

World at War

French soldiers prepare for battle from a front-line trench.

What Role Should the United States Play in International Conflicts?

Appendix A: Forum Guidelines

<p>What is a deliberative forum?</p>	<p>A deliberation is a process of thoughtfully weighing the costs and consequences of possible solutions to daunting problems.</p> <p>The goal is for participants to come to a consensus on one of the solutions by examining each option's facts and the values they reflect.</p> <p>A deliberation is NOT a debate or an airing of grievances, but a genuine conversation.</p>
<p>What is the purpose of deliberative forums?</p>	<p>Known in Ancient Greece as “the talk we use to teach ourselves before we act,” deliberative forums are an opportunity for participants to expand their thinking beyond their own experiences, fostering community cooperation in decision making.</p> <p>In working with others to reach consensus, a culture that is focused on problem solving rather than adversarial partisanship is cultivated.</p>
<p>What are the expectations of the Moderator?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remains neutral • Doesn't take on an “expert” role with the subject matter • Keep deliberation focused on the options • Asks clarifying questions • Asks thoughtful and probing questions to surface costs and consequences • Helps participants find common ground • Encourages deeper reflection
<p>What are the expectations of Participants?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Everyone is encouraged to participate. • No one should dominate. • Actively listening is as important as speaking. • Participants should address one another, not just the Moderator. • Participants need to respect other speakers. • Disagreement is fine, but should be handled with a reasonable discussion not unpleasantly or with disrespect.
<p>What is the structure of deliberative forums?</p>	<p>Requires approximately 90 minutes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introduction 10 minutes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Stakeholding b. Forum Guidelines c. Provide the forum setting Option One 10-15 minutes Option Two 10-15 minutes Option Three 10-15 minutes Reflections 10-15 minutes

The date is October 20, 1915.

Almost the entire world is at war because of a tangled network of national alliances. Estimates are that nearly a million people have lost their lives in this conflict. Few predicted that the assassination of Archduke Franz-Ferdinand in Sarajevo over a year ago would lead to such global devastation. As this conflict rages on, what role should the United States play?

Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire form an alliance known as the Central Powers. On the other side are the Allied Nations of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro. As both sides draw in their colonies and distant allies, the war affects every inhabited continent.

Predicting a brief fight in the summer of 1914, most countries are ill-prepared to still be at war over a year later. Germany's failure to capture Paris in the first weeks of battle leaves the Central Powers fighting a two-front war—against France and Britain in the west and Russia in the east. Soldiers, particularly along the Western Front, live in terrible conditions. Muddy, rat-infested trenches are under constant threat of attack. The largescale use of improved and mass-produced weapons, like machine guns and rapid-fire artillery, results in a bloody trench war. It is a horrific stalemate.

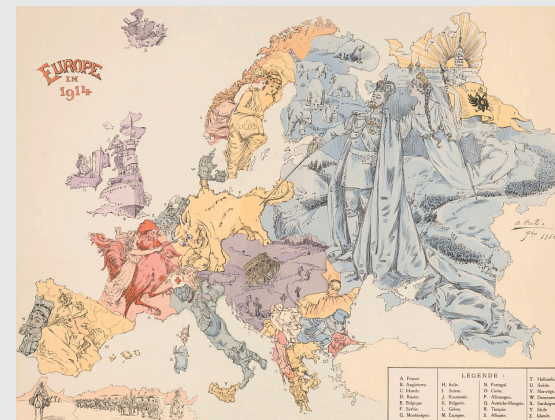
Since the beginning of the war, U.S. President Wilson urged citizens to stay “impartial in thought, as well as action.” That is easier said than done. One-third of Americans were born in Europe or are children of European immigrants, many of whom are of German heritage. Although we have strong ties with the Allies, many believe we should not blame Germany for a war they did not begin. Some among the Jewish community, having escaped persecution in Russia, also favor Germany and Austria-Hungary. Throughout the United States, individuals and organizations are raising funds and volunteering to aid both sides. However, most Americans feel this war is none of our business.

Austrian Archduke Assassination Sets Off World War

Fearing Austria-Hungary's expanded control over Bosnia and Herzegovina, a nationalist youth movement for an independent Serbian state took radical action. On June 28, 1914, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife, Duchess Sophie Chotek, were assassinated in Sarajevo by a young Bosnian Serb nationalist named Gavrilo Princip. After a month of failed diplomatic efforts, Austria-Hungary declared war against Serbia, spurring a chain of declarations across Europe. By the end of August 1914, 12 countries had entered the conflict and hundreds of thousands mobilized for battle.



Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Duchess Sophie leaving the Sarajevo Town Hall hours before their assassination.



Countries at War in 1915

Allied Powers: Great Britain (including dominions and colonies), France (including colonies), Belgium, Russia, Japan, Italy, Serbia and Montenegro.

Central Powers: Austria-Hungary, Germany (including colonies), Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria.

A map of Europe in 1914, with each country caricaturized with national symbols or stereotypes.

Unprecedented Battle Casualties

The first year of the war witnessed destruction on a scale the world had never seen. Military technologies like machine guns, airplanes, and poison gas produced unexpected fatality levels. In many regions, especially the Western Front, the inability of armies to maneuver around the enemy led to brutal trench warfare. Hundreds of thousands mobilized for battle.



A once flourishing town in France shows the ravages of war.

The fighting has certainly helped our economy. We actively trade with both sides, but especially with the Allied Nations (Allies). Last year we exported \$174 million worth of goods to the Central Powers and \$1.2 billion worth to the Allies. American banks are supplying loans and credits, mostly to the Allies, at unexpectedly high rates. We might be a neutral nation, but we certainly benefit from our financial involvement in this conflict.

The battle on the seas is increasingly complicated. Great Britain blockaded over 50 percent of imports essential for German civilians, including coal and fertilizer, a move protested by President Wilson. In response, Germany declared that all ships flying Allied flags—passenger, merchant and military—are legitimate targets to be sunk without warning. In May of this year, over 1,000 passengers—128 Americans among them—died when a German U-boat sank the British liner *Lusitania*.

Americans were outraged, calling it “murder on the high seas.” In August, after the sinking of the *S.S. Arabic* killed two more Americans, President Wilson informed Germany any future attacks against vessels bearing American passengers would be regarded as “deliberately unfriendly.” German submarine commanders are now under orders not to attack Allied passenger vessels without warning; the agreement is that passengers will be given the opportunity to safely disembark.

