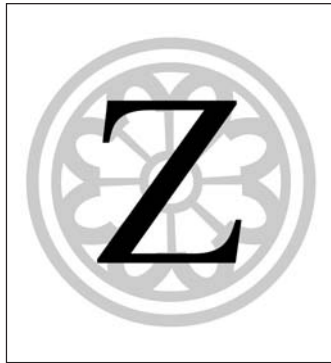
CHRISTOPHER CUMO

ZAHARIAS, MILDRED DIDRIKSON “BABE”

(June 26, 1914–September 27, 1956), professional athlete. Born in Port Arthur, Texas, Didrikson exhibited the exceptional athletic skill for which she would gain the nickname “Babe,” in reference to the baseball immortal Babe Ruth. As a girl, Didrikson was often chided by her peers for her masculine appearance and tomboy behavior—traits she would retain most of her life. By the time she reached high school, Didrikson had already received local acclaim for her athletic skills, especially in basketball. She dominated high school competition in a variety of sports, but her disdain for academics eventually led her to drop out of school during her junior year.

She immediately joined an insurance company in Dallas that sponsored a number of employee athletic teams. There her career blossomed and she began to focus almost exclusively on her physical talents, competing for the company’s basketball, softball, and track and field squads. Didrikson excelled to the extent that she was able to enter the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles, winning gold medals in the javelin and hurdles and a silver in the high jump. Thereafter, she capitalized on her fame and throughout the 1930s and participated in a variety of vaudeville, entertainment, and athletic exhibitions, including many competitions against men.

By the beginning of the 1940s, Didrikson had abandoned many of her eclectic athletic interests and begun to focus on golf. She quickly mastered the links and married professional wrestler George Zaharias, primarily to project a more feminine image and make herself more palatable to the American public. Beginning in 1940, Didrikson competed extensively in golf tournaments and was extremely successful from the outset. By 1945, she was arguably the best female golfer in the world. Still an amateur, she began an unprecedented domination of her competition in 1946, winning an amazing seventeen tournaments in a row against both amateurs and professionals. Shortly thereafter, Didrikson declared herself a professional and



became the driving force behind the founding of the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA). Her fame and skill enabled the fledgling tour to survive. Throughout the remainder of the 1940s and 1950s Didrikson continued to compete success-

fully on the links, eventually capturing every significant championship in women’s golf. The pinnacle of her career arrived in 1950 when the Associated Press identified her as the greatest female athlete of the half-century. Her career took a tragic turn in 1953 when she was diagnosed with colon cancer. Following surgery, Didrikson returned to competition in 1954 and was able to perform at an extraordinarily high level, winning five tournaments that year. However, a return of the disease eventually proved fatal. She died in Galveston, Texas.

Further Reading: Susan Cayleff, *Babe: The Life and Legend of Babe Didrikson Zaharias*, 1996; Russell Freedman, *Babe Didrikson Zaharias*, 1999; Nancy Wakeman, *Babe Didrikson Zaharias: Driven to Win*, 2000.

STEVE BULLOCK

ZALE-GRAZIANO FIGHTS Tony Zale and Rocky Graziano fought three historic middleweight fights in the latter half of the 1940s. Zale, the middleweight champion, had held the title since 1941, but had been inactive during the war. Graziano was given 3 to 1 odds of winning. After six nontitle fights, Zale took on Graziano in New York on September 27, 1946. Graziano had a reputation as a heavy puncher, but Zale floored him in the first minute of the first round. The challenger responded by knocking down Zale in the second. Graziano seemed to have beaten Zale into submission by the fifth, but he failed to protect his body and went down from a terrific punch to the stomach. When he tried to rise, Zale floored him with a blow to the head that ended the fight. This fight set the stage for a rematch.

The second meeting on July 16, 1947, was as thrilling as the first. Zale led on the cards by the fifth round when a right from Graziano nearly

ended the fight. In the sixth round Graziano continued a furious bombardment that forced Zale into a corner, where the referee stopped the fight. This victory brought Graziano the middleweight championship and a big payday. The fight grossed the largest gate for an indoor fight, \$422,918.

Zale and Graziano fought for the third and last time on June 10, 1948, in Newark, New Jersey. Graziano went down in the first round, but got up and continued to punch ferociously. He gained ground in the second, but in the third Zale delivered a series of combinations to the head and body that floored Graziano twice. The second time Graziano could not beat the count, and Zale regained his middleweight title.

Both boxers' championship careers peaked during their three fights. Zale lost his title to Marcel Cerdan of France on September 21, 1948, and retired from boxing. Graziano won twenty of his next twenty-one fights, but was knocked out by Sugar Ray Robinson in a bid for the middleweight championship. After losing a decision in his next fight, Graziano retired. Both Zale and Graziano gained fame and proved that a fiercely disputed rivalry for a championship brought fans into the arena. This lesson would not be lost on promoters during the age of television.

Further Reading: Harry Carpenter, *Boxing: A Pictorial History*, 1975; Nat Fleischer and Sam Andre, *An Illustrated History of Boxing*, 2001; Jeffrey T. Sammons, *Beyond the Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Society*, 1988.

NORMAN E. FRY

ZHUKOV, GEORGI KONSTANTINOVICH (December 1, 1896–June 18, 1974), Soviet general. The Soviet Union's leading World War II general was born a peasant of Stelkovka in Kaluga province, Russia, sixty miles east of Moscow, and died a celebrated war hero in Moscow, USSR. An apprentice furrier, Zhukov was conscripted into the Russian Imperial Cavalry in 1915. A decorated sergeant and veteran of battles with Germany in the opening months of World War I, Zhukov became a cavalry officer with the Red Army in 1917 and a member of the Communist Party in 1919. After the war he studied military science in the USSR (graduating from Frunze

Military Academy in 1931) and Germany. In 1939 he led Soviet and Mongolian troops against the Japanese at Khalkin Gol. The heavy losses Zhukov inflicted on the Japanese earned him Stalin's approbation and promotion to general of the army in command of the Kiev Military District. In January 1941 Zhukov became Red Army chief of staff.

When the Germans turned on their ally and invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Zhukov commanded the defense of Kiev but moved to direct the defense of Moscow once the capital was threatened. He threw back the Germans and planned a counterattack that Stalin forbade as too risky. While Zhukov reorganized forces protecting Moscow, the Germans moved on Stalingrad. Zhukov, put in charge of Soviet response to the German Sixth Army's strike, surrounded and captured the attacking forces in February 1943. In July he participated in the defeat of the Germans in a tank battle at Kursk, then led Soviet forces into Germany and ultimately Berlin in April 1945. Zhukov represented the Soviet Union at the official German surrender on May 9, 1945.

From the end of the war until Stalin's death in March 1953, Zhukov served in remote commands. In 1955 he supported Nikita Khrushchev's bid for power and was rewarded with the post of minister of defense and an alternate position on the Presidium. Continued support of Khrushchev brought Zhukov full membership in the Presidium, but his efforts to build a professional army independent of Communist Party control cost him his political power and forced him back into obscurity until Khrushchev was eased aside in 1964. Zhukov never regained political prominence, but was awarded the Order of Lenin in 1966 and allowed to publish his version of World War II and postwar events.

Zhukov was an important Allied general of World War II and arguably the leading Soviet general. His victories are legend, but an unpolished persona and disregard for casualties set him apart from more popular Allied generals such as Bernard Montgomery, George Patton, Dwight Eisenhower, and Omar Bradley.

Further Reading: Otto Preston Chaney, *Zhukov*, 1996; Bryan I. Fugate, *Thunder on the Dnepr: Zhukov-Stalin and the Defeat of Hitler's Blitzkrieg*, 1997; Georgi

Konstantinovich Zhukov, *G. Zhukov, Marshal of the Soviet Union: Reminiscences and Reflections*, 1985.

DAVID O. WHITTEN

ZIONISM, a movement to establish a Jewish state. In 1897 the First Zionist Conference in Basel, Switzerland, announced the goal of a Jewish state, and in 1917 the Balfour Declaration named Palestine as the Jewish homeland. Palestine was an obvious choice because Jews believe, as recorded in the Torah, that God (Yahweh) gave them this land. In 1942 the 600 delegates at the American Jewish Congress in New York City affirmed the goals of Jewish settlement in Palestine and the location's establishment as a Jewish state. The congress pledged that the new state would be a democratic republic, ally to the United States and foe to the totalitarian regimes of Europe. The congress called upon the global community to permit Jews to settle in Palestine of their own accord, an appeal against Nazi and Soviet detainment and murder. Finally the congress agreed to convene the American Jewish Conference on August 29, 1943. The conference in turn established the Palestine Commission to lobby the U.S. Congress and President Franklin D. Roosevelt to codify as foreign policy the twin goals of statehood and settlement. To this end the commission dispatched Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, a friend of Roosevelt, to court the administration. Commission chair Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver set himself the task of converting his Republican friends on Capitol Hill to Zionism.

From the outset, the Palestine Commission labored against the opposition of Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary between 1940 and 1948. Finkelstein endorsed the goal of settlement but not statehood, asserting that Palestine had religious rather than political significance to Jews: Palestine was a place of pilgrimage rather than a political entity. Finkelstein worried that the desire for sovereignty might corrupt the spiritual purity of Judaism and exacerbate tensions between Jews and Arabs. He argued that Jews did not need their own state to worship Yahweh;

they needed only freedom of worship. Palestine could guarantee First Amendment freedoms irrespective of its political status, a position that resonated with Americans wary of establishing a Jewish theocracy there.

Albert Einstein, a Jew by birth, likewise endorsed settlement but proposed his own variant of statehood: a single transnational government. Jews would not need their own state nor would anyone else because all nations would coalesce into a single government much as America's thirteen colonies had formed the United States. Such a government, Einstein believed, would have an ethical duty to protect the religious liberties of all people, including Jews.

In this context, Roosevelt and Congress proved difficult. The president wished to preserve the alliance with the Soviet Union and to avoid fractious debate at home. Although Roosevelt endorsed the goals of statehood and settlement in 1944, his support was so tepid that Wise thought it nothing more than an election year attempt to neutralize Zionism as an issue. Republicans retained enough of their prewar isolationism to fret over a postwar commitment to Palestine. Despite Silver's efforts, Congress refused until December 1945 to pass a resolution of support for statehood and settlement.

By then, international events had co-opted Zionism. The rift between the United States and the Soviet Union complicated Britain's decision to free its colonies, including Palestine, by raising the danger that they might ally with the USSR. The prospect of the Soviets in the Near East, so close to the oil fields of Arabia, disquieted U.S. policy makers. Moreover, liberation of the concentration camps at war's end had at last made plain the horror of the Holocaust and the vulnerability of Jews since their Diaspora. With U.S. and British support, the Provisional State Council in Tel Aviv proclaimed on May 14, 1948, the sovereignty of Israel, the ancient name of Jewish Palestine. Israel joined the United Nations on May 11, 1949.

Further Reading: Naomi W. Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism, 1897–1948*, 2003; Jeffrey S. Gurock, ed., *American Zionism: Mission and Politics*, 1998; Mark A. Raider, *The Emergence of American Zionism*, 1998.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

ZOOT SUIT AFFAIR During World War II, thousands of soldiers and sailors were based in the Los Angeles area. Off-duty military personnel frequented downtown Los Angeles. In the 1940s a large second-generation Mexican American teenage population lived in the city, and numerous teenagers joined neighborhood gangs that provided them with recreation and a sense of belonging. The teen boys' distinctive mode of dress, called a zoot suit, consisted of a long draped coat over high-waisted trousers, called drapes, with baggy legs and tight-fitting pegged cuffs. Thus the teens were called zoot-suiters, and they socialized in the streets when not dancing the jitterbug in dance halls.

During the spring of 1943, fights occurred between Mexican American zoot-suiters and Anglo-American servicemen, probably beginning as quarrels over girlfriends. In early June individual fistfights escalated into severe clashes between zoot-suited Mexican American youths and large numbers of incensed sailors and soldiers. The local press termed the disturbances the zoot suit riots, and vilified the Mexican youths as members of criminal gangs. Anglo mobs, animated by the press, terrorized the Mexican population. Military personnel commandeered taxicabs and roamed the streets of East Los Angeles, beating up any unfortunate Mexican American youth they came across. The zoot-suiters' dress and their long, duck-tailed, squared-off hairstyles easily identified them, and they made soft targets. Beating victims were quickly arrested by accommodating police.

Los Angeles government officials and most of the local population supported the attacks on zoot-suiters. However, *La Opinion*, a Spanish-language newspaper, attempted to calm the situation. In addition, the federal government became aware that the violence against its own citizens by mobs of military personnel blemished the United States' image abroad and obstructed the war effort. Subsequently, military authorities declared Los Angeles off-limits for soldiers and sailors. Governor Earl Warren appointed a citizens' committee headed by Catholic bishop Joseph McGucken of Los Angeles to investigate the riots. Although no one was killed during these riots, the committee concluded that

they resulted from racial antagonism, fanned by an irresponsible press and discriminatory police practices. In the absence of evidence of criminal activity, the zoot-suiters were condemned for the style of their clothing and the length of their hair.

Further Reading: Ian F. Haney Lopez, *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice*, 2003; Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Ribera, *Mexican Americans/American Mexicans*, 1993; F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*, 1996.

SANTOS C. VEGA

ZWORYKIN, VLADIMIR KOSMA (July 30, 1889–July 29, 1982), television pioneer. Born in Murom, Russia, Zworykin graduated with honors from the St. Petersburg Institute of Technology in 1912. That year he won a scholarship to study electrical engineering at the College de France in Paris. After serving in the Russian Signal Corps during World War I, Zworykin in 1919 immigrated to the United States, becoming a naturalized citizen in 1924.

In 1920 he joined the Westinghouse Electric Corporation in Pittsburgh, where, after initial research on radio, he focused on the development of television. Television is based on a cathode-ray tube. At one end is the negatively charged cathode and at the other end is a series of positively charged anodes. The cathode emits negatively charged electrons. Because like charges repel and opposite charges attract, the electrons move from the cathode to the anodes. The flow of electrons is electricity. The anodes are receptor sites for the electrons. The sum of all electron discharges from cathode to anodes is the image one sees on television. On November 18, 1929, Zworykin demonstrated the first television image to radio engineers at a conference in Pittsburgh. One of the attendees was David Sarnoff, president of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), who hired Zworykin as director of its Electronic Research Laboratory. During the next decade, Zworykin developed several prototypes of television. In 1939 RCA televised the World's Fair in New York City, where Franklin D. Roosevelt became the first U.S. president to appear on a television screen.

By 1941 twenty-two U.S. stations were broadcasting television. Zworykin, who had hoped that television would enrich the educational and cultural experiences of Americans, grew unhappy with its popular-culture programming.

During the 1930s, Zworykin developed an infrared scope that detected images at night. The U.S. Army Air Corps used this scope during World War II to conduct night bombing raids. In 1946 Zworykin collaborated with Princeton University mathematician and computer scientist John von Neumann to program computers to forecast weather. Zworykin retired from RCA in 1954, remaining honorary vice president and technical consultant. Thereafter he was director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, where he focused on developing medical technology.

Zworykin's awards include the Morris Liebermann Memorial Prize from the Institute of Radio Engineers in 1934, the Edison Medal (the highest award from the American Institute of Electrical Engineers) in 1952, and the National Medal of Science from the National Academy of Sciences in 1967. The British Academy of Sciences awarded Zworykin the Faraday Medal in 1965, and the next year Lyndon B. Johnson gave him the U.S. Presidential Medal of Science. In 1977 Congress inducted Zworykin into the U.S. National Hall of Fame.

Zworykin died in Princeton, New Jersey.

Further Reading: Albert Abramson, *Zworykin: Pioneer of Television*, 1995; Ian Sinclair, *Birth of the Box: The Story of Television*, 1995; Anthony Smith, *Television: An International History*, 1995.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO

Chronology

- 1940 Winston Churchill becomes prime minister of Great Britain.
Nylon stockings go on sale in the U.S. market.
Democrats renominate Franklin D. Roosevelt for president.
Republicans nominate Wendell L. Willkie for president.
The Communist Party nominates Earl R. Browder for president for the second time.
The Socialist Party nominates Norman M. Thomas for president for the fourth time.
Franklin D. Roosevelt wins unprecedented third term as president.
Leon Trotsky is assassinated in Mexico.
Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act is passed.
Stone Age cave paintings are found in France.
Average U.S. life expectancy reaches sixty-four years.
Western Allies win the Battle of Britain.
France falls to Germany.
Roosevelt and Churchill arrange destroyers-for-bases deal.
Selective Training and Service Act (Burke-Wadsworth Act) becomes law.
John Steinbeck wins Pulitzer Prize in fiction for *The Grapes of Wrath*.
Henry L. Stimson is named secretary of war.
Congress passes Alien Registration Act (Smith Act).
Forty-hour workweek goes into effect.
John L. Lewis resigns as head of the CIO.
President Roosevelt sets up Office of Production Management.
Richard Wright publishes *Native Son*.
Ernest Hemingway publishes *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.
Popular songs include “When You Wish Upon a Star” and “Blueberry Hill.”
First Social Security benefit checks are paid out.

Pennsylvania Turnpike, the first multilane U.S. superhighway, opens.

First McDonald's hamburger stand opens in Pasadena, California.

First official network television broadcast in the United States occurs.

Superman radio show begins.

CBS demonstrates color television.

Bob Feller of the Cleveland Indians pitches the first opening day no-hitter in major-league history.

Native Americans register for the military draft for the first time.

Viola Pelhame Jimulla (Yavapai) is elected the first woman Native American tribal chief upon the death of her husband.

John F. Kennedy's book *Why England Slept* is published.

President Roosevelt appoints Nelson A. Rockefeller as coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

Marcus Garvey dies.

Benjamin O. Davis is appointed brigadier general in the U.S. Army, becoming the highest-ranking African American officer in the armed services.

Eleanor Roosevelt writes *The Moral Basis of Democracy* and addresses the Democratic convention to secure Henry Wallace's selection as vice president.

U.S. population: 132,122,446

Federal spending: \$9.47 billion

Federal debt: \$50.7 billion

Unemployment: 14.6 percent

1941 Franklin D. Roosevelt is inaugurated for a third term.

The Jeep is invented.

Manhattan Project begins.

Mount Rushmore is completed.

German siege of Leningrad begins.

Roosevelt enunciates the four freedoms.

Lend-Lease Act is passed.

Germany invades Soviet Union.

U.S. troops occupy Iceland.

General Douglas MacArthur is appointed commander of U.S. forces in the Philippines.

United States and Great Britain jointly issue Atlantic Charter.

Japanese capture Guam.

Japanese attack Pearl Harbor.

United States enters World War II.

Harlem Fiske Stone is appointed chief justice of U.S. Supreme Court.

National Gallery of Art opens in Washington, DC.

Roosevelt dedicates the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park.

U.S. defense savings bonds and stamps go on sale.

Howell M. Forgry utters the phrase "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition."

Squadron known as the Tuskegee Airmen is formed.
 Baseball player Lou Gehrig dies.
 Nazi Rudolf Hess flies to Britain on a peace mission.
 Roosevelt establishes the Fair Employment Practices Commission.
 U.S. population: 133,402,471
 Federal spending: \$13.65 billion
 Federal debt: \$57.5 billion
 Unemployment: 9.9 percent

- 1942 Some 120,000 Japanese Americans living in western United States are interned in relocation centers and camps.
- T-shirt is introduced.
- Japan defeats the Americans at the Battle of Bataan.
- Bataan Death March begins.
- Japan defeats the Americans at the Battle of Corregedor.
- Japan and the Allies fight to a draw in the Battle of the Coral Sea.
- Japan seizes Aleutian Islands of Attu and Kiska, but the Allies win the Battle of Midway.
- Allies invade North Africa.
- Axis powers begin the Battle of Stalingrad against the Soviets.
- War Manpower Commission is established.
- Congress passes Emergency Price Control Act.
- First war ration book appears.
- War Labor Board is created by executive order.
- Office of Civilian Defense is created.
- Industrialist Henry J. Kaiser heads the Liberty Ship program.
- Joe Louis successfully defends the world heavyweight boxing championship for the twentieth time.
- First V-mail is sent overseas.
- Office of Production Management bans sale of new cars and trucks.
- Oveta Culp Hobby is named commander of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC).
- Popular songs are "White Christmas" and "The White Cliffs of Dover."
- Bud Abbott and Lou Costello are the biggest box office draw.
- Sam Snead wins the PGA golf tournament.
- U.S. Supreme Court rules that Nevada divorces are valid in all states.
- Nazi leaders attend the Wannsee Conference to coordinate the systematic genocide of Jews, later known as the Holocaust.
- Cocoanut Grove nightclub fire in Boston kills 492 people.
- Women's military services are established.
- Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, first health maintenance organization, begins in Oakland, California.

Louis F. Fieser invents napalm.

Radar comes into operational use.

Warner Brothers releases the movie *Casablanca*.

Congress of Racial Equality is organized in Chicago.

Clarence L. Tinker becomes the first Native American to attain the rank of major general in the U.S. Air Force.

The Navajo language becomes the first Native American language to be used as a codified military means of communication, a code the Japanese never cracked.

Nazis raze the entire town of Lidice in Czechoslovakia in retaliation for the killing of Reinhard Heydrich.

Pascal Cleatur Poolaw, a Kiowa, becomes the most decorated Native American soldier in U.S. military history.

First American jet airplane is introduced.

Zoot suit riots in Los Angeles, California, are triggered by the murder convictions on scanty evidence of seventeen young Mexicans.

U.S. population: 134,859,553

Federal spending: \$35.14 billion

Federal debt: \$79.2 billion

Unemployment: 4.7 percent

1943 Roosevelt and Churchill confer at Casablanca.

The Soviet Union defeats Germany at the Battle of Stalingrad.

American forces drive Japanese forces out of the Aleutians.

French resistance leader Jean Moulin is killed.

The Allies invade Italy.

Grave of victims of Katyn Forest massacre is found.

Italy joins the Allies.

Jewish residents of Warsaw Ghetto rise up to resist the Nazis.

Congress passes the Smith-Connally Antistrike Act.

Dwight D. Eisenhower is named supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force for the invasion of Europe.

Roosevelt freezes prices and salaries to prevent inflation.

Withholding tax on wages is introduced.

Roosevelt and Churchill meet at the Quebec Conference.

Construction of the Pentagon is completed.

Roosevelt and Churchill meet at the Cairo Conference.

Chinese Exclusion Acts of 1882 and 1902 are repealed.

Anglo-Soviet-American Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Moscow.

Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin meet at the Teheran Conference.

Musical *Oklahoma!* opens in New York City.

Women's Army Auxiliary Corps is renamed the Women's Army Corps (WAC).

Wendell Willkie publishes *One World*.

Samuel Eliot Morison is awarded Pulitzer Prize for his biography of Christopher Columbus, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*.

Office of War Mobilization is established.

Race riots hit Detroit.

Chicago's first subway opens.

Count Fleet races to victory in the Kentucky Derby.

First-class stamp costs three cents.

Large-scale production of penicillin in United States is made possible by the discovery of a mold on a cantaloupe in Peoria, Illinois.

Postal zone numbering system begins in 178 American cities.

Rationing of shoes, meat, fat, cheese, and canned goods begins.

Japanese destroyer rams *PT-109*, a torpedo boat in the Pacific commanded by John F. Kennedy.

All-American Girls Professional Baseball League is founded.

Lieutenant Edith Greenwood is awarded the Soldiers Medal for heroism during a fire at a military hospital in Yuma, Arizona.

Dr. Margaret D. Craighill becomes the first woman commissioned into the army medical corps.

Ernie Pyle writes *Here Is Your War*.

Phillip B. Gordon, a Catholic priest, becomes the first ordained Native American to offer the invocation for a session of the U.S. House of Representatives.

George Washington Carver dies in Alabama.

U.S. population: 136,739,353

Federal spending: \$78.56 billion

Federal debt: \$142.7 billion

Unemployment: 1.9 percent

1944 Soviets break German siege of Leningrad.

Oswald Avery isolates DNA.

Plane piloted by George Herbert Walker Bush is shot down in the Pacific.

Ballpoint pens go on sale.

Democrats nominate Franklin D. Roosevelt for a fourth term.

Republicans nominate Thomas E. Dewey for president.

Delegates at Dumbarton Oaks Conference draw up plans for the United Nations.

In the naval Battle of Leyte Gulf, the Allies and Japanese fight to a draw.

Morgenthau Plan calls for de-industrialization of Germany.

GI Bill of Rights is approved.

United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference is held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire.

Allies mount D-day invasion of Normandy.

Assassination attempt against Hitler fails.

First German V1 and V2 rockets are fired.

Judge Learned Hand delivers the "Spirit of Liberty" speech.

The play *I Remember Mama* premieres in New York.

Paris is liberated.

Army seizes Montgomery Ward plant in Chicago.

First eye bank is established by New York Hospital.

U.S. Supreme Court in *Korematsu v. United States* upholds the exclusion of Japanese and Japanese Americans from the west coast.

Ernie Pyle publishes *Brave Men*.

Jacob S. Coxey delivers the speech he was prevented from making fifty years earlier at the U.S. Capitol.

Franklin D. Roosevelt reelected president of the United States.

Popular songs include “I’ll Be Seeing You” and “Don’t Fence Me In.”

U.S. Supreme Court in *Smith v. Allwright* declares that excluding African Americans from the Democratic Party in Texas on grounds of race violates the Fifteenth Amendment.

National Congress of American Indians is founded.

Adam Clayton Powell Jr. is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Harlem.

Influential Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal publishes *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*.

United Negro College Fund is established.

Germany launches its last attack on the Western Front, the Battle of the Bulge.

U.S. population: 138,397,345

Federal spending: \$91.30 billion

Federal debt: \$204.1 billion

Unemployment: 1.2 percent

1945 Allies defeat Germany in the Battle of the Bulge.

Franklin D. Roosevelt is inaugurated for a fourth term.

At the Yalta Conference, Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union plan the post-war world.

The phrase “Kilroy was here” appears almost overnight throughout the world.

Anne Frank dies of typhus at Bergen-Belsen, a concentration camp in Germany.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt dies at Warm Springs, Georgia.

Benito Mussolini is killed by Italian Communist partisans.

Adolf Hitler commits suicide.

Harry S. Truman is sworn in as president of the United States.

United States First Army crosses the Remagen Bridge over the Rhine River.

Germany surrenders on May 7.

V-E Day occurs on May 8.

United States conducts the world’s first nuclear test explosion at Alamogordo, New Mexico.

President Truman meets with Churchill and Stalin at the Potsdam Conference.

Winston Churchill loses the British parliamentary election to Clement Attlee’s Labor Party.

U.S. Marines invade Iwo Jima.

U.S. forces invade Okinawa.

Auschwitz is liberated.

The Slinky is first marketed.

United States drops atomic bombs (Little Boy and Fat Man) on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

World War II ends with Japanese surrender on August 14.

V-J Day is celebrated on August 15.

Japanese formally surrender on September 2 on board USS *Missouri*.

Audie L. Murphy receives the Medal of Honor, one of his many awards for bravery and heroic actions in combat in World War II.

Former Secretary of State Cordell Hull is awarded Nobel Peace Prize.

Cold War begins.

United Nations Charter is signed at San Francisco.

Eleanor Roosevelt serves as a U.S. delegate to the United Nations.

Colonel Oveta Culp Hobby becomes the first woman to receive the U.S. Army Distinguished Service medal.

Bess Myerson wins the Miss America title.

Boxer Rocky Graziano scores five knockouts at Madison Square Garden.

Senator Albert B. "Happy" Chandler of Kentucky is named baseball commissioner.

Dies Committee is given permanent status.

Microwave oven is invented.

Bing Crosby wins Academy Award as best actor for *Going My Way*.

U.S. life expectancy reaches 65.9 years.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier determines that Navajo land is overgrazed; mandatory livestock-reduction program is instituted.

General George S. Patton dies.

Writer Theodore Dreiser dies.

Dow Jones high is 195; the low is 155.

U.S. population: 139,928,165

Federal spending: \$92.71 billion

Federal debt: \$ 260.1 billion

Unemployment: 1.9 percent

1946 League of Nations is dissolved.

United Nations General Assembly meets for the first time, in London.

Trygve H. Lie of Norway is elected first secretary general of the United Nations.

Robert Penn Warren publishes the novel *All the King's Men*.

President Truman appoints a national committee on civil rights.

Bikini swimsuit is introduced.

Dr. Benjamin Spock publishes *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*.

Winston Churchill delivers his "Iron Curtain" speech in Missouri.

Nuremberg trials are held.

Juan Peron becomes president of Argentina.

United States joins UNESCO.

Frederick M. Vinson is appointed chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Philippine independence is proclaimed and a republic established.

U.S. Atomic Energy Commission is created by McMahan Act.

President Truman travels underwater in a modern submarine.

Legislative Reorganization Act is passed.

The Iceman Cometh, by Eugene O'Neill, opens in New York.

Future president James "Jimmy" E. Carter graduates from the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Republicans gain control of Congress.

Two African American couples are lynched in Walton County, Georgia.

UN General Assembly creates UNICEF.

U.S. Supreme Court, in *Morgan v. Virginia*, prohibits segregation in interstate bus travel.

Eleanor Roosevelt is appointed head of the UN Commission on Human Rights.

African American William H. Hastie, a former federal judge, is confirmed as governor of the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Vincent Du Vigneaud synthesizes penicillin.

Popular songs include "Ole Buttermilk Sky" and "Shoo-Fly Pie and Apple Pan Dowdy."

Buckminster Fuller designs the Dymaxion House.

Emily G. Balch and John R. Mott jointly receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

Ranch-style houses catch the public's architectural fancy.

U.S. Army makes radar contact with the moon.

Dow Jones high recorded at 212; the low is 165.

John F. Kennedy is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

Richard M. Nixon is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

William J. Clinton is born in Hope, Arkansas.

George Walker Bush is born in New Haven, Connecticut.

Fulbright Program is established under legislation sponsored by Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas.

U.S. population: 141,388,566

Federal spending: \$55.23 billion

Federal debt: \$271.0 billion

Unemployment: 3.9 percent

1947 Presidential address is first telecast from the White House.

National military establishment is set up with the branches of the armed forces integrated under a secretary of defense.

A Streetcar Named Desire, by Tennessee Williams, opens in New York.

President Truman promulgates the Loyalty Order.

A record-breaking snowstorm strikes the northeastern states.

Hollywood blacklist is started by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Congress passes the Twenty-second Amendment to the Constitution; it is ratified in 1951.

George Kennan, using the pseudonym “Mr. X,” writes his famous article “The Sources of Soviet Conduct” in *Foreign Affairs*, an essay that sets forth the principle of containment.

U.S. Marine Corps Reserve Toys for Tots Program begins.

Wreckage of a mysterious crashed craft in Roswell, New Mexico, leads to speculation about a flying saucer from outer space.

Jackie Robinson signs with the Brooklyn Dodgers.

James Michener publishes *Tales of the South Pacific*.

Charles E. Yeager breaks the sound barrier with the first supersonic aircraft, the *Bell X-1*.

European Recovery Program, known popularly as the Marshall Plan, is announced.

Polaroid camera is invented.

Dead Sea Scrolls are discovered at Qumran.

Big Four Treaty is signed.

Truman Doctrine proclaims that the United States will assist any country threatened by Communist aggression and pledges economic and military resources to help Greece and Turkey to combat Communism.

India and Pakistan gain independence.

Presidential Succession Act is passed.

Congress enacts the Labor-Management Relations Act (Taft-Hartley Act) overriding presidential veto.

National Security Act creates the Central Intelligence Agency.

Christmas film *Miracle on 34th Street* is released.

Jewish refugees aboard the *Exodus* are turned back by the British.

Texas City disaster.

Lisa Ben publishes the first issue of the lesbian magazine *Vice Versa*.

Seabiscuit, the famous racehorse and American legend, dies.

U.S. population: 144,126,071

Federal spending: \$34.5 billion

Federal debt: \$257.1 billion

Unemployment: 3.9 percent

1948 UN General Assembly adopts the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

Soviets blockade Berlin and Allied planes begin an airlift.

George A. Gamow formulates the big bang theory.

Alfred Kinsey publishes *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*.

Mohandas Gandhi is assassinated in New Delhi, India.

World Health Organization is established under UN auspices.

Policy of apartheid begins in South Africa.

State of Israel is proclaimed.

Organization of American States is established.

President Truman by executive order ends racial segregation in the U.S. military.

U.S. Supreme Court declares that religious education in public schools is unconstitutional.

Truman signs the Foreign Assistance Act.

Displaced Persons Act allows 200,000 Holocaust refugees into the United States.

Selective Service Act builds the largest peacetime military establishment in U.S. history to date.

Tennessee Williams is awarded Pulitzer Prize for drama for *A Streetcar Named Desire*.

Mauri Rose wins the Indianapolis 500 auto race.

Truman dedicates Idlewild International Airport in New York City.

Hollywood Ten are jailed for contempt of Congress.

Columbia Records introduces the 33 rpm LP record.

Henry Hay in Los Angeles conceives the idea of founding the first clandestine Mattachine Society, a homosexual emancipation organization that becomes the catalyst for the American gay rights movement.

Sergeant Esther M. Blake becomes the first enlisted woman in the Women in the Air Force (WAF).

Popular songs include "Buttons and Bows" and "All I Want for Christmas Is My Two Front Teeth."

Dr. Benjamin M. Duggar produces aureomycin.

Albert A. Gore Jr. is born in Washington, DC.

High jumper Alice Coachman becomes the first African American woman to win an Olympic medal.

Democrats nominate Harry S. Truman for president.

Republicans nominate Thomas E. Dewey for president.

Socialist Party nominates Norman M. Thomas for president.

States' Rights Democratic Party (Dixiecrats) nominates James Strom Thurmond for president.

Progressive Party nominates Henry A. Wallace for president.

Gerald R. Ford is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Michigan.

Hubert H. Humphrey is elected to the U.S. Senate from Minnesota.

Lyndon B. Johnson is elected to the U.S. Senate from Texas.

Truman conducts a popular whistle-stop campaign.

Truman is elected president in a stunning political upset.

Chicago *Daily Tribune* hastily miscalculates electoral results in a story headlined: "Dewey Defeats Truman."

Barry M. Goldwater is elected to the Phoenix City Council.

U.S. population: 146,631,302

Federal spending: \$29.76 billion

Federal debt: \$252.0 billion

Unemployment: 3.9 percent

1949 Harry S. Truman is inaugurated as president of the United States.

George Orwell publishes *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

Cable television makes its debut.

Popular songs include "A Wonderful Guy."

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is established.

Truman's message to Congress outlines domestic legislative proposals known as the Fair Deal.

Mao Zedong's Communists win the Chinese civil war.

Captain James Gallagher leads first nonstop flight around the world.

Soviet Union detonates atomic bomb.

45 rpm records are first sold in the United States.

United Steel Workers begins strike against the steel industry.

A rabbi, Samuel Thurman, participates in a presidential inauguration for the first time.

Alger Hiss is convicted of perjury.

Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government issues its report.

Permanent UN headquarters in New York City are dedicated.

The musical *South Pacific* opens in New York.

Cortisone is discovered.

Truman proposes Point Four program to help the world's less developed areas.

German Federal Republic (West Germany) is established.

Notre Dame captures NCAA football championship.

U.S. homicide rate is recorded at 5.4 per 100,000.

U.S. life expectancy reaches 68.0 years.

Dow Jones high is 200; the low is 161.

First black-owned radio station, WERD, begins operations in Atlanta, Georgia.

Mildred "Babe" Didrikson and other women create the Ladies' Professional Golf Tour.

The *Pamir*, sailing from Port Victoria, Australia, to Falmouth, UK, becomes the last commercial sailing vessel to round stormy Cape Horn.

Production output for the top five automobiles in the United States recorded at 1,109,958 for Chevrolet, 841,170 for Ford, 574,734 for Plymouth, 398,482 for Buick, and 333,954 for Pontiac.

Ronald W. Reagan becomes chair of the Motion Pictures Industry Council.

U.S. population: 149,188,130

Federal spending: \$38.84 billion

Federal debt: \$252.6 billion

Unemployment: 3.8 percent

Appendices

Appendix 1

Wendell L. Willkie's Acceptance Speech Philadelphia, August 17, 1940

No man is so wise as to foresee what the future holds or to lay out a plan for it. No man can guarantee to maintain peace. Peace is not something that a nation can achieve by itself. It also depends on what some other country does. It is neither practical nor desirable to adopt a foreign program committing the United States to future action under unknown circumstances.

The best that we can do is to decide what principle shall guide us.

For me, that principle can be simply defined: In the foreign policy of the United States, as in its domestic policy, I would do everything to defend American democracy and I would refrain from doing anything that would injure it.

We must not permit our emotions—our sympathies or hatreds—to move us from that fixed principle.

For instance, we must not shirk the necessity of preparing our sons to take care of themselves in case the defense of America leads to war. I shall not undertake to analyze the legislation on this subject that is now before Congress, or to examine the intentions of the administration with regard to it. I concur with many members of my party, that these intentions must be closely watched. Nevertheless, in spite of these considerations, I cannot ask the American people to put their faith in me without recording my conviction that some form of selective service is the only democratic way in which to secure the trained and competent manpower we need for national defense.

Also, in the light of my principle, we must honestly face our relationship with Great Britain. We must admit that the loss of the British Fleet would greatly weaken our defense. This is because the British Fleet has for years controlled the Atlantic, leaving us free to concentrate in the Pacific. If the British Fleet were lost or captured, the Atlantic might be dominated by Germany, a power hostile to our way of life, controlling in that event most of the ships and shipbuilding facilities of Europe.

This would be calamity for us. We might be exposed to attack on the Atlantic. Our defense would be weakened until we could build a navy and air force strong enough to defend both coasts. Also, our foreign trade would be profoundly affected. That trade is vital to our prosperity. But if we had to trade with a Europe dominated by the present German trade policies, we might have to change our methods to some totalitarian form. This is a prospect that any lover of democracy must view with consternation.

The objective of America is in the opposite direction. We must, in the long run, rebuild a world in which we can live and move and do business in the democratic way.

The President of the United States recently said: "We will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation, and at the same time we will harness the use of those resources in order that we ourselves, in the Americas, may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense."

I should like to state that I am in agreement with these two principles, as I understand them—and I don't understand them as implying military involvement in the present hostilities. As an American citizen I am glad to pledge my wholehearted support to the President in whatever action he may take in accordance with these principles.

But I cannot follow the President in his conduct of foreign affairs in this critical time. There have been occasions when many of us have wondered if he is deliberately inciting us to war. I trust that I made it plain that in the defense of America, and our liberties, I should not hesitate to stand for war. But like a great many other Americans I saw what war was like at first hand in 1917. I know what war can do to demoralize civil liberties at home. And I believe it to be the first duty of a President to try to maintain peace.

But Mr. Roosevelt has not done this. He has dabbled in inflammatory statements and manufactured panics. Of course, we in America like to speak our minds freely, but this does not mean that a critical period in history our President should cause bitterness and confusion for the sake of a little political oratory. The President's attacks on foreign powers have been useless and dangerous. He has courted a war for which the country is hopelessly unprepared—and, which it emphatically does not want. He has secretly meddled in the affairs of Europe, and he had even unscrupulously encouraged other countries to hope for more help than we are able to give.

"Walk softly and carry a big stick" was the motto of Theodore Roosevelt. It is still good American doctrine for 1940. Under the present administration the country has been placed in the false position of shouting insults and not even beginning to prepare to take the consequences.

But while he has thus been quick to tell other nations what they ought to do, Mr. Roosevelt has been slow to take the American people into his confidence. He has hesitated to report facts, to explain situations, or to define realistic objectives. The confusion in the nation's mind has been largely due to this lack of information from the White House.

If I am elected President, I plan to reverse both of these policies. I should threaten foreign

governments only when our country was threatened by them and when I was ready to act; and I should consider our diplomacy as part of the people's business concerning which they were entitled to prompt and frank reports to the limit of practicability.

Candor in these times is the hope of democracy. We must not kid ourselves any longer. We must begin to tell ourselves the truth—right here—and right now.

We have been sitting as spectators of a great tragedy. The action on the stage of history has been relentless. For instance, the French people were just as brave and intelligent as the Germans. Their armies were considered the best in the world. France and her allies won the last war. They possessed all the material resources they needed. They had wealth and reserves of credit all over the earth. Yet the Germans crushed France like an eggshell.

The reason is now clear: The fault lay with France herself. France believed in the forms of democracy and in the idea of freedom. But she failed to put them to use. She forgot that freedom must be dynamic, that it is forever in the process of creating a new world. This was the lesson that we of America had taught to all countries . . .

We must face a brutal, perhaps, a terrible fact. Our way of life is in competition with Hitler's way of life. This competition is not merely one of armaments. It is a competition of energy against energy, production against production, brains against brains, salesmanship against salesmanship.

In facing it we should have no fear. History shows that our way of life is the stronger way. From it has come more wealth, more industry, more happiness, and more human enlightenment than from any other way. Free men are the strongest men.

But we cannot just take this historical fact for granted. We must make it live. If we are to outdistance the totalitarian powers, we must arise to a new life of adventure and discovery. We must make a wider horizon for the human race. It is to that new life that I pledge myself.

I promise, by returning to those same American principles that overcame German autocracy once before, both in business and in war, to outdistance Hitler in any contest he chooses in 1940

or after. And I promise that when we beat him, we shall beat him on our own terms, in our own American way.

The promises of the present administration cannot lead you to victory against Hitler, or against anyone else. This administration stands for principles exactly opposite to mine. It does not preach the doctrine of growth. It preaches the doctrine of division. We are not asked to make more for ourselves. We are asked to divide among ourselves that which we already have. The New Deal doctrine does not seek risk, it seeks safety. Let us call it the "I pass" doctrine. The New Deal dealt it, and refused to make any more bets on the American future.

Why, that is exactly the course France followed to her destruction! Like the Blum government in France, so has our government become entangled in unfruitful adventures. As in France, so here, we have heard talk of class distinctions and of economic groups preying upon other groups. We are told that capital hates labor and labor, capital. We are told that the different kinds of men, whose task is to build America, are enemies of one another. And I am ashamed to say that some Americans have made political capital of that supposed enmity.

As for me, I want to say here and now that there is no hate in my heart, and that there will be none in my campaign. It is my belief that there is no hate in the hearts of any group of Americans for any other American group—except as the New Dealers seek to put it there for political purposes. I stand for a new companionship in an industrial society.

Of course, if you start, like the New Deal, with the idea that we shall never have many more automobiles or radios, that we cannot develop many inventions of importance, that our standard of living must remain what it is, the rest of the argument is easy. Since a few people have more than they need and millions have less than they need, it is necessary to redivide the wealth and turn it back from the few to the many.

But this can only make the poor poorer and the rich less rich. It does not really distribute wealth. It distributes poverty.

Because I am a businessman, formerly connected with a large company, the doctrinaires

of the opposition have attacked me as an opponent of liberalism. But I was a liberal before many of these men had heard the word, and I fought for many of the reforms of the elder La Follette, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson before another Roosevelt adopted—and distorted—liberalism.

I learned my liberalism right here at home. From the factories that came into this town many years ago, large fortunes were made by a few individuals, who thereby acquired too much power over our community. Those same forces were at work throughout the rest of the nation. By 1929 the concentration of private power had gone further than it should ever go in a democracy.

We all know that such concentration of power must be checked. Thomas Jefferson disliked regulation, yet he said that the prime purpose of government in a democracy is to keep men from injuring each other. We know from our own experience that the less fortunate or less skillful among us must be protected from encroachment. That is why we support what is known as the liberal point of view. That is why we believe in reform.

I believe that the forces of free enterprise must be regulated. I am opposed to business monopolies. I believe in collective bargaining, by representatives of labor's own free choice, without any interference and in full protection of those obvious rights. I believe in the maintenance of minimum standards for wages and of maximum standards for hours. I believe that such standards should constantly improve. I believe in the federal regulation of interstate utilities, of securities markets, and of banking. I believe in federal pensions, in adequate old-age benefits, and in unemployment allowances.

I believe that the federal government has a responsibility to equalize the lot of the farmer with that of the manufacturer. If this cannot be done by parity of prices, other means must be found—with the least possible regimentation of the farmer's affairs. I believe in the encouragement of cooperative buying and selling, and in the full extension of rural electrification.

The purpose of all such measures is indeed to obtain a better distribution of the wealth and earning power of this country. But I do not base my

claim to liberalism solely on my faith in such reforms. American liberalism does not consist merely in reforming things. It consists also in making things. The ability to grow, the ability to make things, is the measure of man's welfare on this earth. To be free, man must be creative.

I am a liberal because I believe that in our industrial age there is no limit to the productivity capacity of any man. And so I believe that there is no limit to the horizon of the United States.

I say that we must substitute for the philosophy of distributed scarcity the philosophy of unlimited productivity. I stand for the restoration of full production and reemployment by private enterprise in America.

And I say that we must henceforth ask certain questions of every reform, and of every law to regulate business or industry. We must ask: Has it encouraged our industries to produce? Has it

created new opportunities for our youth? Will it increase our standard of living? Will it encourage us to open up a new and bigger world?

A reform that cannot meet these tests is not a truly liberal reform. It is an "I pass" reform. It does not tend to strengthen our system, but to weaken it. It exposes us to aggressors, whether economic or military. It encourages class distinctions and hatreds. And it will lead us inevitably, as I believe we are now headed, toward a form of government alien to ours, and a way of life contrary to the way that our parents taught us here in Elwood.

It is from weakness that people reach for dictators and concentrated government power. Only the strong can be free.

This Is Wendell Willkie: A Collection of Speeches and Writings on Present-Day Issues (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1940), pp. 259–280.

Appendix 2

Joseph Stalin's Broadcast to the Peoples of the Soviet Union Moscow, July 3, 1941

Comrades! Citizens! Brothers and sisters! Men of our army and navy! I am addressing you, my friends!

The perfidious military attack on our Fatherland, begun on June 22nd by Hitler Germany, is continuing.

In spite of the heroic resistance of the Red Army, and although the enemy's finest divisions and finest air force units have already been smashed and have met their doom on the fields of battle, the enemy continues to push forward, hurling fresh forces into the attack.

Hitler's troops have succeeded in capturing Lithuania, a considerable part of Latvia, the western part of Byelorussia, part of Western Ukraine. The fascist airforce is extending the range of operations of its bombers, and is bombing Murmansk, Orsha, Mogilev, Smolensk, Kiev, Odessa and Sebastopol.

A grave danger hangs over our country.

How could it have happened that our glorious Red Army surrendered a number of our cities and districts to fascist armies? Is it really true that German fascist troops are invincible, as is ceaselessly trumpeted by the boastful fascist propagandists? Of course not!

History shows that there are no invincible armies and never have been. Napoleon's army was considered invincible but it was beaten successively by Russian, English and German armies. Kaiser Wilhelm's German Army in the period of the first imperialist war was also considered invincible, but it was beaten several times

by the Russian and Anglo-French forces and was finally smashed by the Anglo-French forces.

The same must be said of Hitler's German fascist army today. This army had not yet met with serious resistance on the continent of Europe. Only on our territory has it met serious resistance, the finest divisions of Hitler's German fascist army have been defeated by our Red Army, it means that this army too can be smashed and will be smashed as were the armies of Napoleon and Wilhelm.

As to part of our territory having nevertheless been seized by German fascist troops, this is chiefly due to the fact that the war of fascist Germany on the USSR began under conditions favorable for the German forces and unfavorable for Soviet forces. The fact of the matter is that the troops of Germany, as a country at war, were already fully mobilized, and the 170 divisions hurled by Germany against the USSR and brought up to the Soviet frontiers, were in a state of complete readiness, only awaiting the signal to move into action, whereas Soviet troops had still to effect mobilization and move up to the frontier.

Of no little importance in this respect is the fact that fascist Germany suddenly and treacherously violated the Non-Aggression Pact she concluded in 1939 with the USSR, disregarding the fact that she would be regarded as the aggressor by the whole world.

Naturally, our peace-loving country, not wishing to take the initiative of breaking the pact, could not resort to perfidy.

It may be asked how could the Soviet Government have consented to conclude a Non-Aggression Pact with such treacherous fiends as Hitler and Ribbentrop? Was this not an error on the part of the Soviet Government? Of course not. Non-Aggression Pacts are pacts of peace between states. It was such a pact that Germany proposed to us in 1939.

Could the Soviet Government have declined such a proposal? I think that not a single peace-loving state could decline a peace treaty with a neighboring state, even though the latter was headed by such fiends and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop. Of course, only on one indispensable condition, namely, that this peace treaty does not infringe either directly or indirectly on the territorial integrity, independence and honor of the peace-loving state. As is well known, the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and the USSR is precisely such a pact.

What did we gain by concluding the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany? We secured our country's peace for a year and a half, and the opportunity of preparing its forces to repulse fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country despite the Pact. This was a definite advantage for us and a disadvantage for fascist Germany.

What has Germany gained and what has she lost by treacherously tearing up the pact and attacking the USSR?

She has gained a certain advantageous position for her troops for a short period, but she has lost politically by exposing herself in the eyes of the entire world as a blood-thirsty aggressor.

There can be no doubt that this short-lived military gain for Germany is only an episode, while the tremendous political gain of the USSR is a serious lasting factor that is bound to form the basis for development of decisive military successes of the Red Army in the war with fascist Germany.

That is why our whole valiant Red Army, our whole valiant Navy, all our falcons of the air, all the peoples of our country, all the finest men and women of Europe, America and Asia, finally all the finest men and women of Germany—condemn the treacherous acts of German fascists and sympathize with the Soviet Government, approve

the conduct of the Soviet Government, and see that ours is a just cause, that the enemy will be defeated, that we are bound to win.

By virtue of this war which has been forced upon us, our country has come to death-grips with its most malicious and most perfidious enemy—German fascism. Our troops are fighting heroically against an enemy armed to the teeth with tanks and aircraft.

Overcoming innumerable difficulties, the Red Army and Red Navy are self-sacrificingly disputing every inch of Soviet soil. The main forces of the Red Army are coming into action armed with thousands of tanks and airplanes. The men of the Red Army are displaying unexampled valor. Our resistance to the enemy is growing in strength and power.

Side by side with the Red Army, the entire Soviet people are rising in defense of our native land.

What is required to put an end to the danger hovering over our country, and what measures must be taken to smash the enemy?

Above all, it is essential that our people, the Soviet people, should understand the full immensity of the danger that threatens our country, and should abandon all complacency, all heedlessness, all those moods of peaceful constructive work which were so natural before the war, but which are fatal today when war has fundamentally changed everything.

The enemy is cruel and implacable. He is out to seize our lands, watered with our sweat, to seize our grain and oil secured by our labor. He is out to restore the rule of landlords, to restore Tsarism, to destroy national culture and the national state existence of the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaidzhanians and the other free people of the Soviet Union, to Germanize them, to convert them into the slaves of German princes and barons.

Thus the issue is one of life or death for the Soviet State, for the peoples of the USSR; the issue is whether the peoples of the Soviet Union shall remain free or fall to slavery.

The Soviet people must realize this and abandon all heedlessness, they must mobilize

themselves and reorganize all their work on new, wartime bases, when there can be no mercy to the enemy.

Further, there must be no room in our ranks for whimpers and cowards, for panic-mongers and deserters. Our people must know no fear in fight and must selflessly join our patriotic war of liberation, our war against the fascist enslavers.

Lenin, the great founder of our state, used to say that our chief virtue of the Bolshevik must be courage, valor, fearlessness in struggle, readiness to fight, together with the people, against the enemies of our country.

This splendid virtue of the Bolshevik must become the virtue of the millions of the Red Army, of the Red Navy, of all peoples of the Soviet Union.

All our work must be immediately reconstructed on a war footing, everything must be subordinated to the interests of the front and the task of organizing the demolition of the enemy.

The peoples of the Soviet Union now see that there is no taming of German fascism in its savage fury and hatred of our country which has ensured all working people labor in freedom and prosperity.

The peoples of the Soviet Union must rise against the enemy and defend their rights and their land. The Red Army, Red Navy and all citizens of the Soviet Union must defend every inch of Soviet soil, must fight to the last drop of blood for our towns and villages, must display the daring initiative and intelligence that are inherent in our people.

We must organize all-round assistance for the Red Army, ensure powerful reinforcements for its ranks and the supply of everything it requires, we must organize the rapid transport of troops and military freight and extensive aid to the wounded.

We must strengthen the Red Army's rear, subordinating all our work to this cause. All our industries must be got to work with greater intensity to produce more rifles, machine-guns, artillery, bullets, shells, airplanes; we must organize the guarding of factories, power-stations, telephonic and telegraphic communications and arrange effective air raid precautions in all localities.

We must wage a ruthless fight against all disorganizers of the rear, deserters, panic-mongers,

rumor-mongers; we must exterminate spies, diversionists and enemy parachutists, rendering rapid aid in all this to our destroyer battalions.

We must bear in mind that the enemy is crafty, unscrupulous, experienced in deception and the dissemination of false rumors. We must reckon with all this and not fall victim to provocation.

All who by their panic-mongering and cowardice hinder the work of defense, no matter who they are, must be immediately hauled before the military tribunal. In case of forced retreat of Red Army units, all rolling stock must be evacuated. The enemy must not be left a single engine, a single railway car, not a single pound of grain or a gallon of fuel.

The collective farmers must drive off all their cattle, and turn over their grain to the safe-keeping of State authorities for transportation to the rear. All valuable property, including non-ferrous metals, grain and fuel which cannot be withdrawn, must without fail be destroyed.

In areas occupied by the enemy, guerrilla units, mounted and on foot, must be formed, diversionists groups must be organized to combat the enemy troops, to foment guerrilla warfare everywhere, to blow up bridges and roads, damage telephone and telegraph lines, set fire to forests, stores, transports.

In the occupied regions conditions must be made unbearable for the enemy and all his accomplices. They must be hounded and annihilated at every step, and all their measures frustrated.

This war with fascist Germany cannot be considered an ordinary war. It is not only a war between two armies; it is also a great war of the entire Soviet people against German fascist forces.

The aim of this national war in defense of our country against the fascist oppressors is not only elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also aid to all European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism.

In this war of liberation we shall not be alone. In this Great War we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including the German peoples who are enslaved by the Hitlerite despots.

Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America, for their independence, for democratic liberties.

It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies.

In this connection the heroic utterance of the British Prime Minister Churchill regarding aid to the Soviet Union and the declaration of the United States Government signifying its readiness to render aid to our country, which can only evoke a feeling of gratitude in the hearts of the peoples of the Soviet Union, are fully comprehensible and symptomatic.

Comrades, our forces are numberless. The overweening enemy will soon learn this to his cost. Side by side with the Red Army many thousands of workers, collective farmers, intellectuals are rising to fight the enemy aggressor. The masses of our people will rise up in their millions.

The working people of Moscow and Leningrad have already commenced to form vast

popular levies in support of the Red Army. Such popular levies must be raised in every city which is in danger of enemy invasion, all working people must be roused to defend our freedom, our honor, our country—in our patriotic war against German Fascism.

In order to ensure the rapid mobilization of all forces of the peoples of the USSR and to repulse the enemy who treacherously attacked our country, a State Committee of Defense has been formed in whose hands the entire power of the State has been vested.

The State Committee of Defense has entered upon its functions and calls upon all people to rally around the Party of Lenin-Stalin and around the Soviet Government, so as to self-denyingly support the Red Army and Navy, demolish the enemy and secure victory.

All our forces for support of our heroic Red Army and our glorious Red Navy! All forces of the people—for the demolition of the enemy!

Forward, to our victory!

Soviet Russia Today, August 1941.

Appendix 3

Japanese Foreign Minister Togo Shigenori's Address to the Imperial Diet November 17, 1941

With heavy responsibilities for the conduct of foreign affairs having unexpectedly devolved upon me, it is a great pleasure for me to avail myself of this opportunity today of speaking on the foreign policy of the imperial government.

Japan, engaged for the past four years in military operations for the construction of a new order in East Asia, is now marching forward to surmount current difficulties with the unity of the entire nation. First of all, I wish good fortune and success to officers and men of our gallant fighting services who are distinguishing themselves on the front under the august virtue of His Imperial Majesty, paying at the same time my humble and sincere tribute to the honored spirits of those who have fallen.

It needs no reiteration that the fundamental principle of Japan's foreign policy aims at establishment of peace in East Asia based on justice, thereby contributing toward promotion of the general welfare of mankind. It is by nothing other than the fruit of constant efforts exerted in the espousal of this great principle that our country has witnessed the unceasing development of her national fortune since the Meiji Restoration.

It may be recalled that in the past seventy odd years Japan has, on more than one occasion, successfully overcome national crises. Especially noteworthy is the Russian-Japanese War, in which Japan staked her national existence in order to eliminate an obstacle to the peace of East Asia. She has since been advancing her position as a stabilizing force in East Asia and is now

endeavoring with unflinching courage to accomplish the great task of inaugurating a new order in East Asia on the basis of justice as a contribution toward the peace of the world.

Fortunately, Germany and Italy having similar views with Japan, the three-power pact was brought into being. In little more than a year of its existence, as is well known, the pact has made, as intended, a great contribution toward construction of a new order in East Asia and Europe as well as toward the prevention of the spread of war.

The Empire of Manchukuo has become increasingly strong in her foundation since her establishment. No less than thirteen countries have already recognized Manchukuo, and her international status, together with her national prosperity, is being enhanced.

In China, Japan is conducting military operations to subjugate the Chungking regime. The basic policy of Japan toward the China affair consists in establishing cooperation between Japan and China, thereby securing the stability of East Asia and the advancement of common prosperity in this region.

A basic treaty regulating relations between Japan and the national government [the Wang Ching-wei regime] of China was concluded some time ago. It is the determination of the Imperial Government to extend their cooperation toward further strengthening of the national government of China.

Along with successful conclusion of the China affair, Japan takes a great interest in the region

of the north, and also in the South Seas. Following the outbreak of the European war, Japan has exerted every effort to prevent the conflict from spreading to the east from the standpoint of maintaining the peace of East Asia in general.

The Japanese-Soviet neutrality pact, concluded in April this year, is also intended to secure safety in the north in conformity with the said policy. Although hostilities subsequently broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union, our government has steadfastly maintained this policy of preserving security in the north.

It is, in a word, Japan's determination to prevent by all means not only the causation of factors likely to disturb peace in the north, but also the development of such a situation as will menace the rights and interests of Japan.

As regards the South Seas region, the imperial government successfully mediated in the settlement of a border dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China, and also established close political and economic relations with French Indo-China. They further concluded with France a protocol for the joint defense of French Indo-China to meet the international situation confronting the latter when it began to threaten seriously the security of French Indo-China and consequently the tranquility of East Asia and the security of Japan.

They have dispatched Mr. Yoshizawa as special Ambassador to French Indo-China to draw still closer the bonds of friendship between Japan and that country. They have also strengthened economic relations with Thailand and are endeavoring to promote cooperation between the two countries by exchanging Ambassadors.

It is extremely deplorable, however, that malicious propaganda should be let loose by some third powers representing Japan as harboring aggressive designs toward those regions. I have not the slightest doubt that the peoples of East Asia, understanding the real intentions of Japan, will cooperate with our country for the establishment of a new order in East Asia.

Japan is thus concentrating her sincere and utmost efforts on successful termination of the China affair and initiation of the new order in East Asia. But when our troops entered the southern part of

French Indo-China this summer in accordance with the protocol for joint defense referred to above, Great Britain and the United States chose to regard it as a menace to their territories and froze Japan's assets in their countries, which constitutes a measure tantamount to rupturing economic relations.

The British dominions and colonies have all followed suit and the Netherlands East Indies, too, has joined in similar steps. Great Britain and the United States have even gone to the length of establishing encircling positions against Japan by inducing Australia, the Netherlands East Indies and the Chungking regime to join in.

The international situation confronting Japan has thus become increasingly tense day after day, and pressure of the kind above referred to from Great Britain and the United States toward our country constitutes a really serious question, affecting as it deeply does the very existence of our empire.

In this connection I should like to call the attention of every one here and abroad to the fact that despite such developments the imperial government, prompted by the high motive to preserve peace in the world and particularly in the Pacific, and also to avert the worst eventuality, have hitherto devoted their utmost efforts in order to overcome the difficult situation.

Since the outbreak of the China affair Japanese-American relations have progressively deteriorated, steadily gathering force, so that if they were left to drift without timely check there was no knowing whether the situation would not ultimately end in catastrophe.

Should such an eventuality occur it would entail great suffering not only in countries in the Pacific basin, but on all of mankind as well.

Solicitous for peace as ever, the Japanese Government has, since April last, carried on conversations with the government of the United States, with a view to bringing about a fundamental adjustment of Japanese-American relations. The former Cabinet endeavored earnestly to reach a successful conclusion of negotiations, in view particularly of the tension in the situation which had been accentuated since summer this year, but agreement of views was not reached between the two countries.

The present Cabinet, in order to avert an international crisis and preserve the peace of the Pacific, decided also to continue negotiations, which are still in progress. I regret to say that I have not the liberty of revealing, at this juncture, the details of the negotiations.

But I think an amicable conclusion is by no means impossible if the Government of the United States is, on the one hand, as genuinely solicitous for world peace as is the Imperial Government, and on the other understand Japan's natural requirements and her position in East Asia and consider the situation as it exists there in the light of realities.

Moreover, the views of the two countries have generally been made clear through conversations which have now lasted more than six months, and consequently I believe it must be evident to the United States Government that, viewed even from the technical angle, there is no necessity of spending much time on negotiations hereafter.

Such being the circumstances, the Japanese Government is bending their best efforts to a suc-

cessful conclusion of the negotiations, but there is naturally a limit to our conciliatory attitude. Should an occasion arise such as might menace the very existence of the empire or compromise the prestige of Japan as a great power, it goes without saying that Japan must face it with a firm and resolute attitude.

For my part, I am taking charge of negotiations with a firm resolve regarding this point.

Japan is now confronted with an unprecedentedly difficult situation and it is necessary that the entire nation should unite and join forces to overcome it. National defense and diplomacy are inseparable while internal politics and external policy are a counterpart of each other.

At no time is the need for mobilization of the nation's total strength, with the government and the people uniting, felt more acutely than at the present juncture. In concluding the frank statement of my views and opinions, I earnestly hope that the 100,000,000 of my fellow-countrymen will extend their full support and cooperation.

New York Times, November 18, 1941.

Appendix 4

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's War Message to Congress December 8, 1941

Yesterday, December 7—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States, by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace. The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippines Islands.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Wake Island.

This morning Japanese forces attacked Midway Island.

Japan has therefore undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area.

The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications of the very life and safety of our nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take for us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounding determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7th, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1941 (Washington, DC: Federal Register Division, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration), pp. 300–301.

Appendix 5

Adolf Hitler's Declaration of War Against the United States Berlin, December 11, 1941

Deputies, Men of the German Reichstag! A year of events of historical significance is drawing to an end. A year of the greatest decisions lies ahead. In these serious times, I speak to you, Deputies of the German Reichstag, as to the representatives of the German nation. Beyond and above that, the whole German people should take note of this glance into the past, as well as of the coming decisions the present and future impose upon us.

After the renewed refusal of my peace offer in January 1940 by the then British Prime Minister and the clique which supported or else dominated him, it became clear that this war—against all reasons of common sense and necessity—must be fought to its end. You know me, my old Party companions: you know I have always been an enemy of half measures or weak decisions. If the Providence has so willed that the German people cannot be spared this fight, then I can only be grateful that it entrusted me with the leadership in this historic struggle which, for the next 500 or 1,000 years, will be described as decisive, not only for the history of Germany, but for the whole of Europe and indeed the whole world. The German people and their soldiers are working and fighting today, not only for the present, but for the coming, nay the most distant, generations. A historical revision on a unique scale has been imposed on us by the Creator.

Shortly after the end of the campaign in Norway, the German Command was forced, first of all, to ensure the military security of the conquered area. Since then the defences of the

conquered countries have changed considerably. From Kirkenes to the Spanish Frontier there is a belt of great bases and fortifications; many airfields have been built, naval bases and protections from submarines which are practically invulnerable from sea or air. More than 1,500 new batteries have been planned and constructed. A network of roads and railways was constructed so that today communications from the Spanish Frontier to Petsamo are independent of the sea. These installations in no wise fall behind those of the Western Wall, and work continues incessantly on strengthening them. I am irrevocably determined to make the European Front unassailable by any enemy.

This defensive work was supplemented by offensive warfare. German surface and underwater naval forces carried on their constant war of attrition against the British Merchant Navy and the ships in its service. The German Air Force supported these attacks by reconnaissance, by damaging enemy shipping, by numerous retaliatory raids which have given the English a better idea of the so charming war caused by their present Prime Minister.

In the middle of last year Germany was supported above all by Italy. For months a great part of British power weighed on the shoulders of Italy. Only because of their tremendous superiority in heavy tanks could the English create a temporary crisis in North Africa. On the 24th March a small community of German-Italian units under Rommel's command began the

counter-attack. [Dates on which certain points (positions) fell.] The German Africa Corps performed outstanding achievements though they were completely unaccustomed to the climate of this theatre of war. Just as once in Spain, now in North Africa, Germans and Italians have taken up arms against the same enemy.

While in these bold measures the North African Front was again secured by the blood of German and Italian soldiers, the shadow of a terrible danger threatening Europe gathered overhead. Only in obedience to bitter necessity did I decide in my heart in 1939, to make the attempt, at least, to create the pre-requisites for a lasting peace in Europe by eliminating the causes of German-Russian tension. This was psychologically difficult owing to the general attitude of the German people, and above all, of the Party, towards Bolshevism. It was not difficult from a purely material point of view—because Germany was only intent on her economic interests in all the territories which England declared to be threatened by us and which she attacked with her promises of aid—for you will allow me to remind you that England, throughout the spring and late summer of 1939, offered its aid to numerous countries, declaring that it was our intention to invade those countries and thus deprive them of their liberty. The German Reich and its Government were therefore able to affirm, with a clear conscience, that these allegations were false and had no bearing whatsoever on reality. Add to this the military realization that in case of war, which British diplomacy was to force on the German people a two front war would ensue and call for very great sacrifice.

When, on top of all this, the Baltic States and Rumania showed themselves prone to accept the British pack of assistance and thus let it be seen that they, too, believed in such a threat, it was not only the right of the Reich Government, but its duty to fix the limits of German interests. The countries in question, and above all, the Reich Government, could not but realize that the only factor which could be a buttress against the East was Germany. The moment they severed their connection with the German Reich, and entrusted their fate to the aid of that power which, in its proverbial selfishness, has never rendered aid, but always requested it, they were lost. Yet the fate

of these countries roused the sympathy of the German people. The winter struggle of the Finns forced on us a feeling mixed with bitterness and admiration. Admiration because we have a heart sensitive to sacrifice and heroism, being a nation of soldiers ourselves: bitterness, because with our eyes fixed on the menacing enemy in the West, and on the danger in the East, we were not in a position to render military assistance. As soon as it became evident that Soviet Russia deduced the right to wipe out the nations living outside the limits of the German sphere of interest, as a result of that limitation of interests our subsequent relations were merely governed by utilitarian considerations, while our reason and feelings were hostile.

With every month I became more convinced that the plans of the men in Kremlin aimed at domination and annihilating all Europe. I have had to submit to the nation the full extent of the Russian military preparations. At a time when Germany had only a few divisions in the provinces bordering on Russia it would have been evident to a blind man that a concentration of power of singular and world historic dimensions was taking place, and that not in order to defend something which was threatened, but merely in order to attack an object it did not seem possible to defend. The lightning conclusion of the Western campaign, however, robbed the Moscow overlords of their hope of an early flagging of German power. This did not alter their intentions—it merely led to a postponement of the date on which they intended to strike. In the summer of 1941 they thought the time was ripe. A new Mongolian storm was now to sweep Europe. At the same time, however, Mr. Churchill spoke on the English aspect of the struggle with Germany. He saw fit, in a cowardly manner, to deny that in the secret session of 1940 in the House of Commons that he pointed out that the entry of Russians into the war which was to come in 1941 at the very latest, was the most important factor which would make a successful conclusion of the war possible. This was also to enable England to take the offensive. In the spring of that year, Europe was to feel the full extent of the might of a world power which seemed to dispose of inexhaustible human material and resources. Dark

clouds began to gather on the European sky. For, my Deputies, what is Europe? There is no fitting geographical definition of our Continent, but only a national and cultural one.

