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The Impact of the Red Scare of 1920s on Immigrants

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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Dedication

We dedicate this work to our parents for believing in our abilities, siblings for their useful assistance, friends and colleagues that accompanied us throughout our journey, and everyone for being there for us.

Thank you

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First and foremost, praise to Allah the Almighty for giving us power and strength to reach this stage in our lives and to finish on a higher note.

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Abstract

The United States' history is a pact with social events that affected the lives and rights of American civilians and their government, whether positively or negatively. Between the period of 1919 and 1920, there has been a notable rise in the number of immigrants that followed communist, socialist, and anarchist ideologies, due to the 1917s Russian October revolution and the anarchist bombing in the United States, in other words, this generated what was called The Red Scare. The aim of the study is to investigate the impact of the Red Scare on immigrants in the United States during the 1920s. It was carried out in order to clarify and inform about the struggle that immigrants encountered in the USA during the period of WWI. Starting with the extent to which the immigrants were targeted during the Red Scare, investigating the socioeconomic repercussions of discrimination on immigrant communities, including employment, housing and social integration, and investigating the role of the government policies in affecting their lives and assessing the impact of these policies on community dynamics and lastly providing insights into their experiences, challenges and coping mechanisms. This research was conducted in qualitative approach based on historical, and descriptive methods, using demographic and case studies, predicting their expected outcomes. This research contributes to a nuanced understanding of the Red Scare's impact on immigrants, shedding light on a historical period that has lasting implications for immigration policies and societal attitudes. The findings reveal significant socioeconomic repercussions for immigrant communities, including discrimination in employment, housing, and social integration.

Keywords: Immigrants, Impact, Red Scare of the 1920s, United States

List of Acronyms

KKK	Ku Klux Klan
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
WASP	White Anglo-Saxon Protestants

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General Introduction

1. Background of the Study

In many regions of Europe, the end of World War I (WWI) was just the beginning of major problems for the European population because of the desperate economic, political, social and infrastructural state. Regarding the devastating Political state, it suffered from a lack of stability and consistency due to civil wars in Russia where some countries claimed independence and revolutionized against it, along with strict laws against Germany, causing people to be dissatisfied with the power of monarchies and sought democratic government. In addition to politics, the economy was no different. The western part of Europe lost most of its industrial power that caused a widening of the gap between the rich and the poor. The former did not take long to recover from the massive losses while the latter lost their source of income. In addition, the infrastructural destruction led many people to be uncomfortable with the lack of medical care and fundamentals. The war led to the collapse of the great empires in Europe, meanwhile, a new one emerged as the United States of America (USA), which was more stable economically and politically, That tempted European civilians to take a serious decision which is migrating away from Europe towards a new world, seeking better life accommodations. However, the flood of newcomers partnered with the rising anti-immigrant sentiment and the increase of nativism, built accusations on immigrants of being the causes of threats to the national security, which increased the fear inside the American society assuming that they brought communist and anarchist ideologies, especially immigrants from Russia, southern Europe and eastern Europe. This phenomenon was called “The Red Scare.” While there is extensive awareness about the Red Scare and its political ramifications, the specific impact on immigration remains relatively understudied. Investigating this topic can give insights on how periods of political paranoia shape immigration policies and attitudes towards immigrants. Furthermore, understanding the historical context can provide valuable insights into modern debates surrounding immigration and national security.

2. Statement of the Problem:

Through the circumstances that described the discriminatory practices and policies directed towards immigrants during the period of the 1920s, in addition to the socioeconomic conditions that the immigrants encountered, and the challenges faced by them, this study attempts to investigate the impact of the Red Scare of the 1920s on immigrants in the United States.

3. Research Question

This study seeks to answer one main question and two secondary questions:

The main question : What was the impact of the Red Scare on immigrants in the United States during the 1920's?

Secondary questions :

- What were the causes of the Red Scare and how did it lead to discriminatory practices and policies against immigrants?
- How did these discriminatory practices and policies affect the socioeconomic conditions of immigrant communities during the 1920s?

4. Research Hypotheses

To answer the research questions, we suggest the following hypotheses:

- The Red Scare might have been caused by World War I and the political conflicts in the continent. And the remnants of the war and the state of the countries prompted Europeans to immigrate to the USA.
- Many discriminatory practices could have been imposed on immigrants in USA during the 1920s, and immigrants communities were affected by many socioeconomic factors during the Red Scare of the 1920s.