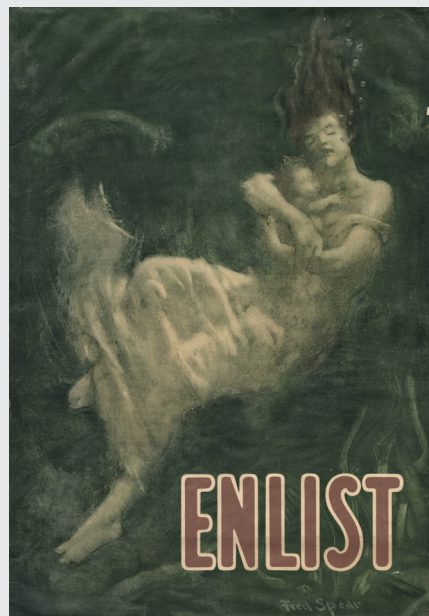
We are thankful the Atlantic Ocean separates us from Europe. Yet, the war’s rising death toll, untoward incidents at sea, and our economic involvement force us to consider our moral, security, and financial positions. Individuals can act as they will, but can our nation afford to remain “neutral”? Around dinner tables, in places of worship and civic clubs, and among our elected leaders, the conversation continues: **“What role should the United States take during a time of international war?”**

Munitions on the Lusitania

Germany insisted that the British passenger liner R.M.S. *Lusitania* was not merely a civilian ship, but covertly carrying weapons to Great Britain. A 2008 exploration of the *Lusitania*’s wreck, revealed an estimated four million rounds of U.S. manufactured Remington .303 bullets in the ship’s hold. The Germans had been right all along. This discovery helps explain why the 787 foot *Lusitania* sank only 18 minutes after being struck by the German torpedo. Although many survivors believed the ship was struck by two torpedoes, the second explosion was detonating munitions.



A mass grave in Queenstown, Ireland for casualties of the R.M.S. *Lusitania*. The city is known today as Cobh.



Designed in 1915, this poster denoting the tragedy of civilian death after the sinking of the *Lusitania* served as a call to arms as response to a German attack against neutral American civilians.

Bryce Report

In 1915, the British Government investigated Germany’s invasion of Belgium and published the Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages, also known as the Bryce Report. This sensationalized, propagandist account of the alleged brutalities in Belgium concluded that the German Army deliberately and systematically massacred large numbers of innocent civilians. Investigations discovered many stories reported as fact were fabricated or exaggerated to fuel anger against Germany. The report was distributed worldwide and used by the British to influence nations to join the Allies at war. Later studies proved brutality did occur and more than 6,500 Belgian and French civilians died as a result.



A color slide of a political cartoon depicting German soldiers paving streets in France and Belgium with skulls.

At least three viewpoints have surfaced among our citizens. Each call for a different course of action, and each comes with significant tradeoffs.

Option 1: Protect Our National and Economic Security

In a world at war, we must look first to our own national and economic security. We should strengthen our military capability. Our standing army is small in comparison to those of other nations, and our reserve forces lack the training necessary for the battlefield. Our naval fleet is inadequate, leaving major coastal cities and commercial shipping without proper protection. The strength of our economy is dependent on our ability to export goods safely. As a nation, we must be prepared to defend ourselves.

BUT other nations may see such a military build-up as a threat, which increases the likelihood of our being drawn into the conflict.

Option 2: Remain Neutral and Work for Long-Term Peace

We should remain completely neutral to promote a resolution of this war. A flawed international system is to blame for this war. The United States has a unique opportunity to broker peace with a new system relying on a concert of nations, rather than on a balance of imperial powers. Whether large or small, all nations should be treated fairly and only an enduring peace ensures security for the vulnerable. We should aid those populations ravished by the conflict, but we must not join it. Our moral obligation is to advocate for peace.

BUT resolving conflict in this way is time-consuming; this will result in a longer war and more harm to civilian populations.

Option 3: Strengthen Our Democracy at Home

We should devote our energy and resources to addressing our own problems. Participation in Europe's war distracts us from our most important task: building a truly democratic nation in both word and deed. The current conflict is the result of the greed and power of Europe's ruling classes, rather than a democratic decision made by citizens of the nations involved. This is not our fight and we should not be drawn into it. Unbridled militarism, which benefits corporations and the elite, is not in our national interest.

BUT this course of action leaves us vulnerable to attack, and in the end, may well have unpleasant long-term economic and political consequences.

OPTION 1: PROTECT OUR NATIONAL AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

Our ultimate concern as Americans should be our national and economic security. We are woefully underprepared to defend ourselves militarily. If we value our safety and our prosperity, we need to be equipped for war. As Theodore Roosevelt said, “speak softly, and carry a big stick.”

The death of 128 Americans on the *Lusitania*, sunk by a German U-boat, proves the war’s brutality and threat to our national security. Theodore Roosevelt was correct: “Centuries have passed since any war vessel of a civilized power has shown such ruthless brutality toward non-combatants, and especially toward women and children.” No self-respecting nation sits idle while another country murders its blameless citizens; it is our constitutional right to secure and defend ourselves. We must increase our production of artillery and other materials needed to protect ourselves from threats.

Stories from Belgium are harrowing. The British government recently released the *Report of the Committee on Alleged German Atrocities*, an investigation of the cruelty perpetrated by the Germans in Belgium. Decapitations, sexual assaults, and accounts of murdered children are horrific.

Germany has attacked Americans on the high seas; what happened in Belgium could happen to us. Such barbarians will only be stopped by well-trained armies willing to defend their territory and civilization against such brutal war crimes.

Oceans may divide us from those at war, but with technological advancements such as U-boats and chemical weapons, we are unprotected. And, as the bomb explosion at the U.S. Capitol on July 2 of this year showed, we have terrorists and traitors in our midst. That popular movie, *The Battle Cry of Peace*, with its scenes of



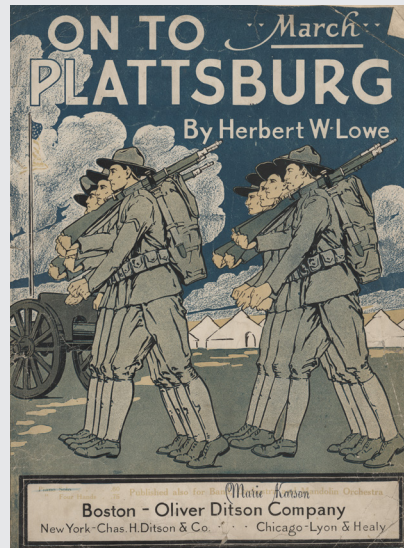
On July 2, 1915, the U.S. Capitol building was bombed by an American terrorist protesting violations by Americans of their own neutrality.