Not the Urals form the frontier of our Continent, but the eternal line which divides the Eastern and Western conceptions of life. There was a time when Europe was that Greek Island into which Nordic tribes had penetrated in order to light a torch for the first time which from then onwards began slowly, but surely to brighten the world of man. When these Greeks repulsed the invasion of the Persian conquerors they did not only defend their homeland, which was Greece, but that idea which we call Europe today. And then Europe traveled from Hellas to Rome. With the Greek spirit and Greek culture, the Roman way of thinking and Roman statesmanship were joined. An Empire was created which, to this day, has not been equaled in its significance and creative power, let alone outdone. When, however, the Roman legions were defending Rome against the African onslaught of Carthage and at last gained a victory, again it was not Rome they were fighting for, but the Europe of that time, which consisted of the Greek-Roman world.

The next incursion against this homestead of European culture was carried out from the distant East. A terrible stream of barbarous, uncultured hordes sallied forth from the interior of Asia deep into the hearts of the European Continent, burning, looting, murdering—a true scourge of the Lord. In the battle of the Catalonian fields the [West?] was formed. On the ruins of Rome the West was built, and its defense was a task, not only of the Romans, but also above all of the Teutons (Germans). In centuries to come the West, enlightened by Greek culture, built the Roman Empire and then expanded by the colonization of the Teutons was able to call itself Europe. Whether it was the German emperor who was repelling the attacks from the East on the Field of Lech or whether Africa was being pushed back from Spain in long fighting, it was also a struggle of Europe, coming into being, against a surrounding world alien in its very essence. Once Rome had been given its due for the creative defense of this continent, Teutons took over the defense and the protection of a family of nations which might

still differentiate and differ in their political structure and objective, but which nevertheless represented a cultural unity with blood ties. And it was from this Europe that a spiritual and cultural abundance went out, of which everyone must be aware who is willing to seek truth instead of denying it.

Thus it was not England who brought culture to the Continent, but the offspring of Teutonic nationhood on the Continent who went as Anglo-Saxons and the Normans to that Island making possible a development in a way surely unique. In just the same way, it was not America who discovered Europe, but the other way around. And everything which America has not drawn from Europe may well appear worthy of admiration to a juda-ised, mixed race; Europe, on the other hand, sees in it a sign of cultural decay.

Deputies and men of the German Reichstag, I had to make this survey, for the fight which, in the first months of this year, gradually began to become clear, and of which the German Reich is this time called to be the leader also far exceeds the interests of our nation and country. Just as the Greeks once faced the Persians in war, and the Romans faced the Mongolians, the Spanish heroes defended not only Spain, but the whole of Europe against Africa, just so Germany is fighting today, not for herself, but for the entire Continent. And it is a fortunate symptom that this realization is today so deep in the subconscious of most European nations that, whether by taking up their position openly or whether by the steam of volunteers, they are sharing in this struggle.

When, on the 6th of April of this year, the German and Italian Armies took up their positions for the fight against Yugoslavia and Greece, it was the introduction of the great struggle in which we are still involved. The revolt in Belgrade which led to the overthrow of the former regent and his Government was decisive for the further course of events in this part of Europe, for England was also a party to this putsch. But the chief role was played by Soviet Russia. What I refused to Mr. Molotov on his visit to Berlin, Stalin now thought he could achieve by a revolutionary movement, even against our will. Without consideration for the agreements which had

been concluded, the intentions of the Bolsheviks in power grew still wider. The Pact of Friendship with the new revolutionary regime illuminated the closeness of the threatening danger like lightning.

The feats achieved by the German Armed Forces were given worthy recognition in the German Reichstag on the 4th of May. But what I was then unfortunately unable to express was the realization that we were progressing at tremendous speed toward a fight with a State which was not yet intervening because it was not yet fully prepared, and because it was impossible to use the aerodromes and landing grounds at that time of year on account of the melting snow.

My deputies, when in 1940 I realized from communication in the English House of Commons and the observation of the Russian troop movements on our frontiers that there was the possibility of danger arising in the East of the Reich, I immediately gave orders to set up numerous new armored motorized infantry divisions. The conditions for this were available from the point of view both of material and personnel. I will give you, my Deputies, and indeed the whole German people, only one assurance: the more the democracies speak much about armaments, as is easily understandable, the more National Socialist Germany works. It was so in the past, it is not different today. Every year brings us increased, and above all, improved weapons, there where decisions will be made. In spite of my determination under no circumstances to allow our opponent to make first stab in our heart—in spite of that my decision was a very difficult one. If democratic newspapers today declare that, had I known the strength of our Bolshevik opponent more accurately, I would have hesitated to attack, they understand the position just as little as they understand me, I sought no war. On the contrary I did everything to avoid it. But I would have been forgetful of my duty and responsibility if, in spite of realizing the inevitability of a fight by force of arms, I had failed to draw the only possible conclusions. In view of the mortal danger from Soviet Russia, not only to the German Reich, but to all Europe, I decided, if possible a few days before the outbreak of this [additional?] struggle, to give the signal to attack myself.

Today, we have overwhelming and authentic proof that Russia intended to attack; we are also quite clear about the date on which the attack was to take place. In view of the great danger, the proportions of which we realize perhaps only today to the fullest extent, I can only thank God that He enlightened me at the proper time and that He gave me strength to do what had to be done!

To this, not only millions of German soldiers owe their lives, but Europe its very existence. This much I may state today: had this wave of over 20,000 tanks, hundreds of divisions, tens of thousands of guns, accompanied by more than 10,000 aircraft, suddenly moved against the Reich, Europe would have been lost. Fate has destined a number of nations to forestall this attack, to ward off with the sacrifice of their blood. Had Finland not decided immediately to take up arms for the second time, the leisurely bourgeois life of the other Nordic countries would soon have come to an end.

Had the German Reich not faced the enemy with her soldiers and arms, a flood would have swept over Europe, which once and for all would have finished the ridiculous British idea of maintaining the European balance of power in all its senselessness and stupid tradition. Had Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians not taken over part of the protection of this European world, the Bolshevik hordes would have swept like Attila's Huns over the Danubian countries, and at the cost of the Ionic Sea, Tartars and Mongols would have enforced today the revision of the Montreaux Agreement. Had Italy, Spain and Croatia not sent their divisions, the establishment of a European defense Front would have been impossible, from which emanated the idea of the New Europe as propaganda to all other nations.

Sensing and realizing this, the volunteers have come from Northern and Western Europe, Norwegians, Danes, Dutchmen, Flemings, Belgians, even Frenchmen—volunteers who gave the struggle of the United Powers of the Axis the character of a European crusade—in the truest sense of the world.

The time has not yet come to talk about the planning and the conduct of this campaign, but I believe that I may sketch in a few sentences what

has been achieved in this most gigantic of all struggles, in which memories of the various impressions might so easily fade because of the vastness of the space and the great number of important events.

The attack began on 22nd of June; with irresistible daring the frontier fortifications which were destined to secure the Russian advance against us were broken through and on the 23rd Grodno fell. On the 24th Vilna and Kovoo were taken after Brest-Litovsk had been occupied. On the 26th Duenaburg was in our hands and on the 10th July, the first two great pincer battles of Bialystok and Minsk were concluded: 324,000 prisoners, 3,332 tanks and 1,809 guns fell to us. Already, on 13th July, the Stalin Line was broken through on all important points. On the 16th Smolensk fell after heavy fighting, and on the 19th German and Rumanian formations forced the crossing of the Dniester. On the 6th of August, the Battle of Smolensk was concluded in many pockets and again 310,000 Russians fell into German captivity, while 3,205 tanks and 3,120 guns were destroyed or captured. Only three days later the fate of another Russian Army group was sealed and on 9th August another 103,000 Russians were taken prisoner in the Battle of Ouman; 317 tanks and 1,100 guns destroyed or captured. On the 17th August Nicolaeff was taken, on the 21st, Kherson. On the same day the Battle of Gomel was concluded with 84,000 prisoners taken and 124 tanks, as well as 808 guns captured or destroyed. On the 21st August, the Russian positions between Lakes Peipus and Ilmen were broken through and on the 26th the bridgehead at Dniepropetrovsk fell into our hands. On 28th August German troops marched into Reval and Boltisk Port after heavy fighting, while on the 30th the Finns took Viipuri. By conquering Schluesselburg on the 8th September, Leningrad was finally cut off, also from the South. On 6th September we succeeded in establishing bridgeheads on the Dnieper and on the 8th Poltava fell into our hands. On 9th September German formations stormed the citadel of Kiev and the occupation of Oesel was crowned by taking the Capital. Only now the greatest operations matured into expected successes; on 27th September the Battle of Kiev was concluded;

665,000 prisoners began to move westwards, 884 tanks and 3,178 guns remained as booty in the pockets. As early as 2nd of October the breakthrough battle on the Central Front began, while on 11th October the battle on the Sea of Azov was successfully concluded; again 107,000 prisoners, 212 tanks and 672 guns were counted. On 16th October, German and Rumanian troops marched into Odessa after hard fighting. On 8th October the breakthrough battle on the Central Front was concluded with a new success, unique in history, when 663,000 prisoners were only part of its results; 1,242 tanks and 5,452 guns were either destroyed or captured. On 31st October, the conquest of Dagoos concluded.

On 24th October, the industrial center of Kharkov was taken. On 28th October, the entrance of the Crimea was finally forced at great speed, and on 2nd November already the capital Sinferopol was taken by storm. On 6th November we had pierced through the Crimea up to Kerch.

On 1st December, the total number of Soviet prisoners amounted to 3,806,865; the number of tanks destroyed or captured was 21,391, that of guns, 32,541 and that of aeroplanes, 17,322. During the same period 2,191 British planes were shot-down. The Navy sank 4,170,611 g.r.t. of British shipping, the air force 2,346,080 g.r.t.; a total of 6,516,791 g.r.t. was thus destroyed. [Note: Figures checked, as they do not tally.]

My Deputies, my German people, those are sober facts or perhaps dry figures. Yet, may they never disappear from the history and, above all from the memory and the consciousness, of our own German people. For behind those figures are hidden the achievements, the sacrifices, the privations, the everlasting heroic courage and the readiness to die of millions of the best men of our own nation and of the States allied to us.

All this had to be fought for by my staking health and life and by effort of which those at home can hardly have an idea. Marching for an endless distance, tormented by heat and thirst, often held up by the mud of bottomless roads which would drive them almost to despair, exposed, from the Black Sea to the Arctic Sea, to the inhospitality of climate which from the blazing heat of the July and August days, dropped to the wintry storms of November and December,

tortured by insects, suffering from dirt and vermin, freezing in snow and ice, they have fought—the Germans and the Finns, Italians, Slovaks, Hungarians and Rumanians, the Croats, the volunteers from the North and West European countries, all in all the soldiers of the Eastern Front.

The beginning of winter only will now check this movement; at the beginning of summer it will again no longer be possible to stop the movement. On this day I do not want to mention any individual section of the Armed Forces, I do not want to praise any particular command; they have all made a supreme effort. And yet, understanding and justice compel me to state one thing again and again; amongst our German soldiers the heaviest burden is borne today, as in the past, by our matchless German infantry.

From 22nd June to 1st December the German Army lost in this heroic fight 158,773 killed, 563,082 wounded and 31,191 missing. The Air Force lost 3,231 killed, 8,453 wounded and 2,028 missing. The Navy lost 210 killed, 232 wounded and 115 missing. The total losses of the armed forces are thus 162,314 killed, 571,767 wounded and 33,334 missing. [Note: The figures for soldiers killed do not tally.] That is to say, in killed and wounded slightly more than the field of death of the Somme Battle, in missing a little less than half those missing at that time. But all fathers and sons of our German people.

And now permit me to define my attitude to that other world, which has its representative in that man, who, while our soldiers are fighting in snow and ice, very tactfully likes to make his chats from the fireside, the man who is the main culprit of this war. When in 1939 the conditions of our national interest in the then Polish State became more and more intolerable, I tried at first to eliminate those intolerable conditions by way of a peaceful settlement. For some time it seemed as though the Polish Government itself had seriously considered to agree to a sensible settlement. I may add that in German proposals nothing was demanded that had not been German property in former times. On the contrary, we renounced very much of what, before the World War, had been German property. You will recall the dramatic development of that time, in which sufferings of German nationals increased continuously. You,

my deputies, are in the best position to gauge the extent of blood sacrifice, if you compare it to the casualties of the present war. The campaign in the East has so far cost the German armed forces about 160,000 killed; but in the midst of peace more than 62,000 Germans were killed during those months, some under the most-cruel tortures. It could hardly be contested that the German Reich had had a right to object to such conditions on its Frontiers and to demand that they should cease to exist and that it was entitled to think of its own safety; this could hardly be contested at a time when other countries were seeking elements of their safety even on foreign continents. The problems which had to be overcome were of no territorial significance. Mainly they concerned Danzig and the union with the Reich of the torn-off province, East Prussia. More difficult were the cruel persecutions the Germans were exposed to, in Poland particularly. The other minorities, incidentally, had to suffer a fate hardly less bitter.

When in August the attitude of Poland—thanks to the *carte blanche* guarantee received from England—became still stiffer, the Government of the Reich found it necessary to submit, for the last time, a proposal on the basis of which we were willing to enter into negotiations with Poland—negotiations of which we fully and completely apprised the then British Ambassador. I may recall these proposals today: “Proposal for the settlement of the problem of the Danzig Corridor and of the question of the German-Polish minorities. The situation between the German Reich and Poland has become so strained that any further incident may lead to a clash between the Armed Forces assembled on both sides. Any peaceful settlement must be so arranged that the events mainly responsible for the existing situation cannot occur again—a situation which has caused a state of tension, not only in Eastern Europe, but also in other regions. The cause of this situation lies in the impossible Frontiers laid down by the Versailles dictate and the inhuman treatment of the German minorities in Poland.” I am now going to read the proposals in question. [Hitler then proceeded to read the first 12 points of his proposals] The same for the proposals for safeguarding the minorities. This is the offer of

an agreement such as could not have been made in a more loyal and magnanimous form by any government other than the National Socialist Government of the German Reich.

The Polish Government at that period refused even as much as to consider this proposal. The question then arises: how could such an unimportant State dare simply to refuse an offer of this nature and furthermore, not only indulge in further atrocities to its German inhabitants who had given that country the whole of its culture, but even order mobilization? Perusal of documents of the Foreign Office in Warsaw has given us later some surprising explanations. There was one man who, with devilish lack of conscience, used all his influence to further the warlike intentions of Poland and to eliminate all possibilities of understanding. The reports which the then Polish Ambassador in Washington, Count Potocki, sent to his Government are documents from which it may be seen with a terrifying clearness to what an extent one man alone and the forces driving him are responsible for the second World War. The question next arises, how could this man fall into such fanatical enmity toward a country which in the whole of its history has never done the least harm either to America or to him personally?

So far as Germany's attitude toward America is concerned, I have to state: (i) Germany is perhaps the only great power which has never had a colony either in North or South America, or otherwise displayed there any political activity, unless mention be made of the emigration of many millions of Germans and of their work, which, however, has only been to the benefit of the American Continent and of the U.S.A. (ii) In the whole history of the coming into being and of the existence of the U.S.A. the German Reich has never adopted a politically unfriendly, let alone hostile attitude, but, on the contrary with the blood of many of its sons, it helped to defend the U.S.A. The German Reich never took part in any war against the U.S.A. It itself had war imposed upon it by the U.S.A. in 1917, and then for reasons which have been thoroughly revealed by an investigation committee set up by President Roosevelt himself. There are no other differences between the German and the American people,

either territorial or political, which could possibly touch the interests let alone the existence of the U.S.A. There was always a difference of constitution, but that cannot be the reason for hostilities so long as the one state does not try to interfere with the other. America is a Republic, a Democracy and today is a Republic under strong authoritative leadership. The ocean lies between the two States. The divergences between Capitalist America and Bolshevik Russia, if such conceptions had any truth in them, would be much greater than between America led by a President and Germany led by a Führer.

But it is a fact that the two conflicts between Germany and the U.S.A. were inspired by the same force and caused by two men in the U.S.A.—Wilson and Roosevelt. History has already passed its verdict on Wilson, his name stands for one of the basest breaches of the given word, that led to disruption not only among the so-called vanquished, but also among the victors. This breach of his word alone made possible the Dictate of Versailles. We know today that a group of interested financiers stood behind Wilson and made use of this paralytic professor because they hoped for increased business. The German people have had to pay for having believed this man with the collapse of their political and economic existence.

But why is there now another President of the U.S.A. who regards it as his only task to intensify anti-German feeling to the pitch of war? National-Socialism came to power in Germany in the same year as Roosevelt was elected President. I understand only too well that a world-wide distance separates Roosevelt's ideas and my ideas. Roosevelt comes from a rich family and belongs to the class whose path is smoothed in the Democracies. I am only the child of a small, poor family and had to fight my way by work and industry. When the Great War came, Roosevelt occupied a position where he got to know only its pleasant consequences, enjoyed by those who do business while others bleed. I was only one of those who carry out orders, as an ordinary soldier, and naturally returned from the war just as poor as I was in Autumn 1914. I shared the fate of millions, and Franklin Roosevelt only the fate of the so-called Upper Ten Thousand.

After the war Roosevelt tried his hand at financial speculation; he made profits out of the inflation, out of the misery of others, while I, together with many hundreds of thousands more, lay in hospitals. When Roosevelt finally stepped on the political stage with all the advantages of his class, I was unknown and fought for the resurrection of my people. When Roosevelt took his place at the head of the U.S.A., he was candidate of a Capitalist Party which made use of him: when I became Chancellor of the German Reich, I was the Führer of the popular movement I had created. The powers behind Roosevelt were those powers I had fought at home. The Brains Trust was composed of people such as we have fought against in Germany as parasites and removed from public life.

And yet there is something in common between us. Roosevelt took over a State in a very poor economic condition, and I took over a Reich faced with complete ruin, also thanks to Democracy. In the U.S.A. there were 13,000,000 unemployed, and in Germany 7,000,000 part-time workers. The finances of both States were in a bad way, and ordinary economic life could scarcely be maintained. A development then started in the U.S.A. and in German Reich which will make it easy for posterity to pass a verdict on the correctness of the theories.

While an unprecedented revival of economic life, culture and art took place in Germany under National Socialist leadership within the space of a few years, President Roosevelt did not succeed in bringing about even the slightest improvements in his own country. And yet this work must have been much easier in the U.S.A. where there live scarcely 15 persons on a square kilometer, as against 140 in Germany. If such a country does not succeed in assuring economic prosperity, this must be a result either of the bad faith of its leaders in power, or of a total inefficiency on the part of the leading men. In scarcely five years, economic problems had been solved in Germany and unemployment had been overcome. During the same period, President Roosevelt had increased the State Debt of his country to an enormous extent, had decreased the value of the dollar, had brought about a further disintegration of economic life, without diminishing the

unemployment figures. All this is not surprising if one bears in mind that the men he had called to support him, rather, the men who had called him, belonged to the Jewish element, whose interests are all for disintegration and never for order. While speculation was being fought in National Socialist Germany, it thrived astoundingly under the Roosevelt regime.

Roosevelt's New Deal legislation was all wrong: it was actually the biggest failure ever experienced by one man. There can be no doubt that a continuation of this economic policy would have done this President in peace time, in spite of all his dialectical skill. In a European State he would surely have come eventually before a State Court on a charge of deliberate waste of the national wealth; and he would have scarcely escaped at the hands of a Civil Court, on a charge of criminal business methods.

The fact was realized and fully appreciated also by many Americans including some of high standing. A threatening opposition was gathering over the head of this man. He guessed that the only salvation for him lay in diverting public attention from home to foreign policy. It is interesting to study in this connection the reports of the Polish Envoy in Washington, Potocki. He repeatedly points out that Roosevelt was fully aware of the danger threatening the card castle of his economic system with collapse, and that he was therefore urgently in need of a diversion in foreign policy. He was strengthened in this resolve by the Jews around him. Their Old Testament thirst for revenge thought to see in the U.S.A. an instrument for preparing a second "Purim" for the European nations which were becoming increasingly anti-Semitic. The full diabolical meanness of Jewry rallied round this man, and he stretched out his hands.

Thus began the increasing efforts of the American President to create conflicts, to do everything to prevent conflicts from being peacefully solved. For years this man harboured one desire—that a conflict should break out somewhere in the world. The most convenient place would be in Europe, where the American economy could be committed to the cause of one of the belligerents in such a way that a political interconnection of interests would arise, calculated

slowly to bring America nearer to such a conflict. This would thereby divert public interest from bankrupt economic policy at home towards foreign problems.

His attitude to the German Reich in this spirit was particularly sharp. In 1937, Roosevelt made a number of speeches, including a particularly mean one pronounced in Chicago on 5th October, 1937. Systematically he began to incite American public opinion against Germany. He threatened to establish a kind of Quarantine against the so-called Authoritarian States. While making these increasingly spiteful and inflammatory speeches, President Roosevelt summoned the American Ambassadors to Washington to report to him. This event followed some further declarations of an insulting character; and ever since, the two countries have been connected with each other only through *Chargés d'Affaires*.

From November 1938, onwards, his systematic efforts were directed towards sabotaging any possibility of an appeasement policy in Europe. In public, he was hypocritically pretending to be for peace; but at the same time he was threatening any country ready to pursue a policy of peaceful understanding with the freezing of assets, with economic reprisals, with demands for the repayment of loans, etc. Staggering information to this effect can be derived from the reports of Polish Ambassadors in Washington, London, Paris, and Brussels.

In January, 1939, this man began to strengthen his campaign of incitement and threatened to take all possible Congressional measures against the Authoritarian States, with the exception of war, while alleging that other countries were trying to interfere in American affairs and insisting in the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, he himself began from March 1939 onwards, to meddle in European affairs which were no concern at all of the President of the U.S.A., since he does not understand those problems, and even if he did understand them and the historic background behind them, he would have just as little right to worry about the central European area as the German Reich has to judge conditions in a U.S. State and to take an attitude towards them.

But Mr. Roosevelt went even farther. In contradiction to all the tenets of international law, he

declared that he would not recognize certain Governments which did not suit him, would not accept readjustments, would maintain Legations of States dissolved long before or actually set them up as legal Governments. He even went so far as to conclude agreements with such Envoys, and thus to acquire a right simply to occupy foreign territories.

On 5th April, 1939, came Roosevelt's famous appeal to myself and the Duce. It was a clumsy combination of the geographical and political ignorance of the millionaire circles around him. It asked us to give undertakings to conclude non-aggression Pacts indiscriminately with any country, including mostly countries which were not even free, since Mr. Roosevelt's allies had annexed them or changed them into Protectorates. You will remember, my Deputies, that I then gave a polite and clear reply to this meddling gentleman. For some months at least, this stopped the flow of eloquence from this honest warmonger. But his place was taken by his honorable spouse. She declined to live with her sons in a world such as the one we have worked out. And quite right, for this is a world of labor and not of cheating and trafficking.

After a little rest, the husband of that woman came back on the scene and on the 4th November, 1939, engineered the reversion on the Neutrality Law so as to suspend the ban on the export of arms, in favor of a one-sided delivery of arms to Germany's opponents. He then begins, somewhat as in Asia and in China, by the roundabout way of an economic infiltration to establish a community of interests destined to become operative sooner or later. In the same month, he recognizes, as a so-called Government in exile, a gang of Polish emigrants, whose only political foundation was a few million gold coins taken with them from Warsaw. On the 9th of April he goes on and he orders the blocking of Norwegian and Danish assets under the lying pretext of placing them beyond the German reach, although he knows perfectly well that the Danish Government in its financial administration is not in any way being interfered with, let alone controlled, by Germany. To the various exiled Governments recognized by him, the Norwegian is now added. On the 15th May, 1940, he recognizes the Dutch

and Belgian émigré Governments. This is followed by blocking Dutch and Belgian assets. His true mentality then comes clearly to light in a telegram of 15th June to the French Prime Minister, Reynaud. He advises him that the American government will double its help to France, provided that France continues the war against Germany. So as to give still greater expression to this, his wish for a continuation of the war, he issues a declaration that the American Government will not recognize the results of the conquest of territories—i.e., the restoration to Germany of lands which had been stolen from her. I don't need to assure you, Members of the Reichstag, that it is a matter of complete indifference to every German Government whether the President of the U.S.A. recognizes the frontiers of Europe or no, and that this indifference will likewise continue, in the future. I merely quote this to illustrate the methodical incitement which has come from this man who speaks hypocritically of peace, but always urges to war.

But now he is seized with fear that if peace is brought about in Europe, his squandering of billions of money on armaments will be looked upon (as plain fraud), since nobody will attack America—and he then himself must provoke this attack upon his country. On the 17th July, 1940, the American President orders the blocking of French assets with a view, as he puts it, to placing them beyond German reach, but really in order to transfer the French gold from Casablanca to America with the assistance of an American cruiser. In July 1940 he tries by enlisting American citizens in the British Air Force and by training British airmen in the U.S.A. to pave ever better the way to war. In August 1940, a military program is jointly drawn up between the U.S.A. and Canada. To make the establishment of a Canadian—U.S. Defense Committee plausible—plausible at least to the biggest fools—he invents from time to time crises, by means of which he pretends that America is being threatened with aggression.

This he wishes to impress upon the American people by suddenly returning on the 3rd of April to Washington with all speed on account of the alleged danger of the situation. In September 1940 he draws still nearer to the war. He

turns over to the British Fleet 50 destroyers of the American Navy in return for which, to be sure, he takes over several British bases in North and South America.

From all these actions, it may be clearly seen how, with all his hatred for National Socialist Germany, he forms the resolution of taking over, as safely and securely as possible, the British Empire in the moment of its downfall. Since England is no longer in the position to pay cash for all the American deliveries, he imposes the Lease-Lend Law on the American people. He thus receives powers to lend or lease support to countries, the defense of which may appear to him as vital in America's interests. Then in [indistinct] 1941, as Germany cannot be made to react to any of his gestures, he takes yet a further step. As far back as the 9th December 1939, American (?cruisers) in the security zone handed over the German ship *Columbus* to the British ships. In the circumstances she had to be sunk (note: i.e., scuttled). On the same day, U.S. forces co-operated to prevent the attempted escape of the German steamer *Arauca*. On the 27th January 1940, the U.S. cruiser [named but indistinct], in contravention of International Law, advised enemy naval forces of the movements of the German steamers *Arauca*, *La Planta*, and *Mangoni*. On the 27th June, 1940, he ordered, in complete contravention of International Law, a restriction of the freedom of movements of foreign ships in U.S. harbors. In November, 1940, he ordered the German ships (? *Reugeu*), *Niederwald*, and *Rhein* to be shadowed by American ships until these steamers were compelled to scuttle themselves as not to fall into enemy hands. On 30th April, 1941, followed the opening up of the Red Sea to U.S. ships, so that they could carry supplies to the British armies in the Near East. Meanwhile, in March, all German ships were requisitioned by the American authorities. In the course of this German nationals were treated in a most inhuman manner, and in contravention of all notions of international law certain places of residence were assigned them, travelling restrictions imposed upon them, and so on. Two German officers who had escaped from Canadian captivity, were—again contrary to all the dictates of international law—handcuffed and handed over to the

Canadian authorities. On the 24th March the same President who stands against every aggression, acclaimed Simovitch [Chief of Aviation, Yugoslavia] and his companions who [?gained their positions] by aggression and by removing the lawful government of the country. Roosevelt some months before sent Colonel Donavan, a completely unworthy creature, to the Balkans, to Sofia, and Belgrade, to engineer a rising against Germany and Italy.

In April, he promised help to Yugoslavia and Greece under the Lend-Lease Act. At the end of April, this man recognized the Yugoslav and Greek émigré governments, and once more against international law, blocked the Yugoslav and Greek assets. From the middle of April onwards, American watch over the Western Atlantic by U.S.A. patrols was extended and reports were made to the British. On the 26th April, Roosevelt transferred to the British 20 motor—torpedo—boats and at the same time, British warships were being repaired in U.S. ports. On 5th May, the illegal arming and repairing of Norwegian ships for England took place. On 4th June American troop transports arrived in Greenland, to build airdromes. On 9th June, came the first British report that, on Roosevelt's orders, a U.S. warship had attacked a German U-boat with depth charges near Greenland. On 4th June, German assets in the U.S.A. were illegally blocked. On the 7th June Roosevelt demanded under mendacious pretexts, that German consuls should be withdrawn and German consulates closed. He also demanded the closing of the German Press Agency, Transocean, the German Information Library and the German Reichsbank Central Office. On 6th and 7th July, Iceland, which is within the German fighting zone, was occupied by American Forces on the orders of Roosevelt. He intended, first of all, to force Germany to make war and to make the German U-boat warfare as ineffective as it was in 1915–16. At the same time, he promised American help to the Soviet Union. On 10th June, the Navy Minister, Knox, suddenly announced an American order to shoot at Axis warships. On the 4th September, the U.S. destroyer *Greer* obeying orders, operated with British aircraft against German U-boats in the Atlantic. Five days later, a German U-boat noticed the U.S.

destroyer acting as escort in a British convoy. On 11th September Roosevelt finally made a speech in which he confirmed and repeated his order to fire on Axis ships. On 29th of September, U.S. escort-vessels attacked a German U-boat with depth charges east of Greenland. On 7th October the U.S. destroyer *Kearney* acting as an escort vessel for Britain, again attacked a German U-boat with depth charges. Finally, on 6th November U.S. forces illegally seized the German steamer, *Odenwald* and took it to an American port where the crew were taken prisoner.

I will pass over the insulting attacks made by this so-called President against me. That he calls me a gangster is uninteresting. After all, this expression was not coined in Europe but in America, no doubt because such gangsters are lacking here. Apart from this, I cannot be insulted by Roosevelt for I consider him mad, just as Wilson was. I don't need to mention what this man has done for years in same way against Japan. First he incites war then falsifies the cause, then odiously wraps himself in a cloak of Christian hypocrisy and slowly but surely leads mankind to war, not without calling God to witness the honesty of his attack—in the approved manner of an old Freemason. I think you have all found it a relief that now, at last, one State has been the first to take the step of protest against his historically unique and shameless ill-treatment of truth, and of right—which protest this man has desired and about which he cannot complain. The fact that the Japanese Government, which has been negotiating for years with this man, has at last become tired of being mocked by him in such an unworthy way, fills us all, the German people, and I think, all other decent people in the world, with deep satisfaction.

We have seen what the Jews have done in Soviet Russia. We have made the acquaintance of the Jewish Paradise on earth. Millions of German soldiers have been able to see this country where the international Jews have destroyed people and property. The President of the U.S.A. ought finally to understand—I say this only because of his limited intellect—that we know that the aim of this struggle is to destroy one State after another. But the present German Reich has nothing more in common with the old Germany. And we, for our part, will now do what this

provocateur has been trying to do so much for years. Not only because we are the ally of Japan, but also because Germany and Italy have enough insight and strength to comprehend that, in these historic times, the existence or non-existence of the nations, *is* being decided perhaps for ever. We clearly see the intention of the rest of the world towards us. They reduced Democratic Germany to hunger. They would exterminate our social things of today. When Churchill and Roosevelt state that they want to build up a new social order, later on, it is like a hairdresser with a bald head recommending an unfortunate hair-restorer. These men, who live in the most socially backward states, have misery and distress enough in their own countries to occupy themselves with the distribution of foodstuffs.

As for the German nation, it needs charity neither from Mr. Churchill nor from Mr. Roosevelt, let alone from Mr. Eden. It wants only its rights! It will secure for itself this right to life even if thousands of Churchills and Roosevelts conspire against it.

In the whole history of the German nation, of nearly 2,000 years, it has never been so united as today and, thanks to National Socialism, it will remain united in the future. Probably it has never seen so clearly, and rarely been so conscious of its honour. I have therefore arranged for his passports to be handed to the American Charge d'Affaires today, and the following . . . [drowned in applause].

As a consequence of the further extension of President Roosevelt's policy, which is aimed at unrestricted world domination and dictatorship, the U.S.A. together with England have not hesitated from using any means to dispute the rights of the German, Italian, and Japanese nations to the basis of their natural existence. The Governments of the U.S.A. and of England have therefore resisted, not only now but also for all time, every just understanding meant to bring about a better New Order in the world. Since the beginning of the war the American President, Roosevelt, has been guilty of a series of the worst crimes against international law; illegal seizure of ships and other property of German and Italian nationals were coupled with the threat to, and looting of, those who were deprived of their

liberty by being interned. Roosevelt's ever increasing attacks finally went so far that he ordered the American Navy to attack everywhere ships under the German and Italian flags, and to sink them—this in gross violation of international law. American ministers boasted of having destroyed German submarines in this criminal way. German and Italian merchant ships were attacked by American cruisers, captured and their crew imprisoned. With no attempt at an official denial there has now been revealed in America President Roosevelt's plan by which, at the latest in 1943, Germany and Italy were to be attacked in Europe by military means. In this way the sincere efforts of Germany and Italy to prevent an extension of the war and to maintain relations with the U.S.A. in spite of the unbearable provocations which have been carried on for years by President Roosevelt, have been frustrated. Germany and Italy have been finally compelled, in view of this, and in loyalty to the Tri-Partite Pact, to carry on the struggle against the U.S.A. and England jointly and side by side with Japan for the defense and thus for the maintenance of the liberty and independence of their nations and empires.

The Three Powers have therefore concluded the following Agreement, which was signed in Berlin today:

In their unshakable determination not to lay down arms until the joint war against the U.S.A. and England reaches a successful conclusion, the German, Italian, and Japanese Governments have agreed on the following points:

Article I. Germany, Italy, and Japan will wage the common war forced upon them by the U.S.A. and England with all the means of power at their disposal, to a victorious conclusion.

Article II. Germany, Italy and Japan undertake not to conclude an armistice or peace with the U.S.A. or with England without complete mutual understanding.

Article III. Germany, Italy and Japan will continue the closest cooperation even after the victorious conclusion of the war in order to bring about a just new order in

the sense of the Tri-Partite Pact concluded by them on the 27th September 1940.

Article IV. This Agreement comes into force immediately after signature and remains in force as long as the Tri-Partite Pact of 27th September 1940. The Signatory Powers will confer in time before this period ends about the future form of the co-operation provided for in Article III of this Agreement.

Deputies, Members of the German Reichstag: Ever since my last peace proposal of July 1940 was rejected, we have realized that this struggle has to be fought out to its last implications. That the Anglo-Saxon-Jewish-Capitalist World finds itself now in one and the same Front with Bolshevism does not surprise us National Socialists: we have always found them in company. We have concluded the struggle successfully inside Germany and have destroyed our adversaries after 16 years struggle for power. When, 23 years ago, I decided to enter political life and to lift this nation out of its decline, I was a nameless, unknown soldier. Many among you know how difficult were the first few years of this struggle. From the time when the movement consisted of seven men, until we took over power in January 1933, the path was so miraculous that only Providence itself with its blessing could have made it possible.

Today I am the head of the strongest Army in the world, the most gigantic Air Force and of a proud Navy. Behind and around me stands the Party with which I became great and which has become great through me. The enemies I see before me are the same enemies as 20 years ago, but the path along which I look forward cannot be compared with that on which I look back. The German people recognizes the decisive hour of its existence, millions of soldiers do their duty, millions of German peasants and workers, women and girls, produce bread for the home country and arms for the Front. We are allied with strong peoples, who in the same need are faced with the same enemies. The American President and his

Plutocratic clique have mocked us as the Have-nots—that is true, but the Have-nots will see to it that they are not robbed of the little they have.

You, my fellow party members, know my unalterable determination to carry a fight once begun to its successful conclusion. You know my determination in such a struggle to be deterred by nothing, to break every resistance which must be broken. In September 1939 I assured you that neither force nor arms nor time would overcome Germany. I will assure my enemies that neither force of arms nor time nor any internal doubts, can make us waver in the performance of our duty. When we think of the sacrifices of our soldiers, any sacrifice made by the home Front is completely unimportant. When we think of those who in past centuries have fallen for the Reich, then we realize the greatness of our duty. But anybody who tries to evade this duty has no claim to be regarded in our midst as a fellow German. Just as we were unmercifully hard in our struggle for power we shall be unmercifully hard in the struggle to maintain our nation.

At a time when thousands of our best men are dying nobody must expect to live who tries to depreciate the sacrifices made at the Front. Immateral under what camouflage he tries to disturb this German Front, to undermine the resistance of our people, to weaken the authority of the regime, to sabotage the achievements of the Home Front, he shall die for it! But with the difference that this sacrifice brings the highest honour to the soldier at the Front, whereas the other dies dishonored and disgraced.

Our enemies must not deceive themselves—in the 2,000 years of German history known to us, our people have never been more united than today. The Lord of the universe has treated us so well in the past years that we bow in gratitude to a providence which has allowed us to be members of such a great nation. We thank Him that we also can be entered with honour into the everlasting book of German history!

As recorded by the Monitoring Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Brackets and parentheses inserted by the BBC.

Appendix 6

Benito Mussolini's War Statement Rome, December 11, 1941

This is another day of solemn decision in Italy's history and of memorable events destined to give a new course to the history of continents.

The powers of the steel pact, Fascist Italy and Nationalist Socialist Germany, ever closely linked, participate from today on the side of heroic Japan against the United States of America.

The Tripartite Pact becomes a military alliance which draws around its colors 250,000,000 men determined to do all in order to win.

Neither the Axis nor Japan wanted an extension of the conflict.

One man, one man only, a real tyrannical democrat, through a series of infinite provocations, betraying with a supreme fraud the population of his country, wanted the war and had prepared for it day by day with diabolical obstinacy.

The formidable blows that on the immense Pacific expanse have been already inflicted on American forces show how prepared are the soldiers of the Empire of the Rising Sun.

I say to you, and you will understand, that it is a privilege to fight with them.

Today, the Tripartite Pact, with the plentitude of its forces and its moral and material resources, is a formidable instrument for the war and a certainty for victory.

Tomorrow, the Tripartite Pact will become an instrument of just peace between the peoples.

Italians! Once more arise and be worthy of this historical hour!

We shall win.

New York Times, December 12, 1941.

Appendix 7

Ernie Pyle, from *Here Is Your War*

Here it is June of 1943 and it seems a long time since we landed at Oran in November of 1942. Of course there were thousands of us even in those first days in Africa, and yet it seemed like a little family then. And especially so when we went on to Tunisia—in those bitter January days we were so small that I knew almost every officer on the staff of every unit, in addition to hundreds of the soldiers. Nothing was very official in our lives then; there was no red tape; we correspondents at the front were few and were considered by the army rather like partners in the firm. We made deep friendships that have endured.

During the winter I dropped in frequently at Corps Headquarters, buried deep in a gulch beyond Tebessa. They put up a little tent for me, and I tried to work and sleep in it, but was never very successful at either because of being constantly, paralyzing cold throughout the twenty-four hours of the day. We ate in a tent with a crushed-stone floor and an iron-bellied stove in the center. It was the only warm place I knew, and so informal was the war in those first days that often I sat around the stove after supper and just gabbed country-store like with Lieutenant General Lloyd Fredendall, then commander of our armies in Tunisia. I was very fond of General Fredendall, and I admired and respected him. For some unknown reason I always thought of him to myself as “Papa” Fredendall, although I

don’t think anybody else ever did. I still wear the Armored Corps combat jacket he gave me.

The first pioneering days of anything are always the best days. Everything is new and animating, and acquaintanceships are easy and everyone is knit closely together. In the latter part of the Tunisian war things were just as good for us correspondents—we had better facilities and the fighting army continued to be grand to us—and yet toward the end it became so big that I felt like a spectator instead of a participant. Which is, of course, all that a correspondent is or ever should be. But the old intimacy was gone.

And then finally the Tunisian campaign was over, spectacularly collapsed after the bitterest fighting we had known in our theater. It was only in those last days that I came to know what war really is. I don’t know how any of the men who went through the thick of that hill-by-hill butchery could ever be the same again. The end of the Tunisian war brought exhilaration, then a let-down, and later restlessness from anticlimax that I could see multiplied a thousand times when the last surrender comes. That transition back to normal days will be as difficult for many as was the change into war, and some will never be able to accomplish it.

Ernie Pyle, *Here Is Your War* (New York: H. Holt, 1943), pp. 301–302.

Appendix 8

Wendell L. Willkie, from *One World*

If our withdrawal from world affairs after the last war was a contributing factor to the present war and to the economic instability of the past twenty years—and it seems plain that it was—a withdrawal from the problems and responsibilities of the world after this war would be sheer disaster. Even our relative geographical isolation no longer exists.

At the end of the last war, not a single plane had flown across the Atlantic. Today that ocean is a mere ribbon, with airplanes making regular scheduled flights. The Pacific is only a slightly wider ribbon in the ocean of air, and Europe and Asia at our very doorstep.

America must choose one of three courses after this war: narrow nationalism, which inevitably means the ultimate loss of our own liberty; international imperialism, which means the sacrifice of some other nation's liberty; or the creation of a world in which there shall be an equality of opportunity for every race and every nation. I am convinced the American people will choose, by overwhelming majority, the last of these courses. To make this choice effective, we must win not only the war, but also the peace, and we must start winning it now.

To win this peace three things seem to me necessary—first, we must plan now for peace on a world basis; second, the world must be free, politically and economically, for nations and for men, that peace may exist in it; third, America must play an active, constructive part in freeing it and keeping its peace.

When I say that peace must be planned on a world basis, I mean quite literally that it must embrace the earth. Continents and oceans are plainly only parts of a whole, seen, as I have seen them, from the air. England and America are parts. Russia and China, Egypt, Syria and Turkey, Iraq and Iran are also parts. And it is inescapable that there can be no peace for any part of the world unless the foundations of peace are made secure throughout all parts of the world.

This cannot be accomplished by mere declarations of our leaders, as in an Atlantic Charter. Its accomplishment depends primarily upon acceptance by the peoples of the world. Or if the failure to reach international understanding after the last war taught us anything it taught us this: even if war leaders apparently agree upon generalized principles and slogans while the war is being fought, when they come to the peace table they make their own interpretations of their previous declarations. So unless today, while the war is being fought, the people of the United States and of Great Britain, of Russia and China, and of all the other United Nations, fundamentally agree on their purposes, fine and idealistic expressions of hope such as those of the Atlantic Charter will live merely to mock us as have Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points. The Four Freedoms will not be accomplished by the declarations of those momentarily in power. They will become real only if the people of the world forge them into actuality.

When I say that in order to have peace this world must be free, I am only reporting that a

great process has started which no man—certainly not Hitler—can stop. Men and women all over the world are on the march, physically, intellectually, and spiritually. After centuries of ignorant and dull compliance, hundreds of millions of people in Eastern Europe and Asia have opened the books. Old fears no longer frighten them. They are no longer willing to be Eastern slaves for Western profits. They are beginning to know that men's welfare throughout the world is interdependent. They are resolved, as we must be, that there is no more place for imperialism within their own society than in the society of nations. The big house on the hill surrounded by mud huts has lost its awesome charm. Our Western world and our presumed supremacy are now on trial. Our boastings and our big talk leave Asia cold. Men and women in Russia and China and in the Middle East are conscious now of their own potential strength. They are coming to know that many of the decisions about the future of the world lie in their hands. And they intend that these decisions shall leave the peoples of each nation free from foreign domination, free for economic, social, and spiritual growth.

Economic freedom is as important as political freedom. Not only must people have access to what other peoples produce, but their own products must in turn have some chance of reaching men all over the world. There will be no peace, there will be no real development, there will be no economic stability, unless we find the method by which we can begin to break down the unnecessary trade barriers hampering the flow of goods. Obviously, the sudden and uncompromising abolition of tariffs after the war could only result in disaster. But obviously, also, one of the freedoms we are fighting for is freedom to trade. I know there are many men, particularly in America, where our standard of living exceeds the standard of living in the rest of the world, who are genuinely alarmed at such a prospect, who believe that any such process will only lessen our own standard of living. The reverse of this is true.

Many reasons may be assigned for the amazing economic development of the United States. The abundance of our national resources, the

freedom of our political institutions, and the character of our population have all undoubtedly contributed. But in my judgment the greatest factor has been the fact that by the happenstance of good fortune there was created here in America the largest area in the world in which there were no barriers to the exchange of goods and ideas.

And I should like to point out to those who are fearful one inescapable fact. In view of the astronomical figures our national debt will assume by the end of this war, and in a world reduced in size by industrial and transportation developments, even our present standard of living in America cannot be maintained unless the exchange of goods flows more freely over the whole world. It is also inescapably true that to raise the standard of living of any man anywhere in the world is to raise the standard of living by some slight degree of every man everywhere in the world.

Finally, when I say that this world demands the full participation of a self-confident America, I am only passing on an invitation which the peoples of the East have given us. They would like the United States and the other United Nations to be partners with them in this grand adventure. They want us to join them in creating a new society of independent nations, free alike of the economic injustices of the West and the political malpractices of the East. But as partners in that great new combination they want us neither hesitant, incompetent, nor afraid. They want partners who will not hesitate to speak out for the correction of injustice anywhere in the world.

Our allies in the East know that we intend to pour out our resources in this war. But they expect us now—not after the war—to use the enormous power of our giving to promote liberty and justice. Other peoples, not yet fighting, are waiting no less eagerly for us to accept the most challenging opportunity of all history—the chance to help create a new society in which men and women the world around can live and grow invigorated by independence and freedom.

Wendell L. Willkie, *One World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943), pp. 202–206.

Appendix 9

Text of the Yalta Conference Agreement February 1945

PROTOCOL OF PROCEEDINGS OF CRIMEA CONFERENCE

The Crimea Conference of the heads of the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which took place from Feb. 4 to 11, came to the following conclusions:

I. WORLD ORGANIZATION

It was decided:

1. That a United Nations Conference on the proposed world organization should be summoned for Wednesday, 25 April, 1945, and should be held in the United States of America.
2. The nations to be invited to this conference should be:
 - (a) the United Nations as they existed on 8 Feb., 1945; and
 - (b) Such of the Associated Nations as have declared war on the common enemy by 1 March, 1945. (For this purpose, by the term "Associated Nations" was meant the eight Associated Nations and Turkey.) When the conference on world organization is held, the delegates of the United Kingdom and United States of America will support a proposal

to admit to original membership two Soviet Socialist Republics, i.e., the Ukraine and White Russia.

3. That the United States Government, on behalf of the three powers, should consult the Government of China and the French Provisional Government in regard to decisions taken at the present conference concerning the proposed world organization.
4. That the text of the invitation to be issued to all nations which would take part in the United Nations conference should be as follows:

"The Government of the United States of America, on behalf of itself and of the Governments of the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of China and of the Provisional Government of the French Republic invite the Government of ——— to send representatives to a conference to be held on 25 April, 1945, or soon thereafter, at San Francisco, in the United States of America, to prepare a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"The above-named Governments suggest that the conference consider as affording a basis for such a Charter the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization which were made public last October as a result of the Dumbarton Oaks conference and which

have now been supplemented by the following provisions for Section C of Chapter VI:

C. Voting

- “1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.
- “2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.
- “3. Decisions of the Security Council on all matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A and under the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter VII, Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting.

“Further information as to arrangements will be transmitted subsequently.

“In the event that the Government of ——— desires in advance of the conference to present views or comments concerning the proposals, the Government of the United States of America will be pleased to transmit such views and comments to the other participating Governments.”

Territorial trusteeship:

It was agreed that the five nations which will have permanent seats on the Security Council should consult each other prior to the United Nations conference on the question of territorial trusteeship.

The acceptance of this recommendation is subject to its being made clear that territorial trusteeship will only apply to

- (a) existing mandates of the League of Nations;
- (b) territories detached from the enemy as a result of the present war;
- (c) any other territory which might voluntarily be placed under trusteeship; and
- (d) no discussion of actual territories is contemplated at the forthcoming United Nations conference or in the preliminary consultations, and it will

be a matter for subsequent agreement which territories within the above categories will be placed under trusteeship.

[Begin first section published Feb. 13, 1945.]

II. DECLARATION OF LIBERATED EUROPE

The following declaration has been approved:

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the people of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated people may exercise these rights, the three governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis state in Europe where, in their judgment conditions require,

- (a) to establish conditions of internal peace;
- (b) to carry out emergency relief measures for the relief of distressed peoples;

- (c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of Governments responsive to the will of the people; and
- (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three Governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authorities or other Governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three Governments, conditions in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measure necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations and our determination to build in cooperation with other peace-loving nations world order, under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the three powers express the hope that the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.

[End first section published Feb. 13, 1945.]

III. DISMEMBERMENT OF GERMANY

It was agreed that Article 12 (a) of the Surrender terms for Germany should be amended to read as follows:

“The United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall possess supreme authority with respect to Germany. In the exercise of such authority they will take such steps, including the complete dismemberment of Germany as they deem requisite for future peace and security.”

The study of the procedure of the dismember-

ment of Germany was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Anthony Eden, Mr. John Winnant, and Mr. Fedor T. Gusev. This body would consider the desirability of associating with it a French representative.

IV. ZONE OF OCCUPATION FOR THE FRENCH AND CONTROL COUNCIL FOR GERMANY

It was agreed that a zone in Germany, to be occupied by the French forces, should be allocated France. This zone would be formed out of the British and American zones and its extent would be settled by the British and Americans in consultation with the French Provisional Government.

It was also agreed that the French Provisional Government should be invited to become a member of the allied Control Council for Germany.

V. REPARATION

The following protocol has been approved:
Protocol

On the Talks Between the Heads of Three Governments at the Crimean Conference on the Question of the German Reparations in Kind

1. Germany must pay in kind for the losses caused by her to the Allied nations in the course of the war. Reparations are to be received in the first instance by those countries which have borne the main burden of the war, have suffered the heaviest losses and have organized victory over the enemy.
2. Reparation in kind is to be exacted from Germany in three following forms:
 - (a) Removals within two years from the surrender of Germany or the cessation of organized resistance from the national wealth of Germany located on the territory of Germany herself as well as outside her territory (equipment, machine tools, ships, rolling stock, German investments abroad, shares of industrial, transport and other enterprises

in Germany, etc.), these removals to be carried out chiefly for the purpose of destroying the war potential of Germany.

- (b) Annual deliveries of goods from current production for a period to be fixed.
 - (c) Use of German labor.
3. For the working out on the above principles of a detailed plan for exaction of reparation from Germany an Allied reparation commission will be set up in Moscow. It will consist of three representatives—one from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, one from the United Kingdom and one from the United States of America.
 4. With regard to the fixing of the total sum of the reparation as well as the distribution of it among the countries which suffered from the German aggression, the Soviet and American delegations agreed as follows:

“The Moscow reparation commission should take in its initial studies as a basis for discussion the suggestion of the Soviet Government that the total sum of the reparation in accordance with the points (a) and (b) of the Paragraph 2 should be 22 billion dollars and that 50 per cent should go to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.”

The British delegation was of the opinion that, pending consideration of the reparation question by the Moscow reparation commission, no figures of reparation should be mentioned.

The above Soviet-American proposal has been passed to the Moscow reparation commission as one of the proposals to be considered by the commission.

VI. MAJOR WAR CRIMINALS

The conference agreed that the question of the major war criminals should be the subject of inquiry by the three Foreign Secretaries for report in due course after the close of the conference.

[Begin second section published Feb. 13, 1945.]

VII. POLAND

The following declaration on Poland was agreed by the conference:

“A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the red army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish Provisional Government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of the western part of Poland. The Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This should then be called the Polish Provisional new Government of National Unity.

“M. Molotov, Mr. Harriman and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present Provisional Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganization of the present Government along the above lines. This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

“When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the government of the U.S.S.R., which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present Provisional Government of Poland, and the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States of America will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, and will exchange

Ambassadors by whose reports the respective Governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

“The three heads of Government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions in territory in the north and west. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course of the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference.”

VIII. YUGOSLAVIA

It was agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and to Dr. Ivan Subasitch:

- (a) That the Tito-Subasitch agreement should immediately be put into effect and a new government formed on the basis of the agreement.
- (b) That as soon as the new Government has been formed it should declare:

(I) That the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the National Liberation (AVNOJ) will be extended to include members of the last Yugoslav Skupstina who have not compromised themselves by collaboration with the enemy, thus forming a body to be known as a temporary Parliament and

(II) That legislative acts passed by the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the National Liberation (AVNOJ) will be subject to subsequent ratification by a Constituent Assembly; and that this statement should be published in the communiqué of the conference.

IX. ITALO-YUGOSLAV FRONTIER— ITALO-AUSTRIAN FRONTIER

Notes on these subjects were put in by the British delegation and the American and Soviet

delegations agreed to consider them and give their views later.

X. YUGOSLAV-BULGARIAN RELATIONS

There was an exchange of views between the Foreign Secretaries on the question of the desirability of a Yugoslav-Bulgarian pact of alliance. The question at issue was whether a state still under an armistice regime could be allowed to enter into a treaty with another state. Mr. Eden suggested that the Bulgarian and Yugoslav Governments should be informed that this could not be approved. Mr. Stettinius suggested that the British and American Ambassadors should discuss the matter further with Mr. Molotov in Moscow. Mr. Molotov agreed with the proposal of Mr. Stettinius.

XI. SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The British delegation put in notes for the consideration of their colleagues on the following subjects:

- (a) The Control Commission in Bulgaria.
- (b) Greek claims upon Bulgaria, more particularly with reference to reparations.
- (c) Oil equipment in Rumania.

XII. IRAN

Mr. Eden, Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Molotov exchanged views on the situation in Iran. It was agreed that this matter should be pursued through the diplomatic channel.

[Begin third section published Feb. 13, 1945.]

XIII. MEETINGS OF THE THREE FOREIGN SECRETARIES

The conference agreed that permanent machinery should be set up for consultation between the three Foreign Secretaries; they should meet as often as necessary, probably about every three or four months.

These meetings will be held in rotation in the three capitals, the first meeting being held in London.

[End third section published Feb. 13, 1945.]

XIV. THE MONTREAUX CONVENTION AND THE STRAITS

It was agreed that at the next meeting of the three Foreign Secretaries to be held in London, they should consider proposals which it was understood the Soviet Government would put forward in relation to the Montreaux Convention, and report to their Governments. The Turkish Government should be informed at the appropriate moment.

The forgoing protocol was approved and signed by the three Foreign Secretaries at the Crimean Conference Feb. 11, 1945.

E.R. Stettinius Jr.
M. Molotov
Anthony Eden

AGREEMENT REGARDING JAPAN

The leaders of the three great powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain—have agreed that in two or three months after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe is terminated, the Soviet Union shall enter into war against Japan on the side of the Allies on conditions that:

1. The status quo in Outer Mongolia (the Mongolian People's Republic) shall be preserved.
2. The former rights of Russia violated by treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored, viz.:
 - (a) The southern part of Sakhalin as well as the islands adjacent to it shall be returned to the Soviet Union;
 - (b) The commercial port of Dairen shall be internationalized, the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port being safeguarded, and the lease

of Port Arthur as a naval base of the U.S.S.R. restored;

- (c) The Chinese-Eastern Railroad and the South Manchurian Railroad, which provide an outlet to Dairen, shall be jointly operated by the establishment of a joint Soviet-Chinese company, it being understood that the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain sovereignty in Manchuria;

3. The Kurile Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union.

It is understood that the agreement concerning Outer Mongolia and the ports and railroads referred to above will require concurrence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The President will take measures in order to maintain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin.

The heads of the three great powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated.

For its part, the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance between the U.S.S.R. and China in order to render assistance to China with its armed forces for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke.

Joseph Stalin
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Winston S. Churchill

February 11, 1945

A Decade of American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1941–49. Prepared at the request of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by the Staff of the Committee and the Department of State (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950).

Appendix 10

President Harry Truman's Announcement of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima August 6, 1945

Sixteen hours ago an American airplane dropped one bomb on Hiroshima, an important Japanese Army base. That bomb had more power than 20,000 tons of T.N.T. It had more than two thousand times the blast power of the British "Grand Slam" which is the largest bomb ever yet used in the history of warfare.

The Japanese began the war from the air at Pearl Harbor. They have been repaid many fold. And the end is not yet. With this bomb we have now added a new and revolutionary increase in destruction to supplement the growing power of our armed forces. In their present form these bombs are now in production and even more powerful forms are in development.

It is an atomic bomb. It is a harnessing of the basic power of the universe. The force from which the sun draws its power has been loosed against those who brought war to the Far East.

Before 1939, it was the accepted belief of scientists that it was theoretically possible to release atomic energy. But no one knew any practical method of doing it. By 1942, however, we knew that the Germans were working feverishly to find a way to add atomic energy to the other engines of war with which they hoped to enslave the world. But they failed. We may be grateful to Providence that the Germans got the V-1s and V-2s late and in limited quantities and even more grateful that they did not get the atomic bomb at all.

The battle of the laboratories held fateful risks for us as well as the battles of the air, land, and

sea, and we have now won the battle of the laboratories as we have won the other battles.

Beginning in 1940, before Pearl Harbor, scientific knowledge useful in war was pooled between the United States and Great Britain, and many priceless helps to our victories have come from that arrangement. Under that general policy the research on the atomic bomb was begun. With American and British scientists working together we entered the race of discovery against the Germans.

The United States had available the large number of scientists of distinction in the many needed areas of knowledge. It had the tremendous industrial and financial resources necessary for the project and they could be devoted to it without undue impairment of other vital war work. In the United States the laboratory work and the production plants, on which substantial start had already been made, would be out of reach of enemy bombing, while at that time Britain was exposed to constant air attack and was still threatened with the possibility of invasion. For these reasons Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt agreed that it was wise to carry on the project here. We now have two great plants and many lesser works devoted to the production of atomic power. Employment during peak construction numbered 125,000 and 65,000 individuals are even now engaged in operating the plants. Many have worked there for two and a half years. Few know what they have been producing. They see great quantities of material going in and they see

nothing coming out of these plants, for the physical size of the explosive charge is exceedingly small. We have spent two billion dollars on the greatest scientific gamble in history—and won. But the greatest marvel is not the size of the enterprise, its secrecy, nor its cost, but the achievement of scientific brains in putting together infinitely complex pieces of knowledge held by many men in different fields of science into a workable plan. And hardly less marvelous has been the capacity of industry to design, and of labor to operate, the machines and methods to do things never done before so that the brain child of many minds came forth in physical shape and performed as it was supposed to do. Both science and industry worked under the direction of the United States Army, which achieved a unique success in managing so diverse a problem in the advancement of knowledge in an amazingly short time. It is doubtful if such another combination could be got together in the world. What has been done is the greatest achievement of organized science in history. It was done under high pressure and without failure.

We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city. We shall destroy their docks, their factories, and their communications. Let there be no mistake; we shall completely destroy Japan's power to make war.

It was to spare Japanese people from utter destruction that the ultimatum of July 26 was issued at Potsdam. Their leaders promptly rejected that ultimatum. If they do not now accept our terms they may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth. Behind this air attack will follow sea and land forces in such numbers and power as they have not yet seen and with the fighting skill of which they are already well aware. The Secretary of War, who has kept in personal touch with all phases of the project, will immediately make public a statement giving further details.

His statement will give facts concerning the sites at Oak Ridge near Knoxville, Tennessee, and at Richland near Pasco, Washington, and an installation near Santa Fe, New Mexico. Although the workers at the sites have been making materials to be used in producing the greatest destructive force in history they have not themselves been in danger beyond that of many other occupations, for the utmost care has been taken for their safety.

The fact that we can release atomic energy ushers in a new era in man's understanding of nature's forces. Atomic energy may in the future supplement the power that now comes from coal, oil, and falling water, but at present it cannot be produced on a basis to compete with them commercially. Before that comes there must be a long period of intensive research.

It has never been the habit of the scientists of this country or the policy of this government to withhold from the world scientific knowledge. Normally, therefore, everything about the work with atomic energy would be made public.

But under present circumstances it is not intended to divulge the technical processes of production or all the military applications, pending further examination of possible methods of protecting us and the rest of the world from the danger of sudden destruction.

I shall recommend that the Congress of the United States consider promptly the establishment of an appropriate commission to control the production and use of atomic power within the United States. I shall give further consideration and make further recommendations to the Congress as to how atomic power can become a powerful and forceful influence toward the maintenance of world peace.

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Harry S. Truman, 1946 (Washington, DC: Federal Register Division, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration), pp. 197–200.

Appendix 11

Justice Robert H. Jackson's Opening Speech for the Prosecution at the Nuremberg Trials Nuremberg, Germany, November 21, 1945

May it please Your Honor, the privilege of opening the first trial in history for crimes against the peace of the world imposes a grave responsibility. The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant and so devastating, that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored, because it cannot survive their being repeated. That four great nations, flushed with victory and stung with injury, stay the hands of vengeance and voluntarily submit their captive enemies to the judgment of the law, is one of the most significant tributes that Power ever has paid to Reason.

This Tribunal, while it is novel and experimental, is not the product of abstract speculations nor is it created to vindicate legalistic theories. This inquest represents the practical effort of four of the most mighty of nations, with the support of seventeen more, to utilize international law to meet the greatest menace of our times—aggressive war. The common sense of mankind demands that law shall not stop with the punishment of petty crimes by little people. It must also reach men who possess themselves of great power and make deliberate and concerted use of it to set in motion evils which leave no home in the world untouched. It is a cause of that magnitude that the United Nations will lay before Your Honor.

In the prisoners' dock sit twenty-odd broken men. Reproached by the humiliation of those they have led, almost as bitterly as by the desolation of those they have attacked, their personal capacity for evil is forever past. It is hard now to

perceive in these miserable men as captives the power by which as Nazi leaders they once dominated much of the world and terrified most of it. Merely as individuals their fate is of little consequence to the world.

What makes this inquest significant is that these prisoners represent sinister influences that will lurk in the world long after their bodies have returned to dust. We will show them to be living symbols of racial hatreds, of terrorism and violence, and of the arrogance and cruelty of power. They are symbols of fierce nationalism and of militarism, of intrigue and war-making which embroiled Europe, generation after generation, crushing its manhood, destroying its homes, and impoverishing its life. They have so identified themselves with the philosophies they conceived, and with the forces they have directed, that tenderness to them is a victory and an encouragement to all the evils which attached to their names. Civilization can afford no compromise with the forces which would gain renewed strength if we deal ambiguously or with the men in whom those forces now precariously survive.

What these men stand for we will patiently and temperately disclose. We will give you undeniable proofs of incredible events, The catalogue of crimes will omit nothing that could be conceived by pathological pride, cruelty, and lust for power. These men created in Germany, under the "Fuehrerprinzip", a National Socialist despotism equaled only by the dynasties of the ancient East. They took from the German people

all those dignities and freedoms that we hold natural and inalienable rights in every human being. The people were compensated by inflaming and gratifying hatreds towards those who were marked as “scapegoats.” Against their opponents, including Jews, Catholics, and free labor the Nazis directed such a campaign of arrogance, brutality, and annihilation as the world has not witnessed since the pre-Christian ages. They excited the German ambition to be a “master race”, which, of course, implies serfdom of others. They led their people on a mad gamble for domination. They diverted social energies and resources to the creation of what they thought to be an invincible war machine. They overran their neighbors.

To sustain the “master race” in its war-making, they enslaved millions of human beings and brought them into Germany, where these hapless creatures now wander as “displaced persons.” At length, bestiality and bad faith reached such excess that they aroused the sleeping strength of imperiled Civilization. Its united efforts have ground the German war machine to fragments. But the struggle has left Europe a liberated yet prostrate land where a demoralized society struggles to survive. These are the fruits of the sinister forces that sit with these defendants in the prisoners’ dock.

In justice to the nations and the men associated in this persecution, I must remind you of certain difficulties which may leave their mark on this case. Never before in legal history has an effort been made to bring within the scope of a single litigation the developments of a decade covering a whole continent, and involving a score of nations, countless individuals, and innumerable events. Despite the magnitude of the task, the world has demanded immediate action. This demand has had to be met, though perhaps at the cost of finished craftsmanship. In my country, established courts, following familiar procedures, applying well-thumbed precedents, and dealing with the legal consequences of local and limited events, seldom commence a trial within a year of the event in litigation.

Yet less than eight months ago today the courtroom in which you sit was an enemy fortress in the hands of German S.S. troops. Less than eight months ago nearly all our witnesses

and documents were in enemy hands. The law had not been codified, no procedures had been established, no tribunal was in existence, no usable courthouse stood here, none of the hundreds of tons of official German documents had been examined, no prosecuting staff had been assembled, nearly all of the present defendants were at large, and the four prosecuting powers had not yet joined in common cause to try them. I should be the last to deny that the case may well suffer from incomplete researches, and quite likely will not be the example of professional work which any of the prosecuting nations would normally wish to sponsor. It is, however, a completely adequate case to the judgment we shall ask you to render, and its full development we shall be obliged to leave to historians.

Before I discuss particulars of evidence, some general considerations which may affect the credit of this trial in the eyes of the world should be candidly faced. There is a dramatic disparity between the circumstances of the accusers and of the accused that might discredit our work if we should falter, in even minor matters, in being fair and temperate.

Unfortunately, the nature of these crimes is such that both prosecution and judgment must be by victor nations over vanquished foes. The world-wide scope of the aggressions carried out by these men has left but few real neutrals. Either the victors must judge the vanquished or we must leave the defeated to judge themselves. After the First World War we learned the futility of the latter course. The former high station of these defendants, the notoriety of their acts, and the adaptability of their conduct to provoke retaliation make it hard to distinguish between the demand for a just and measured retribution, and the unthinking cry for vengeance which arises from the anguish of war. It is our task, so far as is humanly possible, to draw the line between the two. We must never forget that the record on which we judge these defendants today is the record on which history will judge us tomorrow. To pass these defendants a poisoned chalice is to put it to our lips as well. We must summon such detachment and intellectual integrity to our task that this Trial will commend itself to posterity as fulfilling humanity’s aspirations to do justice.

At the very outset, let us dispose of the contention that to put these men to trial is to do them an injustice entitling them to some special consideration. These defendants may be hard pressed but they are not ill used. Let us see what alternative they would have to being tried.

More than a majority of these prisoners surrendered to or were tracked down by the forces of the United States.

Could they expect us to make American custody a shelter for our enemies against the just wrath of our Allies? Did we spend American lives to capture them only to save them from punishment? Under the principles of the Moscow Declaration, those suspected war criminals who are not to be tried internationally must be turned over to individual governments for trial at the scene of their outrages. Many less responsible and less culpable American-held prisoners have been and will continue to be turned over to other United Nations for local trial. If these defendants should succeed, for any reason, in escaping the condemnation of this Tribunal, or if they obstruct or abort this trial, those who are American-held prisoners will be delivered up to our continental Allies. For these defendants, however, we have set up an International Tribunal and have undertaken the burden of participating in a complicated effort to give them fair and dispassionate hearings. That is the best-known protection to any man with a defense worthy of being heard.

If these men are the first war leaders of a defeated nation to be prosecuted in the name of the law, they are also the first to be given a chance to plead for their lives in the name of the law. Realistically, the Charter of this Tribunal, which gives them a hearing, is also the source of their only hope. It may be that these men of troubled conscience, whose only wish is that the world forget them, do not regard a trial as a favor. But they do have a fair opportunity to defend themselves—a favor which these men, when in power, rarely extended to their fellow countrymen. Despite the fact that public opinion already condemns their acts, we agree that here they must be given a presumption of innocence, and we accept the burden of proving criminal acts and the responsibility of these defendants for their commission.

When I say that we do not ask for convictions unless we prove crime, I do not mean mere technical or incidental transgression of international conventions. We charge guilt on planned and intended conduct that involves moral as well as legal wrong. And we do not mean conduct that is a natural and human, even if illegal, cutting of corners, such as many of us might well have committed had we been in the defendants' positions. It is not because they yielded to the normal frailties of human beings that we accuse them. It is their abnormal and inhuman conduct which brings them to this bar.

We will not ask you to convict these men on the testimony of their foes. There is no count in the Indictment that cannot be proved by books and records. The Germans were always meticulous record keepers, and these defendants had their share of the Teutonic passion for thoroughness in putting things on paper. Nor were they without vanity. They arranged frequently to be photographed in action. We will show you their own films. You will see their own conduct and hear their own voices as these defendants re-enact for you, from the screen, some of the events in the course of the conspiracy.

We would also make clear that we have no purpose to incriminate the whole German people. We know that the Nazi Party was not put in power by a majority of the German vote.

We know it came to power by an evil alliance between the most extreme of the Nazi revolutionists, the most unrestrained of the German reactionaries, and the most aggressive of the German militarists. If the German populace had willingly accepted the Nazi program, no Stormtroopers would have been needed in the early days of the Party and there would have been no need for concentration camps or the Gestapo, both of which institutions were inaugurated as soon as the Nazis gained control of the German State. Only after these lawless innovations proved successful at home were they taken abroad.