5. Aims of the Study

The aim of this study is to investigate the impact of the Red Scare on immigrants in the United States in the 1920s. Analyze the extent to which the immigrants were targeted through discriminatory practices and policies. Examine the socioeconomic repercussions of these discriminatory actions on immigrant communities, including employment, housing and social integration. Assess the role of the government policies in shaping the lives of immigrants during the Red Scare.

6. Significance of the Study

This research contributes to an accurate understanding of the Red Scare's impact on immigrants. The significance of this study is that it proves the connection between the Red Scare and WWI and their impacts on immigrants, in addition to the significant change in attitudes among Americans and their policies towards immigration in terms of social, political and economic levels

7. Research Methodology

This study conducts a useful rehearsal of existing scholarly literature on the Red Scare, immigration history and related topics. Since the current study aims to investigate the impact of the Red Scare of the 1920s on immigrants in the United States, the qualitative research in hand adopts the historical and descriptive methods. This research was conducted in qualitative approach based on historical, and descriptive methods, using demographic and case studies, predicting their expected outcomes

8. Structure of the Study

This dissertation consists of two theoretical chapters. The first chapter gives an accurate definition of “the Red Scare of the 1920s” and a detailed narration of events that occurred in Europe during and after WWI that caused the Red Scare in the USA in the 1920s and stating the socioeconomic causes that provoked European citizens to emigrate towards the USA ,whereas the second chapter focuses on investigating the impact of the “Red Scare of 1920s on immigrants” in the United States and scrutinizing the discriminatory practices and policies against immigrants.

CHAPTER ONE:

An Overview of The Red Scare of 1920s and Immigration to U.S.A

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Introduction

To give a better understanding of the topic at hand, this chapter attempts to provide general comprehension, and give a precise definition to “the Red Scare” in order to clarify the reason behind this name. Moreover, it narrates the historical events that contributed to the creation of fear from the wave of immigrants coming from Eastern Europe, Southern Europe, and Russia towards the United States of America. Additionally, this chapter discusses the situation of European citizens during and after WWI. Finally, it states the reasons behind their departure from their home countries.

1.1. The Definition of the Red Scare

The Red Scare is a term that is well known at the educational level, when the discussion is about American history at the beginning of 1920. It is concerned with the generated fear that existed in US society from the possible penetration by Eastern European radicals known widely as ‘reds’, the name was derived from the Soviet Union’s red flag. This scare was the reason behind the change in attitudes towards immigrants that controlled political policies, diplomatic relations, and the original American way of life. Despite the nature of the Red Scare being a disagreement in principles between the west and the east, in reality it was born because of certain aspects in politics, economy; and diplomatic policies with the neighbouring countries. By returning to different historical events and periods, they can clarify the background and main reasons behind the Red Scare (StudySmarter, n.d.).

1.1.1. First Red Scare

History com editors (2010) state that politics was the main cause behind the hostility against immigrants in the USA. They were connected and assumed to have communists and anarchist ideologies. Eastern Europeans saw that capitalism contradicts the benefits of the population and it must be overthrown and stopped by the labourers. They think that their effort is the main source of income in their home countries; therefore, the wealth should be fairly split between all people in order to omit classicism in the USA. The communist ideology is generally based on the idea that all the properties inside the state are owned by the government in addition to factories and natural resources, thus deleting the concept of private property. In 1917, a revolution in Russia initiated the first communist movement seeking to overthrow capitalism.

The ideology of communism fully contradicts the principles of the American mind, which prefer business free activities, rivalry, and non-reliance of the government intervention in private business. The fear of communism coming to American lands caused the American immigration policy to be stricter. The flood of Eastern European immigrants, particularly from Russia was assumed to be bringing their hostile communist ideologies and rebellious mentality. The number of Russians in the year 1920 was approximated at over 150000 which is roughly calculated as

0.1% of the total population in the USA. Despite being in the minority, they have sparked a general scare among Americans because of the possible revolution that can occur in the USA, similar to that in Russia (Editors, 2010).