Homefront Terrorism

Erich Muepter, an American professor of German at Harvard, bombed the Capitol in Washington, D.C. in 1915. He believed U.S. volunteerism in the war was a violation of formally declared neutrality. Soon after, he shot financial tycoon J.P. Morgan Jr, whom he resented for financially aiding the allies. Morgan survived his wounds, and Muepter is considered one of the first modern terrorists in the U.S.

Theodore Roosevelt and the Training Camps

The Plattsburgh Training Camp opened in the summer of 1915. Volunteers supporting the preparedness movement attended to gain military skills. U.S. President from 1901 – 1909, Theodore Roosevelt stayed an influential public figure after his time in office. When the First World War broke out in 1914, he strongly opposed President Woodrow Wilson’s neutrality in favor of “preparedness.” Roosevelt viewed U.S. engagement in the war as both necessary and inevitable. Many Americans agreed with his push for international involvement and the U.S. set up summer military camps for elite young men. Outfitted with uniforms and weapons, recruits underwent intense physical training and professional instruction to prepare for life as a soldier on the Front.



Civilians were encouraged to attend military training camps with everything from posters to popular music that insisted “There’s work for all to do under the glorious flag!”



Volunteers supporting the preparedness movement attended the Plattsburgh Training Camp to gain military skills.

Germans attacking during a peace rally in New York City, though fiction sends a clear message: our nation is weak and unprepared for attack.

Our standing army is less than 135,000 soldiers, a number consistent to much smaller countries. Our military is unprepared to fight the kinds of battles raging in Europe. Thankfully, some Americans are already preparing themselves. In Plattsburgh, New York, Major General Leonard Wood organized the first of many summer camps for men who want to become trained as soldiers in case of war. Thousands of individuals, concerned about protecting their country, have volunteered for this training.

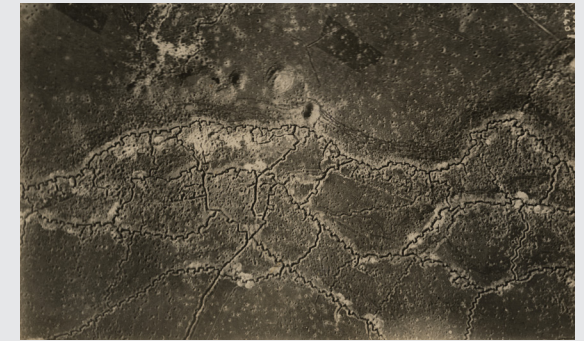
Though the New York Stock Exchange was closed for nearly three months last year due to the outbreak of war, our economy is strong and continues to move in a positive direction. In part, that is because of the American commitment to work hard and produce goods that people in Europe need. Our economic security is tied to our capitalist tradition of doing business with whomever we please. We have done nearly a billion dollars of business—with both sides—which is securing our better future. Even if, as some say, the *Lusitania* had been exporting munitions, its sinking would still be an offense against our national security as well as our economic one. If nothing else, we must be prepared to defend our economic neutrality.

We would not be where we are as a nation today if we were not prepared to risk our lives for our country if necessary. We must prepare to fight for ourselves and the freedoms we often take for granted. We must act now to protect our national and economic security.

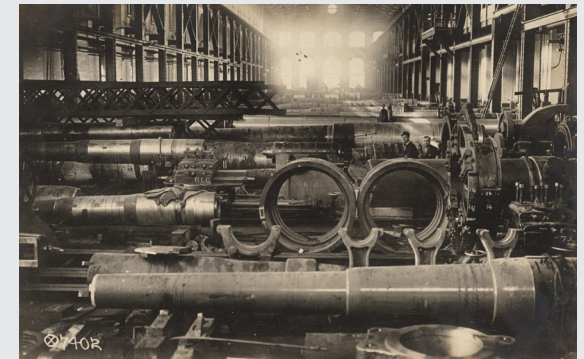
To the right are some things we could do, as well as the tradeoffs we need to consider. >



Propaganda presented the Allied view of German unrestricted submarine warfare tactics and its tragic impact. This color slide of a political cartoon depicts German Admiral von Tirpitz with a skeletal crew from sunken submarines.



The trench systems stretched roughly 475 miles across the Western Front from the English Channel to the Swiss Alps.



American factories produced war goods for nations at war.

Examples of What Might Be Done	Some Tradeoffs to Consider
We should raise taxes to build up our army and navy.	Internationally we may be perceived as preparing for war, which could invite a pre-emptive attack.
Employers should give workers paid leave to attend short-term military training camps for civilians.	This could be very costly for some employers who may not even agree on the necessity of a military buildup.
The government should seek out, and contract, qualified manufacturers to increase the production of weapons and other military equipment.	This could well turn into a contest between companies whose executives have strong political contacts with government officials and those who would be left out in the cold.
As long as we maintain our neutrality, we should insist on, and strongly enforce, our right to trade freely with countries of our choice.	Enforcement of this right could embroil us very quickly in the larger conflict.

OPTION 2: REMAIN NEUTRAL AND WORK FOR LONG-TERM PEACE

Our ultimate concern as Americans should be using our power wisely to contribute to a just and lasting peace in the world. Merely a generation ago, our “civil” war revealed that battle leaves terrible wreckage behind—economically, physically and socially. If we truly value peace and intend to work effectively for global reconciliation, we must remain neutral.

Our nation is protected from invasion by two oceans. Creating peace with Mexico is far more important. Our military invasion of Veracruz last year weakened political relations, increased border tensions, and intensified retaliation between our nations. Establishing peaceful diplomacy with Mexico will protect our citizens and over a billion dollars of U.S. investment in Mexican oil fields, mines, ranches and railroads. Assisting reconciliation among factions within Mexico addresses our greatest threat of international violence—Mexico’s civil war spilling across our borders.

As proven after the *S.S. Arabic* incident in August, proper diplomacy has halted Germany’s indirect naval attacks against us. On September 1, 1915, Germany promised that it will no longer sink passenger ships without warning. Instead of arming ships, a more effective investment to minimize civilian harm is to increase funding for training in diplomacy and peace negotiations.

A moral society must act according to its ethical convictions. This includes ensuring the well-being of civilian populations and educating its citizens on the atrocities of war. Since January of this year, *The New York Times* has carried articles each month about harm inflicted on Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. The recent Bryce Report provides detail of unspeakable atrocities in Belgium. Yet, with Britain seizing all cargo bound to the Central Powers for the past year, German mothers and children are in food shortage.