The German people should know by now that the people of the United States hold them in no fear, and in no hate. It is true that the Germans have taught us the horrors of modern warfare, but the ruin that lies from the Rhine to the Danube shows that we, like our Allies, have not been dull

pupils. If we are not awed by German fortitude and proficiency in war, and if we are not persuaded of their political maturity, we do respect their skill in the arts of peace, their technical competence, and the sober, industrious, and self-disciplined character of the masses of the German people. In 1933 we saw the German people recovering prestige in the commercial, industrial, and artistic world after the set-back of the last war. We beheld their progress neither with envy nor malice. The Nazi regime interrupted this advance. The recoil of the Nazi aggression has left Germany in ruins. The Nazi readiness to pledge the German word without hesitation and to break it without shame has fastened upon German diplomacy a reputation for duplicity that will handicap it for years. Nazi arrogance has made the boast of the "master race" a taunt that will be thrown at Germans the world over for generations. The Nazi nightmare has given the German name a new and sinister significance throughout the world which will retard Germany a century. The German, no less than the non-German world, has accounts to settle with these defendants.

The fact of the war and the course of the war, which is the central theme of our case, is history. From September 1st, 1939, when the German armies crossed the Polish frontier, until September 1942, when they met epic resistance at Stalingrad, German arms seemed invincible. Denmark and Norway, the Netherlands and France, Belgium and Luxembourg, the Balkans and Africa, Poland and the Baltic States, and parts of Russia, all had been overrun and conquered by swift, powerful, well-aimed blows. That attack on the peace of the world is the crime against international society which brings into international cognizance crimes in its aid and preparation which otherwise might be only internal concerns.

It was aggressive war, which the nations of the world had renounced. It was war in violation of treaties, by which the peace of the world was sought to be safe-guarded.

This war did not just happen—it was planned and prepared for over a long period of time and with no small skill and cunning. The world has perhaps never seen such a concentration and stimulation of the energies of any people as that

which enabled Germany 20 years after it was defeated, disarmed, and dismembered to come so near carrying out its plan to dominate Europe. Whatever else we may say of those who were the authors of this war, they did achieve a stupendous work in organization, and our first task is to examine the means by which these defendants and their fellow conspirators prepared and incited Germany to go to war.

In general, our case will disclose these defendants all uniting at some time with the Nazi Party in a plan which they well knew could be accomplished only by an outbreak of war in Europe. Their seizure of the German State, their subjugation of the German people, their terrorism and extermination of dissident elements, their planning and waging of war, their calculated and planned ruthlessness in the conduct of warfare, their deliberate and planned criminality toward conquered peoples—all these are ends for which they acted in concert; and all these are phases of the conspiracy, a conspiracy which reached one goal only to set out for another and more ambitious one. We shall also trace for you the intricate web of organizations which these men formed and utilized to accomplish these ends. We will show how the entire structure of offices and officials was dedicated to the criminal purposes and committed to the use of the criminal methods planned by these defendants and their co-conspirators, many of whom war and suicide have put beyond reach.

It is my purpose to open the case, particularly under Count One of the Indictment, and to deal with the Common Plan or Conspiracy to achieve ends possible only by resort to Crimes against Peace, War Crimes, and Crimes against Humanity. My emphasis will not be on individual barbarities and perversions which may have occurred independently of any central plan. One of the dangers ever present is that this Trial may be protracted by details of particular wrongs and that we will become lost in a "wilderness of single instances." Nor will I now dwell on the activity of individual defendants except as it may contribute to exposition of the common plan.

The case as presented by the United States will be concerned with the brains and authority back of all the crimes. These defendants were men of

a station and rank which does not soil its own hands with blood. They were men who knew how to use lesser folk as tools. We want to reach the planners and designers, the inciters and leaders without whose evil architecture the world would not have been for so long scourged with the violence and lawlessness, and wracked with the agonies and convulsions, of this terrible war.

THE LAWLESS ROAD TO POWER

The chief instrumentality of cohesion in plan and action was the National Socialist German Workers Party, known as the Nazi Party. Some of the defendants were with it from the beginning. Others joined only after success seemed to have validated its lawlessness or power had invested it with immunity from the processes of the law. Adolf Hitler became its supreme leader or "Führer" in 1921.

On the 24th of February 1920, at Munich, it publicly had proclaimed its program. (1708-PS) Some of its purposes would commend themselves to many good citizens, such as the demands for "profit-sharing in the great industries", "generous development of provision for old age", "creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class", "a land reform suitable to our national requirements", and "raising the standard of health." It also made a strong appeal to that sort of nationalism which in ourselves we call patriotism and in our rivals chauvinism. It demanded "equality of rights for the German people in its dealing with other nations, and the abolition of the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain." It demanded the "union of all Germans on the basis of the right of self-determination of peoples to form a Great Germany." It demanded "land and territory (colonies) for the enrichment of our people and the settlement of our surplus population." All of these, of course, were legitimate objectives if they were to be attained without resort to aggressive warfare.

The Nazi Party from its inception, however, contemplated war. It demanded the "abolition of mercenary troops and the formation of a national army." It proclaimed that:

"In view of the enormous sacrifice of life and property demanded of a nation by every war,

personal enrichment through war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand, therefore, ruthless confiscation of all war profits."

I do not criticize this policy. Indeed, I wish it were universal. I merely wish to point out that in a time of peace, war was a preoccupation of the Party, and it started the work of making war less offensive to the masses of the people. With this it combined a program of physical training and sports for youth that became, as we shall see, the cloak for a secret program of military training.

The Nazi Party declaration also committed its members to an anti-Semitic program. It declared that no Jew or any person of non-German blood could be a member of the nation. Such persons to be disfranchised, disqualified for office, subject to the alien laws, and entitled to nourishment only after the German population had first been provided for. All who had entered Germany after August 2, 1914 were to be required forthwith to depart, and all non-German immigration was to be prohibited.

The Party also avowed, even in those early days, an authoritarian and totalitarian program for Germany. It demanded creation of a strong central power with unconditional authority, nationalization of all businesses which had been "amalgamated", and a "reconstruction" of the national system of education which "must aim at teaching the pupil to understand the idea of the State (state sociology)." Its hostility to civil liberties and freedom of the press was distinctly announced in these words:

"It must be forbidden to publish newspapers which do not conduce to the national welfare. We demand the legal prosecution of all tendencies in art or literature of a kind likely to disintegrate our life as a nation and the suppression of institutions which might militate against the above requirements."

The forecast of religious persecution was clothed in the language of religious liberty, for the Nazi program stated, "We demand liberty for all religious denominations in the State." But, it continues with the limitation, "so far as they are not a danger to it and do not militate against the morality and moral sense of the German race."

The Party program foreshadowed the campaign of terrorism. It announced, "We demand

ruthless war upon those whose activities are injurious to the common interests”, and it demanded that such offenses be punished with death.

It is significant that the leaders of this Party interpreted this program as a belligerent one, certain to precipitate convict. The Party platform concluded, “The leaders of the Party swear to proceed regardless of consequences—if necessary, at the sacrifice of their lives—toward the fulfillment of the foregoing points.” It is this Leadership Corps of the Party, not its entire membership, that stands accused before you as a criminal organization.

Let us now see how the leaders of the Party fulfilled their pledge to proceed regardless of consequences. Obviously, their foreign objectives, which were nothing less than to undo international treaties and to wrest territory from foreign control, as well as most of their internal program, could be accomplished only by possession of the machinery of the German State. The first effort, accordingly, was to subvert the Weimar Republic by violent revolution. An abortive putsch at Munich in 1923 landed many of them in jail. A period of meditation which followed produced *Mein Kampf*, henceforth the source of law for the Party workers and a source of considerable revenue to its supreme leader. The Nazi plans for the violent overthrow of the feeble Republic then turned to plans for its capture.

No greater mistake could be made than to think of the Nazi Party in terms of the loose organizations which we of the western world call “political parties”. In discipline, structure, and method the Nazi Party was not adapted to the democratic process of persuasion. It was an instrument of conspiracy and of coercion. The Party was not organized to take over power in the German State by winning support of a majority of the German people; it was organized to seize power in defiance of the will of the people.

The Nazi Party, under the “Führerprinzip”, was bound by an iron discipline into a pyramid, with the Führer, Adolf Hitler, at the top and broadening into a numerous Leadership Corps, composed of overlords of a very extensive Party membership at the base. By no means all of those who may have supported the movement in one way or another were actual Party members. The

membership took the Party oath which in effect amounted to an abdication of personal intelligence and moral responsibility. This was the oath: “I vow inviolable fidelity to Adolf Hitler; I vow absolute obedience to him and to the leaders he designates for me.” The membership in daily practice followed its leaders with an idolatry and self-surrender more Oriental than Western.

We will not be obliged to guess as to the motives or goal of the Nazi Party. The immediate aim was to undermine the Weimar Republic. The order to all Party members to work to that end was given in a letter from Hitler of August 24, 1931 to Rosenberg, of which we will produce the original Hitler wrote:

“I am just reading in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, edition 235/236, page 1, an article entitled ‘Does Wirth Intend To Come Over?’ The tendency of the article is to prevent on our part a crumbling away from the present form of government. I myself am traveling all over Germany to achieve exactly the opposite. May I therefore ask that my own paper will not stab me in the back with tactically unwise articles. . . .” (047-PS)

Captured film enables us to present the Defendant Alfred Rosenberg, who from the screen will himself tell you the story. The SA practiced violent interference with elections. We have the reports of the SD describing in detail how its members later violated the secrecy of elections in order to identify those who opposed them. One of the reports makes this explanation:

“. . . The control was effected in the following way: some members of the election committee marked all the ballot papers with numbers. During the ballot itself, a voters’ list was made up. The ballot-papers were handed out in numerical order, therefore it was possible afterwards with the aid of this list to find out the persons who cast ‘No’-votes or invalid votes. One sample of these marked ballot-papers is enclosed. The marking was done on the back of the ballot-papers with skimmed milk. . . .” (R-142)

The Party activity, in addition to all the familiar forms of political contest, took on the aspect of a rehearsal for warfare. It utilized a Party formation, “Die Sturmabteilungen”, commonly known as the SA. This was a voluntary organization of youthful and fanatical Nazis trained for

the use of violence under semi-military discipline. Its members began by acting as bodyguards for the Nazi leaders and rapidly expanded from defensive to offensive tactics. They became disciplined ruffians for the breaking up of opposition meetings and the terrorization of adversaries. They boasted that their task was to make the Nazi Party “master of the streets”. The SA was the parent organization of a number of others. Its offspring include “Die Schutzstaffeln”, commonly known as the SS, formed in 1925 and distinguished for the fanaticism and cruelty of its members; “Der Sicherheitsdienst”, known as the SD; and “Die Geheime Staatspolizei”, the Secret State Police, the infamous Gestapo formed in 1934 after Nazi accession to power.

A glance at a chart of the Party organization is enough to show how completely it differed from the political parties we know. It had its own source of law in the Führer and sub-Führer. It had its own courts and its own police. The conspirators set up a government within the Party to exercise outside the law every sanction that any legitimate state could exercise and many that it could not. Its chain of command was military, and its formations were martial in name as well as in function. They were composed of battalions set up to bear arms under military discipline, motorized corps, flying corps, and the infamous “Death Head Corps”, which was not misnamed. The Party had its own secret police, its security units, its intelligence and espionage division, its raiding forces, and its youth forces. It established elaborate administrative mechanisms to identify and liquidate spies and informers, to manage concentration camps, to operate death vans, and to finance the whole movement. Through concentric circles of authority, the Nazi Party, as its leadership later boasted, eventually organized and dominated every phase of German life—but not until they had waged a bitter internal struggle characterized by brutal criminality we charge here.

Preparation for this phase of their struggle, they created a Party police system. This became the pattern and the instrument of the police state, which was the first goal in their plan.

The Party formations, including the Leadership Corps of the Party, the SD, the SS, the SA, and the infamous Secret State Police, or Gestapo,—all

these stand accused before you as criminal organizations; organizations which, as we will prove from their own documents, were recruited only from recklessly devoted Nazis, ready in conviction and temperament to do the most violent of deeds to advance the common program. They terrorized and silenced democratic opposition and were able at length to combine with political opportunists, militarists, industrialists, monarchists, and political reactionaries.

On January 30, 1933 Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of the German Republic. An evil combination, represented in the prisoners’ dock by its most eminent survivors, had succeeded in possessing itself of the machinery of the German Government, a facade behind which they thenceforth would operate to make a reality of the war of conquest they so long had plotted. The conspiracy had passed into its second phase.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF NAZI POWER

We shall now consider the steps, which embraced the most hideous of Crimes against Humanity, to which the conspirators resorted in perfecting control of the German State and in preparing Germany for the aggressive war indispensable to their ends.

The Germans of the 1920’s were a frustrated and baffled people as a result of defeat and the disintegration of their traditional government. The democratic elements, which were trying to govern Germany through the new and feeble machinery of the Weimar Republic, got inadequate support from the democratic forces of the rest of the world, including my country. It is not to be denied that Germany, when worldwide depression was added to her other problems, was faced with urgent and intricate pressures in her economic and political life which necessitated bold measures.

The internal measures by which a nation attempts to solve its problems are ordinarily of no concern to other nations. But the Nazi program from the first was recognized as a desperate program for a people still suffering the effects of an unsuccessful war. The Nazi policy embraced ends recognized as attainable only by a renewal and a

more successful outcome of war, in Europe. The conspirators' answer to Germany's problems was nothing less than to plot the regaining of territories lost in the First World War and the acquisition of other fertile lands of Central Europe by dispossessing or exterminating those who inhabited them. They also contemplated destroying or permanently weakening all other neighboring peoples so as to win virtual domination over Europe and probably of the world. The precise limits of their ambition we need not define for it was and is as illegal to wage aggressive war for small stakes as for large ones.

We find at this period two governments in Germany—the real and the ostensible. The forms of the German Republic were maintained for a time, and it was the outward and visible government. But the real authority in the State was outside and above the law and rested in the Leadership Corps of the Nazi Party.

On February 27, 1933, less than a month after Hitler became Chancellor, the Reichstag building was set on fire. The burning of this symbol of free parliamentary government was so providential for the Nazis that it was believed they staged the fire themselves. Certainly when we contemplate their known crimes, we cannot believe they would shrink from mere arson. It is not necessary, however, to resolve the controversy as to who set the fire. The significant point is in the use that was made of the fire and of the state of public mind it produced. The Nazis immediately accused the Communist Party of instigating and committing the crime, and turned every effort to portray this single act of arson as the beginning of a communist revolution. Then, taking advantage of the hysteria, the Nazis met this phantom revolution with a real one. In the following December the German Supreme Court with commendable courage and independence acquitted the accused Communists, but it was too late to influence the tragic course of events which the Nazi conspirators had set rushing forward.

Hitler, on the morning after the fire, obtained from the aged and ailing President Von Hindenburg a presidential decree suspending the extensive guarantees of individual liberty contained in the constitution of the Weimar Republic. The decree provided that:

“Sections 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124, and 153 of the Constitution of the German Reich are suspended until further notice. Thus, restrictions on personal liberty, on the right of free expression of opinion, including freedom of the press, on the right of assembly and the right of association, and violations of the privacy of postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communications, and warrants for house-searches, orders for, confiscations as well as restrictions on property, are also permissible beyond the legal limits otherwise prescribed.” (1390-PS)

The extent of the restriction on personal liberty under the decree of February 28, 1933 may be understood by reference to the rights under the Weimar constitution which were suspended:

“*Article 114.* The freedom of the person is inviolable. Curtailment or deprivation of personal freedom by a public authority is only permissible on a legal basis.

“Persons who have been deprived of their freedom must be informed at the latest on the following day by whose authority and for what reasons the deprivation of freedom was ordered; opportunity shall be afforded them without delay of submitting objections to their deprivation of freedom.

“*Article 115.* Every German's home is his sanctuary and is inviolable. Exceptions may only be made as provided by law.

“*Article 117.* The secrecy of letters and all postal, telegraphic, and telephone communications is inviolable. Exceptions are inadmissible except by Reich law.

“*Article 118.* Every German has the right, within the limits of the general laws, to express his opinions freely in speech, in writing, in print, in picture form, or in any other way. No conditions of work or employment may detract from this right and no disadvantage may accrue to him from any person for making use of this right. . . .

“*Article 123.* All Germans have the right to assemble peacefully and unarmed without giving notice and without special permission.

“A Reich law may make previous notification obligatory for assemblies in the open air, and may prohibit them in case of immediate danger to the public safety.

“*Article 124.* All the Germans have the right to form associations or societies for purposes not contrary to criminal law. This right may not be curtailed by preventive measures. The same provisions apply to religious associations and societies.

“Every association may become incorporated (*Erwerb der Rechtsfähigkeit*) according to the provisions of the civil law. The right may not be refused to any association on the grounds that its aims are political, social-political, or religious.

“*Article 153.* Property is guaranteed by the Constitution. Its content and limits are defined by the laws.

“Expropriation can only take place for the public benefit and on a legal basis. Adequate compensation shall be granted, unless a Reich law orders otherwise. In the case of dispute concerning the amount of compensation, it shall be possible to submit the matter to the ordinary civil courts, unless Reich laws determine otherwise. Compensation must be paid if the Reich expropriates property belonging to the Lands, Communes, or public utility associations.

“Property carries obligations. Its use shall also serve the common good.” (2050-PS)

It must be said in fairness to Von Hindenburg that the constitution itself authorized him temporarily to suspend these fundamental rights “if the public safety and order in the German Reich are considerably disturbed or endangered.” It must also be acknowledged that President Ebert previously had invoked this power.

But the National Socialist coup was made possible because the terms of the Hitler-Hindenburg decree departed from all previous ones in which the power of suspension had been invoked. Whenever Ebert had suspended constitutional guarantees of individual rights, his decree had expressly revived the Protective Custody Act adopted by the Reichstag in 1916 during the previous war. This act guaranteed a judicial hearing within 24 hours of arrest, gave a right to have counsel and to inspect all relevant records, provided for appeal, and authorized compensation from Treasury funds for erroneous arrests.

The Hitler-Hindenburg decree of February 28, 1933 contained no such safeguards. The omission may not have been noted by Von

Hindenburg. Certainly he did not appreciate its effect. It left the Nazi police and party formations, already existing and functioning under Hitler, completely unrestrained and irresponsible. Secret arrest and indefinite detention, without charges, without evidence, without hearing, without counsel, became the method of inflicting inhuman punishment on any whom the Nazi police suspected or disliked. No court could issue an injunction, or writ of habeas corpus, or certiorari. The German people were in the hands of the police, the police were in the hands of the Nazi Party, and the Party was in the hands of a ring of evil men, of whom the defendants here before you are surviving and representative leaders.

The Nazi conspiracy, as we shall show, always contemplated not merely overcoming current opposition but exterminating elements which could not be reconciled with its philosophy of the state. It not only sought to establish the Nazi “new order” but to secure its sway, as Hitler predicted, “for a thousand years.” Nazis were never in doubt or disagreement as to what these dissident elements were. They were concisely described by one of them, Colonel General Von Fritsch, on December 11, 1938 in these words:

“Shortly after the first war I came to the conclusion that we should have to be victorious in three battles if Germany were to become powerful again: 1. The battle against the working class—Hitler has won this. 2. Against the Catholic Church, perhaps better expressed against Ultramontanism. 3. Against the Jews.” (1947-PS)

The warfare against these elements was continuous. The battle in Germany was but a practice skirmish for the worldwide drive against them. We have in point of geography and of time two groups of Crimes against Humanity—one within Germany before and during the war, the other in occupied territory during the war. But the two are not separated in Nazi planning. They are a continuous unfolding of the Nazi plan to exterminate peoples and institutions which might serve as a focus or instrument for overturning their “new world order” at any time. We consider these crimes against humanity in this address as manifestations of the one Nazi plan and discuss them according to General Von Fritsch’s classification.

1. THE BATTLE AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS

When Hitler came to power, there were in Germany three groups of trade unions. The General German Trade Union Confederation (ADGB) with 28 affiliated unions, and the General Independent Employees Confederation (AFA) with 13 federated unions together numbered more than 4,500,000 members. The Christian Trade Union had over 1,250,000 members.

The working people of Germany, like the working people of other nations, had little to gain personally by war. While labor is usually brought around to the support of the nation at war, labor by and large is a pacific, though by no means a pacifist force in the world. The working people of Germany had not forgotten in 1933 how heavy the yoke of the war lord can be. It was the workingmen who had joined the sailors and soldiers in the revolt of 1918 to end the first World War. The Nazis had neither forgiven nor forgotten. The Nazi program required that this part of the German population not only be stripped of power to resist diversion of its scanty comforts to armament, but also be wheedled or whipped into new and unheard of sacrifices as a part of the Nazi war preparation. Labor must be cowed, and that meant its organizations and means of cohesion and defense must be destroyed.

The purpose to regiment labor for the Nazi Party was avowed by Ley in a speech to workers on May 2, 1933 as follows:

“You may say what else do you want, you have the absolute power. True we have the power, but we do not have the whole people, we do not have you workers 100 per cent, and it is you whom we want; we will not let you be until you stand with us in complete, genuine acknowledgment.” (614-PS)

The first Nazi attack was upon the two larger unions. On April 21, 1933 an order not even in the name of the Government, but of the Nazi Party was issued by the conspirator Robert Ley as “Chief of Staff of the political organization of the NSDAP”, applicable to the Trade Union Confederation and the Independent Employees Confederation. It directed seizure of their properties and arrest of their principal leaders. The Party

order directed Party organs which we here denounce as criminal associations, the SA and SS “to be employed for the occupation of the trade union properties, and for the taking into custody of personalities who come into question.” And it directed the taking into “protective custody” of all chairmen and district secretaries of such unions and branch directors of the labor bank. (392-PS)

These orders were carried out on May 2, 1933. All funds of the labor unions, including pension and benefit funds, were seized. Union leaders were sent to concentration camps. A few days later, on May 10, 1933, Hitler appointed Ley leader of the German Labor Front (Deutsche Arbeitsfront) which succeeded to the confiscated union funds. The German Labor Front, a Nazi controlled labor bureau, was set up under Ley to teach the Nazi philosophy to German workers and to weed out from industrial employment all who were backward in their lessons. (1940-PS) “Factory troops” were organized as an “ideological shock squad within the factory.” (1817-PS) The Party order provided that “outside of the German Labor front, no other Organization (whether of workers or of employees) is to exist.” On June 24, 1933 the remaining Christian Trade Unions were seized, pursuant to an order of the Nazi Party signed by Ley.

On May 19, 1933, this time by a government decree, it was provided that “trustees” of labor appointed by Hitler, should regulate the conditions of all labor contracts, replacing the former process of collective bargaining. (405-PS) On November 30, 1934 a decree “regulating national labor” introduced the Führer Principle into industrial relations. It provided that the owners of enterprises should be the “Führer” and the workers should be the followers. The “enterprise-Führer” should “make decisions for employees and laborers in all matters concerning the enterprise.” (1861-PS) It was by such bait that the great German industrialists were induced to support the Nazi cause, to their own ultimate ruin.

Not only did the Nazis dominate and regiment German labor, but they forced the youth into the ranks of the laboring people they had thus led into chains. Under a compulsory labor service decree on 26 June 1935 young men and women between the ages of 18 and 25 were conscripted

for labor. (1654-PS) Thus was the purpose to subjugate German labor accomplished. In the words of Ley, this accomplishment consisted "in eliminating the association character of the trade union and employees' associations, and in its place we have substituted the conception 'soldiers of work.'" The productive manpower of the German nation was in Nazi control. By these steps the defendants won the battle to liquidate labor unions as potential opposition and were enabled to impose upon the working class the burdens of preparing for aggressive warfare.

Robert Ley, the field marshal of the battle against labor, answered our Indictment with suicide. Apparently he knew no better answer.

2. THE BATTLE AGAINST THE CHURCHES

The Nazi Party always was predominantly anti-Christian in its ideology. But we who believe in freedom of conscience and of religion base no charge of criminality on anybody's ideology. It is not because the Nazi themselves were irreligious or pagan, but because they persecuted others of the Christian faith that they become guilty of crime, and it is because the persecution was a step in the preparation for aggressive warfare that the offense becomes one of international consequence. To remove every moderating influence among the German people and to put its population on a total war footing, the conspirators devised and carried out a systematic and relentless repression of all Christian sects and churches.

We will ask you to convict the Nazis on their own evidence. Martin Bormann, in June 1941, issued a secret decree on the relation of Christianity and National Socialism. The decree provided:

"For the first time in German history the Führer consciously and completely has the leadership of the people in his own hand. With the Party, its components, and attached units the Führer has created for himself and thereby the German Reich leadership an instrument which makes him independent of the church. All influences which might impair or damage the leadership of the people exercised by the Führer with help of the NSDAP, must "be eliminated. More and more the people must be separated from the churches and their

organs, the pastors. Of course, the churches must and will, seen from their viewpoint, defend themselves against this loss of power. But never again must an influence on leadership of the people be yielded to the churches. This (influence) must be broken completely and finally.

"Only the Reich Government and by its direction the Party, its components, and attached units have a right to leadership of the people. Just as the deleterious Sequences of astrologers, seers, and other fakers are estimated and suppressed by the Estate, so must the possibility of church influence also be totally removed. Not until this has happened does the State leadership have influence on the individual citizens. Not until then are people and Reich secure in their existence for all the future." (D-75)

And how the Party had been securing the Reich from Christian influence will be proved by such items as this teletype from the Gestapo, Berlin, to the Gestapo, Nuremberg, on July 24, 1938. Let us hear their own account of events in Rottenburg.

"The Party on 23 July 1939 from 2100 on carried out the third demonstration against Bishop Sproll. Participants about 2500-3000 were brought in from outside by bus, etc. The Rottenburg populace again did not participate in the demonstration. This town took rather a hostile attitude to the demonstrations. The action got completely out of hand of the Party member responsible for it. The demonstrators stormed the palace, beat in the gates and doors. About 150 to 200 people forced their way into the palace, searched the rooms, threw files out of the windows and rummaged through the beds in the rooms of the palace. One bed was ignited. Before the fire got to the other objects of equipment in the rooms and the palace, the flaming bed could be thrown from the window and the fire extinguished. The Bishop was with Archbishop Groeber of Freiburg and the ladies and gentlemen of his menage in the chapel at prayer. About 25 to 30 people pressed into this chapel and molested those present. Bishop Groeber was taken for Bishop Sproll. He was grabbed by the robe and dragged back and forth. Finally the intruders realized that Bishop Groeber is not the one they are seeking. They could then be persuaded to leave the building. After the evacuation of the

palace by the demonstrators I had an interview with Archbishop Groeber who left Rottenburg in the night. Groeber wants to turn to the Führer and Reich Minister of the Interior, Dr. Frick, anew. On the course of the action, the damage done as well as the homage of the Rottenburg populace beginning today for the Bishop I shall immediately hand in a full report, after I am in the act of suppressing counter mass meetings. . . .

“In case the Führer has instructions to give in this matter, I request that these be transmitted most quickly. . . .” (848-PS)

Later, Defendant Rosenberg wrote to Bormann reviewing the proposal of Kerrl as Church Minister to place the Protestant Church under State tutelage and proclaim Hitler its supreme head. Rosenberg was opposed, hinting that nazism was to suppress the Christian Church completely after the war (See also 098-PS).

The persecution of all pacifist and dissenting sects, such as Jehovah’s Witnesses and the Pentecostal Association, was peculiarly relentless and cruel. The policy toward the Evangelical Churches, however, was to use their influence for the Nazis’ own purposes. In September 1933 Mueller was appointed the Führer’s representative with power to deal with the “affairs of the Evangelical Church” in its relations to the State. Eventually, steps were taken to create a Reich Bishop vested with power to control this Church. A long conflict followed, Pastor Niemöller was sent to a concentration camp, and extended interference with the internal discipline and administration of the churches occurred.

A most intense drive was directed against the Roman Catholic Church. After a strategic concordat with the Holy See, signed in July 1933 in Rome, which never was observed by the Nazi Party, a long and persistent persecution of the Catholic Church, its priesthood, and its members, was carried out. Church schools and educational institutions were suppressed or subjected to requirements of Nazi teaching inconsistent with the Christian faith. The property of the Church was confiscated and inspired vandalism directed against Church property was left unpunished. Religious instruction was impeded and the exercise of religion made difficult. Priests and bishops were laid upon, riots

were stimulated to harass them, and many were sent to concentration camps.

After occupation of foreign soil, these persecutions went on with greater vigor than ever. We will present to you from the files of the Vatican the earnest protests made by the Vatican to Ribbentrop summarizing the persecutions to which the priesthood and the Church had been subjected in this twentieth century under the Nazi regime. Ribbentrop never answered them. He could not deny. He dared not justify.

3. CRIMES AGAINST THE JEWS

The most savage and numerous crimes planned and committed by the Nazis were those against the Jews. Those in Germany in 1933 numbered about 500,000. In the aggregate, they had made for themselves positions which excited envy, and had accumulated properties which excited the avarice of the Nazis. They were few enough to be helpless and numerous enough to be held up as a menace.

Let there be no misunderstanding about the charge of persecuting Jews. What we charge against these defendants is not those arrogances and pretensions which frequently accompany the intermingling of different peoples and which are likely, despite the honest efforts of government, to produce regrettable crimes and convulsions. It is my purpose to show a plan and design, to which all Nazis were fanatically committed, to annihilate all Jewish people. These crimes were organized and promoted by the Party leadership, executed and protected by the Nazi officials, as we shall convince you by written orders of the Secret State Police itself.

The persecution of the Jews was a continuous and deliberate policy. It was a policy directed against other nations as well as against the Jews themselves. Anti-Semitism was promoted to divide and embitter the democratic peoples and to soften their resistance to the Nazi aggression. As Robert Ley declared in *Der Angriff* on 14 May 1944: “The second German secret weapon is Anti-Semitism because if it is constantly pursued by Germany, it will become a universal problem which all nations will be forced to consider.”

Anti-Semitism also has been aptly credited with being a “spearhead of terror.” The ghetto was the laboratory for testing repressive measures. Jewish property was the first to be expropriated, but the custom grew and included similar measures against anti-Nazi Germans, Poles, Czechs, Frenchmen, and Belgians. Extermination of the Jews enabled the Nazis to bring a practiced hand to similar measures against Poles, Serbs, and Greeks. The plight of the Jew was a constant threat to opposition or discontent among other elements of Europe’s population—pacifists, conservatives, Communists, Catholics, Protestants, Socialists. It was in fact, a threat to every dissenting opinion and to every non-Nazi’s life.

The persecution policy against the Jews commenced with nonviolent measures, such as disfranchisement and discriminations against their religion, and the placing of impediments in the way of success in economic life. It moved rapidly to organized mass violence against them, physical isolation in ghettos, deportation, forced labor, mass starvation, and extermination. The Government, the Party formations indicted before you as criminal organizations, the Secret State Police, the Army, private and semi-public associations, and “spontaneous” mobs that were carefully inspired from official sources, were all agencies that were concerned in this persecution. Nor was it directed against individual Jews for personal bad citizenship or unpopularity. The avowed purpose was the destruction of the Jewish people as a whole, as an end in itself, as a measure of preparation for war, and as a discipline of conquered peoples.

The conspiracy or common plan to exterminate the Jew was so methodically and thoroughly pursued, that despite the German defeat and Nazi prostration this Nazi aim largely has succeeded. Only remnants of the European Jewish population remain in Germany, in the countries which Germany occupied, and in those which were her satellites or collaborators. Of the 9,600,000 Jews who lived in Nazi-dominated Europe, 60 percent are authoritatively estimated to have perished. Five million seven hundred thousand Jews are missing from the countries in which they formerly lived, and over 4,500,000 cannot be accounted for by the normal death rate nor by immigration;

nor are they included among displaced persons. History does not record a crime ever perpetrated against so many victims or one ever carried out with such calculated cruelty.

You will have difficulty, as I have, to look into the faces of these defendants and believe that in this twentieth century human beings could indict such sufferings as will be proved here on their own countrymen as well as upon their so-called “inferior” enemies. Particular crimes, and the responsibility of defendants for them, are to be dealt with by the Soviet Government’s counsel, when committed in the East, and by counsel for the Republic of France when committed in the West. I advert to them only to show their magnitude as evidence of a purpose and a knowledge common to all defendants, of an official plan rather than of a capricious policy of some individual commander, and to show such a continuity of Jewish persecution from the rise of the Nazi conspiracy to its collapse as forbids us to believe that any person could be identified with any part of Nazi action without approving this most conspicuous item in their program.

The Indictment itself recites many evidences of the anti-Semitic persecutions. The Defendant Streicher led the Nazis in anti-Semitic bitterness and extremism. In an article appearing in *Der Stürmer* on 19 March 1942 he complained that Christian teachings have stood in the way of “racial solution of the Jewish question in Europe”, and quoted enthusiastically as the twentieth century solution the Führer’s proclamation of February 24, 1942 that “the Jew will be exterminated.” And on November 4, 1943 Streicher declared in *Der Stürmer* that the Jews “have disappeared from Europe and that the Jewish ‘Reservoir of the East’ from which the Jewish plague has for centuries beset the people of Europe, has ceased to exist.” Streicher now has the effrontery to tell us he is “only a Zionist”—he says he wants only to return the Jews to Palestine. But on May 7, 1942 his newspaper, *Der Stürmer*, had this to say:

“It is also not only a European problem! The Jewish question is a world question! Not only is Germany not safe in the face of the Jews as long as one Jew lives in Europe, but also the Jewish question is hardly solved in Europe so long as Jews live in the rest of the world.”

And the Defendant Hans Frank, a lawyer by profession, I say with shame, summarized in his diary in 1944 the Nazi policy thus: "The Jews are a race which has to be eliminated; whenever we catch one, it is his end." (2233-PS, 4 March 1944, P. 26) And earlier, speaking of his function as Governor General of Poland, he confided to his diary this sentiment: "Of course I cannot eliminate all lice and Jews in only a year's time." (2233 PS, Vol. IV, 1940, P. 1158) I could multiply endlessly this kind of Nazi ranting but I will leave it to the evidence and turn to the fruit of this perverted thinking. The most serious of the actions against Jews were outside of any law, but the law itself was employed to some extent. There were the infamous Nuremberg decrees of September 15, 1935. (Reichsgesetzblatt 1935, Part. I, P. 1146) The Jews were segregated into ghettos and put into forced labor; they were expelled from their professions; their property was expropriated; all cultural life, the press, the theater, and schools were prohibited them; and the SD was made responsible for them. (212-PS, 069-PS) This was an ominous guardianship, as the following order for "The Handling of the Jewish Question" shows:

"The competency of the Chief of the Security Police and Security Service, who is charged with the mission of solving the European Jewish question, extends even to the Occupied Eastern Provinces. . . .

"An eventual act by the civilian population against the Jews is not to be prevented as long as this is compatible with the maintenance of order and security in the rear of the fighting troops. . . .

"The first main goal of the German measures must be strict segregation of Jewry from the rest of the population. In the execution of this, first of all is the seizing of the Jewish populace by the introduction of a registration order and similar appropriate measures. . . .

"Then immediately, the wearing of the recognition sign consisting of a yellow Jewish star is to be brought about and all rights of freedom for Jews are to be withdrawn. They are to be placed in ghettos and at the same time are to be separated according to sexes. The presence of many more or less closed Jewish settlements in White Ruthenia and in the Ukraine makes this mission easier. Moreover, places are to be chosen which

make possible the full use of the Jewish manpower in case labor needs are present. . . .

"The entire Jewish property is to be seized and confiscated with exception of that which is necessary for a bare existence. As far as the economical situation permits, the power of disposal of their property is to be taken from the Jews as soon as possible through orders and other measures given by the commissariat, so that the moving of property will quickly cease.

"Any cultural activity will be completely forbidden, to the Jew. This includes the outlawing of the Jewish press, the Jewish theaters, and schools.

"The slaughtering of animals according to Jewish rites is also to be prohibited. . . ." (212-PS)

The anti-Jewish campaign became furious in Germany following the assassination in Paris of the German Legation Councillor Von Rath. Heydrich, Gestapo head, sent a teletype to all Gestapo and SD offices with directions for handling "spontaneous" uprising anticipated for the nights of November 9 and 10, 1938 so as to aid in destruction of Jewish-owned property and protect only that of Germans. No more cynical document ever came into evidence. Then there is a report by an SS brigade leader, Dr. Stahleckker, to Himmler, which recites that:

". . . Similarly, native anti-Semitic forces were induced to start pogroms against Jews during the first hours after capture, though this inducement proved to be very difficult. Following out orders, the Security Police was determined to solve the Jewish question with all possible means and most decisively. But it was desirable that the Security Police should not put in an immediate appearance, at least in the beginning, since the extraordinarily harsh measures were apt to stir even German circles. It had to be shown to the world that the native population itself took the first action by way of natural reaction against the suppression by Jews during several decades and against the terror exercised by the Communists during the preceding period. . . ."

". . . In view of the extension of the area of operations and the great number of duties which had to be performed by the Security Police, it was intended from the very beginning to obtain the co-operation of the reliable population for the fight against vermin—that is mainly the Jews and

Communists. Beyond our directing of the first spontaneous actions of self-cleansing, which will be reported elsewhere, care had to be taken that reliable people should be put to the cleansing job and that they were appointed auxiliary members of the Security Police. . . .”

“ . . . Kovno. To our surprise it was not easy at first to set in motion an extensive pogrom against Jews. Klimatis, the leader of the partisan unit, mentioned above, who was used for this purpose primarily, succeeded in starting a pogrom on the basis of advice given to him by a small advanced detachment acting in Kovno, and in such a way that no German order or German instigation was noticed from the outside. During the first pogrom in the night from 25 to 26 June the Lithuanian partisans did away with more than 1,500 Jews, set fire to several synagogues or destroyed them by other means and burned down a Jewish dwelling district consisting of about 60 houses. During the following nights about 2,300 Jews were made harmless in a similar way. In other parts of Lithuania similar actions followed the example of Kovno, though smaller and extending to the Communists who had been left behind.

“These self-cleansing actions went smoothly because the army authorities who had been informed showed understanding for this procedure. From the beginning it was obvious that only the first days after the occupation would offer the opportunity for carrying out pogroms: After the disarmament of the partisans the self-cleansing actions ceased necessarily.

“It proved much more difficult to set in motion similar cleansing actions in Latvia. . . .” (L-180)

Of course, it is self-evident that these “uprisings” were managed by the Government and the Nazi Party. If we were in doubt, we could resort to Streicher’s memorandum of April 14, 1939 which says:

“The anti-Jewish action of November 1938 did not arise spontaneously from the people. . . . Part of the Party formation have been charged with the execution of the anti-Jewish action.” (406-PS)

Jews as a whole were fined a billion Reichsmarks. They were excluded from all businesses and claims against insurance companies for their burned properties were confiscated,

all by decree of the Defendant Goering. (Reichsgesetzblatt, 1938, Part I, Pp. 1579–82)

Synagogues were the objects of a special vengeance. On November 10, 1938 the following order was given:

“By order of the Group Commander:

All Jewish synagogues in the area of Brigade 50 have to be blown up or set afire. . . . The operation will be carried out in civilian clothing. . . . Execution of the order will be reported. . . .” (1721-PS)

Some 40 teletype messages from various police headquarters will tell the fury with which all Jews were pursued in Germany on those awful November nights. The SS troops were turned loose and the Gestapo supervised. Jewish-owned property was authorized to be destroyed. The Gestapo ordered twenty to thirty thousand “well-to-do-Jews” to be arrested. Concentration camps were to receive them. Healthy Jews, fit for labor, were to be taken. (3051-PS)

As the German frontiers were expanded by war, so the campaign against the Jews expanded. The Nazi plan never was limited to extermination in Germany; always it contemplated extinguishing the Jew in Europe and often in the world. In the West, the Jews were killed and their property taken over. But the campaign achieved its zenith of savagery in the East. The eastern Jew has suffered as no people ever suffered. Their sufferings were carefully reported to the Nazi authorities to show faithful adherence to the Nazi design. I shall refer only to enough of the evidence of these to show the extent of the Nazi design for killing Jews.

If I should recite these horrors in words of my own, you would think me intemperate and unreliable. Fortunately, we need not take the word of any witness but the Germans themselves. I invite you now to look at a few of the vast number of captured German orders and reports that will be offered in evidence, to see what a Nazi invasion meant. We will present such evidence as the report of “Einsatzgruppe (Action Group) A” of October 15, 1941 which boasts that in overrunning the Baltic States, “Native anti-Semitic forces were induced to start pogroms against the Jews during the first hours after occupation.” The report continues:

“From the beginning it was to be expected that the Jewish problem in the East could not be solved by pogroms alone.

In accordance with the basic orders received, however, the cleansing activities of the Security Police had to aim at a complete annihilation of the Jews. Special detachments reinforced by selected units—in Lithuania partisan detachments, in Latvia units of the Latvian auxiliary police—therefore performed extensive executions both in the towns and in rural areas. The actions of the execution detachments were performed smoothly.”

“The sum total of the Jews liquidated in Lithuania amounts to 71,105. During the pogroms in Kovno 3,800 Jews were eliminated, in the smaller towns about 1,200 Jews.”

“In Latvia, up to now a total of 30,000 Jews were executed. Five hundred were eliminated by pogroms in Riga.” (L-180) This is a captured report from the Commissioner of Sluzk on October 30, 1941 which describes the scene in more detail. It says: “. . . The first lieutenant explained that the police battalion had received the assignment to effect the liquidation of all Jews here in the town of Sluzk, within two days. . . . Then I requested him to postpone the action one day. However, he rejected this with the remark that he had to carry out this action everywhere and in all towns and that only two days were allotted for Sluzk. Within these two days, the town of Sluzk had to be cleared of Jews by all means. . . . All Jews without exception were taken out of the factories and shops and deported in spite of our agreement. It is true that part of the Jews was moved by way of the ghetto where many of them were processed and still segregated by me, but a large part was loaded directly on trucks and liquidated without further delay outside of the town. . . . For the rest, as regards the execution of the action, I must point out to my deepest regret that the latter bordered already on sadism. The town itself offered a picture of horror during the action. With indescribable brutality on the part of both the German police officers and particularly the Lithuanian partisans, the Jewish people, but also among them White Ruthenians, were taken out of their dwellings and herded together. Everywhere in the town shots were to be heard and in different

streets the corpses of shot Jews accumulated. The White Ruthenians were in greatest distress to free themselves from the encirclement. Regardless of the fact that the Jewish people, among whom were also tradesmen, were mistreated in a terribly barbarous way in the face of the White Ruthenian people, the White Ruthenians themselves were also worked over with rubber clubs and rifle butts. There was no question of an action against the Jews more. It rather looked like a revolution. . . .”

There are reports which merely tabulate the numbers slaughtered. An example is an account of the work of Einsatzgruppen of SIPO and SD in the East, which relates that:

In Estonia, all Jews were arrested immediately upon the arrival of the Wehrmacht. Jewish men and women above the age of 16 and capable of work were drafted for forced labor. Jews were subjected to all sorts of restrictions and all Jewish property was confiscated. All Jewish males above the age of 16 were executed, with the exception of doctors and elders. Only 500 of an original 4,500 Jews remained. Thirty-seven thousand, one hundred eighty persons have been liquidated by the SIPO and SD in White Ruthenia during October. In one town, 337 Jewish women were executed for demonstrating a ‘provocative attitude.’ In another, 380 Jews were shot for spreading vicious propaganda.

And so the report continues, listing town after town, where hundreds of Jews were murdered:

In Vitebsk 3,000 Jews were liquidated because of the danger of epidemics. In Kiev 33,771 Jews were executed on September 29 and 30 in retaliation for some fires which were set off there. In Shitomir 3,145 Jews ‘had to be shot’ because, judging from experience they had to be considered as the carriers of Bolshevik propaganda. In Cherson 410 Jews were executed in reprisal against acts of sabotage. In the territory east of the Dnieper, the Jewish problem was ‘solved’ by the liquidation of 4,891 Jews and by putting the remainder into labor battalions of up to 1,000 persons. (R-102)

Other accounts tell not of the slaughter so much as of the depths of degradation to which the tormentors stooped. For example, we will show the report made to Defendant Rosenberg about the

army and the SS in the area under Rosenberg jurisdiction, which recited the following:

“Details: In presence of SS man, a Jewish dentist has to break all gold teeth and fillings out of mouth of German and Russian Jews *before* they are executed.”

Men, women and children are locked into barns and burned alive.

Peasants, women and children are shot on the pretext that they are suspected of belonging to bands. (R-135)

We of the Western World heard of gas wagons in which Jews and political opponents were asphyxiated. We could not believe it. But here we have the report of May 16, 1942 from the German SS Officer Becker to his supervisor in Berlin which tells this story:

Gas vans in C group can be driven to spot, which is generally stationed 10 to 15 kms. from main road, only in dry weather. Since those to be executed become frantic if conducted to this place, such vans become immobilized in wet weather.

Gas vans in D group were camouflaged as cabin trailers, but vehicles well-known to authorities and civilian population which calls them ‘death vans’.

Writer of letter (Becker) ordered all men to keep as far away as possible during gassing. Unloading van has ‘atrocious spiritual and physical effect’ on men and they should be ordered not to participate in such work. (501-PS)

I shall not dwell on this subject longer than to quote one more sickening document which evidences the planned and systematic character of the Jewish persecutions. I hold a report written with Teutonic devotion to detail, illustrated with photographs to authenticate its almost incredible text, and beautifully bound in leather with the loving care bestowed on a proud work. It is the original report of the SS Brigadier General Stroop in charge of the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto, and its title page carries the inscription, “The Jewish ghetto in Warsaw no longer exists.” It is characteristic that one of the captions explains that the photograph concerned shows the driving out of Jewish “bandits”; those whom the photograph shows being driven out are almost entirely women and little children. It contains a day-by-day account of the killings mainly carried out by the SS

organization, too long to relate, but let me quote General Stroop’s summary:

“The resistance put up by the Jews and bandits could only be suppressed by energetic actions of our troops day and night. The Reichsführer SS ordered, therefore, on 23 April 1948, the clearing out of the ghetto with utter ruthlessness and merciless tenacity. I, therefore, decided to destroy and burn down the entire ghetto without regard to the armament factories. These factories were systematically dismantled and then burned. Jews usually left their hideouts, but frequently remained in the burning buildings and jumped out of the windows only when the heat became unbearable. They then tried to crawl with broken bones across the street into buildings which were not afire. Sometimes they changed their hideouts during the night into the ruins of burned buildings. Life in the sewers was not pleasant after the first week. Many times we could hear loud voices in the sewers. SS men or policemen climbed bravely through the manholes to capture these Jews. Sometimes they stumbled over Jewish corpses; sometimes they were shot at. Tear gas bombs were thrown into the manholes and the Jews driven out of the sewers and captured. Countless numbers of Jews were liquidated in sewers and bunkers through blasting. The longer the resistance continued the tougher became the members of the Waffen SS, Police and Wehrmacht who always discharged their duties in an exemplary manner. Frequently Jews who tried to replenish their food supplies during the night or to communicate with neighboring groups were exterminated.”

“This action eliminated,” says the SS commander, “a proved total of 56,065. To that, we haste to add the number killed through blasting, fire, etc., which cannot be counted.” (1061-PS)

We charge that all atrocities against Jews were the manifestation and culmination of the Nazi plan to which every defendant here was a party. I know very well that some of these men did take steps to spare some particular Jew for some personal reason from the horrors that awaited the unrescued Jew. Some protested that particular atrocities were excessive, and discredited the general policy. While a few defendants may show efforts to make specific exceptions to the policy

of Jewish extermination, I have found no instance in which any defendant opposed the policy itself or sought to revoke or even modify it.

Determination to destroy the Jews was a binding force which at all times cemented the elements of this conspiracy. On many internal policies there were differences among the defendants. But there is not one of them who has not echoed the rallying cry of Nazism: "Deutschland erwache, Juda verrecke!" (Germany awake, Jewry perish!).

TERRORISM AND PREPARATION FOR WAR

How a government treats its own inhabitants generally is thought to be no concern of other governments or of international society. Certainly few oppressions or cruelties would warrant the intervention of foreign powers. But the German mistreatment of Germans is now known to pass in magnitude and savagery any limits of what is tolerable by modern civilization. Other nations, by silence, would take a consenting part in such crimes. These Nazi persecutions, moreover, take character as international crimes because of the purpose for which they were undertaken.

The purpose, as we have seen, of getting rid of the influence of free labor, the churches, and the Jews was to clear their obstruction to the precipitation of aggressive war. If aggressive warfare in violation of treaty obligation is a matter of international cognizance, the preparations for it must also be of concern to the international community. Terrorism was the chief instrument for securing the cohesion of the German people in war purposes. Moreover, these cruelties in Germany served as atrocity practice to discipline the membership of the criminal organization to follow the pattern later in occupied countries.

Through the police formations that are before you accused as criminal organizations, the Nazi Party leaders, aided at some point in their basic and notorious purpose by each of the individual defendants, instituted a reign of terror. These espionage and police organizations were utilized to hunt down every form of opposition and to penalize every nonconformity. These organizations early founded and administered concentration

camps—Buchenwald in 1933, Dachau in 1934. But these notorious names were not alone. Concentration camps came to dot the German map and to number scores. At first they met with resistance from some Germans. We have a captured letter from Minister of Justice Gürtner to Hitler which is revealing. A Gestapo official had been prosecuted for crimes committed in the camp at Hohnstein, and the Nazi Governor of Saxony had promptly asked that the proceeding be quashed. The Minister of Justice in June of 1935 protested because, as he said:

"In this camp unusually grave mistreatments of prisoners have occurred at least since summer 1933. The prisoners not only were beaten with whips without cause, similarly as in the Concentration Camp Bredow near Stettin till they lost consciousness, but they were also tortured in other manners, e.g. with the help of a dripping apparatus constructed exclusively for this purpose, under which prisoners had to stand until they were suffering from serious purulent wounds of the scalp. . . ." (787-PS)

I shall not take time to detail the ghastly proceedings in these concentration camps. Beatings, starvings, tortures, and killings were routine—so routine that the tormenters became blasé and careless. We have a report of discovery that in Plötzensee one night, 186 persons were executed while there were orders for only 180. Another report describes how the family of one victim received two urns of ashes by mistake.

Inmates were compelled to execute each other. In 1942 they were paid five Reichsmarks per execution, but on June 27, 1942 SS General Glücks ordered commandants of all concentration camps to reduce this honorarium to three cigarettes. In 1943 the Reich leader of the SS and Chief of German Police ordered the corporal punishments on Russian women to be applied by Polish women and vice versa, but the price was not frozen. He said that as reward, a few cigarettes was authorized. Under the Nazis, human life had been progressively devalued, until it finally became worth less than a handful of tobacco-ersatz tobacco. There were, however, some traces of the milk of human kindness. On August 11, 1942 an order went from Himmler to the commanders of 14 concentration camps that

only German prisoners are allowed to beat other German prisoners (2189-PS).

Mystery and suspense was added to cruelty in order to spread torture from the inmate to his family and friends. Men and women disappeared from their homes or business or from the streets, and no word came of them. The omission of notice was not due to overworked staff; it was due to policy. The Chief of the SD and SIPO reported that in accordance with orders from the Führer anxiety should be created in the minds of the family of the arrested person. (668-PS) Deportations and secret arrests were labeled, with a Nazi wit which seems a little ghoulish, "Nacht und Nebel" (Night and Fog). (L-90, 833-PS) One of the many orders for these actions gave this explanation:

"The decree carries a basic innovation. The Führer and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces commands that crimes of the specified sort committed by civilians of the occupied territories are to be punished by the pertinent courts-martial in the occupied territories only when (a) the sentence calls for the death penalty, and (b) the sentence is pronounced within eight days after the arrest.

"Only when both conditions are met does the Führer and Commanders Chief of the Armed Forces hope for the desired deterrent effect from the conduct of punitive proceedings in the occupied territories.

"All other cases, in the future, the accused are to be secretly brought to Germany, and the further conduct of the trial carried on here. The deterrent effect of these measures lies (a) in allowing the disappearance of the accused without a trace, (b) therein that no information whatsoever may be given about their whereabouts and their fate." (833-PS)

To clumsy cruelty, scientific skill was added. "Undesirables" were exterminated by injection of drugs into the bloodstream, by asphyxiation in gas chambers. They were shot with poison bullets, to study the effects. (L-103)

Then, to cruel experiments the Nazi added obscene ones. These were not the work of underlying-degenerates but of master-minds high in the Nazi conspiracy. On May 20, 1942 General Field Marshal Milch authorized SS General Wolff to go ahead at Dachau Camp with so-called "cold

experiments"; and four female gypsies were supplied for the purpose. Himmler gave permission to carry out these "experiments" also in other camps. (1617-PS) At Dachau, the reports of the "doctor" in charge show that victims were immersed in cold water until their body temperature was reduced to 28 degrees centigrade (82.4 degrees Fahrenheit), when they all died immediately (1618-PS). This was in August 1942. But the "doctor's" technique improved. By February 1943 he was able to report that 30 persons were chilled to 21 to 29 degrees, their hands and feet frozen white, and their bodies "rewarmed" by a hot bath. But the Nazi scientific triumph was "rearming with animal heat." The victim, all but frozen to death, was surrounded with bodies of living women until he revived and responded to his environment by having sexual intercourse. (1616-PS) Here Nazi degeneracy reached its nadir.

I dislike to encumber the record with such morbid tales, but we are in the grim business of trying men as criminals, and these are the things that their own agents say happened. We will show you these concentration camps in motion pictures, just as the Allied armies found them when they arrived, and the measures General Eisenhower had to take to clean them up. Our proof will be disgusting and you will say I have robbed you of your sleep. But these are the things which have turned the stomach of the world and set every civilized hand against Nazi Germany.

Germany became one vast torture chamber. Cries of its victims were heard round the world and brought shudders to civilized people everywhere. I am one who received during this war most atrocity tales with suspicion and scepticism. But the proof here will be so overwhelming that I venture to predict not one word I have spoken will be denied. These defendants will only deny personal responsibility or knowledge.

Under the clutch of the most intricate web of espionage and intrigue that any modern state has endured, and persecution and torture of a kind that has not been visited upon the world in many centuries, the elements of the German population which were both decent and courageous were annihilated. Those which were decent but weak were intimidated. Open resistance, which had

never been more than feeble and irresolute, disappeared. But resistance, I am happy to say, always remained, although it was manifest in only some events as the abortive effort to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944. With resistance driven underground, the Nazi had the German State in his own hands.

But the Nazis not only silenced discordant voices. They created positive controls as effective as their negative ones. Propaganda organs, on a scale never before known, stimulated the Party and Party formation with a permanent enthusiasm and abandon such as we, democratic people, can work up only for a few days before a general election. They inculcated and practiced the Führerprinzip which centralized control of the Party and of the Party controlled State over the lives and thought of the German people, who are accustomed to look upon the German State, by whomever controlled, with a mysticism that is incomprehensible to my people.

All these controls from their inception were exerted with unparalleled energy and single-mindedness to put Germany on a war footing. We will show from the Nazis' own documents their secret training of military personnel, their secret creation of a military air force. Finally, a conscript army was brought into being. Financiers, economists, industrialists joined in the plan and promoted elaborate alterations in industry and finance to support an unprecedented concentration of resources and energies upon preparations for war. Germany rearmament so outstripped the strength of her neighbors that in about a year she was able to crush the whole military force of continental Europe, exclusive of that of Soviet Russia, and then to push the Russian armies back to the Volga. These preparations were of a magnitude which surpassed all need of defense, and every defendant, and every intelligent German, well understood them to be for aggressive purposes.

EXPERIMENTS IN AGGRESSION

Before resorting to open aggressive warfare, the Nazis undertook some rather cautious experiments to test the spirit of resistance of those who lay across their path. They advanced, but only as

others yielded, and kept in a position to draw back if they found a temperament that made persistence dangerous.

On 7 March 1936 the Nazis reoccupied the Rhineland and then proceeded to fortify it in violation of the Treaty of Versailles and the Pact of Locarno. They encountered no substantial resistance and were emboldened to take the next step, which was the acquisition of Austria. Despite repeated assurances that Germany had no designs on Austria, invasion was perfected. Threat of attack forced Schuschnigg to resign as Chancellor of Austria and put the Nazi Defendant Seyss-Inquart in his place. The latter immediately opened the frontier and invited Hitler to invade Austria "to preserve order." On March 12th invasion began. The next day, Hitler proclaimed himself Chief of the Austrian State, took command of its armed forces and a law was enacted annexing Austria to Germany.

Threats of aggression had succeeded without arousing resistance. Fears nevertheless had been stirred. They were lulled by an assurance to the Czechoslovak Government that there would be no attack on that country. We will show that the Nazi Government already had detailed plans for the attack. We will lay before you the documents in which these conspirators planned to create an incident to justify their attack. They even gave consideration to assassinating their own Ambassador at Prague in order to create a sufficiently dramatic incident. They did precipitate a diplomatic crisis which endured throughout the summer. Hitler set September 30th as the day when troops should be ready for action. Under the threat of immediate war, the United Kingdom and France concluded a pact with Germany and Italy at Munich on September 29, 1938, which required Czechoslovakia to acquiesce in the cession of the Sudetenland to Germany. It was consummated by German occupation on October 1, 1938.

The Munich Pact pledged no further aggression against Czechoslovakia, but the Nazi pledge was lightly given and quickly broken. On the 15th of March 1939, in defiance of the treaty of Munich itself, the Nazis seized and occupied Bohemia and Moravia, which constituted the major part of Czechoslovakia not already ceded to Germany. Once again the West stood aghast,

but it dreaded war, it saw no remedy except war, and it hoped against hope that the Nazi fever for expansion had run its course. But the Nazi world was intoxicated by these unresisted successes in open alliance with Mussolini and in covert alliance with Franco. Then, having made a deceitful, delaying peace with Russia, the conspirators entered upon the final phase of the plan to renew war.

WAR OF AGGRESSION

I will not prolong this address by detailing the steps leading to the war of aggression which began with the invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939. The further story will be unfolded to you from documents including those of the German High Command itself. The plans had been laid long in advance. As early as 1935 Hitler appointed the Defendant Schacht to the position of General Deputy for the War Economy (2261-PS). We have the diary of General Jodl (1780-PS); the "Plan Otto", Hitler's own order for attack on Austria in case trickery failed (C-102); the "Plan Green" which was the blueprint for attack on Czechoslovakia (388-PS); plans for the war in the West (375-PS, 376-PS); Funk's letter to Hitler dated August 25, 1939 detailing the long course of economic preparation (699-PS); Keitel's top-secret mobilization order for 1939-40 prescribing secret steps to be taken during a "period of tension" during which no 'state of war' will be publicly declared even if open war measures against the foreign enemy will be taken." This letter order (1639A-PS) is in our possession despite a secret order issued on May 16, 1945, when Allied troops were advancing into the heart of Germany, to burn these plans. We have also Hitler's directive, dated December 18, 1940, for the "Barbarossa Contingency" outlining the strategy of the attack upon Russia (446-PS). That plan in the original bears the initials of the Defendants Keitel and Jodl. They were planning the attack and planning it long in advance of the declaration of war. We have detailed information concerning "Case White", the plan for attack on Poland (C-120). That attack began the war. The plan was issued by Keitel on April 3rd, 1939. The attack did not come until September. Steps in

preparation for the attack were taken by subordinate commanders, one of whom issued an order on June 14, providing that:

"The Commander-in-Chief of the Army has ordered the working out of a *plan of deployment against Poland* which takes in account the demands of the political leadership *for the opening of war by surprise and for quick success*. . . .

"I declare it the duty of the commanding generals, the divisional commanders, and the commandants to limit as much as possible the number of persons who will be informed, and to limit the extent of the information, and ask that all suitable measures be taken to prevent persons not concerned from getting information. . . .

"The operation, in order to forestall an orderly Polish mobilization and concentration, is to be opened by surprise with forces which are for the most part armored and motorized, placed on alert in the neighborhood of the border. The initial superiority over the Polish frontier guards and surprise that can be expected with certainty are to be maintained by quickly bringing up other parts of the Army as well to counteract the marching up of the Polish Army. . . .

"If the development of the political situation should show that a surprise at the beginning of the war is out of question, because of well-advanced defense preparations on the part of the Polish Army, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army will order the opening of the hostilities only after the assembling of sufficient additional forces. The basis of all preparations will be to surprise the enemy. . . ." (2327-PS) We have also the order for the invasion of England, signed by Hitler and initialed by Keitel and Jodl. It is interesting that it commences with a recognition that although the British military position is "hopeless", they show not the slightest sign of giving in. (442-PS)

Not the least incriminating are the minutes of Hitler's meeting with his high advisers. As early as November 5, 1937 Hitler told Defendants Goering, Raeder, and Neurath, among others, that German rearmament was practically accomplished and that he had decided to secure by force, starting with a lightning attack on Czechoslovakia and Austria, greater living space for Germans in Europe no later than 1943-45 and perhaps as

early as 1938. (386-PS) On the 23rd of May, 1939 the Führer advised his staff that:

“It is a question of expanding our living space in the East and of securing our food supplies. . . . Over and above the natural fertility, thorough-going German exploitation will enormously increase the surplus.

“There is therefore no question of sparing Poland, and we are left with the decision: To attack Poland at the first suitable opportunity. We cannot expect a repetition of the Czech affair. There will be war.” (L-79)

On August 22nd, 1939 Hitler again addressed members of the High Command, telling them when the start of military operations would be ordered. He disclosed that for propaganda purposes, he would provoke a good reason. “It will make no difference,” he announced, “whether this reason will sound convincing or not. After all, the victor will not be asked whether he talked the truth or not. We have to proceed brutally. The stronger is always right.” (1014-PS) On 23 November 1939, after the Germans had invaded Poland, Hitler made this explanation:

“. . . For the first time in history we have to fight on only one front, the other front is at present free. But no one can know how long that will remain so. I have doubted for a long time whether I should strike in the East and then in the West. Basically I did not organize the armed forces in order not to strike. The decision to strike was always in me. Earlier or later I wanted to solve the problem. Under pressure it was decided that the East was to be attacked first. . . .” (789-PS)

We know the bloody sequel. Frontier incidents were staged. Demands were made for cession of territory. When Poland refused, the German forces invaded on September 1st, 1939. Warsaw was destroyed; Poland fell. The Nazis, in accordance with plan, moved swiftly to extend their aggression throughout Europe and to gain the advantage of surprise over their unprepared neighbors. Despite repeated and solemn assurances of peaceful intentions, they invaded Denmark and Norway on 9th April 1940; Belgium, The Netherlands, and Luxembourg on 10th May 1940; Yugoslavia and Greece on 6th April 1941.

As part of the Nazi preparation for aggres-

sion against Poland and her allies, Germany, on 23rd August 1939, had entered into a non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia. It was only a delaying treaty intended to be kept no longer than necessary to prepare for its violation. On June 22, 1941, pursuant to long-matured plans, the Nazis hurled troops into Soviet territory without any declaration of war. The entire European world was aflame.

CONSPIRACY WITH JAPAN

The Nazi plans of aggression called for use of Asiatic allies and they found among the Japanese men of kindred mind and purpose. They were brothers, under the skin.

Himmler records a conversation he had on January 31, 1939 with General Oshima, Japanese Ambassador at Berlin. He wrote:

“Furthermore, he (Oshima) had succeeded up to now to send 10 Russians with bombs across the Caucasian frontier. These Russians had the mission to kill Stalin. A number of additional Russians, whom he had also sent across, had been shot at the frontier.” (2195-PS)

On September 27th, 1940 the Nazis concluded a German-Italian-Japanese 10-year military and economic alliance by which those powers agreed “to stand by and cooperate with one another in regard to their efforts in Greater East Asia and regions of Europe respectively wherein it is their prime purpose to establish and maintain a new order of things.”

On March 5, 1941 a top-secret directive was issued by Defendant Keitel. It stated that the Führer had ordered instigation of Japan’s active participation in the war and directed that Japan’s military power has to be strengthened by the disclosure of German war experiences and support of a military, economic, and technical nature has to be given. The aim was stated to be to crush England quickly thereby keeping the United States out of the war. (C-75)

On March 29, 1941 Ribbentrop told Matsuoka, the Japanese Foreign Minister, that the German Army was ready to strike against Russia. Matsuoka reassured Ribbentrop about the Far East. Japan, he reported, was acting at the moment as though she had no interest whatever in

Singapore, but intends to strike when the right moment comes. (1877-PS)

On April 5, 1941 Ribbentrop urged Matsuoka that entry of Japan into the war would “hasten the victory” and would be more in the interest of Japan than of Germany since it would give Japan a unique chance to fulfill her national aims and to play a leading part in Eastern Asia. (1882-PS)

The proofs in this case will also show that the leaders of Germany were planning war against the United States from its Atlantic as well as instigating it from its Pacific approaches. A captured memorandum from the Führer's headquarters, dated October 29, 1940, asks certain information as to air bases and supply and reports further that:

“The Führer is at present occupied with the question of the occupation of the Atlantic islands with a view to the prosecution of war against America at a later date. Deliberations on this subject are being embarked upon here.” (376-PS)

On December 7th, 1941, a day which the late President Roosevelt declared “will live in infamy,” victory for German aggression seemed certain. The Wehrmacht was at the gates of Moscow. Taking advantage of the situation, and while her plenipotentiaries were creating a diplomatic diversion in Washington, Japan without declaration of war treacherously attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor and the Philippines. Attacks followed swiftly on the British Commonwealth, and The Netherlands in the Southwest Pacific. These aggressions were met in the only way that they could be met, with instant declarations of war and with armed resistance which mounted slowly through many long months of reverses until finally the Axis was crushed to earth and deliverance for its victims was won.

Even the most warlike of peoples have recognized in the name of humanity some limitations on the savagery of warfare. Rules to that end have been embodied in international conventions to which Germany became a party. This code had prescribed certain restraints as to the treatment of belligerents. The enemy was entitled to surrender and to receive quarter and good treatment as a prisoner of war. We will show by German documents that these rights were denied, that prisoners of war were given brutal treatment and

often murdered. This was particularly true in the case of captured airmen, often my countrymen.

It was ordered that captured English and American airmen should no longer be granted the status of prisoners of war. They were to be treated as criminals and the Army was ordered to refrain from protecting them against lynching by the populace. (R-118) The Nazi Government, through its police and propaganda agencies, took pains to incite the civilian population to attack and kill airmen who crashlanded. The order, given by the Reichsführer SS Himmler on 10 August 1943, directed that: “It is not the task of the police to interfere in clashes between German and English and American flyers who have bailed out.” This order was transmitted on the same day by SS Obersturmbannführer Brand of Himmler's personal staff to all senior executive SS and Police officers, with these directions:

“I am sending you the enclosed order with the request that the Chief of the Regular Police and of the Security Police be informed. They are to make this instruction known to their subordinate officers verbally.” (R-110)

Similarly, we will show Hitler's top secret order, dated 18 October 1942, that Commandos, regardless of condition, were “to be slaughtered to the last man” after capture. (498-PS) We will show the circulation of secret orders, one of which was signed by Hess, to be passed orally to civilians, that enemy fliers or parachutists were to be arrested or liquidated. (062-PS) By such means were murders incited and directed.

This Nazi campaign of ruthless treatment of enemy forces assumed its greatest proportions in the fight against Russia. Eventually all prisoners of war were taken out of control of the Army and put in the hands of Himmler and the SS. (058-PS) In the East, the German fury spent itself. Russian prisoners were ordered to be branded. They were starved. I shall quote passages from a letter written February 28, 1942 by Defendant Rosenberg to Defendant Keitel:

“The fate of the Soviet prisoners of war in Germany is on the contrary a tragedy of the greatest extent. Of 3,600,000 prisoners of war, only several hundred thousand are still able to work fully. A large part of them has starved, or died, because of the hazards of the weather. Thousands

also died from spotted fever. . . .

“The camp commanders have forbidden the civilian population to put food at the disposal of the prisoners, and they have rather let them starve to death. . . .

“In many cases, when prisoners of war could no longer keep up on the march because of hunger and exhaustion, they were shot before the eyes of the horrified population, and the corpses were left.

“In numerous camps, no shelter for the prisoners of war was provided at all. They lay under the open sky during rain or snow. Even tools were not made available to dig holes or caves. . . . Finally, the shooting of prisoners of war must be mentioned; for instance, in various camps, all the ‘Asiatics’ were shot.” (081-PS)

Civilized usage and conventions to which Germany was a party had prescribed certain immunities for civilian populations unfortunate enough to dwell in lands overrun by hostile armies. The German occupation forces, controlled or commanded by men on trial before you, committed a long series of outrages against the inhabitants of occupied territory that would be incredible except for captured orders and captured reports which show the fidelity with which those orders were executed.

We deal here with a phase of common criminality designed by the conspirators as part of the common plan. We can appreciate why these crimes against their European enemies were not of a casual character but were planned and disciplined crimes when we get at the reason for them. Hitler told his officers on August 22, 1939 that: “The main objective in Poland is the destruction of the enemy and not the reaching of a certain geographical line” (1014-PS). The project of deporting promising youth from occupied territories was approved by Rosenberg on the theory that “a desired weakening of the biological force” of the conquered people is being achieved. (031-PS) To Germanize or to destroy was the program. Himmler announced, “Either we win over any good blood that we can use for ourselves and give it a place in our people or, gentlemen—you may call this cruel, but nature is cruel,—we destroy this blood.” As to “racially good types” Himmler further advised, “Therefore, I think that it is our

duty to take their children with us, to remove them from their environment, if necessary by robbing or stealing them.” (L-70) He urged deportation of Slavic children to deprive potential enemies of future soldiers.