According to history com editors (2010), after WWI, two political parties appeared in the United States, that were supporting Russian ideas, which triggered concern in American society. These political parties were famous for being opposed to the war and were therefore considered disloyal. This led them to be susceptible to any attack, and any action they took was considered sceptical, anarchism, socialism, and communism were unreasonably feared in American society. Immigrants were even more hated and unaccepted because of the later suspicions, and persuaded many Americans to request serious procedures to be taken to prevent the conquest of extremists from entering the country. Law enforcement started to limit the freedom of the people who embraced extremist ideologies. Thus, the haunt of the Russian revolution started simultaneously with the economic collapse that triggered the Red Scare era. After WWI, the Red Scare was assured by a sequence of strikes, so that meant to many Americans that the riot was inevitable. Strikers were considered as dangerous and accused of starting revolutions, but their strikes were characterized as peaceful and harmless. Immediately the strikes were blamed on the International Workers of the world known as “the Wobblies,” a political party that embraced communist ideologies. These strikes were followed by violent ones in other industries and visualized by the media as a threat to the authorities and plans to plant communism inside the government, hence confirming the idea of ‘Red Scare’ in American society. Boston’s Police department joined the strikes in 1919 starting a fear in Boston that strikers would siege the city and the policemen would be labelled traitors. The Strikes quickly ended after a threat from the commissioner Edwin Curtis that was about firing those policemen and replacing them with new police officers.

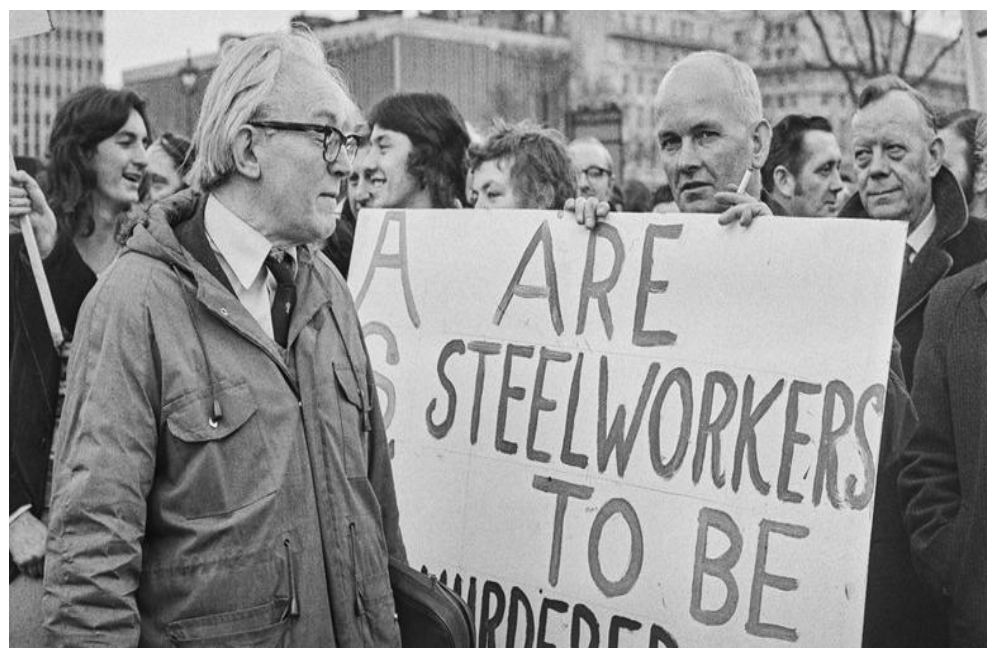


Figure1.1 : *Strikes of Steelworkers in Seattle 1919* (Griffith, 2022)



Figure1.2 : *Boston's Police Strikes 1919* (Siiak, 2015)

1.1.2. Causes of Red Scare

The main causes of Red Scare were predominantly connected to the general fear and worrisomeness that was generated because of WWI, which took place in Europe. America did not suffer from concrete losses from the war, but the fear of the upcoming immigrants and the citizens' patriarchy were at their peak. Furthermore, the appearance of the Bolshevik revolutionary movements spreading the ideology of communism and its success in overthrowing the Russian authority led them to other neighbouring European countries such as Italy, Hungary, Finland, and parts of western Europe. That has triggered concern in American society that these movements would penetrate US institutions.