The Armenian Genocide

Early in the war, the Ottoman Empire suffered severe defeats against Russia. The Muslim majority scapegoated Armenians, a Christian ethnic minority, claiming they secretly colluded with the Christian Russian enemy to defeat the Muslim empire. Retaliation by the Ottoman government was swift and ruthless. In February 1915, the Ottoman army disarmed and murdered its Armenian troops. Ottoman officials then targeted Armenian community leaders, arresting, deporting and murdering over 200 Armenian individuals. On May 7, 1915, the government issued the Edict of Deportation, which systematically exiled over one million Armenian women and children to the Syrian Desert. Thousands died during the journey. It is estimated nearly one million Armenian men, women and children were murdered during this targeted massacre. Although the term “genocide” was not coined until after World War I, many consider this the first genocide of the modern era.



The American Committee for Relief in the Near East supported Armenian refugees.



Many Americans prided the nation’s neutrality.

Commission for Relief in Belgium

After invading Belgium in 1914, Germany commandeered the country’s agricultural supply and livestock. Great Britain then ceased trade with Belgium for fear of German interception. As a densely populated, industrialized nation, Belgium relied on imports for survival. Widespread starvation quickly engulfed the country. After months of international negotiations, Great Britain and Germany agreed to the creation of a neutral relief effort called the Commission for Relief in Belgium (CRB). Spearheaded by American businessperson and future U.S. President Herbert Hoover, the CRB was the first neutral humanitarian agency of its kind. The CRB systematically distributed food to over nine million Belgian and French civilians under German occupation. It was the largest relief effort of the twentieth century.



Belgian Relief Flour from Wilson County, Kansas.

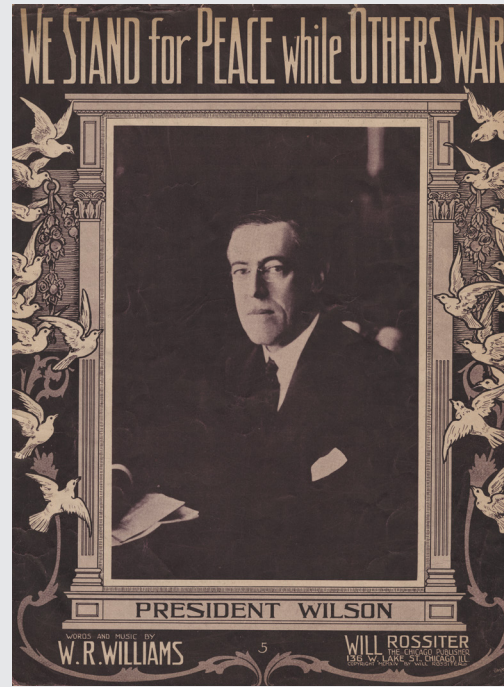
We have a moral calling to care for the vulnerable. Our neutrality has nourished successful individual humanitarian efforts in such countries as Belgium. Germany suggests it has no responsibility for feeding civilians in its occupied territories. Britain’s naval blockade extends to prevent materials from reaching Belgium out of fear that the Germans would confiscate the goods for themselves.

The American-led Commission for Relief in Belgium has worked hard to receive special diplomatic status to deliver food, due in no small part to businessman Herbert Hoover. This effort to rescue an entire nation from starvation is unprecedented. Staying neutral and working for long-term peace allows us to help civilians in need around the world.

Jane Addams and the new Women’s Peace Party share these concerns, and they are organizing local groups around the country. The party’s platform calls for a convention of neutral nations in the interest of peace, as well as mediation of the European conflict and the removal of the causes for war among countries. “As women, we are especially the custodians of the life of the ages,” they write. “We will no longer consent to its reckless destruction.”

We are at peace with all nations involved in the war. “There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight,” according to President Wilson. “There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.” And, as the President told Congress a few months ago, we have “the opportunity to counsel and obtain peace in the world.”

Peace and neutrality are not a sign of weakness. Rather, they grow out of our identity as people with longstanding principles and convictions that we must not violate. We must stay neutral and uphold our moral values which will lead to long-term gain for ourselves and the world. >



President Woodrow Wilson’s advocacy of American neutrality was widely supported by the public.

Jane Addams

Jane Addams (1860-1935) is known for her work with women living in impoverished city centers. She founded Hull-House, a settlement house in Chicago that provided education, resources and a living space for working women. Addams also helped found the Women’s Peace Party, a pacifist group advocating women’s suffrage, a limitation on arms and mediation.



British blockade ships in position prevented goods from reaching both the German military and civilians.

Examples of What Might Be Done	Some Tradeoffs to Consider
We best protect our country using diplomacy, rather than military action.	We leave ourselves open to attack by other countries whose views and goals differ from ours.
Citizens should support volunteer organizations such as the Commission for Relief in Belgium and other efforts to supply relief to populations affected by war.	Supplying relief is a short-term measure and might be considered participation in the war by some countries.
The United States should convene neutral nations on a regular basis to advocate for an end to the war.	There are sometimes legitimate reasons for war, and neutral nations may disagree on those reasons.
Anti-war organizations, like the Women’s Peace Party, should organize a campaign educating the public on the atrocities of war.	While we are educating, people are dying.

OPTION 3: STRENGTHEN OUR DEMOCRACY AT HOME

Our ultimate concern as Americans should be our own communities, not people thousands of miles away. We have real problems that need solving now if we are to achieve an egalitarian and secure future. If we value the constitutional ideals this country was founded upon, we must focus on our own democracy and its challenges and resist involvement in a war started by elites in distant countries.

Most Americans are proud of their nation's democracy, but for far too many Americans—women, African Americans, indigenous peoples, the poor and immigrants—the words in our founding documents still ring hollow. If we believe our democratic form of government is what makes us strong, our job is to bring its promises to all Americans, now. As suffragist leader Alice Paul reminds us, what we need now are “deeds, not words.”

What we need, for example, is to make sure women can vote in all state and federal elections. Only 11 states provide women the right to vote in all elections. With so many working in reform movements, women are a moral force in our society. How can we justify silencing them? Voting is the basic right of a citizen. If half our citizens are unable to vote we are turning our backs on the promises made by our founding fathers.

African Americans deserve similar justice. When running for office, President Wilson promised to support equality, but has done the opposite by demoting black leaders and segregating offices in the federal government. The President says he simply wants to reduce friction between white and black employees, but to most African Americans, his actions seem typical of a white southerner in power.