The Nazi purpose was to leave Germany’s neighbors so weakened that even if she should eventually lose the war, she would still be the most powerful nation in Europe. Against this background, we must view the plan for ruthless warfare, which means a plan for the commission of War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity.

Hostages in large numbers were demanded and killed. Mass punishments were inflicted, so savage that whole communities were extinguished. Rosenberg was advised of the annihilation of three unidentified villages in Slovakia. (970-PS) In May of 1943 another village of about 40 farms and 220 inhabitants was ordered wiped out. The entire population was ordered shot, the cattle and property impounded, and the order required that “the village will be destroyed totally by fire.” (163 PS) A secret report from Rosenberg’s Reich Ministry of Eastern Territory reveals that:

“Food rations allowed the Russian population are so low that they fail to secure their existence and provide only for minimum subsistence of limited duration. The population does not know if they will still live tomorrow. They are faced with death by starvation. . . .

“The roads are clogged by hundreds of thousands of people, sometimes as many as one million according to the estimate of experts, who wander around in search of nourishment. . . . “Sauckel’s action has caused unrest among the civilians. . . . Russian girls were deloused by men, nude photos in forced positions were taken, women doctors were locked into freight cars for the pleasure of the transport commanders, women in night shirts were fettered and forced through the Russian towns to the railroad station, etc. All this material has been sent to the OKH.” (1381-PS)

Perhaps the deportation to slave labor was the most horrible and extensive slaving operation in history. On few other subjects is our evidence so abundant or so damaging. In a speech made on January 25, 1944 the Defendant Frank, Gover-

nor General of Poland, boasted, "I have sent 1,300,000 Polish workers into the Reich" (05.9-PS, P. 2). The Defendant Sauckel reported that "out of the 5 million foreign workers who arrived in Germany not even 200,000 came voluntarily." This fact was reported to the Fuhrer and Defendants Speer, Goring, and Keitel. (R-24) Children of 10 to 14 years were impressed into service by telegraphic order of Rosenberg's Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories:

"The Command is further charged with the transferring of worthwhile Russian youth between 10–14 years of age, to the Reich. The authority is not affected by the changes connected with the evacuation and transportation to the reception camps of Bialystok, Krajewo, and, Olitei The Fuhrer wishes that this activity be increased even more": (200-PS)

"When enough labor was not forthcoming, prisoners of war were forced into war work in flagrant violation of international conventions. (016-PS) Slave labor came from France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, and the East. Methods of recruitment were violent. (R-324, 018 PS, 204-PS) The treatment of these slave laborers was stated in general terms, not difficult to translate into concrete deprivations, in a letter to the Defendant Rosenberg from the Defendant Sauckel, which stated:

"All *prisoners of war*, from the *territories* of the West as well as of the East, actually in Germany, must be completely incorporated into the German armament and munition industries. Their production must be brought to the highest possible level. . . .

"The complete employment of all prisoners of war as well as the use of a gigantic number of new foreign civilian workers, men and women, has become an indisputable necessity for the solution of the mobilization of labor program in this war.

"All the men must be fed, sheltered, and treated in such a way as to exploit them to the highest possible extent at the lowest conceivable degrees of expenditure. . . ." (016-PS)

In pursuance of the Nazi plan permanently to reduce the living standards of their neighbors and to weaken them physically and economically, a long series of crimes were committed. There was

extensive destruction, serving no military purpose, of the property of civilians. Dikes were thrown open in Holland almost at the close of the war not to achieve military ends but to destroy the resources and retard the economy of the thrifty Netherlanders.

There was carefully planned economic syphoning off of the assets of occupied countries. An example of the planning is shown by a report on France dated December 7, 1942 made by the Economic Research Department of the Reichsbank. The question arose whether French occupation costs should be increased from 15 million Reichsmarks per day to 25 million Reichsmarks per day. The Reichsbank analyzed French economy to determine whether it could bear the burden. It pointed out that the armistice had burdened France to that date to the extent of 18 1/2 billion Reichsmarks, equalling 370 billion francs. It pointed out that the burden of these payments within 2 1/2 years equalled the aggregate French national income in the year 1940, and that the amount of payments handed over to Germany in the first 6 months of 1942 corresponded to the estimate for the total French revenue for that whole year. The report concluded:

"In any case, the conclusion is inescapable that relatively heavier tributes have been imposed on France since the armistice in June 1940 than upon Germany after the World War. In this connection, it must be noted that the economic powers of France never equalled those of the German Reich and that the vanquished France could not draw on foreign economic and financial resources in the same degree as Germany after the last World War."

The Defendant Funk was the Reich Minister of Economics and President of the Reichsbank; the Defendant Ribbentrop was Foreign Minister; the Defendant Goering was Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan; and all of them participated in the exchange of views of which this captured document is a part. (2149 PS) Notwithstanding this analysis by the Reichsbank, they proceeded to increase the imposition on France from 15 million Reichsmarks daily to 25 million per day.

It is small wonder that the bottom has been knocked out of French economy. The plan and purpose of the thing appears in a letter from Gen-

eral Stulpnagel, head of the German Armistice Commission, to the Defendant Jodl as early as 14 September 1940 when he wrote, "The slogan 'Systematic weakening of France' has already been surpassed by far in reality." (1756-PS)

Not only was there a purpose to debilitate and demoralize the economy of Germany's neighbors for the purpose of destroying their competitive position, but there was looting and pilfering on an unprecedented scale. We need not be hypocritical about this business of looting. I recognize that no army moves through occupied territory without some pilfering as it goes. Usually the amount of pilfering increases as discipline wanes. If the evidence in this case showed no looting except of that sort, I certainly would ask no conviction of these defendants for it.

But we will show you that looting was not due to the lack of discipline or to the ordinary weaknesses of human nature. The German organized plundering, planned it, disciplined it, and made it official just as he organized everything else, and then he compiled the most meticulous records to show that he had done the best job of looting that was possible under the circumstances. And we have those records.

The Defendant Rosenberg was put in charge of a systematic plundering of the art objects of Europe by direct order of Hitler dated 29 January 1940. (136-PS) On the 16th of April 1943 Rosenberg reported that up to the 7th of April, 92 railway cars with 2,775 cases containing art objects had been sent to Germany; and that 53 pieces of art had been shipped to Hitler direct, and 594 to the Defendant Goering. The report mentioned something like 20,000 pieces of seized art and the main locations where they were stored. (015-PS)

Moreover this looting was glorified by Rosenberg. Here we have 39 leather-bound tabulated volumes of his inventory, which in due time we will offer in evidence. One cannot but admire the artistry of this Rosenberg report. The Nazi taste was cosmopolitan. Of the 9,455 articles inventoried, there were included 5,255 paintings, 297 sculptures, 1,372 pieces of antique furniture, 307 textiles, and 2,224 small objects of art. Rosenberg observed that there were approximately 10,000 more objects still to be inventoried. (015-PS) Rosenberg himself estimated that the

values involved would come close to a billion dollars. (090-PS)

I shall not go into further details of the War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity committed by the gangster ring whose leaders are before you. It is not the purpose in my part of this case to deal with the individual crimes. I am dealing with the Common Plan or design for crime and will not dwell upon individual offenses. My task is to show the scale on which these crimes occurred, and to show that these are the men who were in the responsible positions and who conceived the plan and design which renders them answerable, regardless of the fact that the plan was actually executed by others.

At length, this reckless and lawless course outraged the world. It recovered from the demoralization of surprise attack, assembled its forces and stopped these men in their tracks. Once success deserted their banners, one by one the Nazi satellites fell away. Sawdust Caesar collapsed. Resistance forces in every occupied country arose to harry the invader. Even at home, Germans saw that Germany was being led to ruin by these mad men, and the attempt on July 20, 1944 to assassinate Hitler, an attempt fostered by men of highest station, was a desperate effort by internal forces in Germany to stop short of ruin. Quarrels broke out among the failing conspirators, and the decline of the Nazi power was more swift than its ascendancy. German Armed Forces surrendered, its Government disintegrated, its leaders committed suicide by the dozen, and by the fortunes of war these defendants fell into our hands. Although they are not, by any means, all the guilty ones, they are survivors among the most responsible. Their names appear over and over in the documents and their faces grace the photographic evidence. We have here the surviving top politicians, militarists, financiers, diplomats, administrators, and propagandists, of the Nazi movement. Who was responsible for these crimes if they were not?

THE LAW OF THE CASE

The end of the war and capture of these prisoners presented the victorious Allies with the question whether there is any legal responsibility on the high-ranking men for acts which I have de-

scribed. Must such wrongs either be ignored or redressed in hot blood? Is there no standard in the law for a deliberate and reasoned judgment on such conduct?

The Charter of this tribunal evidences a faith that the law is not only to govern the conduct of little men, but that even rulers are as Lord Chief Justice Coke put it to King James, "under God and the law." The United States believed that the law has long afforded standards by which a juridical hearing could be conducted to make sure that we punish only the right men and for the right reasons. Following the instructions of the late President Roosevelt and the decision of the Yalta Conference, President Truman directed representatives of the United States to formulate a proposed International Agreement, which was submitted during the San Francisco Conference to the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the Provisional Government of France. With many modifications, that proposal has become the Charter of this Tribunal.

But the Agreement which sets up the standards by which these prisoners are to be judged does not express the views of the signatory nations alone. Other nations with diverse but highly respected systems of jurisprudence also have signified adherence to it. These are Belgium, The Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Luxembourg, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia, Ethiopia, Australia, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, New Zealand, Venezuela and India. You judge, therefore, under an organic act which represents the wisdom, the sense of justice and the will of twenty-one governments, representing an overwhelming majority of all civilized people.

The Charter by which this Tribunal has its being, embodies certain legal concepts which are inseparable from its jurisdiction and which must govern its decision. These, as I have said, also are conditions attached to the grant of any hearing to defendants. The validity of the provisions of the Charter is conclusive upon us all, whether we have accepted the duty of judging or of prosecuting under it, as well as upon the defendants, who can point to no other law which gives them a right to be heard at all. My able and experienced colleagues believe, as do I, that it will contribute to the expedition and clarity

of this trial if I expound briefly the application of the legal philosophy of the Charter to the facts I have recited.

While this declaration of the law by the Charter is final, it may be contended that the prisoners on trial are entitled to have it applied to their conduct only most charitable if at all. It may be said that this is new law, not authoritatively declared at the time they did the acts it condemns, and that this declaration of the law has taken them by surprise.

I cannot, of course, deny that these men are surprised that this is the law; they really are surprised that there is any such thing as law. These defendants did not rely on any law at all. Their program ignored and defied all law. That this is so will appear from many acts and statements, of which I cite but few.

In the Fuehrer's speech to all military commanders on 23rd November, 1939, he reminded them that at the moment Germany had a pact with Russia. But declared "Agreements are to be kept only as long as they serve a certain purpose." Later in the same speech he announced "A violation of the neutrality of Holland and Belgium will be of no importance." A Top Secret document, entitled "Warfare as a Problem of Organization," dispatched by the chief of the High Command to all Commanders on 19th April, 1938, declared that "the normal rules of war toward neutrals must be considered to apply on the basis whether operation of these rules will create greater advantages or disadvantages for the belligerents." And from the files of the German Navy Staff, we have a "Memorandum on Intensified Naval War," dated 15th October, 1939, which begins by stating a desire to comply with International Law. "However," it continues, "if decisive successes are expected from any measure considered as a war necessity, it must be carried through even if it is not in agreement with International Law." International Law, Natural Law, German Law, any law at all was to these men simply a propaganda device to be invoked when it helped and to be ignored when it would condemn what they wanted to do. That men may be protected in relying upon the law at the time they act is the reason we find laws of retrospective operation unjust. But these men cannot bring themselves

within the reason of the rule which in some systems of jurisprudence prohibits *ex post facto* laws. They cannot show that they ever relied upon international law in any state or paid it the slightest regard.

The Third Count of the Indictment is based on the definition of War Crimes contained in the Charter. I have outlined to you the systematic course of conduct toward civilian populations and combat forces which violates international conventions to which Germany was party. Of the criminal nature of these acts at least, the defendants had, as we shall show, knowledge. Accordingly, they took pains to conceal their violations. It will appear that the defendants Keitel and Jodl were informed by official legal advisers that the orders to brand Russian prisoners of war, to shackle British prisoners of war and to execute Commando prisoners were clear violations of International Law. Nevertheless, these orders were put into effect. The same is true of orders issued for the assassination of General Giraud and General Weygand, which failed to be executed only because of a ruse on the part of Admiral Canaris, who was himself later executed for his part in the plot to take Hitler's life on 20th July 1944.

The Fourth Count of Indictment is based on Crimes against Humanity. Chief among these are mass killings of countless human beings in cold blood. Does it take these men by surprise that murder is treated as a crime?

The first and Second Counts of Indictment add to these crimes the crime of plotting and waging wars of aggression and wars in violation of nine treaties to which Germany was a party. There was a time, in fact, I think, the time of the First World War, when it could not have been said that war inciting or war making was a crime in law, however reprehensible in morals.

Of course, it was, under the law of all civilized peoples, a crime for one man with his bare knuckles to assault another. How did it come about that multiplying this crime by a million, and adding fire-arms to bare knuckles, made it a legally innocent act? The doctrine was that one could not be regarded as criminal for committing the usual violent acts in the conduct of legitimate warfare. The age of imperialistic ex-

pansion during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries added the foul doctrine, contrary to the teachings of early Christian and International Law scholars such as Grotius, that all wars are to be regarded as legitimate wars. The sum of these two doctrines was to give war-making a complete immunity from accountability to law.

This was intolerable for an age that called itself civilized. Plain people, with their earthy common sense, revolted at such fictions and legalisms so contrary to ethical principles and demanded checks on war immunities. Statesmen and international lawyers at first cautiously responded by adopting rules of warfare designed to make the conduct of war more civilized. The effort was to set legal limits to the violence that could be done to civilian populations and to combatants as well.

The common sense of men after the First World War demanded, however, that the law's condemnation of war reach deeper, and that the law condemn not merely uncivilized ways of waging war, but also the waging in any way of uncivilized wars—wars of aggression. The world's statesmen again went only as far as they were forced to go. Their efforts were timid and cautious and often less explicit than we might have hoped. But the 1920s did outlaw aggressive war.

The re-establishment of the principle that there are unjust wars and that unjust wars are illegal is traceable in many steps. One of the most significant is the Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928, by which Germany, Italy and Japan, in common with practically all nations of the world, renounced war as an instrument of national policy, bound themselves to seek the settlement of disputes only by pacific means, and condemned recourse to war for the solution of international controversies. This pact altered the legal status of wars of aggression. As Mr. Stimson, the United States Secretary of State put it in 1932, such a war "is no longer to be the source and subject of rights. It is no longer to be the principle around which duties, the conduct, and the rights of nations revolve. It is an illegal thing. . . . By that very act we have made obsolete many legal precedents and have given the legal profession the task of re-examining many of its codes and treaties."

The Geneva Protocol of 1924 for the Pacific

Settlement of International Disputes, signed by the representatives of forty-eight governments, declared that "a war of aggression constitutes an international crime." The Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations in 1927, on unanimous resolution of the representatives of forty-eight member nations, including Germany, declared that a war of aggression constitutes an international crime. At the Sixth Pan-American Conference of 1928, the twenty-one American Republics unanimously adopted a resolution stating that "war of aggression constitutes an international crime against the human species."

A failure of these Nazis to heed, or to understand the force and meaning of this evolution in the legal thought of the world, is not a defense or a mitigation. If anything, it aggravates their offence and makes it the more mandatory that the law they have flouted be vindicated by juridical application to their lawless conduct. Indeed, by their own law—had they heeded any law—these principles were binding on these defendants. Article 4 of the Weimar Constitution provided that, "The generally accepted rules of International Law are to be considered as binding integral parts of the law of the German Reich." Can there be any doubt that the outlawry of aggressive war was one of the "generally accepted rules of International Law" in 1939?

Any resort to war—to any kind of a war—is a resort to means that are inherently criminal. War inevitably is a course of killings, assaults, deprivations of liberty, and destruction of property. An honestly defensive war is, of course, legal and saves those lawfully conducting it from criminality. But inherently criminal acts cannot be defended by showing that those who committed them were engaged in a war, when war itself is illegal. The very minimum legal consequence of the treaties making aggressive wars illegal is to strip those who incite or wage them of every defense the law ever gave, and to leave war-makers subject to judgment by the usually accepted principles of the law of crimes.

But if it be thought that the Charter, whose declarations concededly bind us all, does contain new law I still do not shrink from demanding its strict application by this Tribunal. The rule of law in the world, flouted by the lawlessness incited by these defendants, had to be restored at

the cost to my country of over a million casualties, not to mention those of other nations. I cannot subscribe to the perverted reasoning that society may advance and strengthen the rule of law by the expenditure of morally innocent lives, but that progress in the law may never be made at the price of morally guilty lives.

It is true, of course, that we have no judicial precedent for the Charter. But international law is more than a scholarly collection of abstract and immutable principles. It is an outgrowth of treaties and agreements between nations and of accepted customs. Yet every custom has its origin in some single act, and every agreement has to be initiated by the action of some State. Unless we are prepared to abandon every principle of growth for international law, we cannot deny that our own day has the right to institute customs and to conclude agreements that will themselves become sources of a newer and strengthened international law. International Law is not capable of development by the normal processes of legislation, for there is no continuing international legislative authority. Innovations and revisions in international law are brought about by action of governments such as those I have cited, designed to meet a change in circumstances. It grows, as did the common law, through decisions reached from time to time adapting settled principles to new situations. The fact is that when the law evolves by the case method, as did the Common Law and as International Law must do if they advance at all, it advances at the expense of those who wrongly guessed the law and learned too late their error. The law, as far as International Law can be decreed, had been clearly pronounced when these acts took place. Hence we are not disturbed by the lack of judicial precedent for the inquiry it is proposed to conduct.

The events I have earlier recited clearly fall within the standards of crimes, set out in the Charter, whose perpetrators this Tribunal is convened to judge and to punish fittingly. The standards for War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity are too familiar to need comment. There are, however, certain novel problems in applying other precepts of the Charter which I should call to your attention.

THE CRIME AGAINST PEACE

A basic provision of the Charter is that to plan, prepare, initiate, or wage war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements, and assurances, or to conspire or participate in a common plan to do so, is a crime.

It is perhaps a weakness in this Charter that it fails itself to define a war of aggression. Abstractly, the subject is full of difficulty and all kinds of troublesome hypothetical cases can be conjured up. It is a subject which, if the defense should be permitted to go afield beyond the very narrow charge in the Indictment, would prolong the trial and involve the Tribunal in insoluble political issues. But so far as the question can properly be involved in this case, the issue is one of no novelty and is one on which legal opinion has well crystallized.

One of the most authoritative sources of international law on this subject is the Convention for the Definition of Aggression signed at London on 3rd July 1933, by Romania, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Turkey, the Soviet Union, Persia and Afghanistan. The subject has also been considered by international committees and by commentators whose views are entitled to the greatest respect. It had been little discussed prior to the First World War but has received much attention as international law has evolved its outlawry of aggressive war. In the light of these materials of international law, and so far as relevant to the evidence in this case, I suggest that an “aggressor” is generally held to be that state which is the first to commit any of the following actions:

1. Declaration of war upon another State;
2. Invasion by its armed forces, with or without a declaration of war, on the territory, vessels or aircraft of another State;
3. Attack by its land, naval, or air forces, with or without a declaration of war, on the territory, vessels or aircraft of another State; and
4. Provision of support to armed bands formed in the territory of another State, or refusal, notwithstanding the request of the invaded State, to take in its own territory, all the measures in its power

to deprive those bands of all assistance or protection.

And I further suggest that it is the general view that no political, military, economic or other considerations shall serve as an excuse or justification for such actions but exercise of the right of legitimate self-defense—that is to say, resistance to an act of aggression, or action to assist a State which has been subjected to aggression, shall not constitute a war of aggression.

It is upon such an understanding of the law that our evidence of a conspiracy to provoke and wage an aggressive war is prepared and presented. By this test each of the series of wars begun by these Nazi leaders was unambiguously aggressive.

It is important to the duration and scope of this trial that we bear in mind the difference between our charge that this war was one of aggression and a position that Germany had no grievances. We are not inquiring into the conditions which contributed to causing this war. They are for history to unravel. It is no part of our task to vindicate the European status quo as of 1933, or as of any other date. The United States does not desire to enter into discussion of the complicated pre-war currents of European politics, and it hopes this trial will not be protracted by their consideration. The remote causations avowed are too insincere and inconsistent, too complicated and doctrinaire to be the subject of profitable inquiry in this trial. A familiar example is to be found in the “Lebensraum” slogan, which summarized the contention that Germany needed more living space as a justification for expansion. At the same time that the Nazis were demanding more space for the German people, they were demanding more German people to occupy space. Every known means to increase the birth rate, legitimate and illegitimate, was utilized. “Lebensraum” represented a vicious circle of demand—from neighbors more space, and from Germans more progeny. We need not investigate the verity of doctrines which led to constantly expanding circles of aggression. It is the plot and the act of aggression which we charge to be crimes.

Our position is that whatever grievances a nation may have, however objectionable it finds the status quo, aggressive warfare is not a legal

means for settling those grievances or for altering those conditions. It may be that the Germany of the 1920s and 1930s faced desperate problems, problems that would have warranted the boldest measures short of war. All other methods—persuasive, propaganda, economic competition, diplomacy—were open to an aggrieved country, but aggressive warfare was outlawed. These defendants did make aggressive war, a war in violation of treaties. They did attack and invade their neighbors in order to effectuate a foreign policy which they knew could not be accomplished by measures short of war. And that is as far as we accuse or propose to inquire.

THE LAW OF INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

The Charter also recognizes individual responsibility on the part of those who commit acts defined as crimes, or who incite others to do so, or who join a common plan with other persons, groups or organizations to bring about their commission. The principle of individual responsibility for piracy and brigandage, which have long been recognized as crimes punishable under International Law, is old and well established. That is what illegal warfare is.

This principle of personal liability is a necessary as well as a logical one if international law is to render real help to the maintenance of peace. An international law which operates only on States can be enforced only by war because the most practicable method of coercing a State is warfare. Those familiar with American history know that one of the compelling reasons for adoption of our Constitution was that the laws of the Confederation, which operated only on constituent States, were found ineffective to maintain order among them. The only answer to recalcitrance was impotence or war. Only sanctions which reach individuals can peacefully and effectively be enforced. Hence, the principle of the criminality of aggressive war is implemented by the Charter with the principle of personal responsibility.

Of course, the idea that a State, any more than a corporation, commits crimes, is a fiction. Crimes always are committed only by persons. While it

is quite proper to employ the fiction of responsibility of a State or corporation for the purpose of imposing a collective liability, it is quite intolerable to let such a legalism become the basis of personal immunity.

The Charter recognizes that one who has committed criminal acts may not take refuge in superior orders nor in the doctrine that his crimes were acts of State. These twin principles, working together, have heretofore resulted in immunity for practically everyone concerned in the really great crimes against peace and mankind. Those in lower ranks were protected against liability by orders of their superiors. The superiors were protected because their orders were called acts of State. Under the Charter, no defense based on either of these doctrines can be entertained. Modern civilization puts unlimited weapons of destruction in the hands of men. It cannot tolerate so vast an area of legal irresponsibility.

Even the German Military Code provides that:

“If the execution of a military order in the course of duty violates the criminal law, then the superior officer giving the order will bear the sole responsibility therefore. However, the obeying subordinate will share the punishment of the participant: (1) if he has exceeded the order given to him, or (2) if it was within his knowledge that the order of his superior officer concerned an act by which it was intended to commit a civil or military crime or transgression.” (Reichsgesetzblatt, 1926, No. 37, P. 278, Art. 47)

Of course, we do not argue that the circumstances under which one commits an act should be disregarded in judging its legal effect. A conscripted private on a firing squad cannot expect to hold an inquest on the validity of the execution. The Charter implies common sense limits to liability, just as it places common sense limits upon immunity. But none of these men before you acted in minor parts. Each of them was entrusted with broad discretion and exercised great power. Their responsibility is correspondingly great and may not be shifted to that fictional being, “the State,” which cannot be produced for trial, cannot testify, and cannot be sentenced.

The Charter also recognized a vicarious liability, which responsibility is recognized by most modern systems of law, for acts committed by

others in carrying out a common plan or conspiracy to which the defendant has become a party. I need not discuss the familiar principles of such liability. Every day in the courts of countries associated in this prosecution, men are convicted for acts that they did not personally commit, but for which they were held responsible because of membership in illegal combinations or plans or conspiracies.

THE POLITICAL POLICE, AND MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS

Accused before this Tribunal as criminal organizations, are certain political police organizations which the evidence will show to have been instruments of cohesion in planning and executing the crimes I have detailed. Perhaps the worst of the movement were the Leadership Corps of the N.S.D.A.P., the Schutz-staffel or "S.S.," and the Sturmabteilung or "S.A.," and the subsidiary formations which these include. These were the Nazi Party leadership, espionage, and policing groups. They were the real government, above and outside of any law. Also accused as organizations are the Reich Cabinet and the Secret Police, or Gestapo, which were fixtures of the Government but animated solely by the Party.

Except for a late period when some compulsory recruiting was done in the S.S., membership in all these militarized organizations was voluntary. The police organizations were recruited from ardent partisans who enlisted blindly to do the dirty work the leaders planned. The Reich Cabinet was the governmental façade for Nazi Party Government and its members, legal as well as actual responsibility was vested for the program. Collectively they were responsible for the program in general, individually they were especially responsible for segments of it. The finding which we will ask you to make, that these are criminal organizations, will subject members to punishment to be hereafter determined by appropriate tribunals, unless some personal defense—such as becoming a member under threat to person or to family, or inducement by false representation, or the like—be established.

Every member will have a chance to be heard in the subsequent forum on his personal relation

to the organization, but your finding in the trial will conclusively establish the criminal character of the organization as a whole.

We have also accused as criminal organizations the High Command and the General Staff of the German Armed Forces. We recognize that to plan warfare is the business of professional soldiers in all countries. But it is one thing to plan strategic moves in the event of war coming, and it is another thing to plot and intrigue to bring on that war. We will prove the leaders of the German General Staff and of the High Command to have been guilty of just that. Military men are not before you because they served their country. They are here because they mastered it, and along with others, drove it to war. They are not here because they lost the war, but because they started it. Politicians may have thought of them as soldiers, but soldiers know they were politicians. We ask that the General Staff and the High Command, as defined in the Indictment, be condemned as a criminal group whose existence and tradition constitute a standing menace to the peace of the world.

These individual defendants did not stand alone in crime and will not stand alone in punishment. Your verdict of "guilty" against these organizations will render *prima facie*, as nearly as we can learn, thousands upon thousands of members now in custody of the United States and of other Armies.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THIS TRIBUNAL

To apply the sanctions of the law to those whose conduct is found criminal by the standards I have outlined is the responsibility committed to this Tribunal. It is the first court ever to undertake the difficult task of overcoming the confusion of many tongues and the conflicting concepts of just procedure among diverse systems of law, so as to reach a common judgment. The tasks of all of us are such as to make heavy demands on patience and good will. Although the need for prompt action has admittedly resulted in imperfect work on the part of the prosecution, our great nations bring you their hurriedly assembled contributions of evidence. What remains undiscovered we can only

guess. We could, with witnesses' testimony, prolong the recitals of crimes for years—but to what avail? We shall rest the case when we have offered what seems convincing and adequate proof of the crimes charged without unnecessary accumulation of evidence. We doubt very much whether it will be seriously denied that the crimes I have outlined took place. They will attempt undoubtedly to mitigate or escape personal responsibility.

Among the nations which unite in accusing these defendants, the United States is perhaps in a position to be the most dispassionate, for having sustained the least injury, it is perhaps the least animated by vengeance. Our American cities have not been bombed by day and by night, by humans, and by robots. It is not our temples that have been laid in ruins. Our countrymen have not had their homes destroyed over their heads. The menace of Nazi aggression, except to those in actual service, has seemed less personal and immediate to us than to European peoples. But while the United States is not first in rancor, it is not second in determination that the forces of law and order be made equal to the task of dealing with such international lawlessness as I have recited here.

Twice in my lifetime, the United States has sent its young manhood across the Atlantic, drained its resources, and burdened itself with debt to help defeat Germany. But the real hope and faith that has sustained the American people in these great efforts was that victory for ourselves and our Allies would lay the basis for an ordered international relationship in Europe and would end the centuries of strife on this embattled continent.

Twice we have held back in the early stages of European conflict in the belief that it might be confined to a purely European affair. In the United States, we have tried to build an economy without armament, a system of government without militarism, and a society where men are not regimented for war. This purpose, we know, now, can never be realized if the world periodically is to be embroiled in war. The United States cannot, generation after generation throw its youth or its resources on to the battlefields of Europe to redress the lack of balance between Germany's strength and that of her enemies, and to keep the battles from our shores.

The American dream of a peace and plenty economy, as well as the hopes of other nations, can never be fulfilled if these nations are involved in a war every generation, so vast and devastating as to crush the generation that fights and burden the generation that follows. But experience has shown that wars are no longer local. All modern wars become world wars eventually. And none of the big nations at least can stay out. If we cannot stay out of wars, our only hope is to prevent wars.

I am too well aware of the weaknesses of juridical action alone to contend that in itself your decision under this Charter can prevent future wars. Judicial action always comes after the event. Wars are started only on the theory and in the confidence that they can be won. Personal punishment, to be suffered only in the event the war is lost, will probably not be a sufficient deterrent to prevent a war where the warmakers feel the chances of defeat to be negligible.

But the ultimate step in avoiding periodic wars, which are inevitable in a system of international lawlessness, is to make statesmen responsible to law. And let me make clear that while this law is first applied against German aggressors, the law includes, and if it is to serve a useful purpose it must condemn, aggression by any other nations, including those which sit here now in judgment. We are able to do away with domestic tyranny and violence and aggression by those in power against the rights of their own people only when we make all men answerable to the law. This trial represents mankind's desperate effort to apply the discipline of the law to statesmen who have used their powers of state to attack the foundations of the world peace, and to commit aggressions against the rights of their neighbors.

The usefulness of this effort to do justice is not to be measured by considering the law or your judgment in isolation. This trial is part of the great effort to make the peace more secure. One step in this direction is the United Nations Organization, which may take joint political action to prevent war if possible, and joint military action to insure that any nation which starts a war will lose it. This Charter and this trial, implementing the Kellogg-Briand Pact, constitute another step in the same direction—juridical action of a

kind to ensure that those who start a war will pay for it personally.

While the defendants and the prosecutors stand before you as individuals, it is not the triumph of either group alone that is committed to your judgment. Above all personalities there are anonymous and impersonal forces whose conflict makes up much of human history. It is yours to throw the strength of the law back of either the one or the other of these forces for at least another generation. What are the forces that are contending before you?

No charity can disguise the fact that the forces which these defendants represent, the forces that would advantage and delight in their acquittal, are the darkest and most sinister forces in society—dictatorship and oppression, malevolence and passion, militarism and lawlessness. By their fruits we best know them. Their acts have bathed the world in blood and set civilization back a century. They have subjected their European neighbors to every outrage and torture, every spoliation and deprivation that insolence, cruelty, and greed could inflict. They have brought the German people to the lowest pitch of wretchedness, from which they can entertain no hope of early deliverance. They have stirred hatreds and incited domestic violence on every continent. There are the things that stand in the dock shoulder to shoulder with these prisoners.

The real complaining party at your bar is Civilization. In all our countries it is still a struggling and imperfect thing. It does not plead that the United States, or any other country, has been blameless of the conditions which made the

German people easy victims to the blandishments and intimidations of the Nazi conspirators.

But it points to the dreadful sequence of aggression and crimes I have recited, it points to the weariness of flesh, the exhaustion of resources, and the destruction of all that was beautiful or useful in so much of the world, and the greater potentialities for destruction in the days to come. It is not necessary among the ruins of this ancient and beautiful city with untold members of its civilian inhabitants still buried in its rubble, to argue the proposition that to start or wage an aggressive war has the moral qualities of the worst crimes. The refuge of the defendants can be only their hope that international law will lag so far behind the moral sense of mankind that conduct which is crime in the moral must be regarded as innocent in law.

Civilization asks whether law is so laggard as to be utterly helpless to deal with crimes of this magnitude by criminals of this order of importance. It does not expect that you can make war impossible. It does expect that your juridical action will put the forces of international law, its precepts, its prohibitions and, most of all, its sanctions, on the side of peace, so that men and women of good will, in all countries, may have “leave to live by no man’s leave, underneath the law.”

International Conference on Military Trials, London, 1945. Report of Robert H. Jackson, United States Representative to the International Conference on Military Trials, London, 1945. *International Organization and Conference Series, II, European and British Commonwealth I*, Department of State Publication 3080 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1949).

Appendix 12

Winston Churchill and the “Iron Curtain” Address Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri March 5, 1946

I am glad to come to Westminster College this afternoon, and am complimented that you should give me a degree. The name “Westminster” is somehow familiar to me. I seem to have heard of it before. Indeed, it was at Westminster that I received a very large part of my education in politics, dialectic, rhetoric, and one or two other things. In fact we have both been educated at the same, or similar, or, at any rate, kindred establishments.

It is also an honor, perhaps almost unique, for a private visitor to be introduced to an academic audience by the President of the United States. Amid his heavy burdens, duties, and responsibilities—unsought but not recoiled from—the President has traveled a thousand miles to dignify and magnify our meeting here to-day and to give me an opportunity of addressing this kindred nation, as well as my own countrymen across the ocean, and perhaps some other countries too. The President has told you that it is his wish, as I am sure it is yours, that I should have full liberty to give my true and faithful counsel in these anxious and baffling times. I shall certainly avail myself of this freedom, and feel the more right to do so because any private ambitions I may have cherished in my younger days have been satisfied beyond my wildest dreams. Let me, however, make it clear that I have no official mission or status of any kind, and that I speak only for myself. There is nothing here but what you see.

I can therefore allow my mind, with the experience of a lifetime, to play over the problems which beset us on the morrow of our absolute

victory in arms, and to try to make sure with what strength I have that what has been gained with so much sacrifice and suffering shall be preserved for the future glory and safety of mankind.

The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American Democracy. For with primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. If you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the after-time. It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall guide and rule the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war. We must, and I believe we shall, prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement.

When American military men approach some serious situation they are wont to write at the head of their directive the words “over-all strategic concept.” There is wisdom in this, as it leads to clarity of thought. What then is the over-all strategic concept which we should inscribe today? It is nothing less than the safety and welfare, the freedom and progress, of all the homes and families of all the men and women in all the lands. And here I speak particularly of the myriad cottage or apartment homes where the wage-earner strives amid the accidents and difficulties of life

to guard his wife and children from privation and bring the family up in the fear of the Lord, or upon ethical conceptions which often play their potent part.

To give security to these countless homes, they must be shielded from the two giant marauders, war and tyranny. We all know the frightful disturbances in which the ordinary family is plunged when the curse of war swoops down upon the bread-winner and those for whom he works and contrives. The awful ruin of Europe, with all its vanished glories, and of large parts of Asia glares us in the eyes. When the designs of wicked men or the aggressive urge of mighty States dissolve over large areas the frame of civilized society, humble folk are confronted with difficulties with which they cannot cope. For them all is distorted, all is broken, even ground to pulp.

When I stand here this quiet afternoon I shudder to visualize what is actually happening to millions now and what is going to happen in this period when famine stalks the earth. None can compute what has been called "the unestimated sum of human pain." Our supreme task and duty is to guard the homes of the common people from the horrors and miseries of another war. We are all agreed on that.

Our American military colleagues, after having proclaimed their "over-all strategic concept" and computed available resources, always proceed to the next step—namely, the method. Here again there is widespread agreement. A world organization has already been erected for the prime purpose of preventing war, UNO, the successor of the League of Nations, with the decisive addition of the United States and all that means, is already at work. We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action, and not merely a frothing of words, that it is a true temple of peace in which the shields of many nations can some day be hung up, and not merely a cockpit in a Tower of Babel. Before we cast away the solid assurances of national armaments for self-preservation we must be certain that our temple is built, not upon shifting sands or quagmires, but upon the rock. Anyone can see with his eyes open that our path will be difficult and also long, but if we persevere together as we did in the two

world wars—though not, alas, in the interval between them—I cannot doubt that we shall achieve our common purpose in the end.

I have, however, a definite and practical proposal to make for action. Courts and magistrates may be set up but they cannot function without sheriffs and constables. The United Nations Organization must immediately begin to be equipped with an international armed force. In such a matter we can only go step by step, but we must begin now. I propose that each of the Powers and States should be invited to delegate a certain number of air squadrons to the service of the world organization. These squadrons would be trained and prepared in their own countries, but would move around in rotation from one country to another. They would wear the uniform of their own countries but with different badges. They would not be required to act against their own nation, but in other respects they would be directed by the world organization. This might be started on a modest scale and would grow as confidence grew. I wished to see this done after the First World War, and I devoutly trust it may be done forthwith.

It would nevertheless be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge or experience of the atomic bomb, which the United States, Great Britain, and Canada now share, to the world organization, while it is still in its infancy. It would be criminal madness to cast it adrift in this still agitated and un-united world. No one in any country has slept less well in their beds because this knowledge and the method and the raw materials to apply it, are at present largely retained in American hands. I do not believe we should all have slept so soundly had the positions been reversed and if some Communist or neo-Fascist State monopolized for the time being these dread agencies. The fear of them alone might easily have been used to enforce totalitarian systems upon the free democratic world, with consequences appalling to human imagination. God has willed that this shall not be and we have at least a breathing space to set our house in order before this peril has to be encountered: and even then, if no effort is spared, we should still possess so formidable a superiority as to impose effective deterrents upon its employment, or threat of

employment, by others. Ultimately, when the essential brotherhood of man is truly embodied and expressed in a world organization with all the necessary practical safeguards to make it effective, these powers would naturally be confided to that world organization.

Now I come to the second danger of these two marauders which threatens the cottage, the home, and the ordinary people—namely, tyranny. We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the British Empire are not valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments. The power of the State is exercised without restraint, either by dictators or by compact oligarchies operating through a privileged party and a political police. It is not our duty at this time when difficulties are so numerous to interfere forcibly in the internal affairs of countries which we have not conquered in war. But we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, trial by jury, and the English common law find their most famous expression in the American Declaration of Independence.

All this means that the people of any country have the right, and should have the power by constitutional action, by free unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell; that freedom of speech and thought should reign; that courts of justice, independent of the executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom. Here are the title deeds of freedom which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American peoples to mankind. Let us preach what we practice—let us practice—what we preach.

I have now stated the two great dangers which menace the homes of the people: War and Tyranny. I have not yet spoken of poverty and privation which are in many cases the prevailing

anxiety. But if the dangers of war and tyranny are removed, there is no doubt that science and co-operation can bring in the next few years to the world, certainly in the next few decades newly taught in the sharpening school of war, an expansion of material well-being beyond anything that has yet occurred in human experience. Now, at this sad and breathless moment, we are plunged in the hunger and distress which are the aftermath of our stupendous struggle; but this will pass and may pass quickly, and there is no reason except human folly or sub-human crime which should deny to all the nations the inauguration and enjoyment of an age of plenty. I have often used words which I learned fifty years ago from a great Irish-American orator, a friend of mine, Mr. Bourke Cockran. "There is enough for all. The earth is a generous mother; she will provide in plentiful abundance food for all her children if they will but cultivate her soil in justice and in peace." So far I feel that we are in full agreement. Now, while still pursuing the method of realizing our overall strategic concept, I come to the crux of what I have traveled here to say. Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organization will be gained without what I have called the fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. This means a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States. This is no time for generalities, and I will venture to be precise. Fraternal association requires not only the growing friendship and mutual understanding between our two vast but kindred systems of society, but the continuance of the intimate relationship between our military advisers, leading to common study of potential dangers, the similarity of weapons and manuals of instructions, and to the interchange of officers and cadets at technical colleges. It should carry with it the continuance of the present facilities for mutual security by the joint use of all Naval and Air Force bases in the possession of either country all over the world. This would perhaps double the mobility of the American Navy and Air Force. It would greatly expand that of the British Empire Forces and it might well lead, if and as the world calms down, to important financial savings. Already we use together a large

number of islands; more may well be entrusted to our joint care in the near future.

The United States has already a Permanent Defense Agreement with the Dominion of Canada, which is so devotedly attached to the British Commonwealth and Empire. This Agreement is more effective than many of those which have often been made under formal alliances. This principle should be extended to all British Commonwealths with full reciprocity. Thus, whatever happens, and thus only, shall we be secure ourselves and able to work together for the high and simple causes that are dear to us and bode no ill to any. Eventually there may come—I feel eventually there will come—the principle of common citizenship, but that we may be content to leave to destiny, whose outstretched arm many of us can already clearly see.

There is however an important question we must ask ourselves. Would a special relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our over-riding loyalties to the World Organization? I reply that, on the contrary, it is probably the only means by which that organization will achieve its full stature and strength. There are already the special United States relations with Canada which I have just mentioned, and there are the special relations between the United States and the South American Republics. We British have our twenty years Treaty of Collaboration and Mutual Assistance with Soviet Russia. I agree with Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, that it might well be a fifty years Treaty so far as we are concerned. We aim at nothing but mutual assistance and collaboration. The British have an alliance with Portugal unbroken since 1384, and which produced fruitful results at critical moments in the late war. None of these clash with the general interest of a world agreement, or a world organization; on the contrary they help it. "In my father's house are many mansions." Special associations between members of the United Nations which have no aggressive point against any other country, which harbor no design incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, far from being harmful, are beneficial and, as I believe, indispensable.

I spoke earlier of the Temple of Peace. Workmen from all countries must build that temple. If

two of the workmen know each other particularly well and are old friends, if their families are inter-mingled, and if they have "faith in each other's purpose, hope in each other's future and charity towards each other's shortcomings"—to quote some good words I read here the other day—why cannot they work together at the common task as friends and partners? Why cannot they share their tools and thus increase each other's working powers? Indeed they must do so or else the temple may not be built, or, being built, it may collapse, and we shall all be proved again unteachable and have to go and try to learn again for a third time in a school of war, incomparably more rigorous than that from which we have just been released. The dark ages may return, the Stone Age may return on the gleaming wings of science, and what might now shower immeasurable material blessings upon mankind, may even bring about its total destruction. Beware, I say; time may be short. Do not let us take the course of allowing events to drift along until it is too late. If there is to be a fraternal association of the kind I have described, with all the extra strength and security which both our countries can derive from it, let us make sure that that great fact is known to the world, and that it plays its part in steadying and stabilizing the foundations of peace. There is the path of wisdom. Prevention is better than cure.

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain—and I doubt not here also—towards the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. We understand the Russians need to be secure on her western frontiers by the removal of all possibility of German aggression. We welcome Russia to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. We welcome her flag upon the seas. Above all, we welcome constant, frequent and growing

contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. It is my duty however, for I am sure you would wish me to state the facts as I see them to you, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone—Greece with its immortal glories—is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy. Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are being made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow Government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-Communist party in their zone of Occupied Germany by showing special favors to groups of left-wing German leaders. At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British Armies withdrew westwards, in accordance with an earlier agreement, to a depth at some points of 150 miles upon a front of nearly four hundred miles, in order to allow our Russian allies to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the Western Democracies had conquered.

If now the Soviet Government tries, by separate action, to build up a pro-Communist Germany in their areas, this will cause new serious

difficulties in the British and American zones, and will give the defeated Germans the power of putting themselves up to auction between the Soviets and the Western Democracies. Whatever conclusions may be drawn from these facts—and facts they are—this is certainly not the Liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

The safety of the world requires a new unity in Europe, from which no nation should be permanently outcast. It is from the quarrels of the strong parent races in Europe that the world wars we have witnessed, or which occurred in former times, have sprung. Twice in our own lifetime we have seen the United States, against their wishes and their traditions, against arguments, the force of which it is impossible not to comprehend, drawn by irresistible forces, into these wars in time to secure the victory of the good cause, but only after frightful slaughter and devastation had occurred. Twice the United States has had to send several millions of its young men across the Atlantic to find the war; but now war can find any nation, wherever it may dwell between dusk and dawn. Surely we should work with conscious purpose for a grand pacification of Europe, within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with its Charter. That I feel is an open cause of policy of very great importance.

In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe are other causes for anxiety. In Italy the Communist Party is seriously hampered by having to support the Communist-trained Marshal Tito's claims to former Italian territory at the head of the Adriatic. Nevertheless the future of Italy hangs in the balance. Again one cannot imagine a regenerated Europe without a strong France. All my public life I have worked for a strong France and I never lost faith in her destiny, even in the darkest hours. I will not lose faith now. However, in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist center. Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to

Christian civilization. These are somber facts for anyone to have to recite on the morrow of a victory gained by so much splendid comradeship in arms and in the cause of freedom and democracy; but we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains.

The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The Agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favorable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected to last for a further 18 months from the end of the German war. In this country you are all so well-informed about the Far East, and such devoted friends of China, that I do not need to expatiate on the situation there.

I have felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the west and in the east, falls upon the world. I was a high minister at the time of the Versailles Treaty and a close friend of Mr. Lloyd-George, who was the head of the British delegation at Versailles. I did not myself agree with many things that were done, but I have a very strong impression in my mind of that situation, and I find it painful to contrast it with that which prevails now. In those days there were high hopes and unbounded confidence that the wars were over, and that the League of Nations would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel that same confidence or even the same hopes in the haggard world at the present time.

On the other hand I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable; still more that it is imminent. It is because I am sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so. I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries. Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor

will they be removed by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become.

From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. If the Western Democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If however they become divided or falter in their duty and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.

Last time I saw it all coming and cried aloud to my own fellow-countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind. There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented in my belief without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honored today; but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool. We surely must not let that happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organization and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument, supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. There is the solution which I respectfully offer to you in this Address to which I have given the title "The Sinews of Peace."

Let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Because

you see the 46 millions in our island harassed about their food supply, of which they only grow one half, even in war-time, or because we have difficulty in restarting our industries and export trade after six years of passionate war effort, do not suppose that we shall not come through these dark years of privation as we have come through the glorious years of agony, or that half a century from now, you will not see 70 or 80 millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defense of our traditions, our way of life, and of the world causes which you and we espouse. If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealths be added to that of the United States with all that such co-operation implies in the air, on the sea, all over the globe and in science and in

industry, and in moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary, there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men; if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the high-roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come.

Robert Rhodes James, *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897–1963* (New York and London: Chelsea House, vol. VII, 1943–1949), pp. 7285–7293.

Appendix 13

President Harry Truman on the Truman Doctrine Washington, DC, March 12, 1947

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American economic mission now in Greece and reports from the American ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious and peace-loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, poor facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five percent of the children were tubercular. Live-stock, poultry, and draft animals had almost

disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel, and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists, and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating

disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece, on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek Army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply this assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

The British government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless, it represents 85 percent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692

Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving people of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war, Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their way of life upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta Agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech, and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid, which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United

Nations by such methods as coercion or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far-reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400 million for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of \$350 million which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also

be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the executive and legislative branches of the government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed \$341 billion toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world peace. The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than one-tenth

of 1 percent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events. I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

The Avalon Project at Yale Law School: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy, www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm.

Appendix 14

George C. Marshall on the Marshall Plan Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 5, 1947

. . . I need not tell you gentlemen that the world situation is very serious. That must be apparent to all intelligent people. I think one difficulty is that the problem is one of such enormous complexity that the very mass of facts presented to the public by press and radio make it exceedingly difficult for a man in the streets to reach a clear appraisal of the situation. Furthermore, the people of this country are distant from the troubled areas of the earth and it is hard for them to comprehend the plight and consequent reactions of the long-suffering peoples, and the effect of those reactions on their governments in connection with our efforts to promote peace in the world.

In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe, the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines, and railroads was correctly estimated; but it has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy. For the past ten years conditions have been highly abnormal. The feverish preparation for the war and the more feverish maintenance of the war effort engulfed all aspects of national economies. Machinery has fallen into disrepair or is entirely obsolete. Under the arbitrary and destructive Nazi rule, virtually every possible enterprise was geared into the German war machine. Longstanding commercial ties, private institutions, banks, insurance companies, and shipping companies disappeared through the loss of capital, absorption through nationalization, or

by simple destruction. In many countries, confidence in the local currency has been severely shaken.

The breakdown of the business structure of Europe during the war was complete. Recovery has been seriously retarded by the fact that two years after the close of hostilities a peace settlement with Germany and Austria has not been agreed upon. But even given more prompt solution of these difficult problems, the rehabilitation of the economic structure of Europe quite evidently will require a much longer time and greater effort than had been foreseen.

There is a phase of this matter which is both interesting and serious. The farmer has always produced the foodstuffs to exchange with the city dweller for other necessities of life. This division of labor is the basis of modern civilization. At the present time it is threatened with breakdown. The town and city industries are not producing adequate goods to exchange with the food-producing farmer. Raw materials and fuel are in short supply. Machinery is lacking or worn out. The farmer or the peasant cannot find goods for sale which he desires to purchase. So the sale of his farm produce for money which he cannot use seems to him an unprofitable transaction. He, therefore, has withdrawn many fields from crop cultivation and is using them for grazing. He feeds more grain to stock and finds for himself and his family an ample supply of food, however short he may be on clothing and the other ordinary gadgets of civilization.

Meanwhile people in the cities are short of food and fuel. So the governments are forced to use their foreign money and credits to procure these necessities abroad. This process exhausts funds which are urgently needed for reconstruction. Thus a very serious situation is rapidly developing which bodes no good for the world. The modern system of division of labor upon which the exchange of products is based is in danger of breaking down.

The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help to face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character.

The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole. The manufacturer and the farmer throughout wide areas must be able and willing to exchange their products for currencies the continuing value of which is not open to question.

Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this government may render in the future should provide cure rather than a mere palliative. Any government that is willing

to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation I am sure, on the part of the United States government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States.

It is already evident that, before the United States government can proceed much further in its efforts to alleviate the situation and help start the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this government. It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by the number [of], if not all, European nations.

An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is an understanding on the part of the people of America on the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied. Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of people to face up to the vast responsibility which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome.

A Decade of American Foreign Policy, Basic Documents, 1941–49. Prepared at the request of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by the Staff of the Committee and the Department of State (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), pp. 1268–1270.

Appendix 15

President Harry Truman's Inaugural Address Washington, DC, January 20, 1949

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, and fellow citizens:

I accept with humility the honor which the American people have conferred upon me. I accept it with a deep resolve to do all that I can for the welfare of this Nation and for the peace of the world.

In performing the duties of my office, I need the help and prayers of every one of you. I ask for your encouragement and your support. The tasks we face are difficult, and we can accomplish them only if we work together.

Each period of our national history has had its special challenges. Those that confront us now are as momentous as any in the past. Today marks the beginning not only of a new administration, but of a period that will be eventful, perhaps decisive, for us and for the world.

It may be our lot to experience, and in large measure to bring about, a major turning point in the long history of the human race. The first half of this century has been marked by unprecedented and brutal attacks on the rights of man, and by the two most frightful wars in history. The supreme need of our time is for men to learn to live together in peace and harmony.

The peoples of the earth face the future with grave uncertainty, composed almost equally of great hopes and great fears. In this time of doubt, they look to the United States as never before for good will, strength, and wise leadership.

It is fitting, therefore, that we take this occasion to proclaim to the world the essential

principles of the faith by which we live, and to declare our aims to all peoples.

The American people stand firm in the faith which has inspired this Nation from the beginning. We believe that all men have a right to equal justice under law and equal opportunity to share in the common good. We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and expression. We believe that all men are created equal because they are created in the image of God.

From this faith we will not be moved.

The American people desire, and are determined to work for, a world in which all nations and all peoples are free to govern themselves the way they see fit, and to achieve a decent and satisfying life. Above all else, our people desire, and are determined to work for, peace on earth—a just and lasting peace—based on genuine agreement freely arrived at by equals.

In the pursuit of these aims, the United States and other like minded nations find themselves directly opposed by a regime with contrary aims and a totally different concept of life.

That regime adheres to a false philosophy which purports to offer freedom, security, and greater opportunity to mankind. Misled by this philosophy, many peoples have sacrificed their liberties only to learn to their sorrow that deceit and mockery, poverty and tyranny, are their reward.

That false philosophy is communism.

Communism is based on the belief that man is so weak and inadequate that he is unable to

govern himself, and therefore requires the rule of strong masters.

Democracy is based on the conviction that man has the moral and intellectual capacity, as well as the inalienable right, to govern himself with reason and justice.

Communism subjects the individual to arrest without lawful cause, punishment without trial, and forced labor as the chattel of the state. It decrees what information he shall receive, what art he shall produce, what leaders he shall follow, and what thoughts he shall think.

Democracy maintains that government is established for the benefit of the individual, and is charged with the responsibility of protecting the rights of the individual and his freedom in the exercise of his abilities.

Communism maintains that social wrongs can be corrected only by violence.

Democracy has proved that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change.

Communism holds that the world is so deeply divided into opposing classes that war is inevitable.

Democracy holds that free nations can settle differences justly and maintain lasting peace.

These differences between communism and democracy do not concern the United States alone. People everywhere are coming to realize that what is involved is material well being, human dignity, and the right to believe in and worship God.

I state these differences, not to draw issues of belief as such, but because the actions resulting from the Communist philosophy are a threat to the efforts of free nations to bring about world recovery and lasting peace.

Since the end of hostilities, the United States has invested its substance and its energy in a great constructive effort to restore peace, stability, and freedom to the world.

We have sought no territory and we have imposed our will on none. We have asked for no privileges we would not extend to others.

We have constantly and vigorously supported the United Nations and related agencies as a means of applying democratic principles to international relations. We have consistently advocated and relied upon peaceful settlement of disputes among nations.

We have made every effort to secure agreement on effective international control of our most powerful weapon, and we have worked steadily for the limitation and control of all armaments.

We have encouraged, by precept and example, the expansion of world trade on a sound and fair basis.

Almost a year ago, in company with 16 free nations of Europe, we launched the greatest cooperative economic program in history. The purpose of that unprecedented effort is to invigorate and strengthen democracy in Europe, so that the free people of that continent can resume their rightful place in the forefront of civilization and can contribute once more to the security and welfare of the world.

Our efforts have brought new hope to all mankind. We have beaten back despair and defeatism. We have saved a number of countries from losing their liberty. Hundreds of millions of people all over the world now agree with us, that we need not have war—that we can have peace.

The initiative is ours.

We are moving on with other nations to build an even stronger structure of international order and justice. We shall have as our partners countries which, no longer solely concerned with the problem of national survival, are now working to improve the standards of living of all their people. We are ready to undertake new projects to strengthen the free world.

In the coming years, our program for peace and freedom will emphasize four major courses of action.

First, we will continue to give unfaltering support to the United Nations and related agencies, and we will continue to search for ways to strengthen their authority and increase their effectiveness. We believe that the United Nations will be strengthened by the new nations which are being formed in lands now advancing toward self-government under democratic principles.

Second, we will continue our programs for world economic recovery.

This means, first of all, that we must keep our full weight behind the European recovery program. We are confident of the success of this major venture in world recovery. We believe that

our partners in this effort will achieve the status of self supporting nations once again.

In addition, we must carry out our plans for reducing the barriers to world trade and increasing its volume. Economic recovery and peace itself depend on increased world trade.

Third, we will strengthen freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression.

We are now working out with a number of countries a joint agreement designed to strengthen the security of the North Atlantic area. Such an agreement would take the form of a collective defense arrangement within the terms of the United Nations Charter.

We have already established such a defense pact for the Western Hemisphere by the treaty of Rio de Janeiro.

The primary purpose of these agreements is to provide unmistakable proof of the joint determination of the free countries to resist armed attack from any quarter. Each country participating in these arrangements must contribute all it can to the common defense.

If we can make it sufficiently clear, in advance, that any armed attack affecting our national security would be met with overwhelming force, the armed attack might never occur.

I hope soon to send to the Senate a treaty respecting the North Atlantic security plan.

In addition, we will provide military advice and equipment to free nations which will cooperate with us in the maintenance of peace and security.

Fourth, we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.

For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people.

The United States is pre-eminent among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. The material resources which we can afford to use for the assistance of other

peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible.

I believe that we should make available to peace loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development.

Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens.

We invite other countries to pool their technological resources in this undertaking. Their contributions will be warmly welcomed. This should be a cooperative enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations and its specialized agencies wherever practicable. It must be a worldwide effort for the achievement of peace, plenty, and freedom.

With the cooperation of business, private capital, agriculture, and labor in this country, this program can greatly increase the industrial activity in other nations and can raise substantially their standards of living.

Such new economic developments must be devised and controlled to benefit the peoples of the areas in which they are established. Guarantees to the investor must be balanced by guarantees in the interest of the people whose resources and whose labor go into these developments.

The old imperialism, exploitation for foreign profit, has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing.

All countries, including our own, will greatly benefit from a constructive program for the better use of the world's human and natural resources. Experience shows that our commerce with other countries expands as they progress industrially and economically.

Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.

Only by helping the least fortunate of its members to help themselves can the human family

achieve the decent, satisfying life that is the right of all people.

Democracy alone can supply the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also against their ancient enemies hunger, misery, and despair.

On the basis of these four major courses of action we hope to help create the conditions that will lead eventually to personal freedom and happiness for all mankind.

If we are to be successful in carrying out these policies, it is clear that we must have continued prosperity in this country and we must keep ourselves strong.

Slowly but surely we are weaving a world fabric of international security and growing prosperity.

We are aided by all who wish to live in freedom from fear, even by those who live today in fear under their own governments.

We are aided by all who want relief from the lies of propaganda, who desire truth and sincerity.

We are aided by all who desire self government and a voice in deciding their own affairs.

We are aided by all who long for economic security; for the security and abundance that men in free societies can enjoy.

We are aided by all who desire freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom to live their own lives for useful ends.

Our allies are the millions who hunger and thirst after righteousness.

In due time, as our stability becomes manifest, as more and more nations come to know the benefits of democracy and to participate in growing abundance, I believe that those countries which now oppose us will abandon their delusions and join with the free nations of the world in a just settlement of international differences.

Events have brought our American democracy to new influence and new responsibilities. They will test our courage, our devotion to duty, and our concept of liberty.

But I say to all men, what we have achieved in liberty, we will surpass in greater liberty. Steadfast in our faith in the Almighty, we will advance toward a world where man's freedom is secure.

To that end we will devote our strength, our resources, and our firmness of resolve. With God's help, the future of mankind will be assured in a world of justice, harmony and peace.

Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States: From George Washington 1789 to George Bush 1989. Bicentennial ed. Senate document (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1989), 101-110.

Appendix 16

Judge Learned Hand on the Spirit of Liberty New York City, May 21, 1944

We have gathered here to affirm our faith, a faith in a common purpose, a common conviction, a common devotion.

Some of us have chosen America as the land of our adoption; the rest have come from those who did the same. For this reason we have some right to consider ourselves a picked group, a group of those who had the courage to break from the past and brave the dangers and the loneliness of a strange land. What was the object that nerved us, or those who went before us, to this choice? We sought liberty—freedom from oppression, freedom from want, freedom to be ourselves. This then we sought; this we now believe that we are by way of winning. What do we mean when we say that first of all we seek liberty? I often wonder whether we do not rest our hopes too much upon constitutions, upon laws, and upon courts. These are false hopes; believe me, these are false hopes. Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. While it lies there, it needs no constitution, no law, no court to save it. And what is this liberty which must lie in the hearts of men and women? It is not the ruthless, the unbridled will; it is not freedom to do as one likes. That is the denial of liberty, and leads straight to its overthrow. A society in which men recognize no check upon their freedom soon becomes a society where freedom is the possession of only a savage few—as we have learned to our sorrow.

WHAT, THEN IS THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY?

I cannot define it; I can only tell you my own faith. The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of these men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interest alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten—that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side-by-side with the greatest. And now in that spirit, that spirit of an America which has never been, and which may never be—nay, which never will be except as the conscience and courage of Americans create it—yet in the spirit of America which lies hidden in some form in the aspirations of us all; in the spirit for which our young men are at this moment fighting and dying; in that spirit of liberty and of America so prosperous, and safe, and contented, we shall have failed to grasp its meaning, and shall have been truant to its promise, except as we strive to make it a signal, a beacon, a standard to which the best hopes of mankind will ever turn. In confidence that you share that belief, I now ask you to raise your hand and repeat with me this pledge:

I PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO THE FLAG,
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
AND TO THE REPUBLIC FOR WHICH IT
STANDS—ONE NATION, INDIVISIBLE,
WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL.

Learned Hand, “The Spirit of Liberty” speech at an “I Am an American Day” ceremony, Central Park, New York City, May 21, 1944. Hand, *The Spirit of Liberty*, 3rd ed., enl. ed. Irving Dilliard (New York: Knopf, 1960), p. 190.

Appendix 17

Eleanor Roosevelt on the Struggle for Human Rights Paris, France, September 28, 1948

I have come this evening to talk with you on one of the greatest issues of our time—that is the preservation of human freedom. I have chosen to discuss it here in France, at the Sorbonne, because here in this soil the roots of human freedom have long ago struck deep and here they have been richly nourished. It was here the Declaration of the Rights of Man was proclaimed, and the great slogans of the French Revolution—liberty, equality, fraternity—fired the imagination of men. I have chosen to discuss this issue in Europe because this has been the scene of the greatest historic battles between freedom and tyranny. I have chosen to discuss it in the early days of the General Assembly because the issue of human liberty is decisive for the settlement of outstanding political differences and for the future of the United Nations.

The decisive importance of this issue was fully recognized by the founders of the United Nations at San Francisco. Concern for the preservation and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms stands at the heart of the United Nations. Its Charter is distinguished by its preoccupation with the rights and welfare of individual men and women. The United Nations has made it clear that it intends to uphold human rights and to protect the dignity of the human personality. In the preamble to the Charter the keynote is set when it declares: “We the people of the United Nations determined . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men

and women and of the nations large and small, and . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.” This reflects the basic premise of the Charter that the peace and security of mankind are dependent on mutual respect for the rights and freedoms of all.

One of the purposes of the United Nations is declared in article 1 to be: “to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.”

This thought is repeated at several points and notably in articles 55 and 56 the Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the United Nations for the promotion of “universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.”

The Human Rights Commission was given as its first and most important task the preparation of an International Bill of Rights. The General Assembly, which opened its third session here in Paris a few days ago, will have before it the first fruit of the Commission’s labors in this task, that is the International Declaration of Human Rights.

The Declaration was finally completed after much work during the last session of the Human Rights Commission in New York in the spring of 1948. The Economic and Social Council has

sent it without recommendation to the General Assembly, together with other documents transmitted by the Human Rights Commission.

It was decided in our Commission that a Bill of Rights should contain two parts:

1. A Declaration which could be approved through action of the Member States of the United Nations in the General Assembly. This declaration would have great moral force, and would say to the peoples of the world “this is what we hope human rights may mean to all people in the years to come.” We have put down here the rights that we consider basic for individual human beings the world over to have. Without them, we feel that the full development of individual personality is impossible.

2. The second part of the bill, which the Human Rights Commission has not yet completed because of the lack of time, is a covenant which would be in the form of a treaty to be presented to the nations of the world. Each nation, as it is prepared to do so, would ratify this covenant and the covenant would then become binding on the nations which adhere to it. Each nation ratifying would then be obligated to change its laws wherever they did not conform to the points contained in the covenant.

This covenant, of course, would have to be a simpler document. It could not state aspirations which we feel to be permissible in the Declaration. It could only state rights which could be assured by law and it must contain methods of implementation, and no state ratifying the covenant could be allowed to disregard it. The methods of implementation have not yet been agreed upon, nor have they been given adequate consideration by the Commission at any of its meetings. There certainly should be discussion on the entire question of this world Bill of Human Rights and there may be acceptance by this Assembly of the Declaration, if they come to agreement on it. This acceptance of the Declaration, I think, should encourage every nation in the coming months to discuss its meaning with its people so that they will be better prepared to accept the covenant with a deeper understanding of the problems involved when that is presented, we hope, a year from now and, we hope, accepted.

The Declaration has come from the Human Rights Commission with unanimous acceptance except for four abstentions—the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia. The reason for this is a fundamental difference in the conception of human rights as they exist in these states and in certain other members States in the United Nations.

In the discussion before the Assembly, I think it should be made crystal clear what these differences are and tonight I want to spend a little time making them clear to you. It seems to me there is a valid reason for taking the time today to think carefully and clearly on the subject of human rights, because in the acceptance and observance of these rights lies the root, I believe, of our chance of peace in the future, and for the strengthening of the United Nations organization to the point where it can maintain peace in the future.

We must not be confused about what freedom is. Basic human rights are simple and easily understood: freedom of speech and a free press; freedom of religion and worship; freedom of assembly and the right of petition; the right of men to be secure in their homes and free from unreasonable search and seizure and from arbitrary arrest and punishment.

We must not be deluded by the efforts of the forces of reaction to prostitute the great words of our free tradition and thereby to confuse the struggle. Democracy, freedom, human rights have come to have a definite meaning to the people of the world which we must not allow any nation to so change that they are made synonymous with suppression and dictatorship.

There are basic differences that show up even in the use of words between a democratic and a totalitarian country. For instance “democracy” means one thing to the U.S.S.R. and another to the U.S.A. and, I know, in France. I have served since the first meeting of the nuclear commission on the Human Rights Commission, and I think this point stands out clearly.

The U.S.S.R. representatives assert that they already have achieved many things which we, in what they call the “bourgeois democracies” cannot achieve because their government controls the accomplishment of these things. Our government seems powerless to them because, in the

last analysis, it is controlled by the people. They would not put it that way—they would say that the people in the U.S.S.R. control their government by allowing their government to have certain absolute rights. We, on the other hand, feel that certain rights can never be granted to the government, but must be kept in the hands of the people.

For instance, the U.S.S.R. will assert that their press is free because the state makes it free by providing the machinery, the paper, and even the money for salaries for the people who work on the paper. They state that there is no control over what is printed in the various papers that they subsidize in this manner, such, for instance, as a trade-union paper. But what would happen if a paper were to print ideas which were critical of the basic policies and beliefs of the Communist government? I am sure some good reason would be found for abolishing the paper.

It is true that there have been many cases where newspapers in the U.S.S.R. have criticized officials and their actions and have been responsible for the removal of those officials, but in doing so they did not criticize anything which was fundamental to Communist beliefs. They simply criticized methods of doing things, so one must differentiate between things which are permissible, such as criticism of any individual or of the manner of doing things, and the criticism of a belief which would be considered vital to the acceptance of Communism.

What are the differences, for instance, between trade-unions in the totalitarian states and in the democracies? In the totalitarian state a trade-union is an instrument used by the government to enforce duties, not to assert rights. Propaganda material which the government desires the workers to have is furnished by the trade-unions to be circulated to their members.

Our trade-unions, on the other hand, are solely the instrument of the workers themselves. They represent the workers in their relations with the government and with management and they are free to develop their own opinions without government help or interference. The concepts of our trade-unions and those in totalitarian countries are drastically different. There is little mutual understanding.

I think the best example one can give of this basic difference of the use of terms is “the right to work.” The Soviet Union insists that this is a basic right which it alone can guarantee because it alone provides full employment by the government. But the right to work in the Soviet Union means the assignment of workers to do whatever task is given to them by the government without an opportunity for the people to participate in the decision that the government should do this. A society in which everyone works is not necessarily a free society and may indeed be a slave society; on the other hand, a society in which there is widespread economic insecurity can turn freedom into a barren and vapid right for millions of people.

We in the United States have come to realize it means freedom to choose one’s job, to work or not to work as one desires. We in the United States have come to realize, however, that people have a right to demand that their government will not allow them to starve because as individuals they cannot find work of the kind they are accustomed to doing and this is a decision brought about by public opinion which came as a result of the great depression in which many people were out of work, but we would not consider in the United States that we had gained any freedom if we were compelled to follow a dictatorial assignment to work where and when we were told. The right of choice would seem to us an important, fundamental freedom.

I have great sympathy with the Russian people. They love their country and have always defended it valiantly against invaders. They have been through a period of revolution, as a result of which they were for a time cut off from outside contact. They have not lost their resulting suspicion of other countries and the great difficulty is today that their government encourages this suspicion and seems to believe that force alone will bring them respect.