1.1.2.1. The Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution was a period of political and social transformation in the Russian Empire that began in 1917. Following the two subsequent revolutions and a terrible civil war, Russia abolished its monarchy and transitioned to a socialist form of governance. The Russian Revolution can also be viewed as a prelude to other European revolutions that occurred during or after World War I, such as the German Revolution of 1918-1919 (Editors, 2024).



Figure1.3 : *Russian Revolution Part of the Opposition to World War I and the Revolution of 1917-1923* ("Revolutions of 1917-1923", n.d.)

As reported by History com editors (2024), Russia faced a period filled with unrest in 1917 because of two revolutions aiming to eradicate the royal rule that was controlling the country and eventually the inevitable change that touched the political and social aspects that helped in shaping the what it was called the Soviet Union. Social instability in Russia was gradually growing many years earlier from the movements in 1917, despite the fact that the roots were in late 1916.

The state of Russia in the beginning of the 1900s was miserable and demeaning due to its high population, of which the vast majority were classified as poor industrial labourers. As a result of that, they were seen as inferior and a poorly developed country (Editors, 2024).

In this period, Russia still depends on old fashioned attitudes towards the Russian individual, which was a type of feudalism that was concerned with providing the Russian peasant a land in exchange for military service. This practice was followed in mediaeval periods and eventually relinquished by western Europe (Editors, 2024).

History com editors (2024) noted that in 1861, freedom was given to Russian peasants who started to have political points of views which led to several revolutions that threatened the leading system.

One main reason behind the ignition of the Russian revolution was the late coming of the industrial revolution that swept the world in the late 19th century, and eventually hit Russia decades later, bringing with it massive transformations in social and political aspects (Editors, 2024).

Recent Studies (Editors, 2024) highlight that during the same period, Russia suffered from dense, overcrowded cities because the population multiplied. Consequently, difficult living conditions and a new social class were invented, which is the industrial Russian labourers. A problem of inflating population in the late 19th century synchronized with an agricultural crisis due to the severe climate conditions that distinguish Russia, and its conflicts with Britain, France, Turkey, and Sardinia caused constant food insufficiency inside the countries, in addition to that, 400000 casualties died from starvation. Russia was fatigued by a war between Russia and Japan that began in 1904 and lasted one year, causing it to suffer from losing important resources such as human , military gear, wealth, and its international position.

Russian intellectuals who were following the progress of Europe and North America regarding social and scientific evolution discovered how the improvement of Russia was being restrained by the royal system led by the Czars and their supporters from the high class in Russia (Editors, 2024).

According to History com editors (2024), on a Sunday morning, a large number of labourers began a collective complaint against the royal family, resulting in the leader Czar ordering armed soldiers to fire on the protesters, ending it with a large massacre and injuries, later called “the bloody Sunday massacre”. This tragic event sparked the beginning of the Russian Revolution of 1905, which started with furious labourers committing a sequence of rebellions across the country. Farmers and some Russian troops united to support the cause, creating a council known as the “soviets.”

On a battleship called “Potemkin”, the crew organized a revolt against the arrogant captains. This Russian revolution was considered by many historians a teaser to the great upsets that are yet to come (Editors, 2024).

History com editors (2024) elaborate that February Revolution, or so it is considered by Russians because of their use of the Julian calendar, but in normal calendar, it occurred on march 8th, 1917, rather than February 23rd. Protesters were loudly demanding food supplies, and for that, they seized the streets of Petrograd. Backed by an enormous number of striking industrial labourers, also confronted the police and maintained the control over the streets.

A month later, the city militias were summoned to control the situation and terminate the riot, while in other areas, the militias were more aggressive with the protesters, opening fire to kill a significant number of them, but that did not scare the protesters, and the army began to withdraw from the scene (Editors, 2024).

Because of Russia’s use of the Julian calendar, the Bolshevik revolution was referred to as the October revolution, although its real occurrence was on November 6th and 7th, 1917. A rebellion was led by the Bolshevik politician Vladimir Lenin, aiming for peaceful intentions to oppose Duma’s provisional government (Lane, 2020).