The President even held a screening of the film, *Birth of a Nation*, which the newly formed National Association for the Advancement



“The Awakening,” published 1915 by Henry Mayer, illustrates where women did (and did not) have the right to vote in the United States prior to the ratification of the 19th Amendment.

The NAACP

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in 1909 by W.E.B. DuBois to promote a society free from discrimination based on race. It worked to reverse racist Jim Crow laws and strongly opposed the extreme racial discrimination of federal employment imposed by the Wilson administration.



The Commencement Day parade for graduates of the Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama, during the 1913-1914 school year, led by the Institute's marching band.



Suffragettes demonstrate outside of the White House in February 1914.

of Colored People want banned for its blatantly false portrayal of blacks after the Civil War, and its glorification of the Ku Klux Klan. How can we aspire to be a beacon of democracy for other nations when we have so many deep issues to address in our own country?

Prosperity and disparity define our daily American life, as 0.1 percent of the population owns over 20 percent of the nation's wealth. According to some estimates, a family needs to earn \$800 a year to keep decent living conditions. Nearly a third of our citizens – whether in urban or rural communities – do not even earn that much.

We cannot allow more spending to enlarge our military when so many people are destitute and have little control over factors that would make their situations better. We should improve the standard of living for our people by creating a graduated income tax system in which the wealthy pay taxes at a higher rate than the poor or middle class. Better health and education systems along with infrastructure improvements for all citizens mean a more secure future for our nation.

Theodore Roosevelt is right in charging that industrial growth is greedily devouring our nation's natural resources for individual gains. At the opposite end of the political spectrum the small and controversial Socialist Party agrees. In their view, lasting peace cannot be achieved if industrial wealth is controlled by a capitalist oligarchy. The solution, they say, is for those resources—mines, forests, railroads—to be owned and controlled by the people. While this may sound like radical thinking, it should be remembered that the same kind of “radical thinking” led to the founding of our country.

The current war is horrible, but it is not our duty to intervene in affairs that are not our own and have no clear-cut answers. Our own societal problems, on the other hand, can be solved. Our focus must be on making progress on the issues that keep us from being a strong, democratic country and fulfilling the dreams that earlier generations worked so hard to achieve. >

The Socialist Party

Since the late 19th century, the economic gap between the rich and poor saw extreme growth, and the war only made it worse. Socialism, a political and social movement, looked to bridge the gap between the wealthy elite and impoverished workers by promoting social equality and public control over production and distribution of resources. Socialists opposed the war, saying once the masses had economic stability there would be less incentive to continue the conflict.



Workers perforating postage stamps at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in 1914. The factory, with 146 machines, could produce up to 105,000 sheets of stamps daily.



“The Prosperity Painter,” published by political cartoonist Clifford K. Berryman in January 1915.

Examples of What Might Be Done

Congress should pass legislation requiring that a declaration of war can only be made by the vote of the people (except in the case of invasion).

Federal law should ensure that women have the right to vote in all 48 states.

Governments, civic groups, and individuals should work to end Jim Crow laws that prevent black Americans from enjoying all the rights and protections enjoyed by white Americans.

The government should build roads, schools, and other infrastructure necessary for all to prosper. Individuals should resist the call to spend federal tax dollars on increasing our military capabilities,

Some Tradeoffs to Consider

The Constitution gives the power to declare war to Congress. Amending this would be a slow process that would upset a carefully constructed system of checks and balances.

This would infringe on the rights of states to make election laws.

Wholesale changes of this kind risk unnecessary violence and may serve to further divide our country.

Without spending tax dollars on a strong military, we leave ourselves vulnerable to attack.

THE OUTCOME

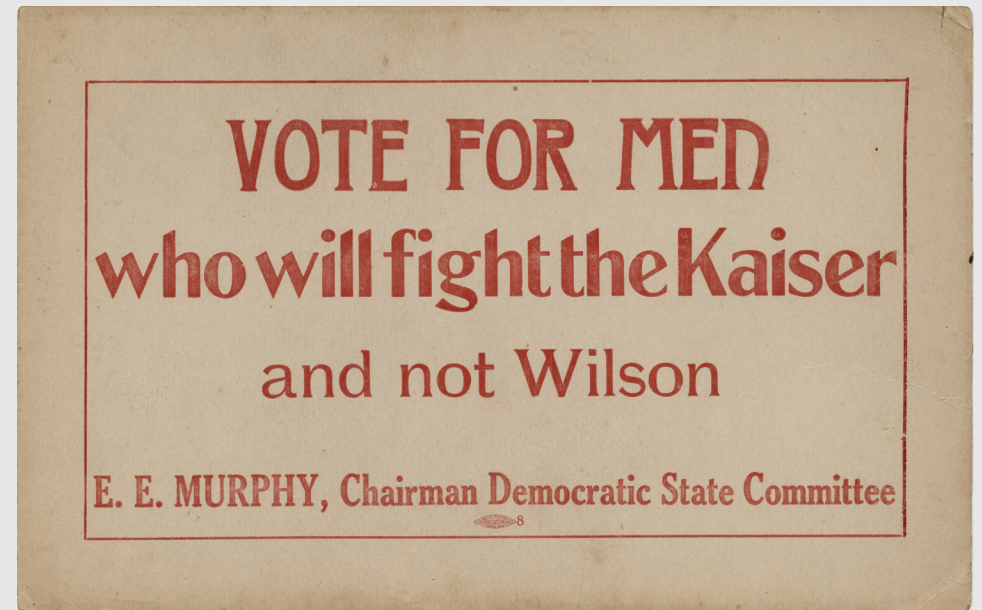
THE OUTCOME

Americans continued to wrestle with their role in the war through the fall of 1915 and into the following year, as they decided whether to re-elect Woodrow Wilson or replace him with Republican candidate Charles Evans Hughes. Wilson's campaign slogan was "He kept us out of war." Hughes did not advocate immediate American entry into the war but campaigned for increasing the size and power of the American military. The 1916 election results were close, but Wilson won the popular vote by nearly 600,000 ballots and the electoral college vote, 277 to 254.

President Wilson addressed the U.S. Senate on January 22, 1917, and suggested the war needed a "peace without victory," an immediate truce rather than a fight to the finish. On February 1, Germany decided to resume unrestricted submarine warfare as a decisive measure to reduce enough supplies to the Allies to prevent them from continuing the war. All merchant ships would be destroyed without warning. On February 3, Wilson announced to Congress that Germany's actions required the United States to stop diplomatic relations. The country moved one step closer to war.