We, in the democracies, believe in a kind of international respect and action which is reciprocal. We do not think others should treat us differently from the way they wish to be treated. It is interference in other countries that especially stirs up antagonism against the Soviet Government. If it wishes to feel secure in developing its economic

and political theories within its territory, then it should grant to others that same security. We believe in the freedom of people to make their own mistakes. We do not interfere with them and they should not interfere with others.

The basic problem confronting the world today, as I said in the beginning, is the preservation of human freedom for the individual and consequently for the society of which he is a part. We are fighting this battle again today as it was fought at the time of the French revolution and as the time of the American Revolution. The issue of human liberty is as decisive now as it was then. I want to give you my conception of what is meant in my country by freedom of the individual.

Long ago in London during a discussion with Mr. Vyshinsky, he told me there was no such thing as freedom for the individual in the world. All freedom of the individual was conditioned by the rights of other individuals. That of course, I granted. I said: "We approach the question from a different point of view. We here in the United Nations are trying to develop ideals which will be broader in outlook, which will consider first the rights of man, which will consider what makes man more free; not governments, but man." The totalitarian state typically places the will of the people second to decrees promulgated by a few men at the top.

Naturally there must always be consideration of the rights of others; but in a democracy this is not a restriction. Indeed, in our democracies we make our freedoms secure because each of us is expected to respect the rights of others and we are free to make our own laws. Freedom for our peoples is not only a right, but also a tool. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of information, freedom of assembly—these are not just abstract ideals to us; they are tools with which we create a way of life, a way of life in which we can enjoy freedom.

Sometimes the processes of democracy are slow, and I have known some of our leaders to say that a benevolent dictatorship would accomplish the ends desired in a much shorter time than it takes to go through the democracy process of discussion and the slow formation of public opinion. But there is no way of insuring that a dictatorship will remain benevolent or that power once in the hands of a few will be returned to the people

without struggle or revolution. Thus we have learned by experience that we accept the slow processes of democracy because we know that shortcuts compromise principles on which no compromise is possible.

The final expression of the opinion of the people with us is through free and honest elections, with valid choices on basic issues and candidates. The secret ballot is an essential to free elections but you must have a choice before you. I have heard my husband say many times that a people need never lose their freedom if they kept their right to a secret ballot and if they used that secret ballot to the full. Basic decisions of our society are made through the expressed will of the people. That is why when we see these liberties threatened, instead of falling apart, our nation becomes unified and our democracies come together as a unified group in spite of our varied backgrounds and many racial strains.

In the United States we have a capitalistic economy. That is because public opinion favors that type of economy under the conditions in which we live. But we have imposed certain restraints; for instance, we have antitrust laws. These are the legal evidence of the determination of the American people to maintain an economy of free competition and not allow monopolies to take away the people's freedom.

Our trade-unions grow stronger because the people come to believe that this is the proper way to guarantee the rights of the workers and that the right to organize and to bargain collectively keeps the balance between the actual producer and the investor of money and the manager in industry who watches over the man who works with his hands and who produces the materials which are our tangible wealth.

In the United States we are old enough not to claim perfection. We recognize that we have some problems of discrimination but we find steady progress being made in the solution of these problems. Through normal democratic processes we are coming to understand our needs and how we can attain full equality for all our people. Free discussion on the subject is permitted. Our Supreme Court has recently rendered decisions to clarify a number of our laws to guarantee the rights of all.

The U.S.S.R. claims it has reached a point where all races within her borders are officially considered equal and have equal rights and they insist that they have no discrimination where minorities are concerned.

This is a laudable objective but there are other aspects of the development of freedom for the individual which are essential before the mere absence of discrimination is worth much, and these are lacking in the Soviet Union. Unless they are being denied freedoms which they want and which they see other people have, people do not usually complain of discrimination. It is these other freedoms—the basic freedoms of speech, of the press, of religion and conscience, of assembly, of fair trial and freedom from arbitrary arrest and punishment, which a totalitarian government cannot safely give its people and which give meaning to freedom from discrimination.

It is my belief, and I am sure it is also yours, that the struggle for democracy and freedom is a critical struggle, for their preservation is essential to the great objective of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security. Among free men the end cannot justify the means. We know the patterns of totalitarianism—the single political party, the control of schools, press, radio, the arts, the sciences, and the church to support autocratic authority; these are the age-old patterns against which men have struggled for three thousand years. These are the signs of reaction, retreat, and retrogression. The United Nations must hold fast to the heritage of freedom won by the struggle of its people; it must help us to pass it on to generations to come.

The development of the ideal of freedom and its translation into the everyday life of the people in great areas of the earth is the product of the efforts of many peoples. It is the fruit of a long tradition of vigorous thinking and courageous action. No one race and no one people can claim to have done all the work to achieve greater dignity for human beings and greater freedom to develop human personality. In each generation and in each country there must be a continuation of the struggle and new steps forward must be taken since this is preeminently a field in which to stand still is to retreat.

The field of human rights is not one in which compromise on fundamental principles is possible. The work of the Commission on Human Rights is illustrative. The Declaration of Human Rights provides: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own." The Soviet Representative said he would agree to this right if a single phrase was added to it—"in accordance with the procedure laid down in the laws of that country." It is obvious that to accept this would be not only to compromise but to nullify the right stated. This case forcefully illustrates the importance of the proposition that we must ever be alert not to compromise fundamental human rights merely for the sake of reaching unanimity and thus lose them.

As I see it, it is not going to be easy to attain unanimity with respect to our different concepts of government and human rights. The struggle is bound to be difficult and one in which we must be firm but patient. If we adhere faithfully to our principles I think it is possible for us to maintain freedom and to do so peacefully and without recourse to force.

The future must see the broadening of human rights throughout the world. People who have glimpsed freedom will never be content until they have secured it for themselves. In a truest sense, human rights are a fundamental object of law and government in a just society. Human rights exist to the degree that they are respected by people in relations with each other and by governments in relations with their citizens.

The world at large is aware of the tragic consequences for human beings ruled by totalitarian systems. If we examine Hitler's rise to power, we see how the chains are forged which keep the individual a slave and we can see many similarities in the way things are accomplished in other countries. Politically men must be free to discuss and to arrive at as many facts as possible and there must be at least a two-party system in a country because when there is only one political party, too many things can be subordinated to the interests of that one party and it becomes a tyrant and not an instrument of democratic government.

The propaganda we have witnessed in the recent past, like that we perceive in these days, seeks to impugn, to undermine, and to destroy

the liberty and independence of peoples. Such propaganda poses to all peoples the issue whether to doubt their heritage of rights and therefore to compromise the principles by which they live, or try to accept the challenge, redouble their vigilance, and stand steadfast in the struggle to maintain and enlarge human freedoms.

People who continue to be denied the respect to which they are entitled as human beings will not acquiesce forever in such denial. The Charter of the United Nations is a guiding beacon along the way to the achievement of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world. The immediate test is not only the extent to which human rights and freedoms have already been achieved, but the direction in which the world is moving. Is there a faithful compliance with the objectives of the Charter if some countries continue to curtail human rights and freedoms instead of to promote the universal respect for an observance of human rights and freedoms for all as called for by the Charter?

The place to discuss the issue of human rights is in the forum of the United Nations. The United

Nations has been set up as the common meeting ground for nations, where we can consider together our mutual problems and take advantage of our differences in experience. It is inherent in our firm attachment to democracy and freedom that we stand always ready to use the fundamental democratic procedures of honest discussion and negotiation. It is now as always our hope that despite the wide differences in approach we face in the world today, we can with mutual good faith in the principles of the United Nations Charter, arrive at a common basis of understanding.

We are here to join the meetings of this great international Assembly which meets in your beautiful capital of Paris. Freedom for the individual is an inseparable part of the cherished traditions of France. As one of the Delegates from the United States I pray Almighty God that we may win another victory here for the rights and freedoms of all men.

“Eleanor Roosevelt—The Struggle for Human Rights” in *American Rhetoric from Roosevelt to Reagan: A Collection of Speeches and Critical Essays*, Halford Ross Ryan, ed. (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1987).

Appendix 18

American Historical Association Presidential Addresses

1940

Max Farrand. "The Quality of Distinction."
American Historical Review 46, no. 3
(April 1941): 509–522.

1941

James Westfall Thompson. "The Age of
Mabillon and Montfaucon."
American Historical Review 47, no. 2
(January 1942): 225–244.

1942

Arthur M. Schlesinger. "What Then Is the
American, This New Man?"
American Historical Review 48, no. 2
(January 1942): 225–244.

1943

Nellie Neilson. "The Early Pattern of the
Common Law."
American Historical Review 49, no. 2
(January 1944): 199–212.

1944

William L. Westermann. "Between Slavery
and Freedom."
American Historical Review 50, no. 2
(January 1945): 213–227.

1945

Carlton J.H. Hayes. "The American Frontier:
Frontier of What?"
American Historical Review 51, no. 2
(January 1946): 199–216.

1946

Sidney B. Fay. "The Idea of Progress."
American Historical Review 52, no. 2
(January 1947): 231–246.

1947

Thomas J. Wertenbaker. "The Molding of the
Middle West."
American Historical Review 53, no. 2
(January 1948): 223–234.

1948

Kenneth Scott Latourette. "The Christian
Understanding of History."
American Historical Review 54, no. 2
(January 1949): 259–276.

1949

Conyers Read. "The Social Responsibilities of
the Historian."
American Historical Review 55, no. 2
(January 1950): 275–285.

Selected General Bibliography

- Anglo, Michael. *Nostalgia: Spotlight on the Forties*. London: Jupiter, 1977.
- Ballard, Jack S. *The Shock of Peace: Military and Economic Demobilization After World War II*. Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1983.
- Barrett Litoff, Judy, and David C. Smith, eds. *American Women in a World at War: Contemporary Accounts from World War II* (Worlds of Women No. 1) Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1996.
- Barron, Ray. *The Forties: When We Were Dreamers of Dreams*. Boston, MA: Brandon, 1997.
- Beschloss, Michael R. *The Conquerors: Roosevelt, Truman and the Destruction of Hitler's Germany, 1941–1945*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002.
- Boatner, Mark Mayo. *Biographical Dictionary of World War II*. Navato, CA: Presidio, 1996.
- Bondi, Victor, ed. *American Decades: 1940–1949*. Detroit: Gale Research, 1995.
- Brinkley, Alan. *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Depression and War*. New York: Knopf, 1995.
- Buchanan, A. Russell. *The United States and World War II*. 2 vols. New York: Harper, 1964.
- Cantril, Hadley, ed. *Public Opinion, 1935–1946*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951.
- Collier, Richard. *1940: The Avalanche*. New York: Dial Press/JWade, 1979.
- Craats, Rennay. *The 1940s*. Calgary: Weigl, 1999.
- Dear, I.C.B., and M.R.D. Foot, eds. *The Oxford Companion to World War II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Diggins, John P. *The Proud Decades: America in War and in Peace, 1941–1960*. New York: Norton, 1988.
- Duden, Jane. *The 1940s*. New York: Crestwood House, 1989.
- Editors of Time-Life Books. *Decade of Triumph: The 40s*. Alexandria, VA: Time-Life, 1999.
- Eisinger, Chester E., ed. *The 1940s: Profile of a Nation in Crisis*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1969.
- Feinstein, Stephen. *The 1940s from World War II to Jackie Robinson*. Rev. ed. Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow, 2006.
- Fraser, Steve, and Gary Gerstle, eds. *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Gaddis, John Lewis. *The United States and Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Gelfand, M.I. *A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933–1965*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Gerdes, Louise I., ed. *The 1940s*. San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 2000.
- Gilbert, Martin. *The Second World War: The Complete History*. New York: Henry Holt, 1991.
- Graebner, William. *The Age of Doubt: American Thought and Culture in the 1940s*. Boston: Twayne, 1991.
- Gruhzit-Hoyt, Olga. *American Women in World War II*. Secaucus, NJ: Carol, 1995.
- Harmann, Susan. *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s*. Boston: Twayne, 1982.
- Heide, Robert, and John Gilman. *Home Front America: Popular Culture of the World War II Era*. San Francisco: Chronicle, 1995.
- Hills, Ken. *The 1940s*. Austin, TX: Raintree/Steck-Vaughn, 1992.
- Hoobler, Dorothy and Tom. *The 1940s: Secrets*. Brookfield, CT: Millbrook Press, 2001.
- Kee, Robert. *1945: The World We Fought For*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1985.
- Keylin, Arleen, and Jonathan Cohen, eds. *The Forties*. New York: Arno, 1980.

- Klingham, William K. *1941: Our Lives in a World on the Edge*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.
- Mauldin, Bill. *America in the 40s: A Sentimental Journey*. Pleasantville, NY: Reader's Digest, 1998.
- McNeill, William Hardy. *America, Britain and Russia: Their Cooperation and Conflict, 1941–1946*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Muir, Malcolm, ed. *The Human Tradition in the World War II Era* (Human Tradition in America). Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000.
- Offner, Arnold A. *Another Such Victory: President Truman and the Cold War, 1945–1953*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Parillo, Mark P., ed. *We Were in the Big One: Experiences of the World War II Generation*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002.
- Parrish, Thomas, and S.L.A. Marshall, eds. *The Simon and Schuster Encyclopedia of World War II*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978.
- Patterson, James T. *America's Struggle Against Poverty in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Peacock, John. *1940s*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998.
- Phillips, Cabell B.H. *1940s: Decade of Triumph and Trouble*. New York: Macmillan, 1975.
- Satterfield, Archie. *The Home Front: An Oral History of the War Years in America, 1941–1945*. New York: Playboy, 1981.
- Sickels, Robert. *The 1940s*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004.
- Smith, J. Douglas, and Richard Jenson. *World War II on the Web: A Guide to the Very Best Sites*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002.
- Takaki, Ronald T. *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II*. Boston: Little, Brown, 2000.
- Uschan, Michael V., ed. *The 1940s* (A Cultural History of the United States Through the Decades). San Diego: Lucent, 1999.
- Walton, Francis. *Miracle of World War II: How American Industry Made Victory Possible*. New York: Macmillan, 1956.
- Winkler, Allan M. *Home Front U.S.A.: America During World War II*. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2000.
- Wood, Tim, and R.J. Unstead. *The 1940s*. North Mankato, MN: Sea to Sea, 2005.
- Wynn, Neil A. *The Afro-American and the Second World War*. Rev. ed. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1993.
- Yapp, Nicholas, and Hulton Getty, eds. *The 1940s* (Decades of the 20th Century). New York: Konemann, 1998.

About the Contributors

Nathan Abrams is currently a lecturer in modern United States history at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, United Kingdom. He is writing a history of *Commentary* magazine.

Alan Allport is a doctoral candidate at the University of Pennsylvania. He is researching the personal experiences of British ex-servicemen and women during the demobilization process after World War II.

Michael J. Anderson is associate professor of history and chair of the Department of History and Political Science at Clarke College in Dubuque, Iowa. His research and teaching interests include the Roosevelt-Truman era, American politics, the origins of the Cold War, and American foreign policy.

Thomas H. Appleton Jr. is professor of history at Eastern Kentucky University. He is currently researching the career and influence of A.B. “Happy” Chandler, who served as Kentucky governor, U.S. senator, and national commissioner of baseball.

Jane M. Armstrong was a writer and researcher for the U.S. Senate Historical Office. She currently teaches U.S. history at the University of Central Florida in Orlando.

O.D. “Bob” Aryanfard studied law at the University of London and Muslim-Christian relations at Georgetown University. He is employed as an analyst with Airline Tariff Publishing Company in Dulles, Virginia.

Dorota Batog holds an MA in history and is a teacher of history and government at a senior high school in Kielce, Poland. She is the author of a book on history teaching and testing in secondary schools and a contributor to Gale’s *World Education Encyclopedia*.

Wlodzimierz Batog is assistant professor of history at Akademia Swietokrzyska in Kielce, Poland, and author of *Subversives? The Communist Party USA in the Early Cold War Era, 1945–1954* (2003). A Fulbright Scholar at Boston College in 2002–2003, he is currently preparing a book on Vietnam War protests at Ivy League universities.

Gary Dean Best is professor emeritus of history at the University of Hawaii, where he taught for nearly thirty years. His most recent book is *Harold Laski and American Liberalism* (2004).

David Blanke is assistant professor of history at Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi. He has published *Sowing the American Dream: How Consumer Culture Took Root in the Rural Midwest*

(2000) and *The 1910s* (2002) and is currently working on a study of early automobile safety.

Michael Boyden is research assistant at the Catholic University, Belgium, where he is preparing a doctoral dissertation on the genesis and evolution of American literary history as a scholarly discipline. He is a fellow of the Salzburg Seminar and a grantee of the John F. Kennedy Institute at the Free University, Berlin.

Steve Bullock is assistant professor of history and political science at the University of Nebraska at Omaha and director of the Program of Comparative American Studies. His book, *Playing for Their Nation* (2004), was recently released by the University of Nebraska Press and has been awarded the Jerry Malloy Prize for outstanding scholarship in the field of baseball history.

Janet F. Carlson received her doctorate in clinical psychology and is licensed as a psychologist in New York and Texas. A Fellow of the American Psychological Association, she has worked in clinical and school settings, as well as higher education.

Mark R. Cheatham is assistant professor of history at Southern New Hampshire University. He is currently serving as book review editor for H-Tennessee, the H-Net discussion Center at www.h-net.org/~tenn/.

Richmond L. Clow is professor in the Department of Native American Studies at the University of Montana. His most recent publication, *Chasing the Glitter* (2002), is a study of Black Hills gold ore mining processes.

R. Bruce Craig is director of the National Coalition for History in Washington, DC. He is the author of *Treasonable Doubt: The Harry Dexter White Spy Case* (2004) and numerous articles on Cold War espionage.

Christopher Cumo is the author of *A History of the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, 1882–1997* (1997), *Seeds of Change* (2000), articles,

essays, reviews, short stories, and poems. A historian of science, his primary interests are the agricultural sciences and evolutionary biology.

Wade Davies is Assistant Professor of Native American Studies at the University of Montana. His current research is on the history of American Indians and basketball.

Gregory Dehler earned his doctorate from Lehigh University in 2002. He lives in Westminster, Colorado, where he teaches at Front Range Community College.

Justus D. Doenecke is professor of history at New College of Florida, Sarasota. Among his books are *From Isolation to War, 1931–1941* (3rd ed., with John E. Wilz, 2003), *Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939–1941* (2000), and *The Battle Against Intervention, 1939–1941* (1997).

Mark E. Ellis is serials librarian at Albany State University, Albany, Georgia. He loves history and, in addition, is an audiovisual producer and author.

Linda Eikmeier Endersby specializes in the history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century science and technology in the United States and Russia. She is currently an assistant director of the Missouri State Museum and Jefferson Landing State Historic Site in Jefferson City, Missouri.

Michael S. Fitzgerald is associate professor of history at the Franciscan University of Steubenville in Ohio. From 1979 to 1983, he was an officer of local 174 (Pueblo, Colorado) of the Newspaper Guild, now part of the Communications Workers of America.

Norman E. Fry teaches American history and government at Southeastern Community College in West Burlington, Iowa. His research and writing interests are midwestern social and political history and the history of the Mississippi River.

Judith B. Gerber is a freelance writer based in Torrance, California. She regularly writes about

agriculture, history, and social issues for various books and magazines, including the *Farmers' Almanac*, *American National Biography*, and the *Dictionary of University Histories*.

Larry D. Griffin is vice president of Academic Affairs at Three Rivers Community College, Popular Bluff, Missouri.

Christopher M. Hakala earned his doctorate in cognitive psychology from the University of New Hampshire in 1995. He is currently associate professor of psychology at Western New England College in Springfield, Massachusetts.

Oliver Benjamin Hemmerle received a doctorate from Mannheim University in 2000 and is a lecturer at Chemnitz University in Germany.

John H. Hepp IV is assistant professor of history at Wilkes University in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. He is the author of *The Middle Class City: Transforming Space and Time in Philadelphia, 1876–1926* (2003), and he writes regularly on the intersection of business, technology, and culture from the Civil War through World War II.

Bernard Hirschhorn received his doctorate in history from Columbia University and is a former adjunct assistant professor of history at Bernard Baruch College of the City University of New York. He is author of *Democracy Reformed: Richard Spencer Childs and His Fight for Better Government* (1997) and numerous essays.

Melvin G. Holli is professor of history at the University of Illinois, Chicago, and author or editor of seventeen books, including *The Mayors: The Chicago Political Tradition* (2005), *World War II Chicago* (2003), *Ethnic Chicago* (1995), *The Wizard of Washington: Emil Hurja, Franklin Roosevelt, and the Birth of Public Opinion Polling* (2002), and *The American Mayor: The Best and Worst Big City Leaders* (1999). Holli was a Fulbright professor in Europe in 1978 and in Finland in 1989 and gave U.S. history lectures in Sweden and Germany.

Carol Goss Hoover, Doctor of Ministry, is professor of history at Colorado Technical University

(Sioux Falls) and Mount Marty College, specializing in Native American and Catholic intercultural histories. She is coauthor of four books, as well as numerous articles.

Herbert T. Hoover received his doctorate from the University of Oklahoma and is professor of history at the University of South Dakota. He is the author or coauthor of thirteen books, including *Sioux Country: A History of Indian-White Relations* (with Carol Goss Hoover, 2000) and *Wildlife on the Cheyenne River and Lower Brule Reservations* (1992).

Charles F. Howlett is assistant professor of graduate education at Molloy College in Rockville Centre, New York. He is author of articles and books on American peace history, including *Troubled Philosopher: John Dewey and the Struggle for World Peace* (1977), *The American Peace Movement: References and Resources* (1991), and *Brookwood Labor College and the Struggle for Peace and Social Justice in America* (1993).

Berman E. Johnson has over thirty years' service in several levels of education and has extensive publications therein. He is the vice president of student services at DeKalb Technical College in Clarkson, Georgia.

Phyllis J. Johnson's nearly thirty years' employment with a county library pays her bills, but her twenty-three years' experience training dogs feeds her heart. She believes that animals make one's life more complete.

Suzanne Julin received her doctorate in U.S. and public history from Washington State University. She is an independent public historian who lives in Missoula, Montana.

Mary L. Kelley is assistant professor of history at Lamar University in Beaumont, Texas. Her book, *Private Wealth, Public Good: Texans and Their Foundations, 1920–1970*, is being published by Texas A&M University Press.

Max Louis Kent received a BA in history and art from the University of California at Berkeley

in 1990 and an MA in history from UCLA in 2001.

Cynthia A. Klima received her BA and MA at the University of Oklahoma and her doctorate at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, and is associate professor of German and Slavic languages at the State University of New York–Geneseo. She has written numerous articles and book reviews and is a contributor to *Reader's Guide to Judaism*, *Guide to Jewish Literature*, and *Dictionary of Literary Influences*.

Amanda Laugesen teaches world history and American history at the University of Southern Queensland, Australia. She has published in the areas of Australian and U.S. history.

David J. Leonard is assistant professor of comparative ethnic studies at Washington State University. His research interests include African American history, sports, resistance movements, and popular culture.

Lim Tai Wei is a doctoral student at Cornell University. Mr. Lim was also a SAGE scholar and fellowship recipient at Cornell's School of Criticism and Theory.

Barbara A. MacDonald is an independent scholar with an interest in film history. She lives in Philadelphia.

M. Shannon Mallard was a doctoral student in history at Mississippi State University and a published author who was completing work on essays for this encyclopedia when he died in an automobile accident in November 2003.

Chris H. Marszalek has worked at public libraries in Mississippi, Tennessee, and Florida. He is currently regional manager for the Memphis/Shelby County Public Library and Information Center.

Jeanne A. Marszalek is an independent researcher in Starkville, Mississippi, specializing in race relations and mid-nineteenth-century American history.

John F. Marszalek is W.L. Giles Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History, Mississippi State University. Among his other publications, he is coeditor of the *Encyclopedia of African American Civil Rights* (1992; rev. ed. 2003).

John F. Marszalek III is assistant professor of counseling at Xavier University of Louisiana, where he teaches courses in mental health and community counseling. He is a licensed professional counselor and maintains a private mental health counseling practice in New Orleans.

Martin E. Marty is the Fairfax M. Cone Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus at the University of Chicago. The third book in his three-volume work, *Modern American Religion* (1986), addresses the 1940s.

John Morello is professor of history at DeVry University in Addison, Illinois. He is the author of *Selling the President, 1920: Albert D. Lasker, Advertising, and the Election of Warren G. Harding* (2001).

John E. Moser is assistant professor of history at Ashland University in Ohio. He is author of *Twisting the Lion's Tail: Anglophobia in the United States, 1921–1948* (1999) and *Presidents from Hoover through Truman, 1929–1953: Debating the Issues in Pro and Con Primary Documents* (2002).

Janet Butler Munch is associate professor and special collections librarian at Lehman College of the City University of New York.

Michael V. Namorato is professor of history at the University of Mississippi. He has published *Rexford G. Tugwell: A Biography* (1988) and *The Catholic Church in Mississippi, 1911–1984* (1998) and edited *The New Deal and the South* (1984), *The Diary of Rexford G. Tugwell: The New Deal Years* (1992), and *Have We Overcome? Race Relations Since Brown* (1979).

Daniel Opler is assistant professor of history at the College of Mount Saint Vincent in Riverdale, New York. His current research is on the role of Communism in American retail workers' unions.

Howard Padwa received his doctorate in history at UCLA in 2004. His main research interest is in the history of French, British, and American drug policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Vernon L. Pedersen is the author of *The Communist Party of Maryland* (2001) and several articles on domestic and international Communism. He currently lives and works in Montana.

Donald K. Pickens received his doctorate from the University of Texas in 1964. He has taught at the University of North Texas since 1965 and is now semiretired.

Murray Polner wrote *No Victory Parades: The Return of the Vietnam Veterans* (1971) and coauthored *Disarmed and Dangerous: The Radical Lives and Times of Daniel and Philip Berrigan* (1997).

David S. Richards is currently a doctoral candidate at Binghamton University. He is dean of students at Sidney (New York) High School and an instructor in the History Department at the State University of New York, Oneonta.

James G. Ryan, professor at Texas A&M University at Galveston, is author of *Earl Browder: The Failure of American Communism* (1997; second edition, 2005) and coeditor of *Historical Dictionary of the Gilded Age* (2003). He is currently writing a monograph on Soviet espionage in North America.

Leonard Schlup is an independent scholar and former history professor and research librarian, who earned graduate degrees from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Indiana University and has published numerous essays in historical dictionaries, 200 articles in professional journals, and four books. He now resides in beautiful Arizona, where he writes, explores nature, and enjoys the good life.

Giles Scott-Smith is a postdoctoral researcher with the Roosevelt Study Center, Middelburg, the Netherlands. He has published widely in the field of transatlantic relations and cultural history during the Cold War.

Rita J. Simon is University Professor in the School of Public Affairs and the Washington College of Law at the American University in Washington, DC. She is the author or editor of fifty-two books on immigration, the jury system, transracial adoption, and women's issues.

John J. Sloan III is associate professor of criminal justice, sociology, and women's studies at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. He is co-author (with Bonnie S. Fisher) of *Campus Crime: Legal, Social, and Policy Perspectives* (1995) and has contributed numerous articles to scholarly journals and books in the fields of criminology, criminal justice, and sociology.

Jordan Stanger-Ross is a doctoral student in history and urban studies at the University of Pennsylvania and Visiting Research Fellow at the Center for the Study of the United States at the University of Toronto. He is completing a dissertation, "Configuring Community: Italian Ethnicity in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia."

April R. Summitt is assistant professor of history at Arizona State University. Her most recent publication is "For a White Revolution: John F. Kennedy and the Shah of Iran," in the autumn 2004 issue of *Middle East Journal*.

Wendy Toon received her first degree from Keele University, United Kingdom, and is preparing a doctoral thesis on American policy for the postwar occupations of Germany and Japan. She currently lectures in modern world history at University College Worcester, Henwick Grove, Worcester, United Kingdom.

Santos C. Vega is professor emeritus at Arizona State University and continues his work in community documentation, research, writing, and education. He has published numerous encyclopedia articles and neighborhood oral history booklets.

David Weiner is an award-winning playwright. His work has been produced in California and in London, and he is the author of *Burns, Falls, and Crashes*, a book about motion-picture stunt work.

David O. Whitten, professor of economics at Auburn University, is the author of *Andrew Durnford: A Black Sugar Planter in the Antebellum South* (1995) and coauthor with Douglas Steeples of *Democracy in Depression: The Depression of 1893*, a *Choice* Outstanding Academic title for 1999.

Veronica Wilson received her doctorate in United States history and women's history from Rutgers University in 2002 and is assistant professor of

history at the University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown. Her dissertation focuses on gender and espionage during the early Cold War, and she is presently revising it for publication.

Raymond Wolters is Thomas Munch Keith Professor of History at the University of Delaware. He is the author of several books, including *The Burden of Brown: Thirty Years of School Desegregation* (1984) and *Du Bois and His Rivals* (2002).

Guide to Contributors' Entries

- Abrams, Nathan, 24–25, 81, 191–92, 339–40
- Allport, Alan, 19–20, 64, 75–76, 97, 116, 131–32, 142–43, 176–77, 194, 200–1, 265–66, 288, 319, 384–85, 416–17
- Anderson, Michael J., 105–6, 111, 165–66
- Appleton, Thomas H., Jr., 40–41, 70–71, 325
- Armstrong, Jane M., 51, 65–66, 163, 214–15, 232, 258, 281–82
- Aryanfard, O.D. "Bob," 46–47, 146–47
- Batog, Dorota, 246
- Batog, Wlodzimierz, 82, 159–60, 184–85, 244–45, 280–81
- Best, Gary Dean, 224–25
- Blanke, David, 54–55, 66–68, 157–58, 215–16, 273–74, 371–72
- Boydén, Michael, 254–55
- Bullock, Steve, 10, 45, 106–7, 161, 413, 428
- Carlson, Jaent F., 316–17
- Cheatham, Mark R., 186, 278–79
- Clow, Richmond L., 274–75
- Craig, R. Bruce, 411–12
- Cumo, Christopher, 3–4, 7–8, 31–33, 35–36, 38–39, 41–43, 46, 49–50, 53–54, 56–57, 61–62, 72–73, 82–83, 85–94, 100, 104–5, 109–10, 112, 115, 118–24, 128, 133–40, 156, 168–70, 187–88, 191, 205–6, 214, 219–22, 225–26, 236–37, 240–42, 244, 247–48, 253, 256–57, 260–61, 263–65, 271–73, 279–80, 288–89, 291–92, 295–96, 298–308, 321–23, 335–36, 339, 344–47, 350–51, 355–56, 358–59, 365–69, 373–74, 379, 386, 389–90, 394–95, 397–98, 402, 411, 413–14, 423–24, 426–27, 430–32
- Davies, Wade, 43–44, 359–360
- Dehler, Gregory, 21–22, 42–44, 47–48, 60–61, 86, 99–100, 103, 108–9, 155, 195–96, 222–23, 230, 251–52, 257–58, 297–98, 308–9, 313–14, 327–28, 332, 334–35, 370, 393, 401–2
- Doenecke, Justus D., 45–46, 70, 78, 106, 169–70, 229–30, 236, 284, 296–97, 352–55, 374, 410–11, 415–16
- Ellis, Mark E., 4, 21, 27–28, 91–92, 136, 184, 202–3, 237–38, 243, 289–90
- Endersby, Linda Eikmeier, 20–21, 89–90, 125–26, 194–95, 211–12, 258–59, 356–57, 360, 398, 425
- Fitzgerald, Michael S., 333, 370–71
- Fry, Norman E., 10–11, 30–32, 55–56, 74–75, 127–28, 140–41, 145–47, 158, 160–62, 181–82, 187, 192–93, 203–4, 209–10, 231–32, 288, 313, 357, 379–83, 387, 390, 428–29
- Gerber, Judith B., 18–19, 48–49, 177–78, 232–33, 267, 325–26, 390–91, 396, 400, 417–20
- Griffin, Larry D., 9–10, 35, 50–51, 60, 136, 156–57, 168, 185, 237–39, 242, 252, 259–60, 280, 329, 341–42, 344–45, 351–52, 362–63, 408–9, 422
- Hakala, Christopher M., 315–16
- Hemmerle, Oliver Benjamin, 100–1, 210
- Hepp, John H. IV, 323–24
- Hirschhorn, Bernard, 53, 76–77, 102, 309–11
- Holli, Melvin G., 414–15
- Hoover, Carol Goss, 52, 249–50, 263, 304–5, 330
- Hoover, Herbert T., 52, 67, 261–62, 330
- Howlett, Charles F., 23–24, 36, 49, 68, 71, 76–78, 95–96, 122–23, 143–44, 149–50, 154, 185–86, 189–90, 200, 219, 262, 266–67, 271, 293–94, 298, 329–30, 342, 348–50, 362, 365, 385, 387–89, 396–99, 406, 409–10
- Johnson, Berman E., 4–7, 22–23, 26, 84–85, 103–4, 129–30, 132–33, 144–45, 157, 160, 166, 213–14, 233–34, 347–48
- Johnson, Phyllis J., 110
- Julin, Suzanne, 79, 107–8, 204, 260, 273, 328–29, 374–75, 377, 408
- Kelley, Mary L., 301
- Kent, Max Louis, 149
- Klima, Cynthia A., 14, 29–30, 182–83, 257, 285, 291, 403–4
- Laugesen, Amanda, 11–12, 94, 98–99, 113–14, 126–27, 149, 167, 173–75, 178, 178–80, 239, 250–51, 270, 275–78, 283–84, 361–62, 377–78, 407
- Leonard, David J., 5–6, 28–29, 155, 294
- Lim Tai Wei, 12–13, 73–74, 173, 268–69
- MacDonald, Barbara A., 171, 176, 230–31
- Marszalek, Chris H., 227–28
- Marszalek, Jeanne A., 27
- Marszalek, John F., 3
- Marszalek, John F. III, 151–52, 248–49
- Marty, Martin E., 117–18, 206–7, 331–32

- Morello, John, 180
- Moser, John E., 137–38, 152–53,
204, 217–18, 361, 375–79,
425–26
- Munch, Janet Butler, 40, 227
- Namorato, Michael V., 79–80, 128–
33, 183–84, 189, 228–29, 383
- Opler, Daniel, 83–84, 171–72, 220–
21, 418–19
- Padwa, Howard, 112–13
- Pederson, Vernon L., 216–17, 340–
41, 353–54, 395–96
- Pickens, Donald K., 15–16, 25, 36–
37, 51–52, 80–81, 93–95, 131,
141–42, 153–54, 174–75, 193–
94, 207–8, 212–13, 239–40,
314–15, 324–27, 333–34, 336–
37, 342–43, 357–58, 364, 367–
68, 372–73, 400–1, 420–23
- Polner, Murray, 86–87, 407–8
- Richards, David S., 404–5
- Ryan, James G., 59–60
- Schlup, Leonard, 8, 26–27, 30, 34–
35, 39–40, 54, 56–58, 62–63,
65, 71–72, 78–80, 110, 128,
130, 144, 145, 147–48, 150–51,
158–59, 162–63, 165–68, 171,
178, 180–81, 197–99, 207,
209–12, 215, 223, 225, 246–47,
255, 262, 276–78, 311–12,
319–20, 338–39, 353, 363–64,
364–65, 383–84, 383–94,
402–3, 405–6, 409, 414
- Scott-Smith, Giles, 68–69, 282–83,
285–86
- Simon, Rita J., 190–91
- Sloan, John J. III, 8–9, 312–13
- Stanger-Ross, Jordan, 196–97
- Summitt, April R., 14–15, 17–18
- Toon, Wendy, 13–14, 16–17, 152,
172–73, 201–2, 235–36,
286–87, 350
- Vega, Santos C., 101, 248, 352, 431
- Weiner, David, 58–59
- Whitten, David O., 38, 69–70, 97–98,
111–12, 124–25, 163–64, 190–
91, 198, 226–27, 253–56, 294–
95, 318, 337–38, 429–30
- Wilson, Veronica, 64–65, 91, 114–
15, 182, 223–24, 242–43,
307–8
- Wolters, Raymond, 269–70, 412

Index

Page numbers in boldface refer to major discussions of topic.

- AA. *See* Alcoholics Anonymous (AA)
AAFC. *See* All-American Football Conference (AAFC)
AAGPBL. *See* All-American Girls Professional Baseball League (AAGPBL)
- Abbott, William Alexander “Bud,” 3**
Abortion, 3–4, 337
Abraham Lincoln (Sandburg), 344
Abrams, Elliot, 81
Abstract expressionism, 31, 242, 306–7
Abyssinia, 15, 132
Academy Awards, 99, 107, 157, 171, 176, 179, 231, 233, 239, 329, 377. *See also* Hollywood actors; Hollywood film
ACCC. *See* American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC)
Acheson, Dean Gooderham, 4, 211, 382
ACLU. *See* American Civil Liberties Union
Active and Other Poems (MacLeish), 236
Actors. *See* Broadway; Hollywood actors; *and specific actors*
ACWA. *See* Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA)
ADA. *See* Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)
Adams Act, 402
Adam’s Rib, 171, 377
Adamson v. California, 53, 330
Addams, Jane, 68
Addiction. *See* Drug abuse
Addison’s disease, 93
Adenauer, Konrad, 13
Admiral of the Ocean Sea (Morison), 257
Advertising, 54, 88, 118, 149, 336, 372, 375, 405
AEC. *See* Atomic Energy Commission (U.S.)
The Affluent Society (Galbraith), 149
Afghanistan, 87, 90
AFL. *See* American Federation of Labor (AFL)
AFM. *See* American Federation of Musicians (AFM)
Africa. *See also* North Africa; *and specific countries*
chloroquine in, 368
colonialism in, 412
DDT in, 368
Ghanaian independence movement, 342
human rights in, 342
U.S. policy on, 62
African American nationalism, 6–7, 412
African Americans. *See also* Civil rights movement; Desegregation; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Segregation; *and specific African Americans*
and Amos ’n’ Andy radio program, 26
antimiscegenation laws and, 28
in baseball, 5, 42–43, 45, 71, 109, 155, 294, 334–35, 359
in boxing, 55–56, 230
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and, 84–85, 150, 417
crime by, 94
in Democratic Party, 5, 76, 310, 311
Detroit race riot (1943) and, 103–4
double identity of, 113
drug abuse by, 113
Ebony magazine and, 118
education of, 5–6, 48, 61–62, 120
employment of, 5, 118, 119, 129, 221–22
as entertainers, 5, 127, 184
as entrepreneurs, 150–51
on *Gone with the Wind*, 157
Harlem race riot (1943) and, 166
history of, 144–45
as intellectuals, 113–14
intelligence of, 351
as journalists, 407
in labor unions, 5, 76, 386, 390
lynching of, 5, 6, 102, 233–34, 270, 403–4, 412
migration of southern blacks to the North, 5, 6, 7, 76, 103–4, 129, 208
in military, 5–6, 97–98, 230, 384–85
as musicians, 27
Nation of Islam and, 6–7, 268–69
nationalism, 6–7, 412
as New Deal administrators, 48
newspapers published by, 7
police brutality against, 104
poverty of, 4–5
racial passing by, 321–22
religion of, 118, 331, 348
Republican Party and, 5, 102, 222
as statesmen, 61–62
status of, in 1940s, 4–5
as Tuskegee aimen, 97, 384–85
voting rights for, 4–5, 270, 388
The African Queen, 171
Afrika Corps. *See* North Africa
Agrarians, 407
Agricultural Adjustment Act, 232, 365
Agricultural Adjustment Administration, 174, 363, 410
Agricultural experiment stations, 88, 100, 402
Agriculture. *See also* Agriculture Department (USDA)
anhydrous ammonia for, 7
Benson as presidential adviser on, 46
bracero program for, 190, 250
chemicals for, 7–8

- Agriculture** (*continued*)
 corn production, 7, 8, 119
 corn stunt disease, 92
 cotton production, 119
 crop rotation and, 8
 DDT for, 7, 8, **100**, 119, 346, 368
 farmers and ranchers, 8, 62, 65,
 162, 223, 246, 257
 herbicides and, 7
 hybrids in, 8, 345
 immigrants as farmworkers, 190,
 221, 250
 in Italy, 131–32
 Marshall Plan and, 241, 242
 McNary-Haugen bills for, 246
 research in, **7–8**, 118–19, 120, 402,
 403
 soybean exports, 191, 242
 statistics on farm production, 8
 sugar industry in Hawaii, 167
 Agriculture Department (USDA)
 Anderson as secretary of
 agriculture, 26
 Benson as secretary of agriculture, 46
 conservation and, 87–88
 creation of, 304
 crop rotation and, 8
 on food and diet, 138
 insecticides and, 7, 100, 346, 368
 Tugwell in, 383
 Wallace as secretary of agriculture,
 402–3
 Sewall Wright in, 423
Aiken, George David, 8
 Air Force. *See also* Army Air Force;
 Military aviation
 atomic air offensive of, 357
 Civil Air Patrol (CAP) and, 76
 creation of, 274
 Davis as general in, 97
Air Raid (MacLeish), 236
 Aircraft. *See* Aviation
 Airports, 148
Airships and blimps, 53–54
 Alabama
 African American entrepreneur in,
 150–51
 crime in, 94
 Dixiecrats in, 108
 forests in, 87
 Alamein, Battles of, 255, 290, 337
 Alaska, 163
 Alaska-Canada Highway, 163
 Albania, 15, 132
Alcatraz, 8–9
Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), 9–10,
 280
 Alexander, Harold, 255
Alexander's Bridge (Cather), 67
 Algeria, 101, 255, 301
 Alien Enemies Act (1798), 152
 Alien Registration Act. *See* Smith Act
All About Eve, 99
 All-American Football Conference
 (AAFC), 140
**All-American Girls Professional
 Baseball League (AAGPBL),
 10**, 42, 359
All My Sons (Miller), 253
All the King's Men, 407
All This and Heaven Too, 99
 Allied Stores, 40
 Aluminum Workers of America
 International, 389
 AMA. *See* American Medical
 Association (AMA)
**Amalgamated Clothing Workers of
 America (ACWA), 10–11**, 171
 Amendments to Constitution. *See*
specific amendments
 Amerasian, 60
America and Australia, 11–12
America and East Asia, 12–13
America and Germany, 13–14,
 466–71. *See also* Germany;
 Nazi Germany; World War II
America and Greece, 14, 89, 117,
 470, 526–29. *See also* Greece
America and Israel, 14–15. See also
 Israel
America and Italy, 15–16. See also
 Italy
America and Japan, 16–17, 378,
 456–57. *See also* Japan
**America and the Arab World, 17–
 18. See also** Arab World
America and the Holocaust, 18–19,
 24, 207, 331, 416, 430. *See*
also Holocaust
**America and the United Kingdom,
 19–20**, 21, 66, 195, 521–22.
See also United Kingdom
America and the USSR, 20–21. See
also Cold War; Communist
 Party; USSR
America First Movement, 21, 78,
 137, 170, 195–96, 206–7, 219,
 229, 284, 374, 410
 America First Party, 352–53
America in 1940, 21–22, 433–34
America in Mid-Passage (Beard), 44
America the Beautiful (McCarthy),
 192
America Was Promises, (MacLeish),
 236
American Agriculturalist, 257
American Amateur Photographer,
 364
 American Association of Social
 Workers, 183
 American Birth Control League, 51
American Blues (Williams), 413
 American Cancer Society, 177, 375,
 380
American Capitalism (Galbraith), 149
 American Civil Liberties Union, 134,
 143, 224
 American Coal Shipping Company,
 226
American Communications v. Douds,
 397
 American Composers Alliance, 90
 American Council for Judaism, 207
 American Council of Christian
 Churches (ACCC), 127
 American Council of Churches, 331
 American Counseling Association,
 249
The American Democracy (Laski),
 224
American Dilemma (Myrdal), 331
American Dream, 7, 22–23, 88–89,
 253, 517
 American Economic Association,
 112, 149
**American Federation of Labor
 (AFL), 23–24**, 225, 271, 386
 American Federation of Musicians
 (AFM), 323, 351
 American GI Forum, 101, 251
American Guardian, 355
 American Historical Association, 96,
 175, 345, 544
 American Humanist Association, 261
 American Indians. *See* Native
 Americans
 American Jewish Committee, 24
 American Jewish Congress, 18, 415,
 430
American Jews, 24–25
 anti-Semitism against, 18, 21, 24,
29–30, 153, 206–7, 265, 353,
 354, 374
Commentary's focus on, 24, 81, 192
 employment of, 119
 higher education for, 24
 House Un-American Activities
 Committee (HUAC) and, 25
 immigration of Jews to U.S., 18–19,
 24, 206, 257
 as intellectuals, 24, 81
 and literature and the arts, 24–25
 opportunities for, in postwar period,
 24–25
 protest rallies against Hitler by, 18
 American League against War and
 Fascism, 47

- American League for Peace and Democracy, 184
- American Legion, 154, 212
- American Library Association, 128
- American Medical Association (AMA), 52, 247, 272, 273
- The American Mind* (Commager), 81
- American Museum of Natural History, 128, 244, 299
- American Personnel and Guidance Association, 249
- The American Presidency* (Laski), 224
- American Psychiatric Association, 151, 249
- American Psychological Association (APA), 249
- American Red Cross. *See* Red Cross
- American Relief Center, 146
- American Rocket Society, 156
- American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), 90, 323
- American Society of Newspaper Editors, 177
- The American Soldier* (Stouffer), 356
- American Songbag* (Sandburg), 344
- The American Spirit* (Beard), 44
- American Student Union (ASU), 223
- American Veterans Committee, 407
- American Youth Congress, 184
- Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)**, 25, 49, 149, 187, 224, 280, 310, 311, 338, 407
- America's First Crusade* (Hoover), 181
- Amherst College, 145, 260
- Amos 'n' Andy**, 26
- Anagnos, Michael, 211
- ANC. *See* Army Nurse Corps (ANC)
- Anchors Aweigh*, 179, 351
- Anderson, Ann, 27
- Anderson, Clinton Presba**, 26–27
- Anderson, Marian**, 27, 70
- Andrews Sisters**, 27–28
- Anhydrous ammonia, 7
- Animal Farm* (Orwell), 291–92
- Animals. *See* Dogs
- Animated film, 107–8, 179
- ANMA. *See* Asociación Nacional México American (ANMA)
- Annie Get Your Gun*, 59
- Another Mother for Peace, 329
- Anthropology, 298–99
- Anti-Comintern Pact, 378
- Anti-Communism. *See also* Cold War; House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC); McCarthy, Joseph Raymond; and Communist Party *headings*
- Calomiris as FBI informant on Communist Party in U.S., 64–65
- FBI and, 182
- Loyalty Review Board and, 231–32, 395, 396
- McCarthy and, 245–46
- Peekskill Riot of 1949 and, 298
- Reagan and, 327–28
- Anti-Semitism**. *See also* Holocaust in France, 29
- German-American Bund and, 153, 154
- in Germany, 68, 265, 277–78, 496–502
- in Hollywood film, 24
- in Poland, 30
- of Pound, 308
- of Gerald Smith, 353
- Smith Act used against, 354
- in United States, 18, 21, 24, 29–30, 153, 154, 206–7, 265, 353, 354, 374
- in USSR, 29
- of Wagner, 265
- Antibiotics, 168–69, 299, 314, 346, 394–95, 402
- Antimiscegenation laws**, 28–29
- AP. *See* Associated Press (AP)
- APA. *See* American Psychological Association (APA)
- Appalachian Spring* (Copland), 90, 265
- Appeal to the Nations* (Thomas), 374
- Aptheker, Herbert, 175
- Arab World**, 15, 17–18, 62, 388
- Arab-Israeli War, 388
- Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO), 17
- ARAMCO (Arabian American Oil Company), 17
- Architecture, 422
- Arden, Eve**, 30
- Area studies, 175
- Arena* (Flanagan), 137
- Argentina, 115, 158
- Aristotle, 315
- Arise, Seizo, 276
- Arizona
- cattle ranch in, 162
- Democratic Party in, 162
- electricity for, 183
- hotel in, 162
- McFarland as governor of, 246
- National Guard in, 157
- Native Americans in, 110, 275
- Phoenix Charter Revision Committee, 156
- photography of, 156
- statehood for, 168
- Supreme Court of, 246
- water resources for, 168, 246
- Arkansas
- Christ of the Ozarks* in, 353
- Dixiecrats and, 108
- dust bowl migrants from, 123
- forests in, 87
- passion play in, 353
- politicians from, 65–66
- Arkansas River Navigation System, 213
- Armies of the Night* (Mailer), 237
- Arms, Russell, 80
- Army. *See* Military; World War I; World War II
- Army Air Force
- and B-29 aircraft to carry atomic bombs, 126
- Civil Air Patrol (CAP) and, 76, 148
- DiMaggio in, 107
- Eighth Air Force, 36
- Goldwater in, 156–57
- infrared scope and, 432
- Lash in, 224
- South Dakota base for, 67
- training films made by, 327
- Tuskegee airmen, 97, 384–85
- WASPs (Women Airforce Service Pilots) in, 417
- Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) in, 416
- in World War II, 36, 38, 126, 135
- Army Corps of Engineers**, 30–31, 33, 88
- Army Dog Association, Inc., 110
- Army football team, 139, 358
- Army-McCarthy hearings, 246, 261
- Army Nurse Corps (ANC), 416, 417
- Arnaz, Desi, 39–40
- Arnold, Henry H. "Hap," 38, 253
- Aronson, Boris, 58
- Art**, 31. *See also* Architecture; Photography; and *specific artists*
- abstract expressionism, 31, 242, 306–7
- by de Kooning, 31
- by Gorky, 31
- by Grandma Moses, 259
- Jewish contributions to, 24–25
- by Agnes Martin, 242
- National Gallery of Art, 271–72
- Nazi Germany's plundering of European art objects, 510
- by O'Keeffe, 364
- by Pollock, 31, 306–7
- by Rockwell, 31, 336
- Arthritis, 93

- Arvey, Jacob M., 32**
As We Go Marching (Flynn), 138
Asalom, Absalom (Faulkner), 133
 ASCAP, 90, 323
The Ascent to Truth (Merton), 250
 Ashurst, Henry F., 246
 Asia. *See specific countries*
 Asian Americans. *See also* Japanese Americans
 antimiscegenation laws and, 28
 Asmus, Grover, 329
 Asociación Nacional México American (ANMA), 251
 Associated Press (AP), 112, 279
 Association of American Colleges, 49
 Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, 234
Astounding Science-Fiction, 237
Astronomy, 32–33
 big bang theory, 32, **49–50**
 Doppler effect, 49–50
 ASU. *See* American Student Union (ASU)
At Heaven's Gate, 407
 Athenagoras, Bishop, 117
 Athletics. *See* College sports; Sports
Atlanta Journal, 279
Atlanta Journal Constitution, 213
 Atlanta University, 113, 114
 Atlantic, Battle of, 66
 Atlantic Charter, 19, 142, 183, 186, 339, 387, 405, 475
Atlantic Monthly, 229
Atomic bomb. *See also* Hydrogen bomb research; Manhattan Project
 Atomic bomb
 B-29 Superfortress and, 38
 Baruch on, 41
 Churchill on, 520
 commemoration of, 173
 detonation of first atomic bomb in New Mexico, 83, 135, 238, 268, 307, 345
 DuBois on, 114
 Enola Gay bomber and, 125–26
 Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombing, 12, 16, 20, 36, 38, 83, **125–26**, 135, 172, **173**, 187, 188, 201, 238, 241, **268**, 307, 345, 347, 365, 380, 392, 421, 483–84
 Marshall and, 240–41
 rationale for use of, 20, 173, 268, 288, 392, 421
 Roosevelt and, 237
 scientists' opposition to, 41, 135, 173, 187–88, 268, 296, 304, 321, 374
 Soviet atomic bomb, 33, 89, 187, 296, 304, **356–57**, 373
 Norman Thomas on, 374
 Truman on, 483–84
 Atomic Energy Act, 33
 Atomic Energy Commission (United Nations), 41
Atomic Energy Commission (U.S.), 33, 83, 187–88, 229, 233, 346, 398
 “Atoms for Peace,” 124
 Attlee, Clement, 19, 75, 212, 382
 Attorneys. *See* Lawyers
 Attorneys General, 9, 49, 103, 134, 365
 Auden, W.H., 366
Austin, Warren Robinson, 34
Australia, 11–12, 163, 235, 401
 Austria, 181–82, 266, 277, 504, 505
 Authors. *See* Journalism; Literature; Poetry; *and specific writers*
 Auto racing, 359
 Autoimmune diseases, 93
Automobiles, 34–35, 88, 110, 119, 144, 209, 333, 377, 386. *See also* Jeep; United Auto Workers (UAW)
Autry, Orvon Gene, 35
Avanti!, 265
 Avery, Oswald Theodore, 72
Aviation
 airports and, 148
 B-29 Superfortress, 36, 38
 blimps and airships, 53–54
 in China, 73
 Civil Air Patrol (CAP), 76, 148
 commercial aviation, 35–36
 Enola Gay bomber, 125–26
 Fulton Flying Service, 148
 helicopter, 22
 jet engine, 35–36
 Lindbergh and, 229
 military aviation, **36**, 38, 97, 229, **384–85**, 413
 Tuskegee airmen, 97, 384–85
 Ted Williams as aviator, 413
 women aviators, 417
“Axis Sally,” 36–37
 Axline, Virginia, 317

 B-17 bombers, 36
 B-25 bombers, 36
 B-29 aircraft, 36, **38**, 126, 198
B-29 Superfortress, 36, 38
 BAA. *See* Basketball Association of America (BAA)
Babes on Broadway, 285, 329
Baby and Child Care (Spock), 317, 357–58
Baby boom, 38–39

Bacall, Lauren, 54, 179
 Bach, Johann Sebastian, 265
 “Back to Africa” movement, 6
 Badoglio, Marshal Pietro, 132
Bailey vs. Drexel Furniture Co., 74
 Baker, Ella, 418
 Baker, George. *See* “Father Divine” (George Baker)
 Baldwin, James, 423
 Balfour Declaration, 430
 Balkan Peninsula, 14, 259
Ball, Lucille Desiree, 39–40
The Ballad of the Harp Weaver (Millay), 252
 “Ballad of William Sycamore” (Benét), 45
Ballpoint pens, 40
 Baltic States, 20, 258–59, 360, 372, 461
Baltimore Sun, 206
Bambi, 107, 179
 Banking, 63, 78, 95, 204. *See also* World Bank
 Banking Act (1935), 95
 Banks, Ernie, 45
 Barber, Samuel, 265
 Bardeen, John, 351
 Bardot, Brigitte, 50
Barkley, Alben William, 40–41, 70, 232, 309, 311
 Barnett, Marie and Gath, 410
 Barnett, Walter, 410
 Barr, Fred J., 141
 Barrymore, Ethel, 285
 Barrymore, Lionel, 285
 Bartók, Béla, 158
Baruch, Bernard Mannes, 41–42
Baseball, 42
 Abbott and Costello’s “Who’s on First?” comedy routine, 3
 African Americans in, 5, 42–43, 45, 71, 109, 155, 294, 334–35, 359
 Chandler as commissioner of, 71
 DiMaggio in, 42, 106–7, 109
 Doby in, 109, 294
 Gibson in, 43, 155
 Gray in, 161
 Haggegan as part owner of St. Louis Cardinals, 166
 impact of World War II on, 42
 National Baseball Hall of Fame, 3
 Negro Leagues of, 42–43, 45, 155, 294, 334
 Paige in, 294
 professional baseball, 22, **42**, 106–7, 109, 294
 racial discrimination in, 109, 334–35

- radio and television broadcasts of, 42, 334, 373
 Rickey in, 294, 333–34
 Jackie Robinson in, 5, 42, 43, 71, 109, 118, 155, 294, 334–35, 359
 Ted Williams in, 42, 413
 women in, 10, 42, 359
 World Series in, 22, 359, 373
 Baseball Hall of Fame, 3, 45, 71, 107, 109, 155, 294, 335, 413
Basic History of the United States (Beard), 44
Basketball, 43–44, 359
 Basketball Association of America (BAA), 44
 Bataan Death March, 401
 Bates, Sanford, 9
 Bather, Robert F., 33
 Baugh, Sammy, 359
 Beame, Abraham, 131
Beard, Charles, 44, 95, 104, 193, 196, 258
The Beginning of Wisdom (Benét), 45
 Belgium, 21, 277, 282, 506, 511
 Bell, Daniel, 81
Bell, James Thomas “Cool Papa”, 43, 45
 Bell, Tommy, 335
 Bell Act, 302
A Bell for Adorno, 59
 Bell Telephone Laboratories, 350, 351
 Bellow, Saul, 24, 81
 Ben-Gurion, David, 46, 416
 Benally, Harry, 277
 Benedict, Ruth, 356
Benét, Stephen Vincent, 45–46
 Benny, Jack, 126
Benson, Ezra Taft, 46
Bentley, Elizabeth, 46–47, 95, 185, 412
 Bergman, Ingrid, 176, 179
 Berkeley, John, 27
 Berlin, Irving, 94
 Berlin airlift, 13, 20, 48
Berlin blockade, 20, 47–48, 282
 Berlin Wall, 195
 Bernardini, Micheline, 50
 Berrigan, Daniel, 250
 Berrigan, Philip, 250
 Berube, Allan, 151
Besieged Patriot (Smith), 353
 Bessarabia, 360
 Bessie, Alvah, 180
The Best Years of Our Lives, 179, 231, 239
 Bethe, Hans, 135, 146, 304
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 48–49, 417
Better Homes and Gardens, 100
 Bevin, Ernest, 282, 522
Beyond the Horizon (O’Neill), 288
 BIA. *See* Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)
 Biberman, Herbert, 180
 Bible Crusaders, 127
 Bidault, George, 241, 282
Biddle, Francis Beverly, 49, 134, 283
 Big band music, 158, 204, 408
Big bang theory, 32, 49–50
The Big Sleep, 54
Bikini, 50–51
Bilbo, Theodore Gilmore, 51
 Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, 160–61
 BINAC, 390
 Biology. *See also* Science
 bird taxonomy, 244
 chemistry and, 72
 definition of species, 346
 embryology, 256–57
 evolutionary biology, 128, 214, 244, 346
 genetics, 109–10, 120, 128, 244, 256, 260–61, 423–24
 Kinsey as entomologist, 214
 Mayr as biologist, 244
 microbiology, 402
 “Birdman of Alcatraz,” 9
Birth control, 51–52, 337
The Birth of the Nation (Schlesinger), 345
 Birthrate, 38–39. *See also* Population
 Bittner, Van A., 389
 Black, Davidson, 298
Black, Hugo Lafayette, 53, 112, 123, 143, 200, 262, 279, 365, 397
Black Boy (Wright), 423
 Black Elk, Benjamin, 260
Black Elk, Nicholas, 52
Black Elk Speaks (Neihardt), 52
 Black holes, 33, 124
 Black Muslim movement, 6–7, 268–69
 Black power, 7
Blackboard Jungle, 208
 Blacklisting of entertainers, 179, 180, 328
 Blacks. *See* African Americans
 Blake, Ennis, 139
 Blanton, Smiley, 296
Blimps and airships, 53–54
 Blindness, 211
 Block, Harlon H., 198
 Block, Herb, 245
 Board of Economic Warfare, 106
 Boeing Aircraft Co., 35, 36, 38, 126
Bogart, Humphrey DeForest, 54, 179
 Boghetti, Giuseppe, 27
 Bohr, Neils, 321
 Boll weevil, 7, 119
 Bolshevik Revolution, 20
 Bomb. *See* Atomic bomb; Hydrogen bomb research; Manhattan Project
Bombs Away (Steinbeck), 363
 Bond, Ward, 179
 Bond drives, 42, 127, 149, 257, 396, 405
 Bone, Homer T., 219
 Borah, William E., 85
 Borglum, Gutzon, 260
 Borglum, Lincoln, 260
 Bormann, Martin, 495, 496
Born Yesterday, 58
 Boston. *See* Massachusetts
 Botticelli, Sandro, 271
 Boulder Canyon Project Act, 182
 Boulder Dam. *See* Hoover Dam
Bowles, Chester, 54–55
Bowles v. Willingham, 368
Boxing, 55–56
 La Motta and, 219–20, 335, 359
 Joe Lewis and, 230, 359, 373
 Sugar Ray Robinson and, 220, 335–36, 359
 Zale-Graziano fights, 428–29
Boyd, William, 56
Boy’s Life Magazine, 336
Boys Town, 377
 Bracero program, 190, 250
 Bradley, John H., 198
Bradley, Omar Nelson, 56–57, 61, 124
 Braille, 211
 Brandeis, Louis D., 4, 143, 165, 365
 Brandeis University, 24
 Brandenburg, Leopold, 3
 Brattain, Walter, 351
 Braun, Eva, 177
 Brazel, William W., 341
 Brazil, 158
Bretton Woods Conference, 57, 95, 370, 396
 Briand-Kellogg Pact, 512, 517
Bricker, John William, 57–58, 105, 310, 368
 Bricker amendment, 58
A Bridge for Passing (Buck), 60
 Bridges, 67
Bridges, Henry Styles, 58, 245
Brigadoon, 59
 Britain. *See* United Kingdom
 Britain, Battle of, 21, 195, 263–64, 379

- Brittain, Vera, 267, 293
 Broadcast Music Incorporated, 323
Broadway, 39, **58–59**, 80, 111, 136, 155, 171, 239, 377
 Bromfield, Louis, 54
 Bronchitis, 169
 Brooke, Sir Alan, 75
 Brooke, Alan, 256
 Brookings Institution, 80
 Brooks, William Keith, 256
 Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 76, 129, 324, 347
 Browder, Bill, 59–60
Browder, Earl Russell, 59–60, 82, 310
 Browder, Margaret, 59
 Brown, John Eppes, 52
Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, 7, 23, 112, 143, 248, 330, 348, 406
 Browne, Carl, 93
 Brussels Treaty (1948), 282
 Bryan Bible League, 127
 Bryce, Lord James, 224
 Bryn Mawr College, 256
 Buchen, Philip A., 140
 Buck, Lossing, 60
Buck, Pearl S., 60
 Buckner, Simon, 287
 Buddhism, 242, 250
 Budge, Don, 359
 Buick, 34
 Bulgaria, 259, 481, 528
Bulge, Battle of the, 60–61, 124, 170, 256, 295
 Bullets, 253–54
Bunche, Ralph Johnson, 5, 61–62
 Burdette, Leah, 206
 Burdick, Quentin, 62
Burdick, Usher Lloyd, 62–63
 Bureau of Agricultural Engineering, 88
 Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), 270, 274
 Bureau of Public Roads, 162
 Burger, Ernest P., 278
 Burke-Wadsworth Act, 349
 Burks, Mary Fair, 417
 Burma, 291, 301
 Burma, John H., 321
 Burnet, Smiley, 168
 Bursum bill, 80
 Bush, George Herbert Walker, 63
 Bush, George Walker, 63, 277
 Bush, Jeb, 63
Bush, Prescott Sheldon, 63
 Bush, Vannevar, 33, 345
 Businesses. *See also specific companies*
- African American entrepreneur, 150–51
 chain stores, 69–70
 consumerism and, 88–89
 department stores, 40, 259, 306
 Harriman as businessman, 167
 hotel, 162
 Landon's business interests, 223
 Republican Party and, 371
 Tupperware, 383–84
 Willkie as corporation executive, 414
zaibatsu (business conglomerates) in Japan, 17, 376
- Butler, Pierce, 262
 Bye, George, 300
 Byrd, Harry S., 102
 Byrnes, James, 363
- Cadillac, 34
 Caffery, Jefferson, 241
 Cage, John, 264
 Cage, Nicholas, 277
 Cagney, James, 262
Cairo Conference, 16, 64
 Caldor, Louis J., 259
 Caldwell, Charles B., 3
 California
 agriculture in, 183
 antimiscegenation laws in, 28–29
 corn stunt disease in, 92
 dust bowl migrants to, 123
 education of Mexican Americans in, 101
 electricity for, 183
 End Poverty in California (EPIC) program, 399
 federal funds for capital projects in, 341
 juvenile delinquency in, 94
 political activist in, 111
 Reagan as governor of, 328
 school desegregation in, 101, 248, 251
 Sleepy Lagoon Case in, 352
 Warren as governor of, 406, 431
 zoot suit affair in, 208, 250, 431
 California Arabian Oil Company, 17
 California Institute of Technology, 120, 136, 256, 304, 346
Call, 355, 374
 Calloway, Cab, 184
Calomiris, Angela J., 64–65
 Cambridge Five, 217
 Camera. *See* Polaroid camera
Camera Notes, 364
 Campbell, Lucille, 324
 Camus, Albert, 303
 Canada, 159, 163, 242, 282, 286, 522
- Canaris, Admiral, 512
 Cancer, 115, 169, 177, 183, 264, 375, 428
Candid Camera, 80
Cannery Row (Steinbeck), 363
 Cannon, Joseph, 281
Cantwell v. Connecticut, 186, 203
 CAP. *See* Civil Air Patrol (CAP)
Caphart, Homer Earl, 65
 Capone, Al, 9
 Capper, Arthur, 219
Captains Courageous, 377
Caraway, Hattie Wyatt, 65–66
 Caraway, Thaddeus H., 65
 Cardenal, Ernesto, 250
 Cardozo, Benjamin N., 143, 165, 365
 Carey, Max, 10
 Carnegie, Andrew, 151, 253
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 174
Carousel, 59
 Carr, Sam, 159
 Cars. *See* Automobiles
 Carson, Jack, 30
 Carstensen, Vernon L., 96
 Carter, Jimmy, 87, 406
 Cartoon characters, 22
 Cartoonists, 107, 243, 354
Casablanca, 179, 404
Casablanca Conference, 13, 66–67, 101, 319, 420
Case, Francis Higbee, 67
The Case against the Nazi War Criminal (Jackson), 200
 Casella, Mario, 47
 Castro, Fidel, 124
Cat on the Hot Tin Roof (Williams), 413
Cather, Willa, 67–68
 Catholicism. *See* Roman Catholicism
Catt, Carrie Chapman, 68, 293, 325
 Catt, George, 68
Cavalcade of Stars, 155
 Cavitt, Sheridan, 341
 CCC. *See* Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)
 CCP. *See* Chinese Communist Party (CCP)
 CEA. *See* Council of Economic Advisers (CEA)
 Census Bureau, 390
 Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 383
 Center on Conscience and War, 87
 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 247
 Central America. *See* Latin America; *and specific countries*
 Central Committee for COs, 87

- Central Intelligence Agency, 68–69**, 175, 273, 274, 381
- Central Intelligence Group (CIG), 68
- Cerdan, Marcel, 220
- Ceylon, 301
- Chain, Ernst, 299, 300
- Chain gangs, 85, 342
- Chain stores, 69–70**
- Challenging Years* (Wise), 416
- Chamber of Commerce, U.S., 55
- Chamberlain, Neville, 19, 75
- Chambers, Whittaker, 70**, 114, 174, 185, 217, 243, 281, 395, 412
- Chandler, Albert Benjamin**
- “Happy,” 42, **70–71**
- Chandler, Marjorie. *See* Collins, Dorothy
- Chandrasekhar, Subrahmanyan, 32–33
- Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire, 71**, 203, 262
- Chaplinsky, Walter, 71
- Chapman, Leo, 68
- Charlotte’s Web* (White), 411
- Chavez, Dennis, 71–72**
- Chavez-McAdoo Act, 72
- Chemistry, 72–73, 82–83**, 100, **295–96, 346–47**, 383–84.
- See also* Science
- Cheney, Jane, 358
- Chevrolet, 34
- Chiang Kai-shek, 12, 46, 64, 73, 74**, 170, 215, 238–39, 241, 339
- Chiang Kai-shek, Madame, 73–74**
- Chicago. *See* Illinois
- Chicago Daily News*, 206
- Chicago Poems* (Sandburg), 344
- Chicago Sun*, 112, 206, 279
- Chicago Tribune*, 112, 206, 279, 350, 410
- Child labor, 74–75**, 389
- Child psychology, 316–17**, 357–58
- Childers, Ernest, 275
- Children’s literature, 411
- Chile, 158, 342
- China
- aviation in, 73
- in Pearl Buck’s fiction, 60
- Chiang Kai-shek in, 12, 46, 64, **73**, 74, 170, 215, 238–39, 241, 339
- civil war in, 12, 73, 89, 238–39
- Communist Party in, 12, 73, 89, 238–39, 241, 373
- creation of People’s Republic of China (PRC) in, 73
- Currie on, 95
- establishment of People’s Republic of China, 12
- Japan’s invasion of, 12, 19, 73, 170, 201, 455–56
- Korean War and, 12
- Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) in, 59, 73, **238–39**, 241, 264, 296, 332
- Marshall in, 241
- medical missionary in, 207
- Nationalist Party (Guomindang) in, 12, 73, 238, 241
- Nixon’s visit to, 239
- revolution (1911) in, 73
- in United Nations Security Council, 116
- U.S. assistance to, 245
- Zhoukoudianzhen excavation and Peking man fossils in, 298–99
- China As I See It* (Buck), 60
- Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 12, 73, 89, 238–39, 241, 373
- Chloroquine (synthetic quinine), 368–69**
- The Christian Century*, 280
- Christian Nationalist Crusade, 353
- Christian Nationalist Party, 353
- Christian Science Monitor*, 206
- Christianity. *See* Religion
- Christianity and Crisis*, 280
- Christianity and Society*, 280
- Christianity Today*, 127
- Christmas in Connecticut*, 362
- Chronology of events, 433–43
- The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Benedict), 356
- Chrysler Co., 203, 209
- Church of the Brethren, 77, 86, 349
- Churchill, Winston Leonard Spencer**
- Atlantic Charter and, 19, 339
- atomic bombs and, 20
- Balkan Peninsula and, 14
- biography of, **75–76**
- at Cairo Conference, 64
- Casablanca Conference and, 66, 319
- De Gaulle and, 101
- and destroyers for bases program, 103
- Hitler on, 461
- Hopkins and, 183
- “Iron Curtain” speech (“The Sinews of Peace”) by, 75, 89, **194–95**, 519–25
- on Marshall, 240
- at Potsdam Conference, 20, 212, 307–8, 382
- at Quebec Conference, 319
- at Teheran Conference, 20, 371–72
- Willkie and, 414
- World War II strategy of, 56, 75, 194, 242, 255, 339, 420
- at Yalta Conference, 387, 425, 524
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- CIG. *See* Central Intelligence Group (CIG)
- Cigarette smoking and tobacco, 374–75**
- CIO. *See* Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)
- Citizen Kane*, 170, 179, 408–9
- Civic Unity League of Southern California, 251
- Civil Aeronautics Administration, 76, 244
- Civil Air Patrol (CAP), 76**, 148
- Civil disobedience. *See* Nonviolent civil disobedience
- Civil Rights Act, 163, 205
- Civil rights movement, 76–77. See also** National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
- African American nationalism and, 7
- Bethune in, 48–49, 417
- Pearl Buck and, 60
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and, 84–85, 150, 417
- Democratic Party and, 25, 77, 84, 102, 108, 187, 311
- and “double victory” after World War II, 6, 269, 412
- freedom rides in, 84–85
- Lena Horne and, 184
- Humphrey and, 187
- Lyndon Johnson and, 205
- Journey of Reconciliation, 84–85, 342, 417
- Martin Luther King in, 213–14, 325
- Muste in, 150, 266–67
- in New York, 105
- nonviolent direct action in, 84–85, 213, 342
- Randolph and, 324–25, 347
- Franklin Roosevelt and, 5, 76, 108
- Eleanor Roosevelt and, 417
- Rustin in, 85, 150, 342
- Truman and, 5, 77, 102, 108, 129, 187, 232, 348, 381
- Walter White and, 412
- Willkie and, 414
- women in, 417–18
- Civil Service Commission, 231, 301
- Civil Works Administration, 183
- Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), 78, 87, 370
- Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps, 77–78**, 87, 266, 293

- Clark, David Worth, 78**
 Clark, James B., 219
 Clark, Mark, 194, 290
 Clark, Tom, 114, 298
 Clark University, 120
 Clarke, Carter, 395
 Classical music, 27, **264–65**. *See also* Music
 Clay, Lucius D., 13, 48
 Clement, Travers, 355
 Clifford, Clark M., 310
Clift, Montgomery, 78–79, 149
 Clinton, Bill, 98, 385
 Clothing
 bikini, **50–51**
 conspicuous consumption and, 89
 labor unions for, **10–11, 192–93**
 nylon stockings, 22
 rationing during wartime and, 326
 of teenagers, 426
 for women working in factories, 418
 zoot suit, 426, 431
 Cochran, Jacqueline, 417
 Cockran, Bourke, 521
Cocoanut Grove fire, 79
 Code talkers. *See* Navajo code talkers
 Cody, William F. “Buffalo Bill,” 52
 Cohen, Elliot E., 81
 COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program), 182
 Coit, Margaret L., 42
 Coke, Lord Chief Justice, 511
 Cold War. *See also* Anti-Communism; Soviet Union; Spies
 Acheson during, 4
 ANZUS alliance treaty, 11
 Berlin airlift, 13, 20, 48
 Berlin blockade, 20, 47–48, 282
 Churchill’s “Iron Curtain” speech (“The Sinews of Peace”), 75, 89, 194–95, 519–25
 containment policy of U.S. during, 16, 17, **89–90**, 211, 282, 380, 382, 421
 defectors from USSR, 47, 146, 159–60, 217, 291
 and German occupation, 13
 internationalism and, 194
 iron curtain image and, 75, 89, 194–95, 523
 Kennan and, 89, 211, 380, 382
 Morrow on, 264
 Soviet atomic bomb, 33, 89, 187, 304, **356–57**, 373
 Truman Doctrine and, 14, 17, 20, 89, 114, **382–83**, 526–29
 VENONA military intelligence project during, 395–96
- Cole, Lester, 180
 Cole, Nat “King,” 5, 341
College sports, 43, 139, 336, 358–59. *See also* Sports
 Colleges and universities. *See* Higher education; *and specific colleges and universities*
Collier, John, 52, 79–80, 330
Collier’s magazine, 137, 243
Collins, Dorothy, 80
 Colombia, 95
 Colorado, 183
 Colorado River, 168
 Columbia University, 104, 109, 124, 256, 260, 279, 293, 321, 355, 358
 Columbus, Christopher, 257
 Comedy
 Abbot and Costello, 3
 Amos ’n’ Andy radio program, 26
 Lucille Ball, 39–40
 cartoon characters, 22
 W.C. Fields, 136
 Jackie Gleason, 155
 Bob Hope, 126
 Comic books, 168, 237
 Comintern, 59
Commager, Henry Steele, 80–81
Commentary, 24, **81**, 192
 Commerce clause, 122–23, 200, 389
 Commerce Department. *See* Secretary/ies of Commerce
 Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, 115
 Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government, 182
 Committee for Constitutional Government, 296
 Committee of One Million, 352
 Committee of the First Amendment, 231
 Committee to Oppose the Conscription of Women, 266
 Common Market, 242
 Commonwealth Southern Corporation, 414
 Communicable Disease Center, 247
 Communism. *See also* Cold War; Communist Party *headings*
 containment of, 16, 17, **89–90**, 211, 282, 380, 382, 421
 in Eastern Europe, 20, 69, 523
 Hearst on, 170
 iron curtain image for, 75, 89, 194–95, 523
 Truman on, 532–33
The Communist, 82
- Communist Manifesto* (Marx and Engels), 292
 Communist Party. *See also* Cold War; Containment
 in Canada, 159
 Chinese Communist Party, 12, 73, 89, 238–39, 241, 373
 Churchill on, 523–24
 in Eastern Europe, 523
 in France, 523
 in Germany, 354, 492, 523
 in Italy, 16, 69, 523
 in USSR, 360
Communist Party (CPUSA)
 Bentley as member of, 47
 Browder as leader of, 59–60, 82, 310
 Calomiris as FBI undercover informant in, 64–65
 Chambers as member of, 70
 entertainers as current or former members of, 25, 179, 180
 Foster as leader of, 82
 historians as members of, 175
 Hoover’s fears about, 354
 labor unions and, 82, 333, 371, 390
 Loyalty Review Board and, 231–32
 newspapers of, 70, 82, 354, 407
 in 1930s and 1940s summarized, 82
 Rosenbergs as members of, 339, 340
 Rustin and, 342
 Smith Act used to prosecute members of, 354
 as target of HUAC, 184
 trial of leaders of, 354
 Richard Wright as member of, 423
 Communist Political Association (CPA), 60, 82
 Community Service Organization, 251
 Compton, Arthur Holly, 173, 240, 345, 346
 Computers, 351, **390**, 398, 432
 Comstock, Anthony, 51–52
 Comstock Act, 51–52
Conant, James Bryant, 82–83
 Concentration camps. *See* Holocaust
 Conference of Studio Unions (CSU), 327–28
 Confucius, 308
 Congress. *See also specific members of Congress; and specific laws*
 airships and, 54
 Bilbo as controversial member of, 51
 censure of McCarthy by, 67, 215, 246, 261
 elections of 1942 for, 85–86, 102, 332

- elections of 1946 for, 86, 102, 371
elections of 1950 for, 111
filibusters in, 66, 129, 168, 232, 258
formal apology to Japanese
 American detainees by, 216
lame duck amendment and, 281
Legislative Reorganization Act and, 255
Madame Chiang Kai-shek's speech before, 73
members of, on active duty in
 World War II, 205
Native American in, 330
Rayburn as leader in, 327
regulation of interstate commerce by, 365, 389
regulation of wages and hours by, 365, 389
Roosevelt's war message (1941) to, 16, 297, 458–59
Taft as leader in, 215, 232, 241, 258, 272
term limits for, 385
Truman and, 8, 105, 311
Truman Doctrine and, 526–29
women in, 65–66, 162, 325, 353, 416
- Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 83–84**
Communist Party (CPUSA) and, 82
founding of, 23, 83, 171, 225
gambling by members of, 94
Italian Americans in, 196
Lewis as president and cofounder of, 83, 220, 225, 271
merger between AFL and, 24
Murray as president of, 83–84
no-strike pledge during wartime by, 271
Operation Dixie and, 84
Political Action Committee (PAC) of, 11, 84, 172, 310
steel strike (1946) and, 362
strikes by, 83, 106, 220, 361, 362
Taft-Hartley Act and, 83
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 84–85**, 150, 417
Congressional elections of 1936, 102
Congressional elections of 1938, 103
Congressional elections of 1942, 85–86, 102, 222, 332
Congressional elections of 1946, 86, 102, 224, 371
Congressional elections of 1950, 111
Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander (Merton), 250
Conn, Billy, 230, 373
Connally Resolution, 204
- Connecticut, agriculture in, 8
Connor, Howard, 276
Conquistador (MacLeish), 236
Conscientious objection, 53, **77–78**, **86–87**, 266, 293, 349.
 See also Pacifism
Conscription. *See* Draft
Conservation, 87–88, 228, 261
Conspicuous consumption, 88–89
Constitutional amendments. *See*
 specific amendments
Construction workers, 222
Consumerism, 88–89
Containment, 16, 17, 89–90, 211, 282, 380, 382, 421. *See also*
 Cold War; Truman Doctrine
Convention for the Definition of Aggression (1933), 514
Coolidge, Calvin, 165, 182, 246, 281, 364, 365
Cooper, Charles, 43
Cooper, James Fenimore, 87
Cooper, John Sherman, 41
Copland, Aaron, 90–91, 265
Coplon, Judith, 91
Coral Sea, Battle of, 91–92, 251
CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), **84–85**, 150, 417
Corn borer, 8
Corn production, 7, 8, 119. *See also*
 Agriculture
Corn stunt disease, 92
Cornell University, 119, 135–36
Cornwell, John, 305
Corregidor, 401, 417
Correll, Charles, 26
Cortisone, 92–93
Cosmopolitan, 420
Costello, Louis Francis, 3
Cotton production, 119. *See also*
 Agriculture
Coughlin, Father Charles, 24, 207, 219, 323, 353, 415
Council of Economic Advisers (CEA), 125
The Country Girl, 94
Country Squire in the White House (Flynn), 137
Court cases. *See* Supreme Court; and
 specific cases
The Courtship of Andy Hardy, 329
Cover Girl, 30
Cowan, Ruth E., 206
Cowboys. *See* Western films
Cowley, Malcolm, 133
Cox, James M., 279
Cox v. New Hampshire, 186, 203
Coxey, Jacob Secher, 93
- CPA. *See* Communist Political Association (CPA)
CPS camps. *See* Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps
CPUSA. *See* Communist Party (CPUSA)
Crandall v. Nevada, 122
Crawford, Joan, 179
Crenna, Richard, 30
Crick, Francis, 72, 261, 295
Crime, 94. *See also* Prisons; Spies;
 War criminals
 by African Americans, 94
 doctors' arrests for performing abortions, 3–4
 gambling, 94, 363
 homosexuality as, 151, 180–81
 juvenile delinquency, 94, 207–8, 419, 422, 427
 murders, 94
 notorious criminals in Alcatraz, 9
 prostitution, 94, 313–14
 rape, 94
 Sleepy Lagoon Case, 352
 theft, 3
Crisler, Fritz, 139
Crosby, Bing, 12, 94, 126, 179
The Cross and the Flag, 352
Crossfire, 179
The Crucible (Miller), 253
CSU. *See* Conference of Studio Unions (CSU)
Cuba, 124, 158, 170
Cuban Americans, 173, 174
Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, 114
Cummings, Homer, 9
Cup of Gold (Steinbeck), 362
Currie, Lauchlin, 94–95, 395
Curry, John F., 76
Curti, Merle Eugene, 95–96
Curtiss-Wright Corporation, 156
Custodial Detention Index, 134
Cutting, Bronson M., 72
Cyclotron, 120
Czechoslovakia
 Communist coup in, 69, 282
 Communist Party in, 523
 Nazi takeover of, 209–10, 277, 504–5
- D-Day**, 13, 20, 64, **99–100**, 124, 170, 256, **289–90**, 372, 379
Daily Worker, 70, 82, 354, 407, 423
Daley, Richard J., 32
Dali, Salvador, 31
Dallas television program, 329
Damigella, Thomas, 384
Dams, 30, 67, **182–83**, 209

- Dances. *See* Jitterbug
- D'Aquino, Felipe, 376
- DAR. *See* Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR)
- Darby, Fred, 389
- Dark Passage*, 54
- Darlan, Jean François**, 97, 290
- Dartmouth College, 145
- Darwin, Charles, 128, 137, 214, 244, 299, 316, 346
- Dasch, George J., 278
- DaSilva, Howard, 328
- Daughters of Bilitis, 151
- Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), 27
- Daves, Delmar, 54
- David Copperfield* (film), 136
- Davidson, Donald, 407
- Davis, Agatha, 98
- Davis, Benjamin J., 354
- Davis, Benjamin Oliver, Jr.**, 97–98, 384–85
- Davis, Benjamin Oliver, Sr.**, 97, 98
- Davis, Bette**, 98–99, 179
- Davis, Elmer, 286
- Davis, Herbert, 137
- Davis, Sylvester, 28–29
- Davis Dam, 183
- Dawes Act, 80
- Day, Edmund, 119
- DDT**, 8, 100, 119, 346, 368
- De Gaulle, Charles**, 66, 97, 100–1, 290, 402
- De Graff, Robert Fair, 237
- De Kooning, Willem, 31
- De Weldon, Felix W., 198
- Deafness, 211, 378
- Dean, James, 34
- Dear Adolf*, 45
- Death Comes for the Archbishop* (Cather), 67
- Death of a Salesman* (Miller), 59, 253
- Debt, national, 21
- Declaration of Human Rights**, 267, 338, 390–91, 538–39, 542
- Declaration of the United Nations, 387
- Decolonization, 19, 301
- Defend American by Aiding the Allies, 363
- Defense Department. *See also* Secretary/ies of Defense; War Department
- creation of, 69, 273
- Forrestal as secretary of defense, 141
- Lindbergh as consultant to, 229
- physics research and, 304
- purpose of, 274
- Defense industries
- Cold War and, 119
- in Detroit, 103–4
- end of discrimination in, 5, 6, 129, 324–25, 342, 347–48
- Japanese Americans in, 202
- manufacturing of B-29 aircraft to carry atomic bombs, 126
- manufacturing of B-29 Superfortress, 38
- Nazi saboteurs and, 278
- Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District**, 101
- Delightful Journey* (Goldwater), 156
- Dell, Floyd, 252
- Dellinger, David, 293
- Demaret, Jimmy, 359
- DeMille, Cecil B., 56
- Democracy, Eleanor Roosevelt on, 539–42
- Democratic Party**, 102. *See also* Presidential election *headings*; and *specific Democratic party members*
- African Americans in, 5, 76, 310, 311
- Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and, 25
- in Arizona, 162
- in Chicago, 32
- civil rights and, 25, 77, 84, 102, 108, 187, 311, 381
- Congressional elections of 1942 and, 85, 102
- Congressional elections of 1946 and, 86, 102, 371
- Dixiecrats and, 25, 108–9, 272, 311, 381
- Fair Deal and, 102, 381
- labor unions and, 11, 83, 102, 192, 220, 221, 310, 311, 371
- leaders of, 32, 40–41, 111, 130–31, 159, 162, 165, 187, 205, 232
- in Minnesota, 187
- in Missouri, 165
- NAACP and, 269, 412
- New Deal and, 102, 332
- in New Mexico, 71–72
- Roosevelt and, 86, 102
- southern Democrats, 25, 85, 102, 108–9, 272, 311, 381
- states' rights and, 77
- televised coverage of 1948 convention of, 206
- Truman and, 86, 381
- women and, 111, 197
- Dempsey, Miles, 124
- Deng-Carter agreement, 73
- Denmark, 21, 277, 282, 506
- Dennis, Eugene, 354
- Dennis v. United States*, 368, 397
- Department stores, 40, 259, 306
- Depression. *See* Great Depression
- Descartes, René, 315
- The Descent of Man* (Darwin), 214
- Desegregation. *See also* Segregation of blood supply for military, 98
- in college sports, 43
- of defense industries, 5, 6, 129, 324–25, 342, 347–48
- of interstate travel, 84–85, 342, 348, 418
- of military, 48–49, 77, 98, 270, 272, 348, 385, 412, 418
- of professional baseball, 42, 43, 71, 109, 334–35, 359
- of professional basketball, 44
- of professional football, 359
- of public accommodations, 84
- of schools, 7, 23, 101, 112, 124, 143, 248, 251, 270, 342, 348, 406, 412
- YWCA and, 418
- Destroyers for bases**, 21, 30, 103, 195, 215, 284, 309, 368
- Detroit race riot of 1943, 103–4**, 208
- Deutsch, Albert, 247, 249
- “The Devil and Daniel Webster” (Benét), 45
- Dewey, John**, 80, 95, 104–5, 121, 303, 317
- Dewey, Thomas Edmund**
- biography of, 105–6
- as governor of New York, 105, 115, 298
- Kaltenborn's mistaken announcement of victory of, in 1948 presidential election, 209
- Landon and, 222–23
- Peekskill Riot of 1949 and, 298
- and presidential election of 1940, 105, 308, 309, 332
- in presidential election of 1944, 57, 65, 105, 310, 332, 339
- in presidential election of 1948, 105, 115, 209, 232, 311, 332, 353, 380, 381
- DeWitt, John L., 202, 216
- Diabetes, 169
- Diarrhea, 169
- Diaz, José, 352
- Dickmann, Bernard F., 165
- Dickstein, Samuel, 184
- Didrikson, Babe. *See* Zaharias, Mildred Didrikson “Babe”
- Dies, Martin**, 106, 184, 398, 399

- Dies Committee, 367–68
 Dietrich, Marlene, 126
DiMaggio, Joseph, 42, **106–7**, 109
 Diplomats, 34, 55, 167, 211–12, 233, 409
 Disabilities, 211, 378
 Disciples of Christ, 352
 Discrimination. *See also* Anti-Semitism; Segregation
 against African American baseball players, 109, 334–35
 in employment against African Americans, 4–5, 84, 129
 in employment against Jews, 18
 end of, in defense industries, 5, 6, 129, 324–25, 342, 347–48
 Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) and, 5, 6, 51, 76, 102, **129–30**, 172, 324–25, 418
 in interstate travel, 84–85, 418
 in military, 5, 77, 97, 98
 Truman’s executive order on employment in executive branch and federal government, 77
 Disease. *See* Health and disease
Disney, Walter Elias “Walt,” **107–8**, 179
 Divine, Father. *See* “Father Divine” (George Baker)
Divorce, **239–40**
Dixiecrats, 25, **108–9**, 272, 311, 381
 Dmytryk, Edward, 180
 DNA, 72, 295
Dobrzhansky, Feodosy Grigrevich (Theodoius), **109–10**, 346, 423
Doby, Lawrence Eugene, **109**, 294
 “Doc Mellhorn and the Pearly Gates” (Benét), 45
 DoD. *See* Defense Department
Dodge, Henry Chee, **110**
 Doenitz, Karl, 392
Dogs
 Fala as Roosevelt’s dog, **130**, 144, 405
 in World War II, **110**
 Dönitz, Karl, 283
 Donovan, William, 285–86
 Doolittle, James H., 36, 251
 Doppler effect, 49–50
 Dorsey, George and Mae Murray, 403–4
 Dorsey, Tommy, 22, 351
 Dorsey (Jimmy) Band, 341
 Dos Passos, John, 252
Double Indemnity, 179, 361–62
Doughgirls, 30, 404
Douglas, Helen Gahagan, **111**, 281
 Douglas, Lewis W., 162
 Douglas, Melvyn, 111
Douglas, Paul Howard, 32, **111–12**
Douglas, William Orville, 25, 53, **112**, 123, 365
 Douglass, Frederick, 412
 Douglass, Lewis, 241
 Doyle, Bernard, 383
Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, 239, 408
 Draft, 21, 82, 87, 119, 196, 266, 276, 284, 293, 309, **348–49**, 370
Dragon Seed (Buck), 60
 Drama. *See* Broadway; Playwrights; *and specific plays*
Dream Girl, 80
Drug abuse, **112–13**
 Drury, Newton, 273
 Dubinsky, David, 192–93
DuBois, William Edward Burghardt, 104, **113–14**, 269, 412
 Due process clause, 53
Duggan, Laurence, **114–15**, 243
 Duke University, 144–45
Dulles, John Foster, **115**
Dumbarton Oaks Conference, 62, **116**, 176
 Duncan, Frank, 123
 Duquesne University, 43
 Durocher, Leo, 71
 Durr, Virginia, 417
Dusk of Dawn (DuBois), 113
Dynamo (Flanagan), 137
 Dyskstra, Clarence, 349

E = mc², 137, 188
 Earl, Harley, 34
 Earth Resources Observation Systems (EROS) Program, 261
East Asia, **12–13**, 19, 72, 200, 201, 455–56. *See also specific countries*
 East Germany. *See* Germany
East of Eden (Steinbeck), 363
 Eastern Europe
 communism in, 20, 69, 360, 382, 523
 fall of communism in, 20, 90
 Marshall Plan and, 360, 382
 Wallace on, 313
 Warsaw Pact and, 20
 Yalta Conference and, 101, 360, 420, 425, 480–81
Eastern Orthodox Christianity, **117–18**
 Eastman, Max, 252
 Eberhard Faber Co., 40
 Eberstadt, Ferdinand, 141
Ebony magazine, **118**, 321, 322
 Eccles, Marriner, 95
 Eckert, J. Presper, 390
 Economic Cooperation Act. *See* Marshall Plan
 Economic Cooperation
 Administration, 167, 382
Economics and the Public Purpose (Galbraith), 149
 Economists, 94–95, 111–12, 149, 398
Economy, **118–19**. *See also* Employment; Great Depression; Unemployment
 Bretton Woods Conference on, **57**, 95
 and Council of Economic Advisers (CEA), 125
 Currie as economic adviser, **94–95**
 and Employment Act of 1946, **125**
 and Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1978, 125
 gross domestic product, 118
 gross national product, 21
 income statistics, 21, 119
 inflation and, 118, **191**
 national debt and, 21
 president’s *Economic Report*, 125
 price controls and, 191, 284, 389, **400**
 taxation and, 41, 370
 in U.S. postwar period, 86
 wages and, 21, 111, 119, 221, 271, 387, 389, 418–19
 Willkie on, 476
 Ecuador, 158
 Eden, Anthony, 258–59
 Edison, Thomas, 372
Education. *See also* Higher education
 of African Americans, 5–6, 48, 61–62, 120
 of blind and deaf students, 211
 desegregation of schools, 7, 23, 101, 112, 124, 143, 248, 251, 270, 342, 348, 406, 412
 Dewey and, 80, **104–5**, 121, 303, 317
 flag salute in schools, 200, 203, 409–10
 of Hispanic Americans, 101, 248, 251
 kindergarten, 120–21
 literacy rate, 21
 preschool education, 120–21
 primary education, 120–21
 religion and public schools, 189–90, 406
 science and mathematics instruction, 122
 secondary education, 82, 121–22

- Educators, 48–49, 104–5, 207
 Edwards, Jonathan, 254
Edwards v. California, 122–23, 262
 Egypt
 Arab-Israeli War and, 388
 Cairo Conference in, 64
 Suez Canal Zone in, 56, 124, 255, 337
 World War II and, 56, 132, 255
 Eichmann, Adolf, 29
Einstein, Albert
 biography of, 123–24
 on education, 121
 FBI investigation of, 134
 nonstatic universe and, 50
 on nuclear fission discovered by
 Nazi Germany, 237, 345
 opposition to atomic bomb by, 41, 135, 188, 296, 304, 321, 374
 and Palestine as Jewish homeland, 430
 at Princeton University, 120, 304
 relativity theory of, 33, 123–24, 135, 137, 188
 von Neumann and, 398
Eisenhower, Dwight David
 Battle of the Bulge and, 60–61, 124
 biography of, 124–25
 and bombing of German oil fields, 36
 Bradley and, 56, 124
 Bricker amendment and, 58
 D-Day invasion and, 13, 99, 124, 256
 Darlan and, 97
 De Gaulle and, 101
 frustrations during career of, 98
 Iwo Jima monument dedicated by, 198–99
 Mediterranean campaign and, 64, 124
 as military governor of postwar
 Germany, 13
 Montgomery and, 256
 NATO and, 124
 Operation Torch and, 124, 290–91
 presidency of, 27, 46, 115, 124, 281
 as president of Columbia
 University, 124
 and presidential election of 1948, 25, 32, 222–23, 310
 and presidential elections of 1952
 and 1956, 63, 105, 124, 246, 332, 363, 406
 on Spam, 357
 and surrender of Germany, 392
 Eisenhower, Milton, 202
 Eisler, Gerhardt, 184, 242, 243
 Eisler, Hanns, 184
 Ekirch, Arthur A., Jr., 78
 El Salvador, 342
 Eldridge, Florence, 239
 Elections. *See* Congressional
 elections; Primary elections;
 and Presidential election
 headings
 Electricity, 183, 241, 281, 321
 Electron microscope, 22
 Eliot, T.S., 137, 308
 Elitcher, Max, 340
 Elizabeth, Queen, 19
 Elliott, Wild Bill, 168
 Ellis, Fred, 354
 Ellsworth Air Force Base, 67
 Embryology, 256
 Emergency Fleet Corporation, 111
 Emergency Price Control Act, 400
 Emergency Rescue Committee, 145–46
 Emmy Awards, 329
 Employment. *See also*
 Discrimination; Labor unions;
 Manufacturing; Wages
 of African Americans, 4–5, 118, 119, 129, 221–22
 child labor, 74–75, 389
 for construction of Hoover Dam, 183
 of construction workers, 222
 in defense industries, 5, 6, 129, 324–25, 342, 347–48
 Fair Employment Practices
 Committee (FEPC), 5, 6, 51, 76, 102, 129–30, 172, 324–25, 418
 of farmworkers, 221
 forty-hour work week, 21
 of Hispanic Americans, 173–74, 250
 of Italian Americans, 196
 of landscapers, 222
 loyalty program for federal
 employees, 231–32
 nonunion jobs, 221–22
 Truman's executive order on
 employment in executive
 branch and federal
 government, 77
 wages of manufacturing workers,
 21, 119, 271, 418–19
 of women, 119, 197, 221–22, 240, 418–19, 422
Employment Act of 1946, 125
 End Poverty in California (EPIC)
 program, 399
Engel v. Vitale, 406
 Engels, Friedrich, 292, 356
 Engineering, 30–31, 253–54, 350–51, 397–98
 England. *See* United Kingdom
 ENIAC, 390, 398
Enola Gay, 125–26
Entertainers. *See also* Broadway;
 Comedy; Hollywood actors;
 Hollywood film; Music; Radio;
 Television; and specific
 entertainers
 African American entertainers, 5, 127, 184
 of armed forces during World War
 II, 35, 94, 126–27, 239
 blacklisting of, 179, 180, 328
 Hollywood actors, 178–79
 HUAC investigation of and
 allegations of Communist
 leanings against, 25, 179, 180, 231, 239
 in movies, 178–79
 strikes in entertainment industry,
 107, 179, 180
 as World War II soldiers, 126–27, 149, 178–79
 Entomology, 214
 Environmental Protection Agency, 100
 EPIC. *See* End Poverty in California
 (EPIC) program
 Equal rights amendment, 66, 147, 300
Erie Railroad v. Tompkins, 330
 EROS. *See* Earth Resources
 Observation Systems (EROS)
 Program
Errand into the Wilderness (Miller), 254
 Espionage. *See* Spies
 Establishment clause of First
 Amendment, 189–90
 Estonia, 360, 500
 Estrada, Thomas, 248
 Ethnic and racial groups. *See* African
 Americans; Desegregation;
 Discrimination; Hispanic
 Americans; Japanese
 Americans; Mexican
 Americans; Native Americans;
 Segregation
 Euclid, 303
 EUREKA meeting, 64
 Europe. *See* Eastern Europe; Marshall
 Plan; NATO (North Atlantic
 Treaty Organization); World
 War II; and specific countries
Europe in the Spring (Luce), 233
 European Food Distribution
 Committee, 181
 European Recovery Program. *See*
 Marshall Plan

- Evangelicalism**, 3–4, **127–28**, 160–161, 315, 331, 496
- Evans, Luther Harris**, **128**
- Everglades National Park, 178
- Eversharp Inc., 40
- Evolution and Genetics of Population* (Wright), 424
- Evolutionary biology**, **128**, 214, 244, 346. *See also* Biology
- The Executioner's Song* (Mailer), 237
- Executions
of German saboteurs, 278
of Nuremberg defendants, 283
of Rosenbergs, 182, 339, 340
of Sacco and Vanzetti, 252
- Existentialism, 302–3, 423
- Exodus*, 180
- Factories. *See* Manufacturing
- Fair Deal, 62, 65, 102, 272, 296, 310, 381, 401
- Fair Employment Practices Commission, 72, 129
- Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC)**, 5, 6, 51, 76, 102, **129–30**, 172, 324–25, 418
- Fair Labor Standards Act, 21, 74, 200, 389
- Fairbanks, Douglas, Jr., 126
- Fairless, Benjamin F., 362
- Faith Is the Answer* (Peale), 296
- Faithful in My Fashion*, 329
- Fala**, **130**, 144, 405
- The Fall of the City* (MacLeish), 236
- Falwell, Jerry, 127
- Fanfare for the Common Man* (Copland), 90, 265
- Fantasia*, 107
- A Farewell to Arms* (Hemingway), 170, 253
- Farley, James A.**, **130–31**
- Farm Administration, 257
- Farm Credit Administration, 257
- Farm Security Administration, 111
- Farmer, James, 84
- Farming. *See* Agriculture
- Farnsworth, Philo, 372
- Farrakhan, Louis, 269
- Farrand, Max**, **131**, 544
- Fascist Italy**, **131–32**
- “Father Divine” (George Baker)**, **132–33**
- Faulkner, William Cuthbert**, 22, 31, **133**, 303, 411
- Fay, Sidney B., 544
- FBI. *See* Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
- FBN. *See* Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN)
- The Fear of Freedom* (Biddle), 49
- Federal Alcohol Administration, 363
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)**, **133–34**. *See also* Hoover, J. Edgar
- American Civil Liberties Union and, 134
- anti-Communism and, 182
- and Brandenburg’s indictment for theft, 3
- Pearl Buck under surveillance by, 60
- Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) of, 182
- Custodial Detention Index and, 134
- Dies investigated by, 106
- enemy aliens and, 152, 182
- fingerprinting of aliens by, 300
- German saboteurs and, 278
- Gouzenko defection and, 159
- Hoover as director of, 134, 182
- informants for, 64–65, 243, 328
- investigations of alleged Japanese espionage by, 202
- investigations of alleged Soviet espionage by, 47, 60, 91, 114, 146, 182, 217
- Loyalty Review Board and, 231
- NAACP and, 134
- Nation of Islam and, 268–69
- in 1960s, 182
- Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and, 286
- Roosevelt and, 134, 339
- Smith Act and, 367
- Special Intelligence Service of, 134
- Wechsler and, 407–8
- Welles and, 409
- and Harry White as security risk, 411–12
- wiretapping by, 134
- Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN), 113
- Federal Bureau of Prisons, 9, 312
- Federal Council of Churches, 115, 296
- Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 183
- Federal Farm Board, 257, 329
- Federal government. *See* Congress; Supreme Court; *specific federal agencies*; and *specific presidents and vice presidents*
- Federal Highway Act (1956), 159
- Federal Highway Administration, 162
- Federal Housing Administration (FHA), 328, 329
- Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), 13. *See also* Germany
- Federal Reserve Board, 95, 191
- Federal Reserve System, 125
- Federal Theater Project (FTP), 137, 184
- Federal Trade Commission, 375
- Federal Writers’ Project, 341
- Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, 340
- Feklisov, Alexander, 340
- Feller, Bob, 42, 335
- Fellowship* magazine, 293
- Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), 84, 87, 266–67, 293, 342
- Fellowship of Socialist Christians, 280
- FEPC. *See* Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC)
- Ferguson, Robert M., 162
- Fermi, Enrico**, 120, **134–35**, 173, 187, 188, 268, 304, 345, 358, 373
- Feynman, Richard Phillips**, 83, 120, **135–36**, 321
- FHA. *See* Federal Housing Administration (FHA)
- Fiction. *See* Literature; and *specific authors and titles*
- Fiedler, Leslie, 24, 81
- Field, Marshall, 407
- Field, Marshall III, 279
- Field, Noel, 243
- Fields, W.C.**, **136**
- Fields for President* (Fields), 136
- Fifield, James, 297
- Fighting words, 71, 262
- Filibusters, 66, 129, 168, 232, 258
- Filipino Trade Act, 302
- Film noir, 179, 361–62
- Films. *See also* Hollywood actors; Hollywood film; and *specific movies*
- animated film, 107–8, 179
- military training films, 107, 149, 327
- on World War II, 404–5
- Finian’s Rainbow*, 59
- Finkelstein, Louis, 207, 430
- Finland, Soviet invasion of, 20, 78, 414–15, 461
- Firebird Suite* (Stravinsky), 366
- Fires
- Cocoanut Grove fire in Boston, **79**
- forest fires, 87–88
- Natchez, Miss., dance hall fire, 22
- Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire, 401
- Fireside chats**, **136**, 323
- Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., 148

- First Amendment
 antimiscegenation laws and, 28–29
 Black on, 112, 143
 establishment clause of, 189–90
 fighting words and, 71, 262
 Frankfurter on, 143
 freedom of association, 180
 freedom of speech, 186, 200, 409–10
 freedom of the press, 112, 279
 Roman Catholicism and, 263
- Fish, Hamilton, 184
- Fisher, Ronald A., 423
- Fitch, Aubrey, 91
- Fitin, Pavel, 47
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 22
- Flag salute, 200, 203, 409–10
- Flagler, Henry, 35
- Flanagan, Hallie Mae Ferguson, 137**
- Fleming, Alexander, 299, 300
- Fletcher, Jack, 91–92
- Flood Control Act, 30, 67
- Florey, Howard, 299, 300
- Florida governors, 63, 178
- Flynn, John T., 137–38, 219**
- Focus* (Miller), 253
- Folk songs, 344
- Follies*, 80, 136
- Follow the Girls*, 59
- Fonda, Henry, 127, 178
- Foner, Philip S., 175
- Food and diet**
 consumption patterns for food, 138–39
 oleomargarine, 288
 prices of food, 21, 138, 400
 rationing of food, 326, 400
 restaurant meals, 138
 Spam, 357
 Victory Gardens and, 326
 vitamins, 168
 world food supplies in postwar period, 181
- Football**
 college football, 139, 336, 358–59
 desegregation of professional football, 359
 professional football, 22, 140, 359
- FOR. *See* Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR)
- For Americans Only* (Pettengill), 296
- For Whom the Bell Tolls* (Hemingway), 22, 170
- Ford, E.B., 423
- Ford, Gerald Rudolph, 140–41, 330, 377**
- Ford, Glenn, 178
- Ford, Henry, 21, 206, 229, 237, 253, 301, 353, 366
- Ford automobile, 34, 88, 144
- Ford Foundation, 301
- Ford Motor Company, 83, 88, 119, 202, 209, 336, 386
- Foreign policy. *See also* Cold War; Isolationism; Marshall Plan; State Department; Truman Doctrine; United Kingdom; USSR; *and specific countries*
 Arab world–U.S. relations, 17–18
 Australia–U.S. relations, 11–12
 East Asia–U.S. relations, 12–13
 Germany–U.S. relations, 13–14
 Greece–U.S. relations, 14, 89, 117
 Hoover on, 181
 internationalism and, 147, 193–94, 393
 isolationism and, 195–96
 Israel–U.S. relations, 14–15, 17
 Italy–U.S. relations, 15–16
 Japan–U.S. relations, 16–17
 United Kingdom–U.S. relations, 19–20
 USSR–U.S. relations, 20–21
- Foreign Relations* (Hughes), 186
- Forestel, Herbert N., 363
- Forest Service, 87–88
- Formosa. *See* Taiwan
- Forrestal, James Vincent, 141**
- Fortune* magazine, 149, 233, 236
- Foster, J.B., 341
- Foster, William Z., 82, 354
- Four freedoms, 141–42, 405, 475–76**
- Four Point program, 141, 380–81, 382
- Four Power Declaration, 186, 259
- Fourteen Points, 25, 142, 193, 475
- Fourteenth Amendment, 53, 122–23, 200, 248, 322, 349–50
- Fourth Amendment, 143
- Foxx, Jimmy, 10
- France. *See also* D-Day; *and specific leaders*
 Algerian crisis and, 101
 anti-Semitism in, 29
 Blum government in, 449
 Brussels Treaty and, 282
 Casablanca Conference and, 66
 colonies of, 301, 302, 412
 Communist Party in, 523
 De Gaulle in, 66, 97, 100–1
 economy of, 241, 509–10
 French Resistance during World War II, 100–1
 Fry's rescue mission to, 145–46
 German occupation zone administered by, 47–48, 307, 425, 479
- Marshall Plan and, 241
- Munich Pact and, 504
- NATO and, 282
- navy of, 97
- in United Nations Security Council, 116
- Vichy government of, 29, 97, 101, 145–46, 290
- in World War II, 13, 21, 56, 75, 97, 99–100, 103, 195, 201, 255, 277, 289–90, 350, 420, 448
- Franco, Francisco, 82, 132, 142–43, 170**
- Frank, Hans, 498, 508–9
- Frankfurt School, 191, 242
- Frankfurter, Felix, 143–44, 224, 228, 365, 397, 410**
- Franklin, Benjamin, 346
- Franklin, John Hope, 144–45
- Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, 144**
- Frazer, Joseph W., 209
- Fredendall, Lloyd, 474
- Freedom
 of association, 180
 of the press, 112, 279
 Eleanor Roosevelt on, 539–42
 of speech, 186, 200, 262, 298, 409–10
- Freedom House, 342
- Freedom rides, 84–85
- French Resistance, 100–1
- Frescoes for Mr. Rockefeller* (MacLeish), 236
- Freud, Anna, 317
- Freud, Sigmund, 31, 317, 358
- FRG. *See* Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)
- Frick, Ford, 335
- Fricke, Charles W., 352
- Friedeburg, Hans-Georg von, 392
- Froboese, George, 153
- From Here to Eternity*, 79, 329
- From Slavery to Freedom*** (Franklin and Moss), 144–45
- Frost, Robert, 145**
- Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847–1852* (Nevins), 279
- Fry, Varian, 145–46**
- FTP. *See* Federal Theater Project (FTP)
- Fuchs, Klaus, 47, 146–47, 159, 188, 340, 395**
- Fugitives, 407
- Der Fuhrer's Face*, 107
- Fulbright, J. William, 66, 147, 387**
- Fulbright Act, 147
- Fulbright Exchange Program, 147
- Fuldheim, Dorothy, 147–48**

- Fuldheim, Milton H., 147
 Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1978, 125
 Fuller, Charles, 315
Fuller, Lewis Burwell, 318
Fulton, Bain Ecarius “Shorty,” 148
 Fulton Flying Service, 148
 Fundamentalism. *See* Evangelicalism
 Funicello, Annette, 50
 Funk (defendant at Nuremberg Trials), 505, 509
- Gable, Clark, 127, 149, 178, 179**
 Gabrielson, Guy, 245
 Gagnon, Rene A., 198
 Gahagan, Helen. *See* Douglas, Helen Gahagan
 Gainford, George, 335
Galbraith, John Kenneth, 149
 Gambling, 94, 363
 Game theory, 398
 Gamow, George, 32, 50
Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand, 84, 149–50, 213, 325
Gandhi on Non-violence (Merton), 250
 GAP. *See* Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (GAP)
 Garland, Judy, 179, 285
 Garner, John Nance, 327, 339
 Garson, Greer, 149, 179
 Garvey, Marcus, 6, 324
Gaston, Arthur George, 150–51
 Gates, John, 354
Gays and lesbians, 151–52
 equal rights for, 151, 181
 Hollywood actors as, 79
 Kinsey’s research on, 151
 laws against homosexuality, 151, 180–81
 military and, 151, 394
 in Nazi Germany, 180–81, 278
 Rustin’s homosexuality, 342
 Welles’s homosexuality, 409
 Tennessee Williams’ homosexuality, 413
 GDP. *See* Gross domestic product (GDP)
 GDR. *See* German Democratic Republic (GDR)
 Geddes, Donald P., 357
 Geigy (J.R.) Chemical, 7, 100
 Gene model, 72
General Education in a Free Society, 82, 122
 General Federation of Women’s Clubs, 80
 General Motors (GM), 34, 119, 209, 333, 386
- Genetics, 109–10, 120, 128, 244, 256, 260–61, 423–24. *See also* Biology
 Genetics Society of America, 110
 Geneva Protocol (1924) for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, 512–13
Gentleman’s Agreement, 24, 179, 207
 Geological Survey, U.S., 261
 George II, King of Greece, 14
 George VI, King of United Kingdom, 19
- Georgia
 defense industries in, 38
 Dixiecrats and, 108
 forests in, 87
 Little White House in Warm Springs, 405–6
 Walton County, Ga., lynching of 1946, 234, **403–4**
- German aliens, 152**
German-American Bund, 30, 106, 152–53, 154, 217–18
German Americans, 153–54, 217–18
 German Democratic Republic (GDR), 13. *See also* Germany
Germany. See also Nazi Germany; World War II
 anti-Semitism in, 68, 265, 277–78, 496–502
 Berlin airlift in, 13, 20, 48
 Berlin blockade, 20, 47–48, 282
 Berlin Wall in, 195
 Communist Party in, 354, 492, 523
 economy of, in 1947, 181–82
 economy of West Germany, 241
 Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), 13
 German Democratic Republic (GDR), 13
 Hitler as chancellor of German Republic, 176, 491–93
 Marshall Plan and, 13, 20
 Morgenthau Plan for, 257, 319, 365
 Nazi Party in, 489–93
 Nuremberg Trials for war criminals from, 13, 49, 200, **283–84, 350, 485–518**
 occupation zones in postwar Germany, 13, 47, 307, 319, 420, 425, 479, 523
 relations between U.S. and summarized, 13–14, 466–71
 reparations by, 307, 479–80
 surrender of, in World War II, 13, 392
 surrender terms for, in Yalta agreement, 223, 479–80
- trade unions in, 494–95
 Weimar Constitution of, 513
 Gerrymandering, 406
 Gershwin, George, 90
 Gesell, Arnold, 317
 “Get Your Kicks on Route 66,” 341
 Ghana, 342
GI Bill of Rights, 5, 16, 120, 122, 154, 246, 251, 328
 GI Finances Act, 28
 Gibson, Jo An, 417
 Gibson, John, 154
Gibson, Josh, 43, 155
 Gillars, Mildred, 36–37
 Gilligan, John J., 225
 Gillis, Willie, 336
 Gimbel’s department store, 40, 259
 Giraud, Henri, 66, 97, 101, 290, 512
Glamour, 419
 Glass, Carter, 102
The Glass Menagerie (Williams), 59, 413
 Glazer, Nathan, 81
Gleason, Jackie, 59, 155
 GM. *See* General Motors (GM)
 GMD. *See* Guomindang (GMD)
 GNP. *See* Gross national product (GNP)
Go Down Moses (Faulkner), 133
Goddard, Robert Hutchings, 35, 120, 156, 397
 Godse, Nathuram Vinayak, 150
 Goebbels, Joseph, 195, 218
Going My Way, 94, 179, 336
 Gold, Harry, 146, 340
 Gold standard, 4, 57, 93
 Golden, Clinton S., 389
Goldwater, Barry Morris, Sr., 8, 156–57, 246, 414
 Golf, 359, 428
 Golos, Jacob, 46, 47
 Gompers, Samuel, 23
Gone with the Wind (film), 149, **157**
***Gone with the Wind* (Mitchell), 157**
 Gonorrhea. *See* Venereal disease
The Good Earth (Buck), 60
Good Housekeeping, 419
Good Neighbor Policy, 157–58, 409
Goodman, Benny, 158, 351
 Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., 148
 Gordon, Harry, 220
Gore, Albert Arnold, Sr., 158–59
 Gore, Albert, Jr., 159
 Göring, Hermann, 149, 218, 283, 361, 505, 509, 510
 Gorky, Arshile, 31
 Gorman, Carl Nelson, 277
 Gosden, Freeman, 26
 Gospel music, 264

- Gottlieb, Adolph, 25
Gouzenko, Igor, defection of, 47, 146, **159–60**
 Governors
 Bilbo in Mississippi, 51
 Bricker in Ohio, 57
 Bridges in, 58
 Bush in Florida, 63
 Chandler in Kentucky, 70
 Dewey in New York, 105, 115, 298
 Green in Rhode Island, 162
 Gruening in Alaska territory, 163
 Harriman in New York, 167
 Hickenlooper in Iowa, 171
 Holland in Florida, 178
 Hughes in New York, 185
 Kerr in Oklahoma, 212
 Landon in Kansas, 222
 Langer in North Dakota, 223
 Lausche in Ohio, 225
 McFarland in Arizona, 246
 Murphy in Michigan, 262
 Reagan in California, 328
 Roosevelt in New York, 183, 189, 300
 Stevenson in Illinois, 197, 363
 Warren in California, 406, 431
Grace, Charles Manuel, 160
 Grafton, Samuel, 407
 Graham, John, 306
Graham, William Franklin “Billy,” 128, **160–61**, 315, 331
 Grand Canyon, 156
 Grand Coulee Dam, 209
 Grant, Heber J., 46
Grapes of Wrath (Steinbeck), 341, 363
Gray, Peter, 42, 161
 Graziano, Rocky, 55, **428–29**
 Great Britain. *See* United Kingdom
 Great Depression, 21, 22, 23, 34, 41, 83, 118, 123, 136, 183, 295, 324
Great River Road, 161–62
Greece
 civil war in, 14, 89
 Great Britain and, 259
 Lend-Lease Act and, 370, 470
 NATO and, 14
 Truman policy on and Marshall Plan for, 14, 17, 89, 117, 380, 382, 526–29
 World War II and, 14, 132, 462, 506
 Greek Americans, 117
 Greek Orthodox Church, 117
 Greek War Relief Association, 117
 Green, Gil, 354
Green, Theodore Francis, 162
 Green, William, 23
 Greenberg, Clement, 25
 Greene, Graham, 249
 Greenglass, David, 146, 340, 395
 Greenland, 196
Greenway, Isabella Selmes Ferguson King, 162–63
 Greenway, John C., 162
 Grenada, 342
 Griffith, D.W., 136
Griswold v. Connecticut, 52, 406
 Gross domestic product (GDP), 118
 Gross national product (GNP), 21
 Grossman, Sid, 65
 Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (GAP), 249
 Groves, Leslie R., 237–38, 345
Grove v. Townsend, 388
The Growth of American Thought (Curti), 95
Gruening, Ernest, 163
Guadalcanal, Battle of, 163–64, 318, 426
 Guatemala, 158
 Gubitchev, Valentin, 91
Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner?, 378
 Guggenheim, Peggy, 306
Guide to Confident Living (Peale), 296
Guideposts, 296
 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 163, 258
 Gumperz, Julian, 242
 Gunner, John, 62
 Guomindang (GMD), 73
 Guzman, William, 248

Hagakure (Yamamoto Tsunetomo), 210
 Haines Institute, 48
 Haiti, 49, 157–58, 318, 342
 Hall, Charles, 385
 Hall, Gus, 354
 Hall, Theodore Alvin, 395
 Halsey, William F., 226–27
The Hamlet (Faulkner), 22, 133
Hammer v. Dagenhart, 74, 389
 Hammerstein, Oscar II, 59
Hand, Learned, 165, 536–37
 “A Hanging” (Orwell), 291
 Hannah, John, 359
Hannegan, Robert Emmet, 165–66
 Harding, Warren, 189, 281
Harlem race riot of 1943, 166
Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections, 406
Harper’s Bazaar, 419
Harper’s Magazine, 137, 229, 411
Harriman, William Averell, 166–67
 Harriman Committee, 241
 Harriman (W.A.) and Co., 63
 Harrison, Loy, 403–4
 Hart, Edward J., 184
 Hartley, Fred, 371
 Hartman, George, 293
 Harvard University, 82, 95, 120, 122, 128, 136, 143, 145, 149, 193, 236, 244, 254, 423
Harvey, 58
 Hassan, Lemuel, 269
 Hatch Act, 330
 Hathaway, William A., 353
 Haupt, Herbert H., 278
Hawaii, 167, 201, 314, 417. *See also* Pearl Harbor
 Hawks, Howard, 54
Hayden, Carl Trumbull, 168
 Hayes, Carlton J.H., 544
Hayes, George Francis “Gabby,” 168
 Hayes, Ira, 198, 276
 Hayward, Susan, 178
Health and disease, 168–69. *See also* Medicine; Mental health and mental health institutions
 Addison’s disease, 93
 antibiotics, 168–69, 299–300, 314, 346, 394–95, 402
 arthritis, 93
 autoimmune diseases, 93
 bronchitis, 169
 cancer, 115, 169, 177, 183, 264, 375, 428
 cigarette smoking and tobacco, 374–75
 diabetes, 169
 diarrhea, 169
 health insurance and, 26, 102, **272–73**
 heart disease, 169
 immunization and, 344
 influenza, 169, 344, 346
 jaundice, 92–93
 life expectancy, 169
 malaria, 368–69
 measles, 169
 nephritis, 169
 Parkinson’s disease, 137
 pellagra, 168
 penicillin and, 169, 299–300, 346, 394–95
 plague, 169
 pneumonia, 169, 299
 polio, 112, 339, 405
 polio vaccine and, 344, 346
 rickets, 168, 243
 scarlet fever, 169, 299
 scurvy, 168
 smallpox, 169
 streptomycin, 169, 300, 346, 402

- synthetic quinine (chloroquine),
368–69
- tuberculosis, 26, 37, 169, 183, 292,
346, 366, 402
- typhoid, 169
- vaccines, 168–69
- venereal disease, 299, 313–14,
394–95
- vitamins, 168
- whooping cough, 169
- yellow fever, 169
- Health, Education, and Welfare
Department, 177
- Health insurance, national**, 26, 102,
272–73
- Hearst, William Randolph**, 160,
169–70, 185, 215, 409
- Heart disease, 169
- Heart of Age*, 239, 408
- Heim, Jacques, 50
- Heinck, Heinrich, 278
- Heisenberg, Werner, 321, 373
- Helicopter, 22
- Hemingway, Ernest Miller**, 22, 54,
170, 253, 303, 308
- Hench, Philip S., 92–93
- Henderson, Joseph L., 306
- Hepburn, Katharine Houghton**,
171, 377
- Herberg, Will, 117, 337
- Herbicides, 7. *See also* Insecticides
- Here Is Your War* (Pyle), 474
- Hereditry, Race and Society*
(Dobrzhansky), 110
- Hershey, Lewis B., 349
- Hess, Rudolf, 181, 283
- Hesse, Paul, 285
- Hester, Barrette, 403
- Heydrich, Reinhard, 29
- HICCASP. *See* Hollywood
Independent Citizens
Committee of the Arts,
Sciences, and Professions
(HICCASP)
- Hickenlooper, Bourke Blakemore**,
171
- High schools. *See* Education
- Higher education. *See also* Education
for African Americans, 5–6, 61–62,
120
- Conant and, 82
- criticisms of, 120
- federal funding of, 120
- and Fulbright Exchange Program,
147
- GI Bill and, 5, 16, 120, 122, **154**,
246, 251
- intellectuals in, 191–92
- for Jews, 24
- land-grant universities, 120, 300,
355, 359
- libraries for, 228
- medical schools, 248
- physics research in, 304
- research in, 119–20
- segregation of, 120, 248
- sociology in, 355–56
- sports in, 43, 139, 336, 358–59
- statistics on, 119
- Highways, 67, 124, **161–62**, 163, **341**
- Hill-Burton Act, 247, 249
- Hillenkoetter, Roscoe H., 68–69
- Hillman, Sidney**, 11, **171–72**, 310
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude, 81
- Himmler, Heinrich, 29, 180–81,
502–3, 506–8
- Hindenburg, Paul von, 176, 492–93
- Hindenburg* airship explosion, 54
- Hirabayashi v. United States*, 12,
365, 368
- Hirohito**, 16, **172–73**, 201, 268,
392–93
- Hiroshima, 173**
- B-29s used for atomic bombing of,
36, 38, 125–26
- casualties following atomic
bombing of, 126, 173, 238
- commemoration of atomic bombing
of, 173
- date of atomic bombing of, 16, 172,
173, 238, 307
- Japan's surrender following atomic
bombing of, 12, 172, 201, 307
- Oppenheimer's response to
destruction of, 188
- rationale for use of atomic bomb
on, 20, 173, 392, 421
- Truman's announcement of atomic
bombing of, 483–84
- Truman's authorization for atomic
bombing of, 238, 241, 365,
380
- uranium bomb ("Little Boy")
dropped on, 126, 135, 187,
268, 345
- USSR's entry into war against
Japan following, 307
- Hispanic Americans, 173–74. See also** Mexican Americans
discrimination against, 174
- education of, 101, 248, 251
- employment of, 173–74, 250
- as farmworkers, 190, 221, 250
- in military, 174
- political activism of, 250–51
- as political leaders, 72–73
- religion of, 174
- statistics on, 173
- support for L.B. Johnson by, 205
- zoot suit affair and, 208, 250, **431**
- Hiss, Alger**, 70, **174–75**, 182, 185,
217, 243, 261, 281, 395
- Hiss, Priscilla, 70
- Historians, 175**
- American Historical Association,
96, 175, 544
- area studies and, 175
- Beard as, 44, 95, 104
- Commager as, 80–81
- Curti as, 95–96
- Farrand as, 131–32
- John Hope Franklin as, 144–45
- Kennan as, 211–12
- Perry Miller as literary historian,
254
- Morison as, 257–58
- Nevins as, 278–79
- new social history and, 96
- Schlesinger as, 345
- Shirer as, 350
- women as, 175
- History of the United States Naval
Operations in World War II*
(Morison), 175, 258
- Hitchcock, Alfred Joseph, 176**
- Hitchiti Forest Research Center, 87
- Hitler, Adolf. See also** Nazi
Germany; World War II
- assassination attempt against, 61,
177, 338, 512
- Battle of the Bulge and, 61
- biography of, **176–77**
- as chancellor of German Republic,
176, 491–93
- churches and, 495–96
- compared with Mussolini, 265–66
- D-Day invasion and, 99–100
- declaration of war against U.S.
(1941) by, 13, 460–72
- as dictator of Nazi Germany, **176–
77**, 277, 491–504
- Franco and, 143
- German-American Bund and, 153
- imprisonment of (1923–1924), 176
- interview with, 147
- Kuhn's meeting with, 218
- as leader of Nazi Party, 489
- Mein Kampf* by, 176, 177
- Nazi-Soviet Pact and, 511
- protest rallies against, in U.S., 18
- pure Aryan race idea and, 28, 177,
230, 277
- suicide of, 177, 392
- working class and, 494–95
- in World War I, 176
- World War II plans of, 361, 504–12
- HIV, 100

- Ho Chi Minh, 302, 339
Hobbs antiracketeering bill, 147
Hobby, Oveta Culp, 177–78, 416
Hockey, 22, 359
Hogan, Ben, 359
HOLC. *See* Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC)
Holden, William, 178
Holiday, Billie, 264
Holiday Inn, 94
Holland, Spessard Lindsey, 178
Hollywood actors, 178–79. *See also* Academy Awards; Hollywood film; *and specific actors*
blacklisting of, 179, 180, 328
child actors, 285
and entertainment of armed forces during World War II, 35, 94, 126–27
“Golden Circle” of, 178
HUAC and, 25, 179, 180
in military during World War II, 126–27, 149, 178–79
studio contract system and, 178
Hollywood Canteen, 127
Hollywood films, 179–80. *See also* Academy Awards; Hollywood actors; *and specific movies and actors*
anti-Communism and, 179
anti-Semitism and, 24, 179, 207
Australia and, 12
Disney’s animated film, 107–8, 179
earnings from, 180
escapist films, 179, 180
Faulkner as screenwriter, 133
film noir, 179, 361–62
Hitchcock as director, 176
Luce as screenwriter, 233
musicals, 59, 179, 404
Office of War Information (OWI) and, 287, 404, 405
statistics on attendance at movie theaters, 404
from Steinbeck’s novels, 363
war and propaganda films, 179, 287, 404–5
Welles as director, 170, 408–9
Western films, 35, 56, 168, 262
“women’s pictures,” 179
Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (HICCASP), 327
Hollywood Ten, 180, 184–85
Holman, Rufus, 258
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr., 49, 165, 174, 365
Holocaust, 18–19, 24, 29, 177, 207,
277–78, 305, 319, 331, 416, 430, 496–502. *See also* Nuremberg Trials
Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), 328–29
Homma, Masaharu, 235
Homosexuality in Nazi Germany, 180–81
Homosexuals. *See* Gays and lesbians
The Honeymooners, 155
Hoopes, Darlington, 355
Hoover, Calvin, 241
Hoover, Herbert Clark, 130, 181–82, 182, 257, 281, 329, 332, 364, 415
Hoover, J. Edgar, 134, 182, 231, 286, 300, 354, 367, 407–8, 409
Hoover Commission, 275
Hoover Dam, 182–83, 209
Hopalong Cassidy movies, 56, 168
Hope, Bob, 94, 126
Hopkins, Harry, 183–84, 189
Hormel Foods, 357
Horne, Lena Mary Calhoun, 127, 184
Horse racing, 359
Horton, Robert, 286
Horvath, Lee, 359
Hospital Survey and Construction Act, 247, 249
Hotels, 162
House of Representatives, U.S. *See* Congress
House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), 184–85
Bentley’s testimony before, 46, 47, 185
chairmen and members of, 67, 106, 184, 261, 399
Chambers’ testimony before, 70, 185, 281
demise of, 185
entertainers investigated by, 25, 179, 180, 231
funds for, 184
Hollywood actors’ responses to, 179
and Hollywood Ten, 180, 184–85
J. Edgar Hoover and, 182
Jews and, 25
Krivitsky’s testimony before, 217
La Follette investigated by, 219
labor unions investigated by, 185
Lash’s testimony before, 223
Nixon and, 47, 70, 184, 185, 261, 280–81, 399
publications by, 184
Reagan’s testimony before, 328
reports of, 106
targets of summarized, 106, 184–85
Houser, George, 84, 85
Housing
costs of homes, 366
GI Bill and home loans, 154, 328
prefabricated houses, 366
racially discriminatory restrictive deed covenants and, 349–50
real estate redlining and
blockbusting, 328–29
rent control for, 368
segregation of, 104, 147, 322, 328–29, 349–50
in suburbia, 366–67
Houston, Charles H., 412
Houston Post, 177
Howard, Elston, 45
Howard University, 60, 62, 383
Howdy Doody, 168, 185, 373
Howe, Gordie, 359
Howe, Irving, 81
Howe, Louis, 183
HUAC. *See* House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)
Hubble, Edwin, 50
Hughes, Charles Evans, 185–86, 397
Hughes, Howard, 40
Hughes, Langston, 118, 322
Hull, Cordell, 157, 159, 186, 258–59, 387, 397, 409
Human Events, 192
Human Nature in American Thought (Curti), 96
Human rights
Eleanor Roosevelt and, 267, 338, 538–43
Rustin and, 342
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 267, 338, **390–91, 538–39, 542**
Human Rights, Universal Declaration of, 267, 338, 390–91, 538–39, 542
Hume, Paul, 381
Humphrey, Hubert Horatio, Jr., 77, 187
Humphrey-Hawkins Act, 125
Hungary, 124, 259
Huntington Library, 131, 279
Hurd, James, 322
Hurd v. Hodge, 322
Hussein, King, 46
Hutchins, Robert M., 358
Hutchinson, Dorothy, 293
Hutson, James H., 131
Hydrogen bomb research, 33, 41, 146, 187–88, 296, 304, 373–74, 381, 398. *See also* Atomic bomb
Hyland, Brian, 50

- I Love Lucy*, 39–40
 Ibn Saud, King, 17
 ICC. *See* Indian Claims Commission (ICC)
 ICCCL. *See* International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC)
 Iceberg Operation, 287–88
 Iceland, 282
Iceman Cometh (O'Neill), 289
Ickes, Harold LeClaire, 189, 228, 383, 387
 Idaho, 78
 Ignatia, Sister, 10
 ILGWU. *See* International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU)
I'll Take My Stand, 407
 Illinois. *See also* Chicago
 crime in Chicago, 94
 Democratic Party in, 32
 gambling in Chicago, 94
 Ives as first lady of, 197
 prison in, 9
 Stevenson as governor of, 197, 363
Illinois Ex Rel. McCollum v. Board of Education, 189–90, 330
 IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund (IMF)
 Immediate Relief of Navajo and Hopi Act, 275
Immigration, 190–91. *See also*
 specific immigrant groups
 anti-immigrant attitudes in 1940s, 190–91
 bracero program, 190, 250
 Collier's work with immigrants, 80
 European refugees in postwar period, 190, 355
 German Americans, 153–54
 Hispanic Americans, 173–74
 Italian Americans, 15, 16, 196–97
 Japanese Americans, 201–2
 of Jews, 18–19, 24, 206, 257
 laws on, 190, 245
 Mexican Americans, 190, 250–51
 statistics on, 190
 of war brides, 11, 28, 190
 Immigration and Nationality Act, 245
 Immigration and Naturalization Service, 49, 152
 Immunization, 344
In Dubious Battle (Steinbeck), 362
In Stalin's Secret Service (Krivitsky), 217
In the Court of Public Opinion (Hiss), 175
 "In the Mood," 22
 Income statistics, 21, 119. *See also*
 Wages
- Independence Day*, 340
 Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, 313
 India, 55, 149–50, 301, 342
 Indian Bureau, 80
 Indian Claims Commission Act, 275
 Indian Claims Commission (ICC), 270
 Indian Reorganization Act, 270, 330
 Indiana, 8
 Indiana University, 214, 260
 Indians. *See* Native Americans
 Individual responsibility, law of, 515–16
 Indochina, 12, 301, 302, 339, 374, 376
 Indonesia, 301, 374
 Industry. *See* Defense industries; Manufacturing
Inflation, 118, 191
 Influenza and influenza vaccine, 169, 344, 346
 Infrared scope, 432
 Inouye, Shigeoyoshi, 92
 Insecticides, 7, 8, **100**, 119, 346, 368
 Institute for International Education, 114
 Institute of Ethnic Affairs, 80
 Insull, Samuel, 327
 Integration. *See* Desegregation
Intellectual life, 191–92. *See also*
 Higher education; Historians
 African American intellectuals, 113–14
 FBI investigations of intellectuals, 134
 in higher education, 191–92
 Jewish intellectuals, 24, 81
 and little magazines and journals, 192
 New York Intellectuals, 81
 in 1930s, 191–92
 in publishing, 192
 Intelligence gathering. *See* Central Intelligence Agency; Office of Strategic Services (OSS); Spies
 Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. *See* Rio Pact
 Interior Department, 80, 157, 163, 183, 274, 330, 377, 387. *See also* Secretary/ies of the Interior
 Internal Revenue Service (IRS), 230
 Internal Security Act, 245, 261
 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. *See* World Bank
 International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC), 127
- The International Jew*, 353
 International Labor Conference (1945), 62
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), 11, 192–93
 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 4, 57, 95, 411
 International Student Service, 223–24
 International Typographical Union, 279–80
Internationalism, 147, 193–94, 393.
 See also United Nations (UN);
 and specific countries
 Internment
 of German aliens and German Americans, 152, 218
 of Japanese Americans, 49, 87, 112, 134, 201–2, **215–16**, 267, 321–22, 331, 339, 354, 365, 368, 406
 Interstate Highway Act, 67
Intruder in the Dust (Faulkner), 133
Intruder in the Dust (film), 179
Invasion of Italy, 194
 Inventions
 computers, 351, 390, 398, 432
 electron microscope, 22
 helicopter, 22
 infrared scope, 432
 jet engine, 35–36
 munitions technology, 253–54
 nylon stockings, 22
 Polaroid camera, 305–6
 radar, 322–23
 television, 372, 431
 transistors, 351
 Tupperware, 383–84
Invocation to the Muses (Millay), 252
 Iowa, 171
 Iran, 17, 481
 Ireland, 78
 Iron curtain image, 75, 89, **194–95**, 523
"Iron Curtain" speech ("The Sinews of Peace"), 75, 89, **194–95**, 519–25
 Irons, Peter, 216
 IRS. *See* Internal Revenue Service (IRS)
 Islam. *See* Nation of Islam
Isolationism, 195–96
 America First movement and, **21**, 78, 137, 170, 195–96, 206–7, 219, 229, 284, 374, 410
 Beard and, 44
 Hoover and, 181
 Langer and, 223
 supporters of, 85, 103