At the same time, German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmermann sent a secret telegram to the German ambassador in Mexico with a proposal. If the U.S. declared war, Germany would help Mexico reacquire the territory of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona following defeat of the Allies. Britain intercepted the telegram, and cryptographers cracked the code revealing the plan. The idea of bringing Mexico into the war was not a very realistic one since a Mexican invasion of the United States would require far more resources than Germany could offer. But the Zimmerman telegram outraged President Wilson, and he requested funds from Congress to arm merchant ships so that commerce could continue.

Germany continued attacking merchant ships. *The Vigilancia*, *the City of Memphis*, and the *Illinois* were destroyed in three days in March. Only one ship received a warning; two of the ships had no cargo on board. Many Americans concluded Germany had gone too far. Freedom of the seas was not the only thing at stake. American bankers had supplied over \$2 billion



While many voted for Woodrow Wilson in the 1916 presidential election because "he kept us out of war" other Americans chose candidates who wanted war with Germany.

dollars in war loans to Britain and France, which meant that the economy increasingly relied on an Allied victory.

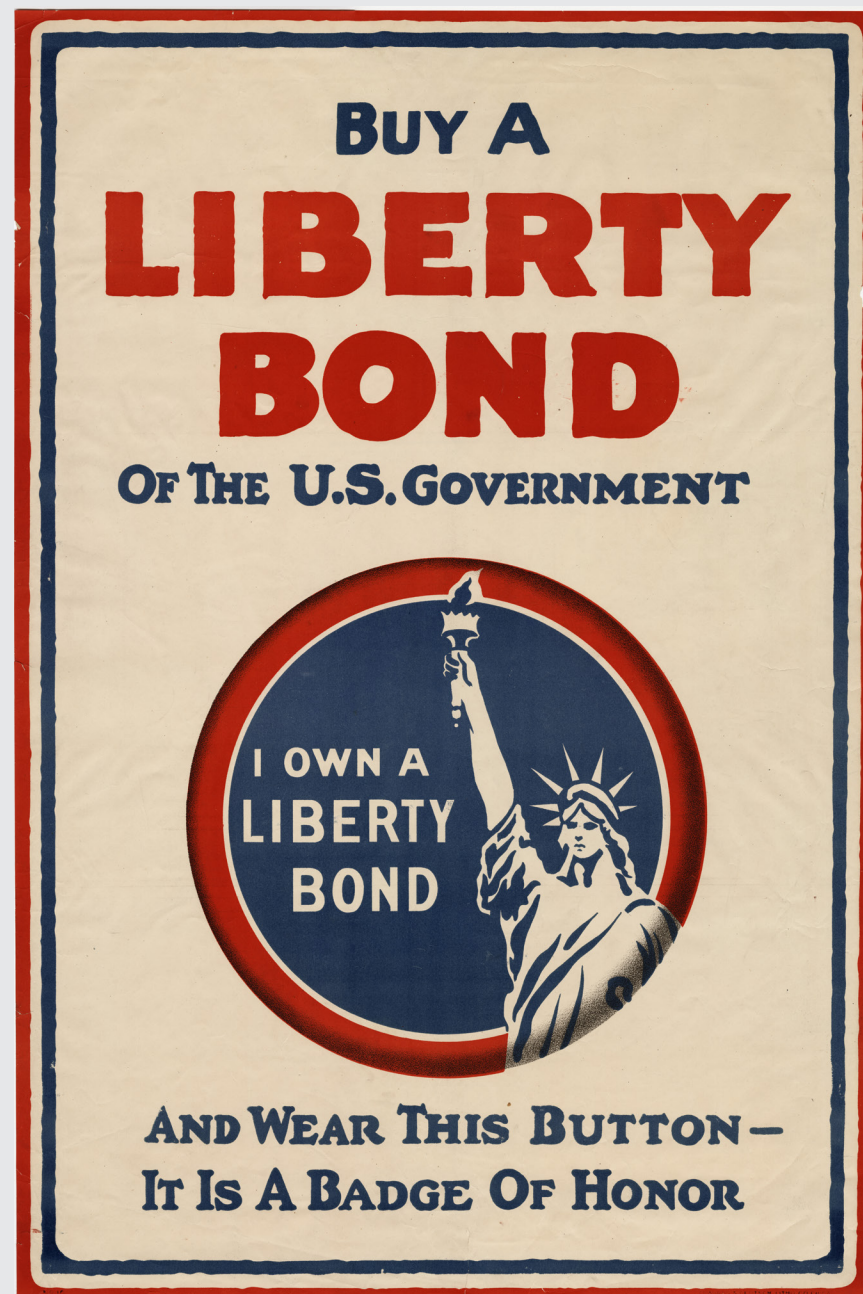
On April 2, 1917, President Wilson addressed a joint session of Congress, and presented the situation as he saw it. Germany's practice of unrestricted submarine attacks was "warfare against mankind." Congress should recognize that a state of war already existed between the two nations, he said, and it was time for the United States to act.

Wilson called for support for the Allies, a fully equipped navy, and a draft to increase the U.S. army by 500,000. "The world must be safe for democracy," he said. Two days later the Senate debated a war resolution for 13 hours. The most vocal senators favored the war. On April 5, the House of Representatives debated the resolution for over 17 hours with much the same result. On April 6 at 1:18 p.m., President Wilson signed the war resolution. The United States was at war.

Congress passed the Selective Service Act on May 18, 1917, which established the first draft of troops into the American army since the Civil War. Males between the ages of 21 and 30 appeared at local draft boards, and each state was assigned a quota of troops to supply for the army. Eventually the age limits would be expanded to include those aged 18 to 45. The U.S. Army created segregated units for over 350,000 African Americans who served; roughly 10 percent of those served in two combat divisions - the 92nd and 93rd. Though women were not drafted, for the first time in U.S. history they officially enlisted and over 13,000 served.

United States citizens contributed to the war effort in several ways. To finance it, Americans bought "Liberty Loans," federal government bonds that paid interest and raised over \$21 billion. The Committee on Public Information organized the largest and most influential public relations campaign the country had ever seen.

In addition to rallying Americans to buy Liberty Loans, millions of posters and other propaganda urged Americans to support the war effort by reporting suspicious pro-German activities, planting victory gardens to preserve food for the troops, joining the Red Cross, and more. "Four



Liberty Loan programs encouraged the public to fund the war with voluntary purchases of bonds. The program was very successful.

Minute Men” and women delivered powerful pro-war messages during the four minutes it took to change a reel of film at local movie theatres.