- Isolationism** (*continued*)
 Taft and, 370
 Vandenberg and, 393
 Winter War's impact on, 415
- Israel.** *See also* Judaism
 Arab-Israeli War, 388
 armistice between Arab world and, 62
 Britain and, 301
 establishment of, 15, 29, 206, 331, 401
 Palestine War and, 15, 17–18
 relations between U.S., 14–15, 17, 207
 Truman's recognition of, 15, 17
 Issei, 201–2
- Italian Americans**, 15, 16, 49, 119, **196–97**
- Italy**
 agriculture in, 131–32
 American relations with, **15–16**
 Communist Party in, 16, 69, 523
 conquest of Abyssinia by, 132
 Fascist Italy, **131–32**
 invasion of, during World War II, **194**
 Luce as ambassador to, 233
 manufacturing in, 131
 Marshall Plan in, 16
 Munich Pact and, 504
 Mussolini as dictator in, 15, 131–32, **265–66**, 308, 473
 Mussolini's war statement (1941), 473
 NATO and, 282
 "Pact of Steel" alliance between Nazi Germany and, 132, 378
 political instability in, 16
 Pound in, 308
 surrender of, in World War II, 15, 132, 194, 319
 Tripartite Pact and, 103, **378–79**, 455, 471–72, 473, 506
 in World War I, 15, 265
 in World War II, 15–16, 56, 114, 132, 266, 420, 460–61
It's a Wonderful Life, 329
- Ives, Elizabeth Davis Stevenson**, **197**
- Ives, Ernest L., 197
- Iwo Jima, Battle of**, **198**, 276, 421
- Iwo Jima Monument (Marine Corps War Memorial)**, **198–99**, 206
- Jackson, Andrew, 205
- Jackson, Robert Houghwout**
 as Attorney General, 103, 200
 biography of, **200**
 at Nuremberg Trials, 200, 283, 485–518
 as Supreme Court justice, 49, 123, 134, 200, 262, 365, 397, 410
- Jacobs, Mike, 56, 230
- Jacobson, Edward, 207
- James, King, 511
- James, Henry, 351
- James, William, 303, 316
- Jane Eyre*, 285
- Jane Shore's Daughter* (Benét), 45
- Jansky, Karl, 32
- Japan.** *See also* Atomic bomb; Hiroshima; Nagasaki; Pacific; Pearl Harbor; World War II; *and specific leaders and generals*
 Allied occupation of, 12, 16–17, 172, 235, 393, 421
 Benedict on, 356
 bombing of, 12, 36, 38, 251, 421
 Cairo Conference on, 64
 constitution of 1947 in, 17, 172
 Doolittle raid on, in World War II, 16
 economy of, in postwar period, 12, 421
 expansion of, in East Asia, 12, 19, 72, 200, 201, 376, 455–56
 Hirohito as emperor of, **172–73**, 201, 268, 392–93
 Hughes on, 185
 invasion of China by, 12, 19, 73, 170, 201, 455–56
 kamikaze (suicide warfare) and, 12, 173, 210, 226
 Manchuria and, 200, 210, 238, 524
 Meiji Constitution for, 201
 under militarism, 200–1
 neutrality pact between USSR and, 20, 456
 relations between U.S. and, 16–17, 378, 456–57
 Russian-Japanese War, 193, 425, 455
 savings by workers in, 88
 spies for, in U.S., 202
 surrender of, in World War II, 12, 16, 135, 172, 201, 235, 268, 393, 401
 Togo Shigenori's address to Imperial Diet (1941), 455–57
 Tojo as government official in, 375–76
 Tripartite Pact and, 103, 375, **378–79**, 455, 471–72, 473, 506
 USSR's entry into World War II against, 16, 259, 482
 victories of, in 1941, 19
 war crime trials in, 16, 376
 in Yalta agreement, 482
zaibatsu (business conglomerates) in, 17, 376
- Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act, 216
- Japanese Americans, 201–2**
 court cases on internment of, 215–16, 368
 as draft resisters, 87
 J. Edgar Hoover on internment of, 354
 internment of, during World War II, 49, 87, 112, 134, 201–2, **215–16**, 267, 321–22, 331, 339, 354, 365, 368, 406
 monetary compensation for internment camp survivors, 216, 368
- Japanese beetle, 7, 100
- Jazz, 158, 204
- J.B.* (MacLeish), 236
- J.C. Penney, 69
- JCS. *See* Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS)
- Jean Hugueot* (Benét), 45
- Jeep**, 22, **202–3**. *See also* Automobiles
- Jefferson, Thomas, 260, 346, 449
- Jeffrey, Millie, 386
- Jehovah's Witnesses**, 71, 78, 87, **203–4**, 293, 410, 496
- Jet engine, 35–36
- Jewell Ridge Coal Corp. v. Local No. 6167, United Mine Workers of America*, 200, 262
- Jewish Institute of Religion, 415
- Jewish Peace Fellowship, 87
- Jews. *See* American Jews; Anti-Semitism; Holocaust; Judaism
- Jezebel*, 99
- Jian Qin (Chiang Ch'ing), 238
- Jimmy Dorsey Band, 341
- Jitterbug**, **204**, 427
- Jobs. *See* Employment; Unemployment
- Jodl, Alfred, 283, 392, 505, 510, 512
- John Birch Society, 138
- John Brown's Body* (Benét), 45
- John XXIII, Pope, 337
- "Johnny Pye and the Fool-Killer" (Benét), 45
- Johns Hopkins University, 256, 316, 375
- Johnson, Earle L., 76
- Johnson, Hiram W.**, **204**, 214
- Johnson, Hugh, 219
- Johnson, James Weldon, 269
- Johnson, John H., 118, 322
- Johnson, Lyndon Baines**
 awards given by, 62, 90, 432

- biography of, **205**
 civil rights movement and, 205
 and commission to investigate
 Kennedy's assassination, 406
 in Congress, 205
 Harriman and, 167
 in Navy in World War II, 205
 presidential appointments of, 363
 in presidential election of 1964,
 157, 205
 Rayburn and, 327
 as vice president, 205
 Vietnam policy of, 25
 Johnson, Torrey, 160
 Johnson Act, 204
 Johnson Publishing Company, 118
 Johnston, Philip, 276
 Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), 13, 16,
 57, 274, 285
 Jolson, Al, 126
 Jones, Buck, 79
 Jones, Donald J., 8
 Jonkman, Bartel J., 141
 Jordan, 301, 388
Journalism, 205–6. *See also*
 Magazines; Newspapers
 African Americans in, 407
 Flynn in, 137
 Fuldheim in, 147–48
 Gruening in, 163
 Hearst and, 169–70
 Oveta Culp Hobby in, 177
 Kennedy in, 212
 Lash in, 224
 Clare Boothe Luce in, 233
 MacArthur on, 205
 Marine Corps and, 205
 Morrow in, 263–64, 323, 379
 Shirer in, 350
 Trout in, 379
 violent crime reported by
 journalists, 94
 War Department accreditation of
 journalists, 205–6
 Wechsler in, 40–48
 women in, 147–48, 177, 206, 233,
 267, 407
 Journals. *See* Magazines
 Journey of Reconciliation, 84–85,
 342, 417
 Joyce, James, 308
Judaism, 206–7. *See also* American
 Jews; Anti-Semitism; Israel
 branches of, 207
 Commentary's focus on, 24, **81**, 192
 Holocaust and, **18–19**, 24, 29, 207,
 277–78, 305, 331, 416, 430,
 496–502
 Wise as rabbi, 18, 257, **415–16**
 Zionism and, 14–15, 143, 207, 331,
 353, 415–16, **430**
Judd, Walter Henry, 207
 Judges, 49, 53, 165, 245, 281. *See*
 also Supreme Court
 Jung, Carl, 31, 306
 Justice Department
 Alien Enemy Bureau of, 182
 Browder's imprisonment and, 82
 Coplon's employment by, 91
 Duggan investigated by, 114
 FBI's Custodial Detention Index
 and, 134
 German-American Bund and, 152
 Immigration and Naturalization
 Service under, 49
 internment of German aliens and,
 152
 internment of Japanese Americans
 and, 216
 Radical Division of, 182
 and Smith Act used against
 Communist Party members,
 354
 Justice Holmes, Natural Law, and the
 Supreme Court (Biddle), 49
Juvenile delinquency, 94, 207–8,
 419, 422, 427

 K-Mart, 69
Kaiser, Henry John, 209
 Kaiser Aluminum, 209
 Kaiser-Frazer Corporation, 209
 Kaiser Steel, 209
Kaltenborn, Hans von "H.V.,"
 209–10
 Kamenev, Lev, 291
Kamikaze, 12, 173, 210, 226
 Kansas
 defense industries in, 38
 Landon as governor of, 222
 KAOWC. *See* Keep America Out of
 War Congress (KAOWC)
 Kappe, Walter, 278
 Kaufman, Edgar, 422
 Kaufman, Irving R., 340
 Kay, Danny, 30
Keep America Out of War (Thomas
 and Wolfe), 374
 Keep America Out of War Congress
 (KAOWC), 354–55, 374
Keep Off the Grass, 155
Kefauver, Estes, 210–11
 Keitel, Wilhem, 283, 392, 505–9,
 512
 Keller, Alonzo, 358
Keller, Helen, 211–12
 Kellogg-Taschereau Royal
 Commission, 159
 Kellogg-Briand Pact, 512, 517
 Kelly, Ed, 32
 Kelly, Gene, 179
 Kelly, George "Machine Gun," 9
 Kempton, Murray, 407
 Kendall, Edward C., 93
 Kennan, George F., 69, 89–90, 380,
 382
Kennedy, John Fitzgerald
 assassination of, 205, 406
 biography of, **212**
 in Congress, 212, 327
 Harriman and, 167
 inauguration of, 145
 Murray and, 263
 presidential appointments by, 55,
 149, 264, 363
 and PT-109 in World War II, 212
 The Kennedy Women (Buck), 60
 Kennelly, Martin, 32
 Kentucky
 Chandler as governor of, 70
 Democratic Party in, 40–41
 drug treatment program on, 113
 politicians in, 70–71
 Kerling, Edward J., 278
 Kerouac, Jack, 341
Kerr, Robert Samuel, 212–13
 Kesselring, Albert, 194
Key Largo, 54
 Keyes, Evelyn, 178
 Keynes, John Maynard, 57, 95, 104,
 411
 Keyserling, Leon H., 325
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 46, 360, 414,
 429
 Kibei, 202
 Kilpatrick, Reed, 56
 Kimmel, Husband E., 215, 297
 Kindergarten, 120–21
 King, Dorothy Gardner, 140
 King, Ernest, 163–64
 King, Leslie, 140
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 150,
 213–14, 325, 342, 412
King's Row, 327
 Kinkaid, Thomas C., 226–27
Kinsey, Alfred Charles, 151, 214
 Kirchwey, Freda, 224
 Kirkpatrick, Jeane, 81
Kiss Me Kate, 59
 Kleegman, Sophia, 3–4
 Knowland, Joseph R., 214
Knowland, William Fife, 214–15
 Knox, Alexander, 328
Knox, Frank, 215, 309, 363
Knute Rockne: All American, 327
 Koch, Howard, 408
 Koischwitz, Max Otto, 36–37

- Konoe Fumimaro, Prince, 375–76, 378
- Korean War
 Benjamin Davis Jr. in, 97
 draft law during, 349
 Eisenhower and, 124
 factors precipitating, 421
 government takeover of steel industry during, 368
 Ickes and, 189
 MacArthur in, 235–36
 Marines Corps in, 318
 NATO and, 90
 Progressive Party and, 313
 Norman Thomas's support of, 374
 Truman and, 235–36, 368
 United Nations and, 12, 388
 Ted Williams as combat pilot in, 413
- Korematsu, Fred, 216, 321–22
- Korematsu v. United States**, 112, 215–16, 322
- Kraemer, Louis D., 349
- Krasner, Lee, 306
- Krishnamurti, Jiddu, 242
- Kristallnacht, 18
- Kristol, Irving, 81
- Krivitsky, Walter G.**, 216–17
- Kropotkin, Peter, 265
- Krueger, Karl, 381
- Krueger, Maynard, 355
- Krug, Julius A., 387
- Krushchev, Nikita, 357
- Ku Klux Klan, 4, 98, 103, 157, 386, 390, 399
- Kuhn, Fritz**, 106, 152–53, 154, 217–18
- Kuhn, Thomas S., 72
- Kung Hsiang-hsi, 73
- Kuniaki, Koiso, 376
- Kunze, Gerhard Wilhelm, 153
- Kurchatov, Ivan, 356–57
- Kurita, Takeo, 226
- Kvasnikov, Leonid, 47
- La Follette, Philip, 219
- La Follette, Robert Marion, Jr.**, 219, 245
- La Follette, Robert Marion, Sr., 219, 410, 449
- La Guardia, Fiorello H., 76, 166, 383
- La Motta, Giacobe "Jake,"** 219–20, 335, 359
- Labor Department, 300
- Labor unions**, 220–21. *See also* Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO); Strikes
 African Americans in, 5, 76, 386, 390
- Aluminum Workers of America International, 389
- Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA), 10–11, 171
- American Federation of Labor (AFL), 23–24, 225, 271, 386
- Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 76, 129, 324, 347
- closed shop and, 371
- Communist Party (CPUSA) and, 82, 333, 371, 390
- Conference of Studio Unions (CSU), 327–28
- Democratic Party and, 11, 83, 102, 192, 220, 221, 310, 311, 371
 and economic and social issues, 23–24
- Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, 340
- in Hawaii, 167
- Hillman and, 171–72
- HUAC investigations of, 185
- International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), 11, 192–93
- International Typographical Union, 279–80
- Italian Americans and, 196
- Kaltenborn's criticisms of, 209
- John Lewis and, 23, 83, 172, 189, 220, 225–26, 271, 387
- in 1930s, 220
- no-strike pledge during wartime, 23, 83, 220, 225, 271, 371
- Political Action Committee (PAC) and, 11, 84, 172
- Reuther and, 333
- right-to-work laws and, 371
- Screen Cartoonists Guild, 107
- steel strike (1946), 362
- Taft-Hartley Act and, 24, 84, 102, 147, 159, 193, 221, 225, 258, 311, 332, 362, 370–71, 387
- Teamsters Union, 310
- union shop and, 371, 386
- United Automobile Workers (UAW), 271, 333, 386
- United Mine Workers of America (UMW), 23, 83, 187, 225–26, 271, 371, 387
- United Steelworkers of America (USW), 83, 362, 368, 389–90
- Wagner Act and, 23, 189, 219, 221, 362, 370, 401
- women in, 119, 192–93, 386
- World Federation of Trade Unions, 172
- World War II and, 23
- Labor (unorganized)**, 221–22
- Ladies' Home Journal*, 317, 419
- Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA), 428
- Lake Mead, 183
- Lamarck, Jean-Baptiste, 423
- Lame duck amendment, 281
- Land, Edwin, 305–6
- Land-grant universities, 120, 300, 355, 359. *See also* Higher education
- Landis, Judge Kennesaw Mountain, 42
- Landon, Alfred Mossman**, 215, 222–23
- Landoska, Wanda, 265
- Landscapers, 222
- Laney, Ben, 108
- Langer, William**, 219, 223
- Lanson, Snooky, 80
- Lapahie, Harrison, 277
- Lardner, Ring, Jr., 180
- Larry Rich Band, 27
- Las Vegas, 377
- Lash, Joseph P.**, 223–24
- Laski, Harold**, 224–25
- Last Circle* (Benét), 46
- Latin America, 157–58, 342, 368, 409. *See also specific countries*
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott, 544
- Latvia, 360, 500
- Laurel, José, 302
- Laurel and Hardy, 126
- Lausche, Frank John**, 225
- Laval, Pierre, 97
- Lawrence, Ernest O., 120, 173, 268, 345
- Lawson, John Howard, 180
- Lawyers, 4, 32, 34, 40, 49, 51, 53, 57, 62, 70, 78, 105, 106, 112, 115, 140, 143, 158, 162, 165, 171, 174, 185, 186, 189, 200, 210, 223, 228, 232, 236, 244, 245, 246, 262, 329, 363, 364, 365, 411, 414. *See also* Judges; Supreme Court
- Lazarsfeld, Pal, 355
- Le Fanu, Joseph Sheridan, 236
- League of Nations, 115, 193, 204, 266, 387, 393, 478, 513, 524
- League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), 101, 248, 251
- Leahy, William, 290
- Leakey, Louis, 299
- Leakey, Mary, 299
- Learning How to Behave* (Schlesinger), 345
- Lebanon, 301

- “Lebensraum” slogan, 177, 514
- Legislative Reorganization Act, 244, 255
- Lemaître, Georges-Henri, 50
- LeMay, Curtis, 36
- Lend-Lease Act, 11, 21, 62, 66, 183, 196, 219, 222, 247, 410, 470
- Lenin, Vladimir, 360
- Leo XIII, Pope, 263
- Leonard, Buck, 43
- Lerner, Max, 224, 407
- Lesbians. *See* Gays and lesbians
- Levine, Isaac Don, 217
- Levitt, William, 222, 366–67
- Lewis, John Llewellyn**, 23, 83, 172, 189, 220, **225–26**, 271, 387
- Ley, Robert, 496
- Leyte Gulf, Battle of, 226–27**
- Liberace, 227**
- Liberia, 49, 98
- Liberty, spirit of, 536–37
- Libraries, 227–28**
- academic libraries, 228
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, **144**
 - Robert Frost Library, 145
 - Huntington Library, 131, 279
 - Library of Congress, 128, 236, 308
 - military and government libraries, 227–28
 - public libraries, 228
 - USIS libraries, 228
- Library of Congress, 128, 236, 308
- Lie, Trygve Halvdan, 388
- Life expectancy, 169
- Life* magazine, 118, 206, 229, 233, 237, 259, 291
- Life of Riley*, 155
- Life with Father*, 58
- Light in August* (Faulkner), 133
- Lightfoot Operation, 255
- Lilienthal, David E.**, 33, **228–29**
- Lincoln, Abraham, 5, 28, 344
- Lincoln Portrait* (Copland), 90, 265
- Lindbergh, Anne Morrow, 229–30**
- Lindbergh, Charles Augustus, Jr.**, 21, 36, 195, 206–7, 219, **229**, 374
- Lippmann, Walter, 153, 225
- “Litany for Dictatorships” (Benét), 45
- Literacy rate, 21. *See also* Education
- Literature. *See also* Playwrights;
- Poetry; Pulitzer Prize
 - by Benét, 45–46
 - by Pearl Buck, 60
 - by Cather, 67–68
 - children’s literature, 411
 - by Faulkner, 22, 31, 133, 303, 411
 - by Frost, 145
 - by Hemingway, 22, 54, 170, 303
 - by Jewish writers, 24
 - by Anne Lindbergh, 229–30
 - by MacLeish, 236
 - by Mailer, 237
 - by Millay, 252
 - by Arthur Miller, 253
 - Nobel Prize for, 60, 133, 170, 288, 363
 - by Orwell, 291–92
 - by Steinbeck, 341, 362–63
 - by Warren, 407
 - by Richard Wright, 22, 423
- Lithuania, 360, 500
- Little, Malcolm, 269
- Little, Reginald, 269
- The Little Foxes*, 99
- Little Women*, 285
- Lloyd George, Mr., 524
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 71
- Lombard, Carole, 149
- Lombardo, Guy, 80
- Long, Huey, 65–66, 352, 407
- Long Day’s Journey into Night* (O’Neill), 288–89
- The Long Dream* (Wright), 423
- The Long Valley* (Steinbeck), 362
- Los Angeles Times*, 352
- The Lost Weekend*, 179
- Loud, John, 40
- Louis, Joe**, 55, **230**, 359, 373
- Louis, Morris, 25
- Louisiana
- Dixiecrats in, 108
 - forests in, 87, 88
 - primary elections in, 388
 - Slaughter-House Cases* and, 122–23
- Loving v. Virginia*, 28
- Low, J.O., 356
- Loy, Myrna, 230–31**
- Loyalty Review Board, 231–32**, 395, 396
- LPGA. *See* Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA)
- Lucas, Scott Wike, 32, 232**
- Luce, Clare Boothe, 111, 232–33**, 249
- Luce, Henry R., 70, 118, 233
- Lucy Gayheart* (Cather), 67
- LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens), 101, 248, 251
- Lunt, Paul, 355–56
- Luxembourg, 277, 282, 506
- Lynch, Charles, 233
- Lynching, 5, 6, 66, 102, 233–34**, 270, **403–4**, 412
- Lynd, Helen, 355
- Lynd, Robert, 355
- Lysenko, Trofim, 423
- Mabee, Carleton, 78
- MacArthur, Douglas**
- and Allied occupation of Japan, 16–17, 172, 235, 393, 421
 - Army career of, **235–36**
 - biography of, **235–36**
 - and Bonus Marchers in Washington, DC, 295
 - Chandler’s support for, 71
 - Eisenhower and, 124
 - and Japan’s surrender, 12, 235
 - journalists and, 205
 - in Korean War, 235–36
 - OSS operations and, 286
 - Philippines and, 205, 235, 302, 401, 421
 - and Silver Star for Lyndon Johnson, 205
 - WACs in Philippines with army of, 417
 - as West Point superintendent, 235
- Macdonald, Dwight, 192
- MacDonald, Peter, 277
- MacLeish, Archibald, 128, 236, 286**
- Madagascar, 301
- Mademoiselle*, 419
- Mafia, 105
- Magazines, 236–37. See also specific magazines**
- on African American issues, 118, 321
 - of Communist Party (CPUSA), 82
 - Flynn as freelance writer for, 137
 - illustrations for, 336
 - of Jehovah’s Witnesses, 203
 - on Jewish issues, 24, 81, 192
 - little magazines and journals for intellectuals, 192
 - Luce as editor of, 232–33
 - Niebuhr as editor of, 280
 - pulp magazines, 236–37
 - religious magazines, 203, 296
 - Stieglitz as editor of, 364
 - Wallace as editor of, 402
 - E.B. White as editor of, 411
 - women’s magazines, 232–33, 317, 419–20
- Magruder, John, 286
- Maharis, George, 341
- The Making of an American Community* (Curti), 96
- Malamud, Bernard, 81
- Malaria, 368–69
- Malaya, 19
- Malcolm X, 269
- Malcom, Dorothy and Roger, 403–4

- Malmedy Massacre, 245
Maltz, Albert, 180
The Man Who Had All the Luck (Miller), 253
Manchuria, 12, 64, 200, 210, 238, 392, 425, 524
Manhattan Project, 237–38. *See also* Atomic bomb
Bather in, 33
Bethe in, 135, 146, 304
computer for, 390
Conant in, 83
and discovery of nuclear fission by Nazi Germany, 237, 345
Fermi in, 135, 173, 187, 188, 268, 345
Feynman in, 83, 120, 135, 321
funding for, 38
Oppenheimer in, 83, 135, 173, 187–88, 238, 321
and plutonium production, 346–47
Seaborg in, 346–47
spies associated with, 146–47, 356–57, 395
testing of first atomic bomb in New Mexico, 83, 135, 238, 268, 307, 345
Truman and, 365
von Neumann in, 398
Mankiewicz, Herman J., 408
Manufacturing. *See also* Defense industries
of automobiles, 34–35, 119, 209, 366
of B-29 Superfortress, 38
of ballpoint pens, 40
of bullets, 254
in Italy, 131
Kaiser as industrialist, 209
of prefabricated houses, 366
statistics on, 119
Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire, 401
wages of manufacturing workers, 21, 119, 271, 418–19
women's employment in, 418–19
Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), 59, 73, **238–39,** 241, 264, 296
Marcantonio, Vito, 16, 281
Marcel, Jesse A., 341
March, Fredric, 239
Marchione, Margherita, 305
Marcuse, Herbert, 285
Maresca, Charles A., Jr., 87
Margarine. *See* **Oleomargarine**
Margarine Act, 288
Margin for Error, 233
Marin, Luis Muñoz, 383
Marine Corps (USMC)
in Battle of Guadalcanal, 163–64, 318, 426
in Battle of Iwo Jima, 198, 276
conquest of Philippines by (1901), 301–2
Paul Douglas in, 111, 112
journalists and, 205
in Korean War, 318
McCarthy in, 245
Navajo code talkers and, 275, 276–77
Peking man fossils and, 299
Puller in, 318
synthetic quinine and, 369
war dogs used by, 110
Marine Corps War Memorial (Iwo Jima Monument), 198–99
Maritain, Jacques, 337
Mark Bright the Arrows (Millay), 252
Market Garden Operation, 256
Marriage and divorce, 239–40
antimiscegenation laws and, 28–29
interracial marriage, 240, 351
statistics on, 208, 239, 240
war brides, 11, 28, 190
Marsh v. Alabama, 330
Marshall, George Catlett, Jr. *See also* Marshall Plan
Army Corps of Engineers and, 30
atomic bomb and, 240–41
biography of, 240–41
Marshall Plan and, 4, 530–31
as secretary of state, 348, 382
Truman Doctrine and, 382
Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) and, 416
in World War II, 66, 124, 240–41
Marshall, Thurgood, 85, 412
Marshall Plan. *See also* Marshall, George Catlett, Jr.
beginning of, 69
description of, **241–42,** 530–31
development of, by Acheson and Marshall, 4, 241
Eastern Europe and, 360, 382
and European purchases of U.S. goods, 191, 241, 242
funding for, 241, 380
for Germany, 13, 20
goals of, 47, 89, 241, 380
for Italy, 16
Marshall on, 530–31
NATO and, 282
opposition to, 62, 241, 313
supporters of, 141, 147, 187
Truman and, 17, 19, 20
Martin, Agnes Bernice, 242
Martin, Joseph, 332
Martin v. Struthers, 203
Marx, Chico, 126
Marx, Karl, 265, 292, 356
Marx Brothers, 126
Mason, Noah, 399
A Masque of Mercy (Frost), 145
A Masque of Reason (Frost), 145
Massachusetts
Cocoanut Grove fire in Boston, 79
crime in Boston, 94
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 321
The Masses, 252
Massing, Hede Tune, 114, 242–43
Massing, Paul, 242
Masters of Deceit (Hoover), 182
Mathematics and mathematicians, 134–35, 146, 303, 398, **398**
Matsuoka Yosuke, 378, 506–7
Mattachine Society, 151
Matterhorn Operation, 36
Matthews, J.B., 106
Matthews, Joseph B., 184
Mauchly, John W., 390
Mauldin, William Henry, 243
Maumoulian, Rouben, 178
May, Alan Nunn, 159
May Act, 314
Mayo Clinic, 92–93
Mayors, 187, 262
Mayr, Ernst, 128, 244, 303, 346, 423
McCall's, 233, 419
McCarran Act, 281
McCarran, Patrick Anthony, 244–45
McCarthy, Joseph Raymond. *See also* Anti-Communism; Cold War
Army-McCarthy hearings, 246, 261
biography of, **245–46**
Buck attacked by, 60
censure of, by Congress, 67, 215, 246, 261
class background of, 174
election of, to Congress, 86, 219
as judge, 245
as marine in World War II, 245
political cartoon of, 245
supporters of, 138, 196, 245, 284
Wechsler and, 407
on Yalta Conference, 425
McCarthy, Mary, 192
McCloy, John J., 13
McClure's Magazine, 67
McCollum, Vashiti, 189
McCollum v. Board of Education, 53
McDaniel, Hattie, 127
McDonald, David J., 389
McFarland, Ernest William, 246
McGrath, J. Howard, 108

- McGree, Dean A., 212
 McIntire, Carl, 127
 McKenzie, Giselle, 80
 McKeon, Matthew, 318
McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, 397
 McNarney, Joseph T., 13
McNary, Charles Linza, 246–47, 309
 McNary-Haugen bills, 246
 McWilliams, Carey, 352
 Measles, 169
 Media. *See* Hollywood film; Newspapers; Radio; Television
- Medicine, 247–48.** *See also* Health and disease; Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine
 abortion and, 3
 antibiotics and, 168–69, 299–300, 314, 346, 394–95, 402
 birth control and, 52
 cortisone and, 92–93
 drug abuse and, 113
 health insurance and, 26, 102, 272–73
 immunization and, 344
 Judd as medical missionary in China, 207
 medical schools, 248
 penicillin and, 169, 299–300, 346, 394–95
 physicians' charges for office visits, 21
 polio vaccine and, 344, 346
 psychiatry, 247, 248–49, 296, 308, 312, 357
 Salk and, 344
 Spock as pediatrician, 357–58
 streptomycin and, 169, 300, 346, 402
 synthetic quinine (chloroquine) and, 368–69
 Truman's national health care plan, 247, 272–73
 venereal disease, 299, 313–14, 394–95
 viruses and, 344
 women in, 248
- Meet Me in St. Louis*, 179, 285
Meet the Press, 70, 174, 373
 Meetinghouse Operation, 36
Mein Kampf (Hitler), 176, 177
 Mellett, Lowell, 286, 287
 Mellon, Andrew W., 271
 Mendez, Gonzalo, 248
Mendez v. Westminster School District, 101, **248**, 251
 Menjou, Adolphe, 179
 Menniger, William, 249
 Mennonites, 77, 86, 349
Mental health and mental health institutions, 113, 247, **248–49**.
See also Health and disease
 Merck and Co., 93
 Mercury automobile, 34
 Merlo, Farnk, 413
Merton, Thomas, 249–50
The Messenger, 324
 Metaxas, Ioannis, 14
 "Metropolitan Nightmare" (Benét), 45
Mexican Americans, 250–51. *See also* Hispanic Americans
 bracero program for, 190, 250
 discrimination against, 251
 education of, 101, 248, 251
 employment of, 250
 as farmworkers, 190, 221, 250
 political activism of, 250–51
 violence against, in Sleepy Lagoon Case, **352**
 zoot suit affair and, 208, 250, **431**
 Mexican-American Movement, 251
 Mexico, 158, 295
 Meyerson, Bess, 207
Miami News, 279
 Michener, James, 59
 Michigan
 Detroit race riot of 1943, **103–4**, 208
 Murphy as governor of, 262
 Michigan State University, 359
Mickey Mouse Club, 185
 Microbiology, 402. *See also* Biology
 Middle East. *See* Arab World; and *specific countries*
- Midway, Battle of**, 16, 163, 173, **251–52**, 421, 426
 Miescher, Friedrich, 72
 Migration of southern blacks to the North, 5, 6, 7, 76, 103–4, 129
 Mikan, George, 44
Mildred Pierce, 30, 179
 Military. *See also* World War I; World War II; World War II; and *specific military leaders*
 African Americans in, **5–6**, 97–98, 230, 384–85
 alliance between science and, 296, 303–4, 345
 desegregation of, 48–49, 77, 98, 270, 272, 348, 385, 412, 418
 discrimination in, 5, 77, 97, 98
 draft for, 21, 82, 87, 119, 196, 266, 276, 284, 293, 309, **348–49**, 370
 entertainers in, during World War II, 126–27, 149, 178–79
 Hispanic Americans in, 174
 homosexuality and, 151
 Italian Americans in, 196–97
 jeep used by, 202–3
 libraries for, 227–28
 Mauldin's cartoons of typical soldier, 243
 Native Americans in, 274, 275–77
 Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and, 286
 physicians in, 247
 psychiatric screening of, 248–49
 segregation of, 127, 334, 384
 statistics on, 240
 synthetic quinine and, 369
 training films for, 107, 149, 327
 venereal disease and, 313–14, 394
 and voting in wartime, 370
 Women's Army Corps (WACs), 49, 151, 177, 206, 416–17
- Military aviation, 36**, 38, 97, 229, 413
 Military bases
 construction of, by Army Corps of Engineers, 30
 destroyers for bases, 21, 30, **103**, 195, 215, 284, 309, 368
 Ellsworth Air Force Base, 67
 in Latin America, 158
 in the Philippines, 302
Milk Wagon Drivers Union v. Meadowmoor Dairies, 53
Millay, Edna St. Vincent, 252
Miller, Arthur Aster, 24, 59, **253**
Miller, George Augustus, Jr., 253–54
 Miller, Glenn, 22
Miller, Perry Gilbert Eddy, 254–55
 Milner, Martin, 341
Minersville School District v. Gobitis, 409–10
 Minnelli, Vincente, 285
 Minnesota, 187
 Minority groups. *See* African Americans; Desegregation; Discrimination; Hispanic Americans; Japanese Americans; Mexican Americans; Native Americans; Segregation
- Miranda v. Arizona*, 406
 Miscegenation, 28–29
The Misfits, 149
 Mississippi
 Bilbo as governor of, 51
 civil rights movement in, 6
 Dixiecrats in, 108
 fire in Natchez dance hall, 22
 lynchings in, 234

- Mississippi River, 30, 92, 103, **161–62**
 Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 96
 Missouri, 165
 USS *Missouri* battleship, 16, 201, 235, 393, 401
 Missouri River, 30, 67
Mister Roberts, 59
 Mitchell, Margaret, 157
 Mitchum, Robert, 179
 Molotov, V.M., 258–59
 Monroe, Marilyn, 107, 149
 Monroe Doctrine, 134
Monroney, Almer Stillwell Mike, 255
 Montana, 410
 Monteverdi, Claudio, 366
Montgomery, Bernard Law, 56–57, 61, 124, 255–56, 290, 295, 392
 Montgomery, Carlotta, 289
 Montreaux Convention, 482
 Moody, Dwight, 48
A Moon for the Misbegotten (O'Neill), 288
The Moon Is Down (Steinbeck), 363
 Moore, Amzi, 6
 Moore, Charles B., 340–41
Moral Man and Immoral Society (Niebuhr), 337
More Stately Mansions (O'Neill), 289
 Morehouse College, 213
 Morgan, Arthur, 228
 Morgan, Harcourt, 228
 Morgan, J.P., 150
 Morgan, Jacob C., 110
Morgan, Thomas Hunt, 109, 120, 256–57, 261
Morgan v. Virginia, 330
 Morgenthau, Hans, 120
Morgenthau, Henry, Jr., 18, 257, 411
 Morgenthau Plan, 257, 319, 365
Morison, Samuel Eliot, 175, 257–58
 Mormon Church, 46
Morse, Wayne Lyman, 258
Moscow Conference, 186, 258–59
Moses, Anna Mary Robertson “Grandma,” 259–60
 Moses, John, 284
 Moses, Robert, 383
 Moses, Thomas Salmon, 259
 Moss, Alfred A., Jr., 144–45
 Motion Picture Alliance for Preservation of American Ideals, 107
 Motion picture industry. *See* Hollywood actors; Hollywood film; *and specific movies and movie actors*
- Mott, Frank Luther, 205
Mount Rushmore, 67, 260
 “The Mountain Whippoorwill” (Benét), 45
Mourning Becomes Electra (O'Neill), 306
 Movies. *See* Hollywood actors; Hollywood films; *and specific movies and movie actors*
 Moyer, Andrew, 299
 Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 81
Mr. and Mrs. Smith, 176
Mr. Baruch (Coit), 42
Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House, 231
Mrs. Miniver, 179
MSS Magazine, 364
 Muehling, John A., 215
 Muhammad, Elijah, 7, 268–69
 Muhammad, Fard, 268
Muller, Hermann Joseph, 260–61
 Mumford, L. Quincy, 128
Mundt, Karl E., 67, 184, 185, 261–62, 280
 Mundt-Nixon bill, 280, 374
 Munitions technology, 253–54
Murder in the Cathedral (Eliot), 137
The Murder of Lidice (Millay), 252
 Murders, 94, 352. *See also* Lynching
Murdock v. Pennsylvania, 203
Murphy, Audie Leon, 262
Murphy, Frank, 123, 200, 262
 Murray, Anna Pauli, 417
 Murray, Howard J., 245
 Murray, Janet, 139
Murray, John Courtney, 263
 Murray, Philip, 83, 84, 362, 389
Murrow, Edward Roscoe, 259, 263–64, 323, 350, 379
 Musial, Stan, 42
Music. See also specific musicians and composers
 by Andrews Sisters, 27–28
 in Australia, 12
 by Gene Autry, 35
 big band music, 22, 158, 204, 408
 classical music, 27, **264–65**
 Copland as composer, **90–91**, 265
 by Bing Crosby, 12, **94**
 folk songs, 344
 gospel music, 264
 by Lena Horne, 184
 jazz, 158, 204
 by Liberace, **227**
 opera, 27, 380
 on radio, 227, 323, 351–52
 royalties for musicians, 323
 by Frank Sinatra, 22, 264, **351–52, 427**
- Stalin’s censorship of, 366
 Stravinsky as composer, **365–66**
 swing music, 158, 204
 Margaret Truman and, 381–82
Your Hit Parade on radio and television, 80
Music for the Theater (Copland), 90
 Musicals, 59, 179, 404
Mussolini, Benito, 15, 131–32, 265–66, 308, 473
Muste, Abraham Johannes, 150, 266–67, 293, 342
My Antonia (Cather), 67
“My Day” column, 267
My Little Chickadee, 136
My Several Worlds (Buck), 60
My Sister Eileen, 58
 Myer, Dillon S., 202
 Myrdal, Gunnar, 331
Mystics and Zen Masters (Merton), 250
 NAA. *See* National Airmen’s Association (NAA)
 NAACP. *See* National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
Nagasaki, 268
 B-29s used for atomic bombing of, 36, 38
 casualties from atomic bombing of, 238
 date of atomic bombing of, 16, 172, 268, 307
 Japan’s surrender following atomic bombing of, 12, 172, 201, 268, 307
 Oppenheimer’s response to destruction of, 188
 plutonium bomb (“Fat Man”) dropped on, 135, 187, 268, 345, 347
 rationale for use of atomic bomb on, 20, 392, 421
 Truman’s authorization for atomic bombing of, 83, 238, 241, 365, 380
 NAIA. *See* National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA)
The Naked and the Dead (Mailer), 237
 Narcotics. *See* Drug abuse
 Natchez, Miss., dance hall fire, 22
The Nation, 163, 192, 224, 236, 280, 407
Nation of Islam, 6–7, 268–69
 National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 398

- National Airmen's Association (NAA), 384
- National American Woman Suffrage Association, 68
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 269–70**
- Baker and, 418
- Bethune and, 48
- Bunche and, 62
- CORE and, 85, 269
- Democratic Party and, 412
- and desegregation of interstate travel, 348
- "Double V Campaign" of, 269, 412
- DuBois and, 114
- FBI and, 134
- founding of, 269
- Martin Luther King and, 213
- membership statistics, 269, 412, 418
- school desegregation and, 23
- Truman's speech to, 5, 77, 348
- United Nations and, 49, 417
- Walton County (Ga.) lynching and, 404, 412
- White as chief executive officer of, 269–70, 321, 412
- National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 48
- National Association of Evangelicals, 127, 315
- National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA), 43
- National Association of Manufacturers, 55
- National Association of Negro Musicians, 27
- National Association of Social Workers, 249
- National Basketball Association (NBA), 44, 359
- National Basketball League (NBL), 44
- National Catholic Community Service, 301
- National Child Labor Committee (NCLC), 74–75
- National Citizens Political Action Committee (NCPAC), 313
- National Coal Policy Conference, 226
- National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), 43, 139, 358
- National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 358
- National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, 68
- National Conference on Christians and Jews, 331
- National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), 270, 275, 276**
- National Council against Conscription, 348
- National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 46
- National Council of Negro Women, 48
- National Defense Advisory Committee, 11
- National Defense Advisory Council (NDAC), 149, 171
- National Defense Mediation Board, 271, 386**
- National Football League (NFL), 22, 140, 359
- National Gallery of Art, 271–72**
- National health insurance, 26, 102, 272–73**
- National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), 247, 249
- National Institutes of Health, 247
- National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, 87
- National Invitation Tournament, 43
- National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act), 23, 186, 189, 219, 221, 271, 362, 370, 401
- National Labor Relations Board, 49, 370–71
- National Legion of Mothers of America, 170
- National Mental Health Act, 249
- National Mental Health Advisory Council, 249
- National Mental Health Foundation, 87
- National Origins Act (1924), 216
- National Park Service, 9, 199, 260, 273
- National parks, 178, 273**
- National Progressive Republican League, 281
- National Recovery Administration, 244
- National Resources Planning Board, 154, 244
- National Review*, 70, 243
- National Science Foundation, 83
- National Security Act of 1947, 68–69, 141, 273–74**
- National Security Council (NSC), 69, 90, 273–74, 382
- National Security Resources Board (NSRB), 273
- National Service Board of Religious Objectors (NSBRO), 77, 87, 266
- National Travelers Aid Association, 301
- National Union for Social Justice, 353
- National Urban League, 49
- National War Fund, 63
- National War Labor Board (NWLB), 83, 220, 225, 258, 271, 300, 387, 389
- National Youth Administration, 48, 244, 417
- Nationalism, African American, 6–7, 412
- Native Americans, 274–75**
- in armed forces, 274, 275–77
- Black Elk, 52
- Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and, 270, 274
- Collier as commissioner of Indian Affairs, 79–80
- in Congress, 330
- Dodge as leader of Navajos, 110
- Indian Claims Commission (ICC) and, 270
- Indian Reorganization Act and, 270
- land claims of, 275
- McFarland and, 246
- National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) and, 270, 275, 276
- Navajo code talkers, 275, 276–77
- in New Mexico, 80
- poverty of, 275
- religion of, 52
- reservations of, 274–75
- statistics on, 274
- tribal governments for, 270
- Wheeler-Howard Act and, 80, 189
- Native Son* (Wright), 22, 423
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 282–83**
- Acheson's support for, 4
- Eisenhower and, 124
- founding of, 19–20, 48, 89, 282–83
- France and, 101
- Korean War and, 90
- Marshall Plan and, 282
- members of, 14, 282
- opposition to, 196, 370
- purpose and significance of, 282, 380, 382
- The Nature and Destiny of Man* (Niebuhr), 280
- Navajo code talkers, 275, 276–77**
- Navy, French, 97
- Navy, U.S. *See also* Secretary/ies of the Navy

- Navy, U.S.
 airships and, 54
 Gerald Ford in, 140
 Forrestal as secretary of, 141
 Goddard and, 156
 history of, 257–58
 Hitler on attacks by, 471
 intelligence agency and, 68
 Lyndon Johnson in, 205
 Kennedy in, 212
 Knox as secretary of the navy, 215, 309, 363
 Nixon in, 280
 Philippine naval bases, 302
 Shockley and, 350–51
 synthetic quinine and, 369
- Nazi Germany, 277–78.** *See also* Germany; Hitler, Adolf; World War II
 “Axis Sally” radio personality in, 36–37
 blitzkrieg (“lightning war”) and, 277, 361
 bombing of, 36, 97, 374
 burning of Reichstag building in, 492
 end of, 57, 278
 goals of Nazi Party, 489–91
 Hitler as dictator of, 176–77, 277, 491–504
 Hitler’s declaration of war against U.S. (1941), 13, 460–72
 Holocaust and, **18–19**, 24, 29, 177, 207, 277–78, 305, 319, 331, 416, 430, 496–502
 homosexuality in, 180–81, 278
 invasion of Austria by, 277, 504, 505
 invasion of Czechoslovakia by, 209–10, 277, 504–5
 invasion of Poland by, 277, 420, 465–66, 505–6
 invasion of USSR by, 20, 82, 177, 277, 360, 420, 429, 451–54, 462–65, 506–7
 Kristallnacht in, 18
 “Lebensraum” slogan and, 177, 514
 Munich Pact and, 504
 Nazi-Soviet Pact and, 20, 59, 82, 223, 353, 360, 407, 414, 506, 511
 nuclear fission discovered by, 237, 345
 organization of Nazi Party, 491
 “Pact of Steel” alliance between Italy and, 132, 378
 Panzer Army of, 61, 337–38
 plundering of art objects of Europe by, 510
 political, police, and military organizations in, 516
 prisoners of war and, 507–9, 512
 pure Aryan race idea and, 28, 177, 230, 277
 reoccupation of Rhineland by, 277, 504
 rescue mission for refugees from, 145–46
 terrorism in, and preparation for war, 502–4
 Tripartite Pact and, 103, 375, **378–79**, 455, 471–72, 473, 506
 U-boats in World War II, 13, 19, 76, 284, 470
- Nazi organization in U.S. *See* German-American Bund
- Nazi saboteurs, 278**
- Nazi-Soviet Pact, 20, 59, 82, 223, 353, 360, 407, 414, 506, 511
- NBA. *See* National Basketball Association (NBA)
- NBL. *See* National Basketball League (NBL)
- NCAA. *See* National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA)
- NCLC. *See* National Child Labor Committee (NCLC)
- NCPAC. *See* National Citizens Political Action Committee (NCPAC)
- NDAC. *See* National Defense Advisory Council
- Near v. Minnesota*, 186
- Nebraska
 defense industries in, 38, 126
 Norris as prosecuting attorney and judge in, 281
- Negro Digest*, 118
- Negro Leagues (baseball), **42–43**, 45, 155, 294, 334
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 46
- Neihardt, John, 52
- Neilson, Nellie, 544
- Nelson, Byron, 359
- Nephritis, 169
- Netherlands, 21, 201, 277, 282, 301, 506, 511
- Neumann, William L., 78
- Neutrality Acts, 19, 195, 196
- Nevada
 electricity for, 183
 McCarran as attorney in, 244
- Nevelson, Louise, 25
- Never Give a Sucker an Even Break*, 136
- Nevins, Allan, 278–79**
- New Deal. *See also* Roosevelt, Franklin D.; and specific agencies
 Benson’s view of, 46
 Bethune as administrator in, 48, 417
 Biddle and, 49
 Hugo Black and, 53
 Bowles and, 55
 Burdick and, 62
 Caraway and, 66
 constitutionality of legislation of, 49, 186, 329, 365
 critics of, 57, 58, 62, 85, 106, 137–38, 181, 215, 244, 296, 310, 352, 355, 370, 393, 414, 421
 Democratic Party and, 102, 332
 gold standard and, 4
 health insurance and, 272
 Hopkins and, 183, 189
 Ickes and, 183, 189
 supporters of, 11, 102, 187, 200, 204, 327, 383, 401, 410
 Truman and, 381
- New England Mind* (Miller), 254
- New Guinea, 235
- New Hampshire, 58
- The New Industrial State* (Galbraith), 149
- New Leader*, 192, 280
- New Masses*, 70
- New Mexico
 atomic bomb first detonated in, 83, 135, 238, 268, 307, 345
 Democratic Party in, 71–72
 electricity for, 183
 Agnes Martin in, 242
 Native Americans in, 80, 275
 Roswell incident involving UFOs in, 340–41
- New Republic*, 137, 192, 224
- New School for Social Research, 104, 112
- New York City. *See also* New York State
 crime in, 94
 Harlem race riot (1943), **166**
 Italian Americans in, 15, 16, 196
 New School for Social Research in, 104, 112
 Photo League in, 64, 65
 V-E Day and V-J Day in, 392, 396
- New York Dress Institute, 193
- New York Herald Tribune*, 205–6, 363
- New York Intellectuals, 81
- New York Journal-American*, 169
- New York Mirror*, 169
- New York Post*, 163, 224, 407
- New York Review of Books*, 81
- New York State. *See also* New York City
 civil rights law in, 105
 Democratic Party in, 130

- Dewey as governor of, 105, 115, 298
- Harriman as governor of, 167
- Hughes as governor of, 185
- investigations of gas utilities and insurance companies in, 185
- Roosevelt as governor of, 183, 189, 300
- Wagner in New York Assembly, 400–1
- New York Times*, 205–6
- New York University, 340–41
- The New Yorker*, 81, 411
- New Zealand, 11, 163
- Newbauer, Herman O., 278
- Newman, Barnett, 25
- Newspapers, 279–80.** *See also* Journalism; and specific newspapers
- African American newspapers, 7
- cartoons in, 243
- of Communist Party (CPUSA), 70, 82, 354, 407, 423
- competition between radio and, 206
- consolidation of, 279
- Eleanor Roosevelt’s “My Day” newspaper column, **267**
- freedom of the press, 112, 279
- Hearst newspapers, **169–70**, 215, 352
- Oveta Culp Hobby and, 177
- on Holocaust, 18
- Knowland family as newspaper publisher, 214, 215
- Knox as newspaper publisher, 215
- partisanship in, 279
- statistics on, 279
- strikes by newspaper employees, 279–80
- in USSR, 540
- Vandenberg as editor of, 393
- war correspondents for, 205–6, 363
- Wechsler as editor of, 407
- Newsweek*, 206
- Newton, Isaac, 123
- NFL. *See* National Football League (NFL)
- Nicaragua, 318
- Nicholson, Virginia, 408
- Niebuhr, Reinhold**, 25, 70, **280**, 331, 337
- Niemotko v. Maryland*, 203
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 265, 306
- Nikkei, 201
- NIMH. *See* National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH)
- Nimitz, Chester W., 215, 227, 251, 318
- Nineteen Eight-Four* (Orwell), 292
- Nipkow, Paul, 372
- Nisei, 202
- Nishimura, Shigeru, 226
- Nixon, Richard Milhous**
- biography of, **280–81**
- class background of, 174
- in Congress, 86, 280–81
- and congressional election of 1950, 111, 281
- Hiss-Chambers controversy and, 281
- HUAC and, 47, 70, 184, 185, 261, 280–81, 399
- presidency of, 87, 141, 239, 261, 281
- in presidential election of 1968, 187, 406
- resignation of, 281
- as vice president, 281
- Nixon v. Condon*, 388
- Nixon v. Herndon*, 388
- Nobel Peace Prize, 5, 62, 186, 213, 241, 296
- Nobel Prize in Chemistry, 296, 347, 373
- Nobel Prize in Literature, 60, 133, 170, 288, 363
- Nobel Prize in Physics, 123, 134, 136, 304, 321, 351, 373
- Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine, 93, 256, 261, 300, 346, 402
- Noble Sissle Orchestra, 184
- Nonpartisan League, 62, 223
- Nonviolence in an Aggressive World* (Muste), 266
- Nonviolent civil disobedience, 84–85, 150, 213, 267, 342. *See also* Civil rights movement
- Normandy invasion. *See* D-Day
- Norris, Frank, 315
- Norris, George, 281–82**, 415
- Norris, Jack, 56
- North Africa, 56, 64, 97, 124, 240, 255, 277, 289, 290–91, 295, 337, 385, 460–61
- North American Aviation strike, 171–72
- North Atlantic Security Pact, 147
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization. *See* NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)
- North Carolina
- chain gangs in, 85, 342
- crime in, 3
- forest fire in, 87–88
- forests in, 87
- North Dakota
- Langer as governor of, 223
- politicians in, 62
- Northwestern Schools, 161
- Norway, 21, 75, 114, 277, 282, 319–20, 506
- Not Death at All* (Peale), 296
- Not Under Forty* (Cather), 67
- Nothing Stands Still* (Schlesinger), 345
- Notorious*, 176
- Notre Dame University, 336, 358
- Novels. *See* Literature; and specific authors and titles
- Now Voyager*, 99, 179
- NSBRO. *See* National Service Board of Religious Objectors (NSBRO)
- NSC. *See* National Security Council (NSC)
- NSRB. *See* National Security Resources Board (NSRB)
- Nuclear power plants, 33, 83, 321
- Nuclear weapons, 33, 83. *See also* Atomic bomb; Bomb
- Nuremberg Trials**, 13, 49, 200, **283–84**, 350, 485–518
- Nurses. *See* Army Nurse Corps (ANC)
- NWLB. *See* National War Labor Board (NWLB)
- Nye, Gerald Prentice**, 85, 219, **284**
- Nylon stockings, 22
- O Pioneers!* (Cather), 67
- Oakland Tribune*, 214, 215
- OAS. *See* Organization of American States (OAS)
- O’Brien, Margaret, 285**
- OCD. *See* Office of Civilian Defense (OCD)
- Ockenga, Harold, 315
- O’Daniel, W. Lee, 106
- “Ode to the Austrian Socialists” (Benét), 45
- “Ode to Walt Whitman” (Benét), 45
- Odom, William P., 40
- O’Donnell, Father Hugh, 358
- Oetinger, Friedrich, 280
- Of Flight and Life* (Charles Lindbergh), 229
- Of Law and Men* (Frankfurter), 144
- Of Mice and Men* (Steinbeck), 362, 363
- Office of Civil Defense, 76
- Office of Civilian Defense (OCD), 76, 326, 338, 396
- Office of Coordinator of Information, 285
- Office of Economic Security, 149
- Office of Economic Stabilization, 396

- Office of Emergency Management, 280
- Office of Facts and Figures, 236, 286
- Office of Indian Affairs, 274
- Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.) (OMGUS), 13
- Office of Naval Intelligence, 202
- Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), 69
- Office of Price Administration (OPA), 55, 119, 149, 191, 326, 368, 400
- Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply (OPACS), 400
- Office of Production Management (OPM), 11, 167, 171–72, 380, 400
- Office of Special Operations, 68
- Office of Strategic Services (OSS)**, 62, 68, 175, 191, 274, **285–86**, 395
- Office of War Information (OWI)**, 46, 191, 236, **286–87**, 356, 396, 404, 405
- Office of War Mobilization, 396
- Ohio
- AA in, 9–10
 - Agricultural Experiment Station in, 88, 89
 - Akron Municipal Airport, 148
 - Bricker in state government in, 57
 - forests in, 88
 - Lausche as governor of, 225
 - Ohio State University, 120, 359
 - Oil resources, 17, 36, 114, 158, 189, 212, 223
 - O’Keeffe, Georgia, 364
 - Okinawa**, 173, **287–88**, 421
 - Oklahoma!*, 59
 - Oklahoma
 - dust bowl migrants from, 123
 - Kerr as governor of, 212
 - National Guard in, 212
 - Oklahoma A&M, 43
 - The Old Man and the Sea* (Hemingway), 170
 - Oldsmobile, 34
 - Oleomargarine**, **288**
 - Olmstead, Mildred Scott, 266
 - Olympic Games, 140, 153, 294, 359, 428
 - OMGUS. *See* Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.) (OMGUS)
 - On Active Service in Peace and War* (Stimson), 365
 - On the Road* (Kerouac), 341
 - One of Ours* (Cather), 67
 - One World* (Willkie), 414, 475–76
- O’Neill, Eugene Gladstone**, **288–89**, 303, 306
- Onishi, Takijiro, 210
- OPA. *See* Office of Price Administration (OPA)
- OPACS. *See* Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply (OPACS)
- OPC. *See* Office of Policy Coordination (OPC)
- Opera, 27, 380
- Operation Iceberg, 287–88
- Operation Lightfoot, 255
- Operation Market Garden, 256
- Operation Matterhorn, 36
- Operation Meetinghouse, 36
- Operation Overlord**, 64, 99, 124, 256, **289–90**, 319, 372
- Operation Torch**, 124, 255, **290–91**, 295
- Opinion*, 415
- OPM. *See* Office of Production Management (OPM)
- Oppenheimer, Julius Robert, 83, 134, 135, 173, 187–88, 238, 268, 321, 374
- Ordeal of the Union* (Nevins), 279
- Organization of American States (OAS), 158
- The Origin of Species* (Darwin), 244, 346
- Orlov, Alexander**, **291**
- Ornitz, Sam, 180
- Orpheus* (Stravinsky), 366
- Orthodox Christianity. *See* Eastern Orthodox Christianity
- Orwell, George**, **291–92**
- Oscars. *See* Academy Awards
- Oshima, Hiroshi, 217, 506
- Osmena, Sergio, 302
- OSS. *See* Office of Strategic Services (OSS)
- Our Miss Brooks*, 30
- Our Town* (Wilder), 137
- The Outsider* (Wright), 423
- Overlord Operation**, 64, 99, 124, 256, **289–90**, 319, 372
- Owens, Jesse, 359
- OWI. *See* Office of War Information (OWI)
- Oxford Movement, 9
- Ozawa, Jisaburo, 226
- PAC. *See* Political Action Committee (PAC)
- Pacelli, Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni, 304–5
- Pacific
- Battle of Coral Sea, 91–92, 251
 - Battle of Guadalcanal, 163–64, 318, 426
 - Battle of Iwo Jima, 198, 276, 421
 - Battle of Leyte Gulf, 226–27
 - Battle of Midway, 16, 163, 173, 251–52, 421, 426
 - Cairo Conference and wartime strategy in, 64
 - dogs used in war in, 110
 - Kennedy and PT-109 in, 212
 - MacArthur in, 235
 - military aviation in, 36
 - Okinawa invasion, 173, 287–88, 421
 - in World War II summarized, 420–21
- Pacifism**, **293–94**. *See also*
- Conscientious objection; Nobel Peace Prize; *and specific peace organizations*
 - Catt and, 68, 293, 325
 - Keller and, 211
 - Muste and, 266–67
 - Niebuhr, 280
 - opposition to peacetime draft, 348
 - Pauling and, 296
 - Rankin and, 325
 - Rustin and, 293, 342
 - Socialist Party and, 354–55
 - Norman Thomas and, 374
 - during World War II, 293–94
 - Frank Lloyd Wright and, 422
 - Packwood, Bob, 258
 - Paige, Leroy “Satchel,”** 155, **294**
 - Paige, Satchel, 43
 - Painters. *See* Art
 - Pakistan, 150, 301
 - Palestine, 14–15, 62, 374, 388, 415, 416, 430
 - Palestine Commission, 430
 - Palestine War, 15, 17–18
 - Palestinian refugees, 15
 - Paley, William S., 30
 - Palomino, Frank, 248
 - Pan-Africanism, 113, 114, 423
 - Pan-American Conferences, 158, 513
 - Pan American Progressive Association, 251
 - Pan American World Airways, 35, 229
 - Pan-American Peace Plans* (Hughes), 186
 - Panama, 158
 - Panama Canal, 193
 - Panic* (MacLeish), 236
 - Panzer Army, 61, 337–38
 - Papandreou, Andreas, 14
 - Paper Mate, 40
 - Paperback publishing, 237. *See also* Publishing and publishers

- Parker, Dorothy, 252
 Parker, Louis, 372
 Parkinson's disease, 137
 Parks
 Alcatraz under control of National Park Service, 9
 Everglades National Park, 178
 McFarland Historical State Park, 246
 national parks, 273
 Parks, Larry, 328
 Parran, Thomas, 247
 Parrington, V.L., 254
Partisan Review, 192
 Passing. *See* Racial passing
Paths to the Present (Schlesinger), 345
Patton, George Smith
 abuse of hospitalized soldiers by, 295
 Battle of the Bulge and, 61, 295
 biography of, **294–95**
 D-Day invasion and, 99, 289
 frustrations in career of, 98
 as military governor of Bavaria, 295
 Operation Torch and, 290, 295
 war dogs and, 110
 in World War I, 295
 in World War II, 57, 61, 99, 124, 255, 289, 290, 295
 Paul Reveres, 30
 Pauley, Edwin, 189
 Pauli, Wolfgang, 321
Pauling, Linus Carl, 72, 295–96, 374
 PCA. *See* Progressive Citizens of America (PCA)
 PCCR. *See* President's Committee on Civil Rights (PCCR)
 Peace Mission Movement, 132–33
 Peace movement. *See* Nobel Peace Prize; Pacifism
 Peace Now Committee, 293
 Peace Now Movement, 106
Peale, Norman Vincent, 296–97
 Peale, Ruth, 296
The Pearl (Steinbeck), 363
Pearl Harbor, 297–98
 casualties from attack on, 297
 date of Japanese attack on, 13, 16, 167, 297
 description of attack, 297, 426
 Dies on advance warning of, 106
 Knox's tour of, after attack on, 215
 radar used at, 322
 Roosevelt on, as "infamy," 507
 Roosevelt's possible duplicity concerning, 44, 138
 Roosevelt's war message to Congress following, 458–59
 shift from isolationism to interventionism after, 12, 21, 196
 U.S. declaration of war following, 13, 16, 167, 297
 Peaslee, Horace W., 198
 Peck, Gregory, 179
Peekskill Riot of 1949, 298
 Pegler, Westbrook, 224
Peking man, 298–99
 Pellagra, 168
 Pelley, William Dudley, 106
Penicillin, 169, 299–300, 346, 394–95
 Pennington, Boyd, 88
 Pennsylvania, 372
 Pennsylvania Turnpike, 22
 Penology. *See* Prisons
 Pens. *See* Ballpoint pens
 Pentecostal Association, 496
 People's Party, 358
 People's Republic of China (PRC). *See* China
 Perez, Andrea, 28–29
Perez v. Sharp, 28–29
 Periodicals. *See* Magazines
Perkins, Frances Coralie, 300–1
 Permanent Court of Arbitration, 185
 Pershing, John J., 295
The Persistence of Memory (Dali), 31
 Perske, Betty Joan. *See* Bacall, Lauren
 Personal liability principle, 515–16
 Petacci, Claretta, 266
 Pétain, Marshal Philippe, 97, 101, 290
 Petroleum Administration, 189
Petrushka (Stravinsky), 366
 Pets. *See* Dogs
 Pettengill, Samuel B., 296
 Pharmaceutical industry, 300
The Philadelphia Story, 171
 Philadelphia Transit Company, 129
Philanthropy, 301, 380
 Philby, Kim, 217
Philippines
 Battle of Leyte Gulf in, **226–27**
 as colony of U.S., 12, 301–2
 Communists in, 302
 Davis's command in, 98
 Eisenhower in, 124
 independence for, 12, **301–2**
 MacArthur and, 205, 235, 302, 401
 Marshall and, 240
 Frank Murphy and, 262
 naval bases on, 302
 Wainwright and, 401
 in World War II, 19, 201, 205, 226–27, 302, 401, 417
Philosophy, 302–3, 315
 Photo League, 64, 65
 Photography
 by Calomiris, 64
 flag-raising scene of marines on Mount Suribachi, 198, 206, 276
 by Goldwater, 156
 Polaroid camera, **305–6**
 by Stieglitz, 364
Physics, 303–4. See also Manhattan Project
 alliance between military and, 303–4, 345
 Einstein and, 33, 123–24, 135
 federal funding for, 304
 Fermi and, 134–35
 Feynman and, 135–36
 high school classes in, 122
 Klaus and, 146
 Nobel Prize in, 123, 134, 136, 304, 321, 351
 positron, 136
 public opinion of, 304
 quantum mechanical equations for subatomic particles, 135–36
 Rabi and, 321
 rocketry and, 120, 156, 397–98
 Shockley and, 350–51
 splitting of uranium atom with neutron, 134–35, 188
 theory of relativity, 123–24
 transistor, 351
 university research on, 120
 Piaget, Jean, 317
 Picasso, Pablo, 31
 Pick Sloan Plan, 30
 Pickford, Mary, 244
The Picture of Dorian Gray, 329
 Pike, Sumner T., 33
Pinocchio, 107
The Pisan Cantos, 308
 Pitts, Roscoe, 3
Pius XII, 263, 304–5
A Place in the Sun, 79
 Plague, 169
 Planck, Max, 123
 Planned Parenthood, 51
 Plastics, 383–84
 Plato, 302–3, 315
 Platt Amendment, 158
 Playwrights
 Eliot as, 137
 Flanagan as, 137
 Luce as, 233
 MacLeish as, 236
 Arthur Miller as, 24, 59, 253
 O'Neill as, 288–89, 303, 306
 Tennessee Williams as, 59, 413–14

- Plessy v. Ferguson*, 233, 248, 347
Plutonium, 346–47
Plutonium bomb. *See* Atomic bomb
Plymouth automobile, 34
PM, 07, 192
Pneumonia, 169, 299
Pocket Books, 237
Poe, Edgar Allan, 236, 306
Poem and Prayer for an Invading Army (Millay), 252
Poetry. *See also* Literature
 by Benét, 45–46
 by Frost, 145
 by Anne M. Lindbergh, 230
 by MacLeish, 236
 by Millay, 252
 by Pound, 308
 by Sandburg, 344–45
 by Warren, 407
Poetry magazine, 344
Point Four program, 141, 380–81, 382
Poland
 anti-Semitism in, 30
 destruction of Warsaw ghetto, 501
 elections and human rights in, 342
 Hitler's invasion of, 277, 420, 465–66, 505–6
 Marshall Plan and, 360
 Moscow Conference and, 259
 Potsdam Conference on, 307
 slave labor from, 508–9
 Teheran Conference on, 372
 Yalta agreement on, 425, 480–81, 528
Polaroid camera, 305–6
Police, 104, 166
Polio and polio vaccine, 112, 339, 344, 346, 405
Political Action Committee (PAC) of CIO, 11, 84, 172, 310
Political Affairs, 82
Political scientists, 224–25
Politics, 192
Polivka, Joseph B., 7, 100
Poll taxes, 102, 147, 168, 178, 406, 417
Pollock, Paul Jackson, 31, 306–7
Popper, Karl, 303
Population statistics, 21, **38–39**
Poretzky (or Reiss), Ignace, 217, 243
Pornography, 51–52
Porter, Cole, 59, 351
Portugal, 282, 522
Post-traumatic stress disorder, 262, 295
Post War World Council, 348, 374
The Postman Always Rings Twice, 179
Postmasters General, 130, 165–66
Poston, Tom, 407
Potash, Irving, 354
Potsdam Conference, 13, 16, 20, 167, 173, 212, **307–8**, 382, 392, 484
Pound, Ezra Weston Loomis, 265, 308
Poverty, 4–5, 174, 275. *See also* Unemployment
Powell, Adam Clayton, 5
Powell, William, 231
Power, Tyrone, 127, 178
Power of Positive Thinking (Peale), 296
Powers, Francis Gary, 124
Pragmatism, 303
Pratt, Trude, 224
“Prayer for the United Nations” (Benét), 46
PRC (People's Republic of China). *See* China
Prefabricated houses, 366
Prejudice. *See* Discrimination; Segregation
Presidential election of 1912, 204
Presidential election of 1916, 185
Presidential election of 1920, 189
Presidential election of 1924, 410
Presidential election of 1928, 130
Presidential election of 1932, 102, 130, 162, 204, 354
Presidential election of 1936, 102, 130, 215, 222, 354
Presidential election of 1940
 candidates and election returns, **308–9**
 Dewey and, 105, 308, 309, 332
 Farley and, 130
 Eleanor Roosevelt and, 309
 Franklin Roosevelt in, 22, 83, 162, 223, 236, **308–9**, 403, 414
 Socialist Party in, 355
 Taft and, 105, 308, 309, 332, 370
 Wallace, as vice presidential candidate in, 247, 309, 339, 403
 Willkie in, 57, 105, 162, 222, 247, **308–9**, 332, 414, 447–50
 Willkie's acceptance speech during, 447–50
Presidential election of 1944
 Barkley and, 41
 Bricker as vice presidential candidate in, 57
 candidates and election returns, **309–10**
 Dewey in, 57, 65, 105, 310, 332, 339
 Farley and, 130
 Franklin Roosevelt in, 57, 105, 165, 209, 211, **309–10**, 339
 Socialist Party in, 355, 374
 Truman as vice presidential candidate in, 41, 57, 165, 310, 339, 380
 Wallace ousted as vice presidential candidate in, 165, 310, 313, 339, 380, 403
 women as voters in, 111
Presidential election of 1948
 Barkley as vice presidential candidate in, 41
 candidates and election returns, **310–11**
 civil rights platform of Democratic Party in, 25, 77, 84, 108, 187, 311, 381
 Dewey in, 105, 115, 209, 232, 311, 332, 353, 380, 381
 Dixiecrats and, 25, 108–9, 272, 311, 381
 Dulles and, 115
 Eisenhower and, 25, 32, 222–23, 310
 Kaltenborn's mistaken announcement of victory of Dewey, 209
 MacArthur, 235
 Socialist Party in, 355, 374
 Taft and, 370
 Truman in, 25, 32, 41, 55, 105, 108–9, 209, 221, 232, 247, **310–11**, 332, 380, 381
 Wallace and Progressive Party in, 11, 82, 247, 272, 311, 313, 346, 381, 383, 403
 Warren and, 406
 Presidential election of 1952, 63, 105, 197, 210, 246, 258, 313, 332, 363, 406
 Presidential election of 1956, 63, 105, 197, 210–11, 363
 Presidential election of 1960, 205, 255
 Presidential election of 1964, 157, 187
 Presidential election of 1968, 187, 406
Presidential Succession Act of 1947, 311–12
Presidents. *See specific presidents*
President's Committee on Civil Rights (PCCR), 77
Presley, Elvis, 352
Preston, Robert, 178
Price controls, 191, 284, 389, **400**

- Prices
of automobiles, 34
of ballpoint pens, 40
of Broadway tickets, 58
of food, 21, 138, 400
of homes, 366
of television sets, 372
- Primary education. *See* Education
- Primary elections, 388, 418
- Prince v. Massachusetts*, 203
- Princeton University, 120, 123, 135, 212, 304, 398, 432
- Prisoners of war, 290, 376, 401, 417, 507–9, 512
- Prisons, 8–9, 37, 85, 219, 293, 312–13, 342**
- Privileges and immunities clause
of Fourteenth Amendment, 122–23
- The Problems of Lasting Peace* (Hoover), 181
- Professional sports. *See* Sports
- Progressive Citizens of America (PCA), 25, 313
- Progressive Party, 11, 82, 108, 204, 219, 221, 247, 311, 313, 354, 381, 383, 403**
- Prokofiev, Sergei, 264
- Promises to Keep* (Bowles), 55
- Propaganda during World War II, 37, 236, 286–87, 376–77, 396, **405**
- Prostitution, 94, 313–14, 394**
- Protein model, 72, 295
- Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Herberg), 117
- Protestantism, 280, 296–97, 314–15, 331. See also** Evangelicalism; Religion
- The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, 353
- Psychiatry, 247, 248–49, 296, 308, 312, 357
- Psychology, 249, 312, 315–17**
- Pu Yi, Henry, 200
- The Public and Its Government* (Frankfurter), 143–44
- Public Health Service, U.S., 394
- Public libraries. *See* Libraries
- Public schools. *See* Education
- Public Utility Holding Company Act, 327, 410
- Public Works Administration, 189
- Publishing and publishers, 118, 169–70, 192, 214, 215, 237
- Puerto Rican Reconstruction Commission, 163
- Puerto Ricans, 113, 173, 174
- Puerto Rico, 383
- Pulitzer Prize, 45, 46, 54, 60, 67, 78, 90, 95, 145, 170, 206, 212, 230, 236, 237, 243, 252, 253, 254, 265, 288, 289, 363, 407, 411, 413. *See also* Journalism; Literature; Playwrights
- Pullens, Barbara, 242
- Puller, Lewis “Chesty,” 98
- Pulp magazines, 236–37
- Puritanism, 254
- Pyle, Ernie, 474
- Quakers, 77, 86, 266, 293, 342, 349
- Quebec Conference, 319**
- Quinine, synthetic, 368–69**
- Quirin, Richard, 278
- Quirino, Elpidio, 302
- Quisling, Vidkun Abraham Lauritz, 319–20**
- Rabi, Isidor Isaac, 83, 304, 321**
- Race riots
after World War II generally, 5, 6, 7
Detroit race riot (1943), **103–4, 208**
Harlem race riot (1943), **166**
police and, 166
zoot suit affair, 208, 250, **431**
- Racial and ethnic groups. *See* African Americans; Desegregation; Discrimination; Hispanic Americans; Japanese Americans; Mexican Americans; Native Americans; Segregation
- Racial passing, 321–22**
- Racing. *See* Auto racing; Horse racing
- Radar, 322–23**
- Radical Religion*, 280
- Radio, 323**
Amos ‘n’ Andy program, **26**
anti-Nazi propaganda broadcasted by, 72
Gene Autry on, 35
“Axis Sally” radio personality in Nazi Germany, **36–37**
Benét’s scripts for, 45–46
Clark’s financial interests in radio stations, 78
comedy on, 3, 26, 30, 39
competition between newspapers and, 206
Coughlin on, 323
Bing Crosby on, 94
disk jockeys on, 323
Flynn on, 138
Kaltenborn on, 209
Morrow as newscaster on, 263–64, 323, 379
- musicians on, 227, 323, 351–52
- Pound’s anti-Semitic broadcasts, 308
- religious programs on, 127, 160, 296, 315
- Roosevelt’s fireside chats on, 136, 323
- royalties for music on, 323
- sports broadcasts, 42, 334
- Stalin’s broadcast to peoples of Soviet Union (1941), 451–54
- statistics on number of radios, 21
- subscription radio, 323
- Tokyo Rose on, 37, 376–77
- Trout as newscaster on, 379
- war coverage by, 263–64, 323, 350, 379
- The War of the Worlds* broadcast on, 408
- Welles on, 408
- woman journalist on, 147–48
- Your Hit Parade* on, 80
- Railroads, 36, 122, 323–24**
- Railway Emergency Board, 258
- The Rake’s Progress* (Stravinsky), 366
- Ramirez, Lorenzo, 248
- Ranching. *See* Agriculture
- Randolph, Asa Philip, 5, 6, 76, 129, 324–25, 342, 347**
- Rankin, Jeannette, 325**
- Rankin, John, 184
- Ransom, John Crowe, 407
- Rape, 94, 314, 394
- Raphael, 271
- Rationing, 325–26, 377, 396, 400**
- Rauh, Joseph L., Jr., 408
- Rayburn, Samuel Taliaferro, 326–27**
- Read, Conyers, 544
- Reader’s Digest*, 229, 296, 375
- Reagan, Ronald Wilson, 90, 113, 175, 327–28**
- Real estate redlining and blockbusting, 328–29**
- Real Wages in the United States* (Douglas), 111
- Reard, Louis, 50
- Rebecca, 176
- Rebel Without a Cause*, 34, 208
- Reber, Grote, 32
- Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 329
- Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (Farrand), 131
- Red Cross, 177, 183, 197, 301
- Red Masquerade* (Calomiris), 65
- The Red Pony* (Steinbeck), 363

- Red Scare. *See* Anti-Communism; Cold War; *and* Communist Party headings
- Redbook*, 419
- Reed, Donna, 329**
- Reed, John, 252
- Reed, Stanley F., 329–30**
- Reformers. *See* Social reformers
- Reifel, Benjamin, 330**
- Reiss, Ignace, 217, 243
- Relativity theory, 123–24
- Religion, 331–32.** *See also* Judaism; Roman Catholicism; *and specific religions*
- abortion and, 3–4
- of African Americans, 118
- conscientious objectors (COs) and, 77, 86–87, 293, 349
- court case on school prayer, 406
- Eastern Orthodox Christianity, 117–18
- evangelicalism, 3–4, 127–28, 160–61, 315, 331, 496
- “Father Divine” and, 132–33
- Hitler’s battle against, 495–96
- Jehovah’s Witnesses, 71, 78, 87, 203–4, 293, 410, 496
- Merton and, 249–50
- Mormon Church, 46
- Murray as theologian, 263
- Nation of Islam, 6–7, 268–69
- of Native Americans, 52
- Niebuhr as theologian, 280, 331, 337
- Peale and, 296–97
- Protestantism, 280, 296–97, 314–15, 331
- public schools and, 189–90
- “Sweet Daddy Grace” and, **160**
- women in leadership roles, 331
- Rembrandt, 272
- Remembrance Rock* (Sandburg), 345
- Remington Rand Corporation, 390
- Renascence and Other Poems* (Millay), 252
- The Republic* (Beard), 44
- Republican Party, 332.** *See also* Presidential election headings; *and specific Republican party members*
- African Americans and, 5, 102, 222
- business and, 371
- Congressional elections of 1942 and, **85–86**, 102, 332
- Congressional elections of 1946 and, **86**, 102, 371
- farmers and, 8
- immigrants and, 15
- leaders of, 34, 57–58, 63, 67, 105, 111, 140–41, 215, 222, 353, 370
- modern Republicanism of 1950s, 63
- televised coverage of 1948 convention of, 206
- Resettlement Administration, 383
- Restaurants, 138
- Restless Ecstasy* (Sandburg), 344
- Retail stories. *See* Chain stores
- Reuther, Walter, 333, 386**
- Reynolds, Milton, 40
- Reynolds International Pen Co., 40
- Reynolds v. Sims*, 406
- Rheumatoid arthritis, 93
- Rhineland, 277, 504
- Rhode Island, 162
- Ribbentrop, Joachim von, 283, 506, 509
- Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, 415
- Rice University, 260
- Rich (Larry) Band, 27
- Richards, Theodore William, 82
- Richberg, Donald, 228
- Ricketts, 168, 243
- Ricketts, Ed, 363
- Rickey, Branch, 42, 294, 333–34**
- Riddle, Nelson, 341
- Riggs, Bobby, 359
- Right-to-work laws, 371
- Riley, William, 161
- Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolai, 366
- Rio Grande, 92
- Rio Pact, 158, 534
- Riots. *See* Race riots
- The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (Shirer), 350
- The Rising Sun in the Pacific* (Morison), 258
- The Rite of Spring* (Stravinsky), 366
- The Road Ahead* (Flynn), 138
- Road to Singapore*, 94
- Roads. *See* Highways
- Robb, Inez, 206
- Robeson, Paul, 298
- Robinson, Doane, 260
- Robinson, Jack Roosevelt “Jackie,”** 5, 42, 43, 71, 109, 118, 155, 294, **334–35**, 359
- Robinson, Rachel, 334
- Robinson, Sugar Ray (Walker Smith Jr.), 220, 335–36**, 359, 429
- Rockefeller, Nelson A., 167
- Rockefeller Foundation, 298, 355
- Rockefeller Institute, 110, 169
- Rocketry, 120, 156, 397–98
- Rockwell, Norman Percevel, 31,** 287, 314, **336**, 358
- Rodeo* (Copland), 90, 265
- Rodgers, Richard, 59
- Roehm, Ernst, 181
- Rogers, Edith Nourse, 416
- Rogers, Roy, 168
- Rogers, Will, 35
- Roman Catholicism, 336–37**
- abortion and, 3–4
- of Africans and African Americans, 118
- Americanization of, 331, 336–37
- converts to, 37, 52, 233, 376
- Coughlin and, 24, 207, 219, 323, 353, 415
- First Amendment and, 263
- of German Americans, 153
- in Germany, 496
- of Hispanic Americans, 174
- Holocaust and, 305
- of Italian-Americans, 15
- Merton and, **249–50**
- Murray as theologian, 263
- popes and, 263, 304–5
- problems of, 336
- Second Vatican Council and, 263, 337
- Sheen and, 331, 337
- Romania, 14, 259, 461, 528
- Romer, Harry A., 353
- Rommel, Erwin Johannes Eugen,** 56, 99, 255, 289, 290, **337–38**, 460–61
- Rooney, Mickey, 178
- Roosevelt, Anna, 343
- Roosevelt, Anna Eleanor**
- African American airmen and, 384
- Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and, 25, 338
- and Anderson’s concert at Lincoln Memorial, 27
- biographies on, 224
- biography of, **338–39**
- civil rights movement and, 417
- as delegate to United Nations General Assembly, 338
- dog of, 130, 144
- Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) and, 129
- FBI’s monitoring of, 134
- friendship between Isabella Greenway and, 162–63
- gravesite of, 144
- Hopkins and, 183
- human rights and, 267, 338, 391, 538–43
- Lash and, 223–24
- Madame Chiang Kai-shek and, 73
- “My Day” newspaper column by, 267

- and presidential election of 1940, 309
- and relationship between FDR and Lucy Mercer Rutherford, 342–43
- social secretary of, 342
- United Nations and, 267, 338, 391, 394, 538–43
- Wallace and, 403
- Welles and, 409
- Roosevelt, Franklin D.** *See also* *New Deal*; World War II
- advisers to, 41, 46, 95, 141, 183–84, 189
- Atlantic Charter and, 339
- atomic bomb and, 237
- automobile of, 144
- biography of, **339**
- at Cairo Conference, 64
- Casablanca Conference and, 66, 319
- civil rights movement and, 5, 76
- court-packing controversy (1937) and, 22, 102, 108, 186, 204, 410
- De Gaulle and, 101
- death of, 129, 338, 339, 343, 379, 405–6
- Democratic Party and, 86, 102
- and destroyers for bases program, 103, 195, 368
- Detroit race riot and, 104
- dog of, 130, 144, 405
- economic policy of, 95
- on European decolonization, 19
- executive agreements used by, 368
- Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) and, 5, 6, 129, 324–25, 418
- FBI and, 134
- fireside chats by, 136, 323
- on four freedoms, 141–42
- GI Bill and, 154
- Good Neighbor Policy of, 157–58
- as governor of New York, 183, 189, 300
- gravesite of, 144
- Hitler on, 466–71
- Holocaust and, 18–19
- home of, 144
- HUAC and, 106
- internment of enemy aliens and, 112, 134, 152, 216, 339
- and Jewish homeland, 430
- labor unions' support of, 11, 83
- Middle East policy of, 15, 17
- national health insurance and, 272
- Neutrality Acts and, 19
- opposition to third term of, 85, 130, 204, 222, 225
- Pearl Harbor attack and possible duplicity of, 44, 138
- polio and, 112, 339, 405
- in presidential election of 1932, 130, 162, 204
- in presidential election of 1936, 215, 222
- in presidential election of 1940, 22, 83, 162, 223, 236, **308–9**, 403, 414
- in presidential election of 1944, 57, 105, 165, 209, 211, **309–10**, 339
- publication of letters of, 224
- at Quebec Conference, 319
- relationship between Lucy Mercer Rutherford and, 342–43
- and reorganization of executive branch of federal government, 102
- speechwriters for, 236, 287
- Supreme Court nominees of, 22, 53
- at Teheran Conference, 20, 371–72
- television broadcast of, 431
- United Nations and, 387
- USSR policy of, 20
- veto of tax bill by, 41
- war message to Congress (1941) by, 16, 297, 458–59
- Warm Springs, Ga. (Little White House) and, 405–6
- World War II and, 13, 20, 21, 44, 62, 339
- at Yalta Conference, 387, 425
- Roosevelt, James, 144
- Roosevelt, Theodore
- Bull Moose Progressive movement and, 165
- carving of, on Mount Rushmore, 260
- Dewey compared to, 105
- foreign policy motto of, 448
- internationalism of, 193
- in presidential election of 1912, 204
- Eleanor Roosevelt as niece of, 338
- Rough Riders and, 215
- Stimson and, 364
- Vandenberg and, 393
- Willkie and, 449
- Roosevelt (Franklin D.) Presidential Library and Museum, 144**
- The Roosevelt I Knew* (Perkins), 300–1
- The Roosevelt Myth* (Flynn), 138
- The Roots of American Loyalty* (Curti), 95–96
- Rose, Fred, 159
- Rose, Mauri, 359
- Rosenberg (defendant at Nuremberg Trials), 496, 500–1, 507–8, 510
- Rosenberg, Harold, 25, 31
- Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel, 47**, 112, 146, 147, 182, 332, **339–40**, 395, 396
- Rosenthal, Joseph, 198, 206
- Rosie the Riveter, 336
- Roswell incident, 340–41**
- Rothko, Mark, 25
- Route 66, 341–42**
- Roxas, Manuel, 12
- Roxas, Manuel A., 302
- Rubber Survey Committee, 41
- Rumania. *See* Romania
- Rural Electrification Act, 281
- Rushmore, Mount, 67, 260**
- Russell, Bertrand, 104
- Russell, Richard, 71
- Russia. *See* USSR
- Russian-Japanese War, 193, 425, 455
- A Russian Journal* (Steinbeck), 363
- Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, 117
- Russo-Finnish War (Winter War), 414–15
- Rustin, Bayard Taylor, 85, 150, 293, 342**
- Rutgers University, 346, 402
- Ruth, Babe, 428
- Rutherford, Lucy Page Mercer, 342–43**
- Sacco, Nicola, 143, 252
- Sachs, Julius, 72
- The Sacred Pipe* (Brown), 52
- SAG. *See* Screen Actors Guild (SAG)
- Salaries. *See* Wages
- Salk, Jonas Edward, 344, 346**
- Saludos Amigos*, 107
- Salvation Army, 301
- San Francisco Examiner*, 169
- San Francisco Treaty (1951), 17
- Sandburg, Carl, 344–45**
- Sanger, Margaret, 51
- Sansei, 202
- Santa Fe Trail*, 327
- Sarnoff, David, 372, 431
- Satellites, 261
- Saturday Evening Post*, 9, 336
- Saudi Arabia, 15, 17
- Sayre, John Nevin, 267, 293
- Scarlet fever, 169, 299
- Schapiro, Meyer, 25
- Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States*, 186
- Schirach, Baldur von, 283
- Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 224, 285, 345

- Schlesinger, Arthur Meier, Sr.**, 345, 544
- Schmeling, Max, 230
- Schools. *See* Education
- SCHW. *See* Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW)
- Schwartz, Delmore, 81
- Schwinger, Julian, 136
- Science.** *See also* Biology; Manhattan Project; Physics achievements in, **345–46**
alliance between military and, 296, 303–4, 345
astronomy, 32–33, 49–50
chemistry, 72–73, 82–83, 100, 295–96, 346–47, 383–84
evolutionary biology, 128, 214, 244, 346
FBI investigations of scientists, 134
genetics, 109–10, 120, 128, 244, 256, 260–61, 423–24
high school classes in, 122
National Science Foundation, 83
scientific method and, 303
university research in, 120
- Scopes trial, 4, 127
- Scott, Adrian, 180
- Scott, Raymond, 80
- Screen Actors Guild (SAG), 327–28
- Screen Cartoonists Guild, 107
- SCS. *See* Soil Conservation Service (SCS)
- Scurvy, 168
- The Sea of Cortez* (Steinbeck and Ricketts), 363
- Seaborg, Glenn Theodore**, 346–47
- Sears Roebuck, 40, 69
- Secondary education. *See* Education
- Secrest, Edmund, 88
- The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes* (Orlov), 291
- Secretary/ies of Agriculture, 26, 46, 402–3. *See also* Agriculture Department (USDA)
- Secretary/ies of Commerce, 86, 167, 183, 310, 313, 403
- Secretary/ies of Defense, 141, 274. *See also* Defense Department
- Secretary/ies of Health, Education, and Welfare, 177
- Secretary/ies of Labor, 300
- Secretary/ies of State, 4, 115, 185, 186, 241, 348, 363, 364. *See also* State Department
- Secretary/ies of the Interior, 189, 387. *See also* Interior Department
- Secretary/ies of the Navy, 141, 215, 309. *See also* Navy, U.S.
- Secretary/ies of the Treasury, 257, 396. *See also* Treasury Department
- Secretary/ies of War, 309, 364–65. *See also* War Department
- Securities and Exchange Commission, 112
- See It Now*, 259, 264
- Seeds of Contemplation* (Merton), 250
- Seeds of Destruction* (Merton), 250
- Segregation**, 347–48. *See also* Desegregation; Discrimination in Atlanta, 213
black baseball players and, 109, 334–35
black entertainers and, 184
of college sports, 43
factors undermining, 347–48
Fulbright's support for, 147
of higher education, 120, 248
of housing, 104, 147, 322, 328–29, 349–50
irrational beliefs as justification for, 347
Jim Crow laws, 4, 5, 347
of medical schools, 248
of military, 127, 334, 384
of public transportation, 342, 417
of schools, 7, 23, 101, 248
separate but equal doctrine, 233, 248, 347
during World War II, 84
- Selective Service Act**, 21, 247, 293, 309, 314, 342, **348–49**, 370
- Selective Training and Service Act**, 349
- Selznick, David O., 157
- Semiconductors, 350, 351
- Senate, U.S. *See* Congress
- Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill of Rights)**, 5, 16, 120, 122, **154**, 246, 251, 328
- Servo, Marty, 335
- The Seven Story Mountain* (Merton), 249–50
- Seventeen*, 419
- SEXTANT. *See* Cairo Conference
- Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Kinsey), 151, 214
- Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Kinsey), 151, 214
- Sexuality. *See also* Gays and lesbians
antimiscegenation laws and, 28–29
birth control and, 52
Kinsey's research on, 151, 214
Sexually transmitted diseases. *See* Venereal disease
- SFES. *See* Southern Forest Experiment Station (SFES)
- Shahn, Ben, 252
- The Shame of the States* (Deutsch), 247, 249
- Share Our Wealth Society, 352
- Shasta Dam, 209
- Shaughnessy, Clark, 139
- Shaw, Wilbur, 359
- Sheen, Fulton J., 331, 337
- Shelley, J.D., 349
- Shelley v. Kraemer**, 349–50, 397
- Sheppard, Morris, 106
- Sherman Antitrust Act, 279
- Sherwood, Robert, 286
- Sherwood, Robert Emmet, 287
- Shima, Kiyohide, 226
- Shipstead, Henrik, 219
- Shirer, William Lawrence**, 350
- Shockley, William Bradford**, 350–51
- Shokaku*, 92
- "Shooting an Elephant" (Orwell), 291
- Short, Walter H., 167, 297
- Shostakovich, Dmitri, 264
- Shoumatoff, Elizabeth, 405–6
- Shull, George Harrison, 8
- Sicily, 15, 66, 194, 255
- The Sign of Jonas* (Merton), 250
- Sikorsky, Igor, 22
- Silkworth, William D., 9
- Silsbee, Joseph Lyman, 422
- Silver, Abba Hillel, 416, 430
- Silver Shirts, 30, 106
- Simpson, George Gaylord, 128
- Sinatra, Francis Albert "Frank,"** 22, 89, 94, 179, 264, **351–52**, 426, 427
- Sinclair, Upton, 252, 399
- "Sinews of Peace" address. *See* "Iron Curtain" speech
- Six Companies, Inc., 183
- Ski resorts, 377
- Skinner, Burrhus Frederick, 316, 317
- Skorzeny, Otto, 61
- Skouras, Spyros, 117
- Slaughter-House Cases*, 122–23
- Slavery, 157
- Sleepy Lagoon Case**, 352
- Slipher, Vesto M., 49–50
- Smallpox, 169
- Smith, Al, 130, 400
- Smith, Buffalo Bob, 168, 185
- Smith College, 137
- Smith, Gerald Lyman Kenneth**, 24, 207, **352–53**
- Smith, Howard W., 353–54
- Smith, Lillian, 418
- Smith, Margaret Madeline Chase**, 353
- Smith, Robert, 9–10

- Smith, Tucker P., 355
- Smith, Walker, Jr. *See* Robinson, Sugar Ray (Walker Smith Jr.)
- Smith, Walter Bedell, 69, 392
- Smith Act** (1940), 22, 49, 65, 82, **353–54**, 367, 368, 399, 407
- Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act, 147, 225, 387
- Smith-Hughes Act (1925), 82
- Smyth, Henry DeWolf, 356
- The Snake Pit* (Ward), 249
- Snead, Sam, 359
- Snider, Duke, 109
- Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, 107
- Sobell, Martin, 340
- Social Darwinism, 137, 272
- The Social Life of a Modern Community* (Warner and Lunt), 355–56
- Social reformers, 48–49, 64–65, 93, 211. *See also* Civil rights movement
- Social Security, 186, 390, 401
- The Social System of the Modern Factory* (Warner and Low), 356
- Social work, 249, 312, 325
- Socialist Party**, 223, 280, 342, **354–55**, 374
- Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, 47
- Society of Friends. *See* Quakers
- Sociology, 355–56**
- Socolov, Albert, 91
- Socrates, 303
- Soil Conservation Act, 232
- Soil Conservation Service (SCS), 88
- Solicitors General, 49, 329
- Sondheim, Stephen, 80
- The Song of the Lark* (Cather), 67
- Song of the South*, 108
- Soong Ching Ling, 73
- Soong Mei-ling, 73
- The Soong Sisters*, 74
- Sorlie, A.G., 284
- Sorry, Wrong Number*, 179, 361
- Souers, Sydney W., 68
- Souls of Black Folk* (DuBois), 113
- The Sound and the Fury* (Faulkner), 133
- Sousley, Franklin R., 198
- South America. *See* Latin America; *and specific countries*
- South Carolina
- Dixiecrats and, 108
- forests in, 87
- South Dakota
- Earth Resources Observation Systems (EROS) Program in, 261
- Mount Rushmore in, 67, 260
- politicians from, 67
- South Pacific*, 59
- Southeast Asia. *See* East Asia
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 342, 418
- Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW), 417
- Southern Corporation, 228
- Southern Forest Experiment Station (SFES), 87–88
- Soviet atomic bomb**, 33, 89, 187, 304, **356–57**, 373
- Soviet Union. *See* Cold War; USSR
- Soybean exports, 191, 242
- Spaatz, Carl A., 36
- Space program, 122, 124
- Spain, 98, 142–43, 245, 291. *See also* Spanish Civil War
- Spam, 357**
- Spanish American War, 98, 193, 344
- Spanish Bayonet* (Benét), 45
- Spanish Civil War, 82, 132, 142, 170
- Spartacus*, 180
- Species, definition of, 346
- Speer, Albert, 509
- Spellman, Francis Joseph, 338
- Spies. *See also* Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel
- Bentley as, 46–47, 95, 185, 412
- Browder as, 59–60
- Chambers as, 70, 114, 174, 185, 217, 243, 281, 395, 412
- Coplton as, 91
- Duggan as, 114–15, 243
- Gouzenko as, 159
- Hiss as, 70, 174–75, 182, 185, 217, 243, 281, 395
- for Japan, 202
- Krivitsky as, 216–17
- in Manhattan Project, 146–47, 356–57, 395
- Massing as, 242–43
- Orlov as, 291
- Rosenbergs as, 47, 112, 146, 147, 182, 332, 339–40, 395, 396
- Soviet atomic bomb and, 356–57
- in State Department, 114–15, 174–75
- for U.S., 124, 134
- VENONA project for identification of, 395–96
- Harry White as, 411–12
- women as, 37, 46–47, 91, 95, 185, 242–43, 412
- Spiritual Mobilization, 297
- Spock, Benjamin McLane**, 317, **357–58**
- Sports.** *See also* Baseball
- African Americans in, 5, 42–43, 45, 55–56, 109, 155, 294, 334–35, 359
- auto racing, 359
- basketball, 43–44, 359
- boxing, 55–56, 219–20, 230, 335–36, 359, 373, 428–29
- college sports, 43, 139, 358–59
- football, 22, 139–40, 358–59
- golf, 359, 428
- hockey, 22, 359
- horse racing, 359
- professional sports, 359–60
- radio and television broadcasts of, 42, 373
- tennis, 359
- women in, 10, 42, 359, 428
- Sprague, Randall, 93
- Spruance, Raymond A., 287
- Sputnik*, 122, 124
- Sri Lanka, 301
- Stachel, Jacob, 354
- Stahmer, Heinrich, 378
- Stalin, Joseph.** *See also* Cold War; USSR
- anti-Semitism of, 29
- and atomic diplomacy of Truman, 20, 173, 268, 307
- Balkan Peninsula and, 14
- Berlin blockade and, 47–48
- biography of, **360**
- broadcast to peoples of Soviet Union (1941) by, 451–54
- censorship of music by, 366
- Churchill on, 522
- D-day invasion and, 64
- death of, 429
- as dictator of USSR, 292, 360
- and Germany's surrender, 392
- Hopkins and, 183
- Kennan on, 211
- meaning of name “Stalin,” 360
- at Potsdam Conference, 20, 173, 212, 307–8, 360, 382
- purges by, 217, 242, 291, 292, 360
- at Teheran Conference, 20, 360, 371–72
- Trotsky's death and, 104
- United Nations and, 387
- World War II plans and, 64, 66, 360, 420
- at Yalta Conference, 360, 387, 425
- Stalingrad**, battle of, **361**
- Stambaugh, Lynn, 284
- Standard Oil Co. v. Federal Trade Commission*, 330
- Stanford University, 139, 351
- Stanley, Robert M., 36
- Stanwyck, Barbara**, 179, **361–62**

- A Star Is Born*, 239
- Stark, Lloyd, 165
- Starnes, Joe, 399
- State Department. *See also* Secretary/ies of State
- Acheson as secretary of state, 4, 211
 - Bunche in, 62
 - Byrnes as secretary of state, 363
 - Churchill and, 19
 - Communists and alleged
 - Communists in, 114, 174, 217, 218, 243, 245
 - Declaration of the United Nations and, 387
 - Dulles as secretary of state, 115
 - Hiss in, 174, 217, 281, 395
 - historians employed by, 175
 - Holocaust and, 18
 - Hughes as secretary of state, 185
 - Hull as secretary of state, 186
 - intelligence agency and, 68
 - Israel and, 207
 - Kennan in, 211
 - Marshall as secretary of state, 241, 348
 - Morgenthau Plan and, 319
 - Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) in, 69
 - Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and, 286
 - spies and alleged spies in, 114, 174–75
 - Stettinius as secretary of state, 363
 - Stevenson and, 363
 - Stimson as secretary of state, 364
 - Truman and, 15
 - Welles and, 409
- State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, 48
- State government. *See* Governors; and *specific states*
- The State of Alaska* (Gruening), 163
- State of the Union*, 171, 377
- State WPA Guides*, 341
- Statehood
 - for Alaska, 163
 - for Arizona, 168
 - for Hawaii, 167
- States' Rights Democratic Party, 108, 311
- Steel and steel industry, 253, 362, 368, 389–90. *See also* United Steelworkers of America (USW)
- Steel strike of 1946, 362**, 389–90
- Steelworkers Organizing Committee (SWOC), 389
- The Steep Ascent* (Anne Lindbergh), 229
- Steeple Bush* (Frost), 145
- Steichen, Edward, 364
- Steinbeck, John**, 341, **362–63**
- Stelle, John, 154
- Stettinius, Edward, 183, 363, 387
- Stewart and Company v. Bowles*, 368
- Stevenson, Adlai E., 197
- Stevenson, Adlai Ewing, II**, 32, 71, 197, 211, 215, 255, 258, **363–64**
- Stevenson, Lewis Green, 197
- Stewart, James, 127, 178
- Stickney, Joseph, 57
- Stieglitz, Alfred**, 364
- Stimson, Henry Lewis**, 177, 309, **364–65**, 512
- Stimson Doctrine, 364
- Stock market, 141
- Stoker, Bram, 236
- Stone, Harlan Fiske**, 74, 200, **365**, 389, 410
- Stonewall riots (1969), 151
- “Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening” (Frost), 145
- Stormy Weather*, 184
- The Story of G.I. Joe* (Miller), 253
- Stouffer, Samuel A., 356
- Strange Fruit* (Smith), 418
- Strank, Michael, 198
- Strauss, Lewis L., 33
- Stravinsky, Igor Fedorovich**, 264, **365–66**
- A Streetcar Named Desire* (Williams), 59, 413
- Streicher, Julius, 283, 497, 499
- Streptomycin, 169, 300, 346, 402
- Strikes. *See also* Labor unions
 - by CIO, 83, 106, 220, 361, 362
 - of Conference of Studio Unions (CSU), 327–28
 - in entertainment industry, 107, 179, 180
 - government takeover of steel industry due to strike, 368
 - hate strikes at integrated plants, 220
 - of longshoremen in Hawaii, 167
 - by newspaper employees, 279–80
 - no-strike pledge during wartime, 23, 83, 220, 271
 - North American Aviation strike, 171–72
 - by Philadelphia Transit Company's employees, 129
 - in postwar period, 220–21, 362, 368, 371
 - sit-down strikes of late 1930s, 83
 - Smith-Connally anti-strike bill, 147
 - steel strikes, 362, 368, 389–90
 - in sugar industry in Hawaii, 167
- Supreme Court on right to strike, 262
- Taft-Hartley Act and, 23–24, 193, 221, 258, 332, 362, **370–71**, 387
- transportation strike in Minnesota (1941), 354
- by United Auto Workers (UAW), 271, 333, 386
- by United Mine Workers of America (UMW), 387
- wildcat strikes, 23, 83, 220, 225, 271, 386, 387
- Stripling, Robert, 184
- Strode, Woody, 359
- Stroud, Robert Franklin (“Birdman of Alcatraz”), 9
- The Struggle for Judicial Supremacy* (Jackson), 200
- Stryker, Roy Emerson, 287
- Stuart Little* (White), 411
- Student League of Industrial Democracy, 223
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 418
- Suburbia**, 88–89, 154, 222, **366–67**
- Suckley, Margaret, 130
- Sudeikin, Vera, 366
- Suez Canal Zone, 19, 124, 255, 337
- Suffrage. *See* Voting rights
- Sugar industry, 167
- Suggs, Louise, 359
- Suicide missions (*kamikaze*), 12, 173, **210**, 226
- Sullivan, Anne Mansfield, 211
- Sullivan, Louis, 422
- Summons to the Free* (Benét), 45
- The Sun Also Rises* (Hemingway), 170
- Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan), 73, 238
- Sunset Boulevard*, 178
- Superfortress. *See* B-29 Superfortress
- Supreme Court, 367–68**. *See also specific cases*
 - on birth control, 52
 - on child labor, 74, 389
 - on civil rights and civil liberties, 365, 397
 - on commerce clause, 122–23, 200, 389
 - on congressional term limits, 385
 - on conviction of Communist Party leaders, 354
 - on criminal justice, 406
 - due process clause and, 53
 - on Fair Labor Standards Act, 200
 - on fair trials, 53
 - on fighting words, 71, 262

- on First Amendment, 53
- on Fourteenth Amendment, 53
- on freedom of speech, 186, 200, 262, 409–10
- on freedom of the press, 112, 279
- on gay rights, 181
- on gerrymandering, 406
- on Hollywood Ten, 180
- on internal security issues, 367–68, 397
- on internment of Japanese
 - Americans, 112, 215–16, 322, 365, 366
- on interstate commerce, 365, 389
- on interstate travel, 123, 342, 348
- on Jehovah's Witnesses, 203, 410
- judicial restraint and, 143
- judicial review and, 200
- justices of, 49, 53, 112, 143–44, 185–86, 200, 262, 329–30, 365, 396–97, 406
- on limits to civil liberties, 143
- on loyalty programs in federal government, 368
- on mandatory flag salute, 200, 203, 409–10
- on migrant workers, 122–23, 262
- on New Deal legislation, 49, 186, 365
- on poll taxes, 406
- on primary elections, 388, 418
- on privacy rights, 406
- on privileges and immunities clause of Fourteenth Amendment, 122–23
- on racially discriminatory
 - restrictive deed covenants, 349–50
- on radio, 323
- on railroads, 122
- on regulations and government
 - contracts, 368
- on religion and public schools, 189–90, 406
- on right to strike, 262
- Roosevelt and court-packing
 - controversy (1937), 22, 102, 108, 186, 204, 410
- on school desegregation, 7, 23, 112, 143, 348, 406
- on segregated housing, 322
- separate but equal doctrine of, 233, 248, 347
- on voting rights, 270
- on wiretapping, 134
- The Supreme Court in the American System of Government* (Jackson), 200
- The Supreme Court of the United States* (Hughes), 186
- Surgeon General, 247
- Surrender in World War II
 - of Germany, 13, 392
 - of Italy, 15, 132, 194, 319
 - of Japan, 12, 16, 135, 172, 201, 235, 268, 393, 401
 - terms for, in Yalta agreement, 223, 479–80
 - “unconditional surrender” of Axis powers, 66, 223, 307, 355, 392, 393, 410, 420, 421
- Surrender on Demand* (Fry), 146
- Suzuki, D.T., 242, 250
- Swanson, Gloria, 178
- Sweatt v. Painter*, 397
- Swimsuit. *See* Bikini
- Swing music, 158, 204
- SWOC. *See* Steelworkers Organizing Committee (SWOC)
- Symes, Lillian, 355
- Synthetic quinine (chloroquine), 368–69**
- Syphilis. *See* Venereal disease
- Syria, 15, 301
- Systematics and the Origin of Species* (Mayr), 244
- Szilard, Leo, 173, 268, 345
- Taft, Robert A.**
 - biography of, **370**
 - in Congress, 215, 232, 241, 258, 272
 - as conservative, 157, 193
 - Marshall Plan and, 241
 - national health insurance and, 272
 - political cartoon on, 245
 - presidential election of 1940 and, 105, 308, 309, 332, 370
 - presidential election of 1948 and, 370
 - Taft-Hartley Act and, 371
- Taft, William Howard, 165, 364, 370
- Taft-Hartley Act**, 24, 84, 102, 147, 159, 193, 221, 225, 258, 311, 332, 362, **370–71**, 387
- Taiwan, 12, 64, 73–74, 239
- Tales of the South Pacific* (Michener), 59
- Talmadge, Eugene, 403
- Tarchiani, Alberto, 241
- Taubman, Howard, 300
- Tavener, Frank, 184
- Taxation, 41, 370. *See also* Poll taxes
- Taylor, Elizabeth, 79, 179
- Taylor, Glen H., 78, 311, 313, 403
- Taylor, Maxwell, 358
- Taylor, Robert, 178, 362
- Teamsters Union, 310
- Teenagers. *See* Youth and youth culture
- Teheran Conference**, 13, 20, 59, 82, 99, 116, 167, **371–72**
- Television, 372–73**
 - Amos 'n' Andy* on, 26
 - boxing on, 56
 - William Boyd on, 56
 - cable television, 323, 372
 - Candid Camera* on, 80
 - color television, 22, 185, 259
 - comedy on, 3, 26, 30, 39–40, 155, 329
 - commercials on, 372
 - cowboy shows on, 35, 56, 168
 - Howdy Doody on, 168, **185**, 373
 - I Love Lucy* on, 39–40
 - Meet the Press* on, 70, 174, 373
 - Mickey Mouse Club* on, 185
 - Murrow as newscaster on, 259, 264
 - musicians on, 227, 408
 - origin of, 372
 - political coverage by, 206
 - presidents broadcast on, 206, 373, 431
 - price and sales of television sets, 372–73
 - program content on, 372–73
 - religious programs on, 127, 128, 331, 337
 - Route 66* on, 341
 - split-screen technology in, 185
 - sports on, 42, 373
 - statistics on, 373
 - technology of, 372, 431
 - Trout as newscaster on, 379
 - war coverage on, 372
 - woman journalist on, 147–48
 - X Files* on, 340
 - Zworykin and, 431–32
- Teller, Edward**, 120, 187–88, 296, **373–74**
- Tempo and Mode in Evolution* (Simpson), 128
- Tennessee, 108
- Tennessee River, 30
- Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), 49, 159, 210, 228–29, 244, 281, 308
- Tennis, 359
- Tenth Amendment, 365
- Texas
 - drug treatment program on, 113
 - education of Mexican Americans in, 101
 - forests in, 87, 88
 - politicians in, 106
 - Rayburn in state government in, 326–27
 - school desegregation in, 101
 - Thatcher, Margaret, 357

- Theater. *See* Broadway; Playwrights; *and specific plays*
- Theiler, Max, 169
- Theologians, 263, 280, 331, 337. *See also* Religion
- Theological Studies*, 263
- The Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (von Neumann), 398
- Theory of relativity, 123–24
- The Theory of Wages* (Douglas), 111
- There Are No Islands Any More* (Millay), 252
- “They Burned the Books” (Benét), 45
- Thiel, Werner, 278
- Thin Man* series, 231, 329
- Thirteenth Amendment, 122–23
- The Thirty-Nine Steps*, 176
- This Deception* (Massing), 243
- Thomas, Evan, 293
- Thomas, John Parnell, 184, 185, 399
- Thomas, Norman Mattoon**, 25, 293, 354–55, **374**
- Thomas, R.J., 386
- Thompson, Dorothy, 267
- Thompson, James Westfall, 544
- Thompson, Robert G., 354
- Thoreau, Henry David, 84, 253
- Thornhill v. Alabama*, 262
- Thoughts and Solitude* (Merton), 250
- The Three Caballeros*, 107
- Thrifty drug chain, 40
- Thurmond, Strom, 108, 272, 311
- Tibbets, Paul W., 126
- Tillich, Paul, 337
- Time for Decision* (Welles), 409
- Time* magazine, 70, 206, 209–10, 233, 237, 243, 259, 266, 415
- Tingley, Clyde, 72
- Tinker, Clarence L., 275
- Tito, Marshal, 14, 523
- To Have and Have Not*, 54
- To Hell and Back*, 262
- Tobacco and cigarette smoking**, **374–75**
- Tobey, Charles W., 301
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 224
- Togo Shigenori, 455–57
- Toguri, Iva Ikuko, 376
- Tojo, Hideki**, **375–76**
- Tokyo Rose**, 37, **376–77**
- Tommy Dorsey Orchestra, 22, 351
- Tomonaga, Sin-Itiro, 136
- Tomorrow Without Fear* (Bowles), 55
- Too Many Girls*, 39
- Torch Operation, 124, 255, **290–91**, 295
- Tortilla Flat* (Steinbeck), 363
- Toscanini, Arturo, 27
- A Touch of the Poet* (O’Neill), 288
- Tourism**, 260, 273, **377**
- Toynbee, Arnold, 70
- Toyoda, Soemu, 210
- Tracy, John, 378
- Tracy, Louise, 378
- Tracy, Spencer**, 171, 179, **377–78**
- Trade Agreements Act, 147
- Trading with the Enemies Act, 63
- Transeau, Nelson, 120
- Transfer of Power to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Act, 274
- Transistors, 351
- Transjordan, 301, 388
- Transportation. *See* Highways; Railroads
- Transportation Department, 98
- Travels with Charlie across America* (Steinbeck), 363
- Traynor, Roger, 29
- Treason, 37, 320. *See also* Spies
- Treasury Department, 95, 257, 395, 396, 411. *See also* Secretary/ies of the Treasury
- Trials
- of Communist Party leaders, 354
 - of Fuchs for espionage, 146
 - of German saboteurs, 278
 - of Hiss, 175, 185, 243, 261
 - of Korematsu, 216
 - of Kuhn, 218
 - Nuremberg Trials, 13, 49, 200, **283–84**, 350, 485–518
 - of Rosenbergs, 340
 - Scopes trial, 4, 127
 - Sleepy Lagoon Case, 352
 - Supreme Court decisions on, 53
 - of Tokyo Rose, 376–77
 - war crime trials in Japan, 16, 376
- Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire, 401
- Tribune*, 291
- TRIDENT, 194
- Tripartite Pact**, 103, 375, **378–79**, 455, 471–72, 473, 506
- The Trojan House in America* (Dies), 106
- Trotsky, Leon, 104, 217
- Troup, Robert William, Jr., 341
- Trout, Robert Albert**, **379**
- Truman, Bess (Elizabeth Wallace)**, **379–80**
- Truman, Harry S.**
- and atomic bombs on Japan, 20, 83, 173, 380, 392, 483–84
 - atomic diplomacy of, and Stalin, 20, 173, 268, 307
 - Atomic Energy Commission and, 33
 - Berlin airlift and, 48
 - biography of, **380–81**
 - Bricker amendment and, 58
 - cabinet of, 4, 26
 - Central Intelligence Group (CIG) and, 68
 - Churchill and, 195
 - Civil Air Patrol (CAP) and, 76
 - civil rights movement and, 5, 77, 102, 129, 187, 232, 348, 381, 418
 - on communism, 532–33
 - Congress and, 8, 105, 311
 - Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) and, 125
 - critique of presidency of, in 1946, 86
 - and Davis Sr.’s retirement, 98
 - Democratic Party and, 86, 381
 - William O. Douglas and, 112
 - draft and, 348–49
 - economic policy of, 86, 310
 - Fair Deal and, 62, 65, 102, 272, 296, 310, 381, 401
 - Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) and, 129
 - FBI and, 134
 - foreign policy of summarized, 380–81
 - Greece civil war and, 14, 117
 - health care plan of, 247, 272–73
 - Hoover Dam and, 183
 - hydrogen bomb and, 33, 41, 381
 - Inaugural Address (1949) of, 532–35
 - Israel and, 207
 - Korean War and, 235–36
 - labor unions and, 11, 84, 102, 147, 362, 371
 - Loyalty Review Board and, 231, 395, 396
 - Marshall Plan and, 17, 19, 20, 380
 - Middle East policy of, 15, 17
 - National Security Council and, 274
 - Nine Point Famine Relief Program of, 26
 - Nuremberg Trials and, 511
 - Office of Price Administration (OPA) and, 55
 - Point Four program of, 141, 380–81, 382
 - at Potsdam Conference, 20, 173, 212, 307–8, 382
 - presidential appointments of, 34, 165, 189
 - in presidential campaign of 1952, 210
 - in presidential election of 1948, 25, 32, 41, 55, 105, 108–9, 209, 221, 232, 247, **310–11**, 332, 381

- and reorganization of executive branch of federal government, 102, 182
- State Department and, 15
- steel strike (1946) and, 362
- television broadcasts of, 206, 373
- Truman Doctrine and containment policy of, 14, 16, 17, 20, **89–90**, 114, 282, 380, **382–83**, 526–29
- United Nations and, 528, 533, 534
- as U.S. Senator, 165, 380, 384
- as vice presidential candidate in 1944, 41, 57, 165, 310, 339, 380
- Truman, Margaret**, 380, **381–82**
- Truman Doctrine**, **382–83**. *See also* Containment
- containment as basis of, 89, 282, 382
- DuBois on, 114
- funds for, 382
- Greece and, 14, 17, 89, 117, 380, 382, 526–29
- Middle East and, 17, 527, 528–29
- Progressive Party as critic of, 313
- supporters of, 147
- Norman Thomas as opponent of, 374
- Truman on, 526–29
- Trumbo, Dalton, 180
- Tsuifuku* (suicide of retainer on death of lord), 210
- Tuberculosis, 26, 37, 169, 183, 292, 346, 366, 402
- Tugwell, Rexford Guy**, **383**
- Tunisia, 474
- Tupper, Earl Silas**, **383–84**
- Tupperware, 383–84
- Turkey
- Truman policy on, 17, 370, 382–83, 527, 528–29
- World War II and, 64
- Turner, Frederick Jackson, 95, 131
- Turner, Lana, 149, 179
- Tuskegee airmen**, 97, **384–85**
- Tuskegee Institute, 97, 98
- TVA. *See* Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)
- Twentieth Amendment, 281
- Twenty-Fifth Amendment, 312
- Twenty-Fourth Amendment, 178
- Twenty-Second Amendment**, **385**
- 291 Gallery, 364
- Tydings, Millard, 415
- Typhoid, 169
- U-2 incident, 124
- U-boats, 13, 19, 76, 284, 470
- UAW. *See* United Auto Workers (UAW)
- UFOs, **340–41**
- UK. *See* United Kingdom
- Ulam, Stanislaw M., 188
- UMW. *See* United Mine Workers of America (UMW)
- UN. *See* United Nations (UN)
- Unemployment. *See also* Employment
- Coxey's army and, 93
- statistics on, 21, 22, 118, 119, 191
- of World War I veterans, 154
- UNESCO, 110, 128, 236, 321
- Unidentified flying objects (UFOs), **340–41**
- Union Banking Corporation, 63
- Union for Democratic Action, 106, 280
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. *See* USSR
- Union Theological Seminary, 280
- Unions. *See* Labor unions
- United Auto Workers (UAW)**, 271, 333, **386**
- United House of Prayer for All People, 160
- United Kingdom**. *See also* Churchill, Winston Leonard Spencer; World War II
- Brussels Treaty and, 282
- Cairo Conference and, 64
- Casablanca Conferences and, 66, 319
- Churchill on future of, 524–25
- colonies of, and decolonization by, 78, 301, 412, 430
- declaration of war against Germany, by, 19
- and destroyers for bases program, 21, 30, 103, 195, 215, 284, 309, 368
- economy of, 19
- espionage activities in, 217
- German occupation zone administered by, 13, 47, 48, 307, 425, 479
- Greece and, 14
- India's independence from, 149
- Marshall Plan and, 241
- Middle East and, 14–15, 17, 19
- Munich Pact and, 504
- NATO and, 19–20, 282
- Palestine and, 415, 416
- relations between U.S. and, **19–20**, 21, 66, 195, 521–22
- Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) in, 285, 286
- in United Nations Security Council, 116
- in World War II, 19, 21, 195, 263–64, 277, 461
- United Mine Workers of America (UMW), 23, 83, 187, 225–26, 271, 371, **387**
- United Nations (UN)**, **387–88**
- Arab-Israeli War and, 388
- and "Atoms for Peace," 124
- Bretton Woods Conference and, 57
- Bunche and, 62
- Burdick's support for creation of, 62
- Charter of, 62, 115, 147, 186, 236, 258, 388, 410–11, 523, 528, 538, 543
- Churchill on, 520, 523
- Commission on Human Rights of, 391
- Declaration of the United Nations, 387
- DuBois and, 114
- Dulles and, 115
- Dumbarton Oaks Conference on, 116, 176
- Economic and Social Council, 147
- founding of, at San Francisco conference, 116, 174, 194, 212, 350, 363, 387–88, 393, 425
- General Assembly of, 186, 267, 388
- Greece and, 526–27
- Heerst on, 170
- Hopkins and creation of, 184
- Hull and creation of, 186, 387
- International Monetary Fund and, 4, 57, 95, 411
- international police force and, 68
- Israel and, 430
- Elizabeth Ives and, 197
- Korean War and, 12, 388
- Loy and, 231
- NAACP and, 49, 417
- opponents of, 196, 204, 223, 353
- organization of, 388
- plans for, 387–88
- proposal for, at Yalta Conference, 477–78
- Eleanor Roosevelt and, 338
- Franklin Roosevelt and, 387
- Eleanor Roosevelt and, 394
- Security Council of, 20, 116, 267, 387–88
- Spain as member of, 143
- Stevenson and, 197, 363
- Taft and, 370
- Truman and, 528, 533, 534
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 267, 338, **390–91**, 538–39, 542

- United Nations (UN)** (*continued*)
U.S. delegates to, 27, 34, 55, 111
Vandenberg and, 393–94
World Bank and, 4, 57, 95, 411
United Nations (UN) Atomic Energy Commission, 41
United Nations (UN) Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 110, 128, 236, 321
United Nations (UN) Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 114
United Nations (UN) World Health Organization, 368
United Pacifist Committee, 266
United Service Organization (USO), 27, 35, 63, 126–27, 178, 239, 301
United States Information Services (USIS), 228
United States v. Butler, 365
United States v. Carolene Products, 365
***United States v. Classic*, 388–89**
United States v. Columbia, 53, 330
United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation, 368
United States v. Darby Lumber Co., 49, 74, 365, **389**
United States v. DuPont, 330
United Steelworkers of America (USW), 83, 362, 368, **389–90**
UNIVAC, 390
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 267, 338, **390–91**, 538–39, 542
Universal Military Training and Service Act, 349
Universities. *See* Higher education; *and specific universities*
University of California, 110, 120, 334, 346
University of Chicago, 104, 111, 112, 120, 135, 187, 298, 304, 346, 355, 358, 373, 383, 417, 423
University of Idaho, 46
University of Kentucky, 43
University of Miami, 43
University of Michigan, 104, 139, 344
University of Minnesota, 407
University of Notre Dame, 336, 358
University of Oregon, 258
University of Pennsylvania, 398
University of Southern California, 378
University of Tennessee, 43
University of Texas at Austin, 260
University of Virginia, 133, 248
University of Wisconsin, 96, 193, 356, 423–24
Up Front (Mauldin), 243
Uranium bomb. *See* Atomic bomb
Urey, Harold C., 373–74
U.S. Employee’s Compensation Commission, 66
U.S. Information Agency, 264
U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, 149, 363
USDA. *See* Agriculture Department (USDA)
USIS. *See* United States Information Services (USIS)
USMC. *See* Marine Corps (USMC)
USO (United Service Organization), 27, 35, 63, 126–27, 178, 239, 301
USSR. *See also* Cold War; Spies; Stalin, Joseph
anti-Semitism in, 29
atomic bomb for, 33, 89, 187, 296, 304, **356–57**, 373
and atomic diplomacy of Truman, 20, 168, 173, 187, 268, 307
Berlin blockade and, 20, 47–48
Churchill on, 522–24
Communist Party in, 360
containment policy of U.S. toward, 16, 17, **89–90**, 211, 282, 380, 382, 421
demise of, 20
détente and, 90
dissolution of, 90
Douglas on, 112
DuBois and, 114
Dulles on, 115
Eastern Europe and, 20, 69
entry into World War II against Japan, 16, 259, 307, 392, 425, 482
German invasion of Russia during World War II, 20, 82, 177, 277, 360, 420, 429, 451–54, 462–65, 506–7
German occupation zone administered by, 307, 425, 479, 523
Gouzenko’s defection from, 47, 146, 159–60
Harriman as U.S. ambassador to, 167
invasion of Afghanistan by, 87, 90
invasion of Baltic states by, 20, 360
invasion of Finland by, 20, 78, 414–15, 461
invasion of Manchuria by, 392
Kennan and, 89, 211, 380, 382
Krivitsky’s defection from, 217
Nazi-Soviet Pact and, 20, 59, 82, 223, 353, 360, 407, 414, 506, 511
neutrality pact between Japan and, 20, 456
newspapers in, 540
Orlov’s defection from, 291
purges in, 217, 242, 291, 292, 360
relations between U.S. and summarized, 20–21, 66
Eleanor Roosevelt on, 539–42
space program of, 122, 124
Stalin as dictator of, 292, 360
Stalin’s broadcast to (1941), 451–54
Steinbeck’s trip to, 363
in United Nations Security Council, 20, 116
U.S. recognition of, 20
Warsaw Pact and, 20
in World War II, 16, 20, 360, 361, 451–54
Yalta Conference and, 16, 101, 524
Utah, 183
- V-E Day**, 124, **392**, 396
V-J Day, **392–93**, 396
VA. *See* Veterans Administration (VA)
Vaccines, 168–69
Van Buren, Steve, 359
Vandenberg, Arthur Hendrick, 140–41, 284, **393–94**
Vandenburg, Hoyt S., 68
Vandenburg Resolution, 282
Vanity Fair, 233
Vanzetti, Bartolomeo, 143, 252
Vassar College, 137
Vassiliev, Alexander, 115
Vatutin, N.F., 361
Veblen, Thorstein, 104
Veeck, Bill, 294
Veneral disease, 299, 313–14, **394–95**
VENONA, 47, 91, 95, 114–15, 159, **395–96**
Vermont, 8
Veterans Administration (VA), 328, 329, 366
Vice presidential seal, 41
Vice presidents. *See specific vice presidents*
Vichy France, 29, 97, 101, 145–46, 290
Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy, 131, 132, 265
Victory Gardens, 326
Victory parades and celebrations, **396**

- Victory* periodical, 405
Victory Through Airpower, 107
 Vietnam War, 13, 25, 87, 90, 159, 163, 237, 258, 293, 325, 358, 374, 421
A View from the Bridge (Miller), 253
 Villa, Pancho, 295
The Village Voice, 237
Vinson, Frederick Moore, 396–97, 406
 Violence. *See* Lynching; Race riots
 Viruses, 344
 Vitamins, 168
 Vivaldi, Antonio, 265, 308, 366
Vogue, 233
Von Braun, Wernher, 156, 397–98
 Von Manstein, Erich, 361
Von Neumann, John, 146, 398, 432
 Von Ohain, Hans Joachim Pabst, 36
 Von Paulus, Friedrich, 361
 Von Rundstedt, Gerd, 61
 Voorhees Act, 59
 Voorhis, Horace Jeremiah “Jerry,” 398–99
 Voorhis, Jerry, 280
Voorhis Act, 398–99
 Voting rights
 for African Americans, 4–5, 270, 388
 all-white primary elections, 388, 418
 for military in wartime, 370
 poll taxes and, 102, 147, 168, 178, 406, 417
 women’s suffrage, 68, 211, 325
 Vyshinsky, Mr., 541
 W.T. Grant store, 40
 WAAC. *See* Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC)
 WACs (Women’s Army Corps), 49, 151, 177, 206, 416–17
 Wage and Hour Act, 49
Wage and price controls, 191, 284, 389, 400
 Wages
 Douglas on, 111
 of farmworkers, 221
 income statistics, 21, 119
 of manufacturing workers, 21, 119, 271, 418–19
 of mineworkers, 387
 of steelworkers, 389
 of women, 418–19
 Wagner, Richard, 265
Wagner, Robert Ferdinand, 400–1, 415
 Wagner Act (National Labor Relations Act), 23, 186, 189, 219, 221, 271, 362, 370, 401
Wainwright, Jonathan M., 401–2
Waksman, Selman Abraham, 300, 346, **402**
 Wal-Mart, 69
 Walcutt, Jersey Joe, 230, 373
 Waldo, Richard, 47
 Waldorf Conference, 192
 Walgreen’s, 40
A Walk in the Sun, 336
 Wallace, Alfred Russell, 244
Wallace, Henry Agard, 402–3
 civil rights movement and, 77
 Communist Party members and, 82
 Duggan as policy adviser to, 114
 HUAC and, 106
 labor unions and, 11
 ouster of, as vice presidential candidate in 1944, 165, 310, 313, 339, 380, 403
 Perkins’ support for, 300
 in presidential election of 1948, 11, 82, 247, 272, 311, 313, 346, 381, 383, 403
 Progressive Citizens of America and, 25
 Progressive Party and, 313, 354
 as scientist, 346
 as secretary of agriculture, 402–3
 as secretary of commerce, 310, 313, 403
 Gerald Smith’s criticism of, 353
 Truman’s ousting of, as secretary of commerce, 86
 USSR and, 25
 as vice president, 346
 as vice presidential candidate in 1940, 247, 309, 339, 403
 Walsh, Richard, 60
 Walt Disney Productions, 107–8
Walton County, Ga., lynching of 1946, 234, 403–4
 Wansee Conference, 29
 War Advertising Counsel, 405
 War bonds, 42, 127, 149, 257, 396, 405
 War brides, 11, 28, 190
 War Brides Act, 28, 190
 War criminals, 13, 16, **283–84**, 376, 480, 485–18
 War Department. *See also* Defense Department; Secretary/ies of War
 and African American support for war effort, 230
 Civil Air Patrol (CAP) and, 76
 intelligence agency and, 68
 internment of Japanese Americans and, 216
 journalists accredited by, 205–6
 Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and, 286
 physics research and, 304
 Shockley and, 351
 and ski division for winter warfare, 415
 Special Services Division of, 227–28
 Stimson as secretary of war, 309, 364–65
 WACs and, 48–49, 416–17
 Women’s Interest Section in Public Relations Bureau of, 177, 416
War films, 179, 404–5
 War Labor Board. *See* National War Labor Board (NWLB)
The War of the Worlds, 408
 War Production Board, 172, 326, 400
War propaganda, 37, 236, 286–87, 376–77, 396, 405
 War Refugee Board, 18–19, 257
 War Relocation Authority (WRA), 202, 216
 War Resisters League (WRL), 87, 293, 342
 Ward, Frank Lester, 324
 Ward, Mary Jane, 249
Warm Springs, Ga. (Little White House), 405–6
 Warner, Jack, 155
 Warner, W. Lloyd, 355–56
Warren, Earl, 28, 214, 311, 406, 431
Warren, Robert Penn, 407
 Warsaw Pact, 20
 Washington, Booker T., 325, 384
 Washington, George, 85, 136, 193, 218, 260
 Washington, Kenny, 359
 Washington Naval Conference (1921–1922), 185
Washington Post, 381
 Washington State
 antimiscegenation laws in, 28
 defense industries in, 38
 WASPs (Women Airforce Service Pilots), 417
Watch Tower, 203
 Watergate scandal, 281
 Watson, James D., 72, 261, 295
 Watson, John B., 316, 317
 Waugh, Evelyn, 249
The Wave of the Future (Anne Lindbergh), 229
 WAVES (women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service), 417
The Way of Chuang Tzu (Merton), 250

- Waymack, William T., 33
 Wayne, John, 179
 WCC. *See* World Council of Churches (WCC)
We Have a Future (Thomas), 374
We Stand United (Benét), 46
Wechsler, James Arthur, 407–8
 Weidenreich, Franz, 298
 Weinstein, Allen, 115
Weird Tales, 237
 Weismann, August, 256
 Weizmann, Chaim, 416
 Welcome House, 60
Welk, Lawrence, 408
Welles, Orson, 170, 285, 408–9
Welles, Sumner, 59, 186, 387, 409
 Wells, H.G., 408
 Werner, Edgar V., 245
 Wertenbaker, Thomas J., 544
 West, Mae, 136
 West Germany. *See* Germany
 West Point, 235, 358
West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, 53, 200, 203, **409–10**
 Westermann, William L., 544
 Western films, 35, 56, 168, 262
Western Star (Benét), 46
 Weygand, General, 512
What Is Our Destiny (Thomas), 374
 Wheaton College, 127, 128, 160
Wheeler, Burton Kendall, 219, 325, 410–11, 415
 Wheeler-Howard Act, 80, 189, 330
 Wheeler-Truman Transportation Act, 380
 Wherry, Kenneth S., 245
White, Elwlyn Brooks, 411
White, Harry Dexter, 57, 95, 395, 411–12
White, Walter, 269, 321, 412
 White, William Allen, 363
White Man, Listen (Wright), 423
 Whitefield, George, 315
 Whitehead, Alfred North, 303
 Whitfield, Mal, 359
 Whooping cough, 169
Why England Slept (Kennedy), 212
Wickard v. Filburn, 200
 Wilberforce University, 98
 Wilbur, Ray L., 182–83
The Wild Ones, 208
 Wilder, Billy, 178
 Wilder, Thornton, 137
 Williams, Esther, 40
 Williams, Hank, 264
 Williams, John Henry, 413
Williams, Theodore Samuel “Ted,” 42, 413
Williams, Thomas Lanier “Tennessee,” 59, 413–14
 Williamson, John, 354
Willkie, Wendell Lewis
 acceptance speech of (1940), as presidential nominee, 447–50
 biography of, **414**
 on four freedoms, 475–76
 internationalism of, 8
 McNary as vice presidential candidate with, 247
One World by, 414, 475–76
 in presidential election of 1940, 105, 162, 222, 247, **308–9**, 332, 414, 447–50
 supporters of, 57, 83
 Tennessee Valley Authority and, 228
 Willys-Overland Motors, 202
 WILPF. *See* Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)
 Wilson, Bill, 9–10
 Wilson, Carroll L., 33
 Wilson, E. Raymond, 293
 Wilson, Edmund Beecher, 256
 Wilson, Gill Robb, 76
 Wilson, Kenneth L., 359
 Wilson, William Deon, 277
 Wilson, William W., 160
 Wilson, Woodrow
 criticism of, 85
 Dulles and, 115
 Fourteen Points of, 25, 142, 193, 475
 Hitler on, 466, 470
 in presidential election of 1916, 185
 on prison treatment of conscientious objectors, 77
 Vandenberg’s opposition to foreign policy of, 393
 Willkie on, 449
 World War I strategy of, 339
Windtalkers, 277
Winged Victory, 58
 Winston, Henry, 354
 Winter, Carl, 354
The Winter of Our Discontent (Steinbeck), 363
Winter War, 414–15
 Wiretapping, 134
 Wisconsin
 judges in, 245
 Progressive Party in, 219
 Wise, Brownie, 384
Wise, Stephen Samuel, 18, 257, 415–16, 430
 Wisner, Frank G., 69
A Witness Tree (Frost), 145
 Wolfe, Bertram D., 374
Woman of the Year, 171, 377
Woman’s Home Companion, 419
 Woman’s National Hall of Fame, 60
 Woman’s Peace Party, 68
Women. *See also specific women*
 anti-lynching campaign and, 234
 in armed forces, 177, 416–17
 in baseball, 10, 42, 359
 in civil rights movement, 417–18
 in Congress, 65–66, 162, 325, 353, 416
 in Democratic Party, 197
 employment of, 119, 197, 221–22, 240, 418–19, 422
 equal rights amendment for, 66, 147
 in factories, 418–19, 422
 in federal executive branch, 48, 300
 in golf, 359, 428
 as historians, 175
 as journalists, 147–48, 177, 206, 233, 267, 407
 in labor unions, 119, 192–93, 386
 magazines for, 232–33, 317, 419–20
 in medical schools, 248, 259
 pacifism and, 68, 211, 293, 325
 as pacifists, 68, 293
 as painters, 242, 259–60, 364
 in religious leadership roles, 331
 as spies, 37, 46–47, 91, 95, 185, 242–43, 412
 suffrage for, 68, 211, 325
 treason conviction for Mildred Gillars, 37
 venereal disease and, 394
 in WACs, 49, 151, 177, 206, 416–17
 wages for, 418–19
 as war brides, 11, 28, 190
 war propaganda by, 36–37, 376–77
The Women (Luce), 233
 Women’s Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace, 68
 Women’s Armed Services Integration Act, 353
 Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), 177, 416
 Women’s Army Corps (WACs), 49, 151, 177, 206, 416–17
 Women’s Army for National Defense, 49
 Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), 293
Women’s magazines, 232–33, 317, 419–20

- Women's Political Council (WPC), 417
- Wood, John S., 184
- Woodin, William H., 257
- Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, 402
- Works Progress Administration, 85, 183, 187, 423
- World Bank, 4, 57, 95, 411
- World Council of Churches (WCC), 331
- World Court, 158
- World Federation of Trade Unions, 172
- World Health Organization, 368
- World Jewish Congress, 18, 257
- World Series, 22, 359, 373. *See also* Baseball
- World War I
- airships in, 54
 - American Expeditionary Force in, 98
 - conscientious objection and, 77, 78, 86, 349
 - Forrestal in Aviation Division during, 141
 - French navy in, 97
 - Hemingway as ambulance driver in Italy during, 170
 - Hitler in, 176
 - Italy in, 15, 265
 - Marshall in, 240
 - Patton in, 295
 - peace conference and Treaty of Versailles for, 115, 393
 - persecution of German Americans during, 153
 - rationing during, 326
 - Rommel in, 337
 - soldiers in, 65, 133, 212, 232, 236, 246, 255, 262, 329
 - trench warfare in, 277
 - War Industries Board during, 41
 - Zhukov in, 429
 - Zworykin in, 431
- World War II.** *See also* Atomic bomb; Pearl Harbor; Potsdam Conference; Teheran Conference; War criminals; Yalta Conference; *and specific generals*
- African Americans in, 5–6, 384–85
 - Alamein Battles in, 255, 290, 337
 - American Dream and, 22–23
 - Army Corps of Engineers during, 30
 - “Axis Sally” radio personality during, 36–37
 - Axis victories in 1940–1941 summarized, 19, 21, 201, 277
 - Battle for France (1940) in, 97
 - Battle of Britain in, 21, 195, 263–64, 379
 - Battle of the Atlantic, 66
 - Battle of the Bulge, 60–61, 124, 170, 256, 295
 - blitzkrieg (“lightning war”) in, 277, 361
 - casualties in, 61, 100, 164, 173, 194, 198, 206, 238, 288, 297, 361, 421, 465
 - Civil Air Patrol (CAP) during, 76
 - Combined Bomber Offensive during, 66
 - Combined Chiefs of Staff organization during, 19
 - conscientious objection and, 53, 77–78, 86–87, 266, 293, 349
 - Coral Sea battle, 91–92, 251
 - D-Day, 13, 20, 64, **99–100**, 124, 170, 256, **289–90**, 379
 - declaration of war against Germany, by France and Britain, 277
 - dogs in, 110
 - Doolittle raid on Japan, 16
 - entertainers at the front, 35, 94, 126–27, 239
 - in Europe summarized, 420
 - films on, 404–5
 - French Resistance during, 100–1
 - German invasion of Russia during, 20, 82, 177, 277, 360, 451–54, 462–65
 - German U-boats in, 13, 19, 76, 284, 470
 - Germany's surrender in, 13
 - Guadalcanal battle, 163–64, 318, 426
 - Hitler's aggression leading up to, 504–6
 - Hitler's declaration of war against U.S. (1941), 13, 460–72
 - Hitler's invasion of Poland, 277, 465–66, 505–6
 - home front during, 22–23, 63, 325–26, 396, **421–22**
 - invasion of Italy, 194
 - Italy's surrender in, 15, 132, 194, 319
 - Iwo Jima battle, 198, 276, 421
 - Jackson on Hitler's plans for, 504–10
 - Japan's surrender in, 12, 16, 135, 172, 201, 235, 268, 393, 401
 - kamikaze (suicide warfare), 12, 173, 210, 226
 - labor unions and, 23
 - Leyte Gulf battle, 226–27
 - Market Garden Operation, 256
 - Marshall in, 66, 124, 240–41
 - Midway battle, 16, 163, 173, 251–52, 421, 426
 - military aviation during, 36, 38
 - Audie Murphy as most decorated U.S. soldier in, 262
 - Mussolini's war statement (1941), 473
 - Native Americans in, 275–77
 - Navajo code talkers in, 275, 276–77
 - Nazi saboteurs in U.S. during, 278
 - in North Africa, 56, 64, 97, 124, 240, 255, 277, 289, 290–91, 337, 460–61
 - Okinawa invasion, 173, 287–88, 421
 - Operation Matterhorn, 36
 - Operation Meetinghouse, 36
 - Operation Overlord, 64, 99, 124, 256, **289–90**, 319, 372
 - Operation Torch, 124, 255, 290–91, 295
 - in Pacific summarized, 420–21
 - Panzer Army in, 61, 337–38
 - prisoners of war during, 290, 376, 401, 417, 507–9, 512
 - propaganda during, 37, 236, 286–87, 376–77, 396, 405
 - Pyle on, 474
 - rationing during, 325–26, 377, 396, 400
 - Roosevelt's war message to Congress (1941), 16, 297, 458–59
 - Stalingrad battle, 361
 - Tokyo Rose during, 37, 376–77
 - Tuskegee airmen in, 97, 384–85
 - “unconditional surrender” of Axis powers, 66, 223, 307, 355, 392, 393, 410, 420, 421
 - U.S. neutrality at beginning of, 19, 21, 103
 - USSR's entry into, against Japan, 16, 307, 392, 425, 482
 - V-E Day, 124, 392, 396
 - V-J Day, 392–93, 396
 - victory parades and celebrations, 396
 - women in, 177, 416–17
- World Zionist Organization (WZO), 416
- WPC. *See* Women's Political Council (WPC)
- WRA. *See* War Relocation Authority (WRA)
- Wright, Fielding L., 108, 311
- Wright, Frank Lloyd, 422**
- Wright, J. Elwin, 315
- Wright, Richard, 22, 423**

- Wright, Sewall Green, 423–24**
 Wright, Sewell, 128
 Wrigley, P.K., 10, 359
 Writers. *See* Journalism; Literature; Poetry; *and specific writers*
 WRL. *See* War Resisters League (WRL)
 Wundt, Wilhelm, 315, 316
 Wyatt, Hattie Ophelia. *See* Caraway, Hattie Wyatt
 Wyeth, N.C., 287
 Wyler, William, 179, 239
 Wyman, Jane, 327, 328
 Wyoming, 183
 WZO. *See* World Zionist Organization (WZO)
- X Files*, 340
 Yale University, 131, 248, 300
Yalta Conference, 13, 16, 101, 167, 174, 372, 387, 420, **425**, 511
 agreement from, 58, 425, 474–82, 524, 528
Yamamoto, Isoroku, 251–52, 297, **425–26**
 Yamamoto Tsunetomo, 210
 Yamashita, Tomoyuki, 235
 Yellow fever, 169
 Yerenenko, Andrei, 361
 YFC. *See* Youth for Christ (YFC) Rallies
 YMCA, 301
 Young, Dan, 403
 Young, Milton R., 284
 Young, Robert, 285
 Young Communist League, 339, 340
 “The Young Dead Soldiers” (MacLeish), 236
Young People’s Pride (Benét), 45
 Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), 301, 418
Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company v. Sawyer, 368, 397
Your Hit Parade, 80
Youth and the Bright Medusa (Cather), 67
Youth and youth culture, 208, 240, 422, **426–27**. *See also* Juvenile delinquency
 Youth for Christ (YFC) Rallies, 160
 Yugoslavia, 14, 259, 462, 470, 481, 506
 YWCA, 301, 418
 Zaharias, George, 428
Zaharias, Mildred Didrikson “Babe,” 359, **427**
Zaibatsu (business conglomerates), 17, 376
 Zale, Tony, 55, **428–29**
Zale-Graziano fights, 55, **428–29**
 Zanauck, David F., 373
 Zen Buddhism, 242, 250
Zero Hour (Benét), 45
 Zhang Xeuliang, 73
Zhukov, Georgi Konstantinovich, 429–30
 Ziegfeld, Florenz, 136
 Zimbabwe, 342
 Zimmerman, William, 275
 Zinoviev, Grigory Evseevich, 291
Zionism, 14–15, 143, 207, 331, 353, 415–16, **430**
Zoot suit affair, 208, 250, **431**
Zworykin, Vladimir Kosma, 372, **431–32**