The U.S. government was equally interested in making sure Americans did not voice opposition to the war effort. The Espionage Act of 1917 made it illegal to say or mail anything that might be considered helpful to the enemy. Foreign-language newspapers had to submit translations of war-related news to the government. The Sedition Act of 1918 imposed fines and up to 20 years in prison for any American who openly criticized or defamed the government, Constitution, American flag, or service uniforms. Some Americans worried that their government had moved too far away from protecting individual liberty and freedom of expression.

President Wilson outlined his views about fighting the war and seeking peace when he spoke to a joint session of Congress, on January 8, 1918. The famous Fourteen Points speech outlined a blueprint for world peace after the conclusion of the war. Wilson suggested that the postwar world must include open diplomacy and a League of Nations to prevent future wars.

The American Expeditionary Forces under the command of General John J. Pershing were sent to Europe in 1917 and fought in major battles to stop the Germans from taking the city of Paris in the spring of 1918. Americans back home would eventually hear how U.S. troops fought in battles at Cantigny, Belleau Wood, and Château-Thierry. Ultimately, Allied offensives on the Western Front and in the Balkans forced Germany to seek an armistice, and at 11 a.m. on November 11, 1918, the war officially ended on the Western Front. The Treaty of Versailles, one of the main components of the Paris Peace Conference, would take several months to negotiate, but the bloody battles in the trenches were finished.

The U.S. Armed Forces included more than four million “doughboys,” half of whom were sent overseas. According to a U.S. Department of Defense report in 1919, some 53,402 troops died in battle, and another 63,114 died of causes related to the war.



| General John J. Pershing reviewing African American soldiers in France.



| Allied leaders at the Paris Peace Conference, where the Treaty of Versailles, one of the treaties integral to ending the war, was written.

GLOSSARY - First World War Terms

Alliances: Agreements between nations to aid each other for mutual benefit. Two sets of military alliances formed in WWI. The Allies, composed primarily of France, Great Britain, Russia and the United States (after 1917), and the Central Powers of Austria-Hungary, Germany, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria.

Citizenship: Legally recognized native or naturalized membership to a nation with rights, privileges and responsibilities.

Doughboys: The nickname given to the soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces. It is believed to have originated during the 1916 operation in Mexico, where foot soldiers covered in adobe dust were called “adobes” or “adobe boys” by mounted troops.

Imperialism: A philosophy of extending national power over other nations or states and claiming territory outside of one’s own borders through diplomacy or military force.

Isolationism: A policy that disengages one nation from the political, economic and military affairs of other nations.

Militarism: A belief of a nation or people favoring a strong military capability.

Mobilize: To prepare material needs, organize troops for active duty and encourage people to act in a concerted way, usually to achieve a political goal.

Nationalism: Identification with one’s own nation and support for its interests above all others.

Propaganda: Information used to promote or publicize a specific political cause or point of view. During World War I, examples included posters, pamphlets and films.

Schlieffen Plan: Germany’s military strategy employed in 1914 to defeat France first by invading through Belgium, then turn toward Russia, to avoid a two-front war.

Socialism: The political and economic philosophy that advocates in favor of public or community control over production and distribution resources.

Stalemate: A deadlock contest where opposing powers in a war cannot advance or defeat the other.

Suffragists: Individuals, especially women, campaigning for the right to vote.

Trench warfare: A situation in which opposing armed forces dig a system of relatively permanent ditches from which to attack, counterattack and defend. Neither side can maneuver around the trenches due to geographic and political borders.

Unrestricted submarine warfare: A naval strategy of torpedoing military, passenger and merchant ships without warning of attack.

ADDENDUM: Primary Source Documents

Reviewing primary source material provides the opportunity to see how prominent figures influenced public opinion. Read the following resources for insight into what shaped American beliefs and global outcomes.

As you read consider the purpose of each document as well as its intended audience.

Woodrow Wilson's Declaration of Neutrality — Washington, D.C., August 1914

With Britain's entry declaration of war with Germany on August 4, 1914, a general European war - soon to become a world war - was underway. On August 19, 1914, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson addressed Congress and made public the U.S. policy of neutrality.

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN: I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself during these last troubled weeks what influence the European war may exert upon the United States, and I take the liberty of addressing a few words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the Nation against distress and disaster.

The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon what ministers utter in their pulpits, and men proclaim as their opinions on the street.

The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility, responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests – may become divided in camps of hostile opinion, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action.



| Woodrow Wilson, 1912

Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

I venture, therefore, my fellow countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraints which will bring to our people the happiness and the great and lasting influence for peace we covet for them?

Excerpts of Col. Theodore Roosevelt on Unity and Preparedness

Remarks at Columbus Day Celebration, The New York Times, October 1915

I am, as you know, a most ardent believer in national preparedness against war as a means of securing that honorable and self-respecting peace which is the only peace desired by all high-spirited people. But it is an absolute impossibility to secure such preparedness in full and proper form if it is an isolated feature of our policy. The lamentable fate of Belgium has shown that no justice in legislation or success in business will be of the slightest avail if the nation has not prepared in advance the strength to protect its rights. But it is equally true that there cannot be this preparation in advance for military strength unless there is a social basis of civil and social life behind it. There must be social, economic, and military preparedness all alike, all harmoniously developed; and above all there must be spiritual and mental preparedness.

There must be not merely preparedness in things material; there must be preparedness in soul and mind. To prepare a great army and navy without preparing a proper national spirit would avail nothing. And if there is not only a proper national spirit, but proper national intelligence, we shall realize that even from the standpoint of the army and navy some civil preparedness is indispensable. For example, a plan for national defense which does not include the most far-reaching use and cooperation of our railroads must prove largely futile. These railroads are organized in time of peace. But we must have the most carefully thought out organization from the national and centralized standpoint in order to use them in time of



Theodore Roosevelt, 1915

war. This means first that those in charge of them from the highest to the lowest must understand their duty in time of war, must be permeated with the spirit of genuine patriotism; and second, that they and we shall understand that efficiency is as essential as patriotism; one is useless without the other.

Again, every citizen should be trained sedulously by every activity at our command to realize his duty to the nation... Business men, professional men, and wage workers alike must understand that there should be no question of their enjoying any rights whatsoever unless in the fullest way they recognize and live up to the duties that go with those rights. This is just as true of the corporation as of the trade-union, and if either corporation or trade-union fails heartily to acknowledge this truth, then its activities are necessarily anti-social and detrimental to the welfare of the body politic as a whole. In war time, when the welfare of the nation is at stake, it should be accepted as axiomatic that the employer is to make no profit out of the war save that which is necessary to the efficient running of the business and to the living expenses of himself and family, and that the wageworker is to treat his wage from exactly the same standpoint and is to see to it that the labor organization to which he belongs is, in all its activities, sub-ordinated to the service of the nation.

Now there must be some application of this spirit in times of peace or we cannot suddenly develop it in time of war.

Jane Addams, "The Revolt Against War"

The Survey, July 17 1915

Let me say just a word about the women in the various countries. The belief that a woman is against war simply and only because she is a woman and not a man, does not, of course hold. In every country there are many, many women who believe that the war is inevitable and righteous, and that the highest possible service is being performed by their sons who go into the army; just as there are thousands of men believing that in every country; the majority of women and men doubtless believe that.

...If men could be brought together who have had international experience, who have had it so long and so unconsciously that they have come to think not merely in international terms, but in the realities of the generation in which they have been doing the thing – whether business or labor or any other thing which has become so tremendously international – if they could be brought together, they could be asked to try to put the very best mind they have not as representing one country or another country, but as representing human life and human experience as it has been lived during the last ten years in Europe.

...Let us say there are two groups of boys in a boys' club, and I have much experience of that sort in boys' clubs to draw upon. If one says, "We did this because the other fellows did that," you will simply have to say, "I won't go into the rights and wrongs of this, but this thing must stop, because it leads nowhere and gets nowhere." And so with larger groups.



| Jane Addams, 1914

W.E.B. Dubois, "Lusitania!"

The Crisis, June 1915

The last horror of a horrible war is come! It puts a period to what we have already said: European civilization has failed. Its failure did not come with this war but with this war it has been made manifest.

Whatever of brutality and inhumanity, of murder, lust and theft has happened since last summer is but counterpart of the same sort of happenings hidden in the wilderness and done against dark and helpless people by white harbingers of human culture.

But when Negroes were enslaved, or the natives of Congo raped and mutilated, or the Indians of the Amazon robbed, or the natives of the South Seas murdered, or 2,732 American citizens lynched—when all this happened in the past and men knew it was happening and women fatted and plumed themselves on the ill-gotten gains, and London and Berlin and Paris and New York flamed with orgies of extravagance which the theft of worlds made possible; when all this happened, we civilized folk turned deaf ears. We explained that these "lesser breeds without the law" were given to exaggeration and had to be treated this way. They could not understand "civilization;" but as for the White World, there humanity and Christianity and loving kindness reigned.

This was a lie and we know it was a lie. The Great War is the lie unveiled. This world is a miserable pretender toward things which it might accomplish if it would be humble and gentle and poor and honest. It is a great privilege in the midst of this frightful catastrophe to belong to a race that can stand before Heaven with clean hands and say: we have not oppressed, we have been oppressed; we are not thieves, we are victims; we are not murderers, we are lynched!"



W.E.B. Dubois, 1900

Excerpt of Woodrow Wilson's Message to Congress on April 2, 1917

In a Special Session of Congress held on April 2, 1917, President Wilson delivered this "War Message." Four days later, Congress overwhelmingly passed the War Resolution which brought the United States into the Great War.

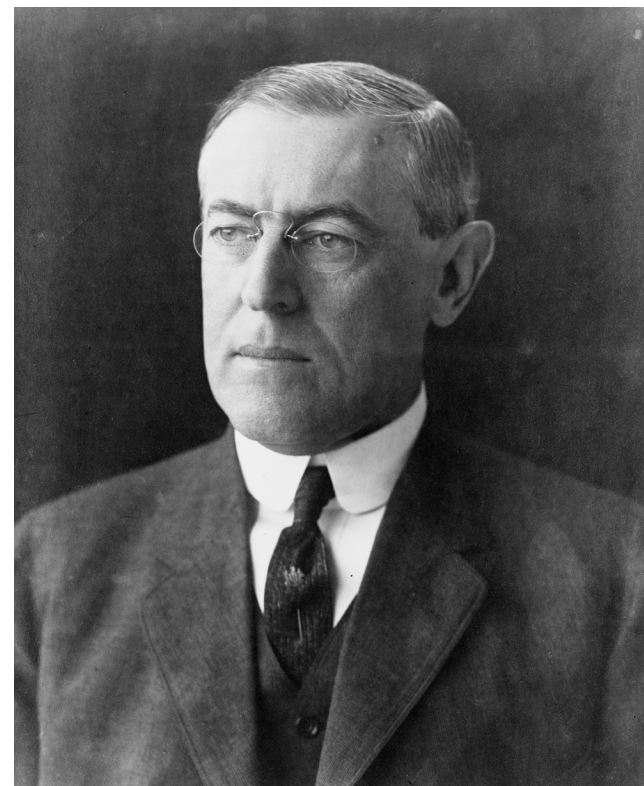
Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles.

Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances.

We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states....

We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience.

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.



| Woodrow Wilson, 1912

The National WWI Museum and Memorial is America’s leading institution dedicated to remembering, interpreting and understanding the Great War and its enduring impact on the global community.

The Museum and Memorial fulfills its mission by:

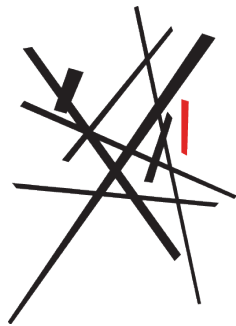
- Maintaining the Liberty Memorial as a beacon of freedom and a symbol of the courage, patriotism, sacrifice, and honor of all who served in World War I
- Interpreting the history of World War I to encourage public involvement and informed decision-making
- Providing exhibitions and educational programs that engage diverse audiences
- Collecting and preserving historical materials with the highest professional standards

Learn more about educator resources, exhibitions, and public programs at the Museum and Memorial’s website: www.theworldwar.org



“These have dared bear the torches of sacrifice and service: Their bodies return to dust, but their work liveth for evermore. Let us strive on to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.”

— Inscription on the Great Frieze of the Museum and Memorial.



**THE NATIONAL
WWI MUSEUM
AND MEMORIAL**



AUBURN UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

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Center for the Arts and Humanities*

This issue guide, published by the National WWI Museum and Memorial in partnership with Auburn University, is based on research conducted in collaboration with the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. Historic Decisions issue guides foster the development of deliberative democratic skills through examining the difficult choices Americans faced in the past.

Kettering is a nonprofit operating foundation rooted in the American tradition of cooperative research. Established in 1927 by inventor Charles F. Kettering, the foundation is a 501(c)(3) organization that does not make grants but engages in joint research with others. The actions presented in these issue guides are based on ideas or proposals actively considered at the time the historic decision was made and do not reflect the views of the foundation, its directors, or its officers.