Lane (2020) discusses that a group from the high class in Russia who adapted capitalist ideologies created an assembly named the provisional government, trying to apply the capitalist ways of ruling to Russia. Lenin did not agree with the governing system; alternatively, he preferred a Soviet governing system where the rule is given to an advisory group of soldiers, peasants, and labourers.

Petrograd was under the occupation of the Bolsheviks and their allies, controlling its vital constitutions under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, who later was elected to be the first communist dictator the world had ever seen.

After the Bolshevik revolution ended, a civil war was ignited in late 1917. The quarrelling minority groups were the red army representing the communists led by Lenin and the capitalists, their supporters from the monarch and the democratic socialists represented by the white army led by the Romanov Dynasty. Those capitalists who opposed Lenin were captured and executed on July 16, 1918. Eventually, in 1923, the Russian civil war ended and Lenin’s army emerged victorious, creating the Soviet Union (Editors, 2024).

History com editors (2024) end their studies by demonstrating that following the long period of instability and political discomfort, the Russian Revolution was the basis on which communism was established, and became a well-known, impactful political mindset worldwide. It served as the groundbase for the emergence of the Soviet Union as a competitor for the world's number one power, the USA, threatening its position.

1.1.2.2. The Communist Revolution

The Russian Revolution of 1917 was not the only one communist revolution that occurred after WWI, many others occurred simultaneously creating many conflicts, and civil wars between different levels of the society, for instance, the peasants, soldiers, workers, intellectuals, farmers, and politicians. Creating a considerable number of political movements and parties that were racing towards the leadership chair dethroning their undesirable leaders. These revolutions occurred in western and southern Europe, precisely in Hungary, Italy and Scandinavia.

A significant portion of those revolutions sought for one aim, which was defeating the dictatorship rule in their countries, and creating a democratic entity that seeks to lift the persecution that was imposed on the peasants, and giving them the right to express their opinions, and the right to control their destinies.

1.1.2.2.1. Western Europe

According to Starobin (1965), after Lenin successfully overthrew the ruling royal family in Russia, his influence moved towards the rest of Europe, where a large number of countries followed his lead, attempting a series of civil wars and revolutions in order to eradicate their undesired rulers and leading systems with the ambition to adapt communism and left-wing ideologies.

Lenin had the ambition that the spread of communism and socialism in Russia would influence the proletarians in western Europe, to start to become more involved in decision making and enhance their stance, as Lenin said,

“If we succeed... the revolutionary conflagration will spread to Europe. The European worker languishing under bourgeois reaction, will rise in his turn and show us how it is done. The revolutionary upsurge in Europe will have a repercussive effect upon Russia and will convert an epoch in a few revolutionary years into an era of several revolutionary decades.”

In the revolution's belief, the Russian working class would befriend the European working class (Starobin, 1965).

Starobin (1965) adds that from a communist point of view, imperialism exploits capitalist countries to help spread capitalism in smaller countries and aid in enhancing living conditions only in developed countries and worsen it in smaller ones. In addition, communists claim that the fall of capitalism will primarily affect the smaller countries

before it affects the bigger ones. Russia serves as the typical model. These points of view backed by the successful Russian revolution, served as inspiration for other revolutions in western Europe.

1.1.2.2.2. Hungary

In the years between 1918 and 1919, Hungary experienced three political fluctuations and contained multiple revolutions. Starting with the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which had huge support from the peasants, it obliterated the monarchy, controlled the country, and replaced the dictatorial rule in Hungary with a democratic incorporation government. The second event was related to the peasantry at most because it rejected bourgeois-democracy, adapted the communist model of ruling, and applied a communist alliance government and socialists officially announced the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The third event which was called the popular counter revolution was mainly an anti-communists movement; it aimed to exterminate the Hungarian Soviet Republic and ease the return of the old rulers (Deak, 1968).

1.1.2.2.3. Italy

In Drake's (2004) article, he stated that the aftermath of the First World War in Italy resulted in high unemployment and a severe economic crisis. For example, by the end of 1920, the Italian lira was only worth one-quarter of its 1914 value, and in the first half of 1921, the cost of living for an ordinary working-class family was 560% higher than in 1914. These causes contributed to the Biennio Rosso (or Two Red Years), a period of fierce social struggle between Communist revolutionaries and the Italian Kingdom. The rise in working-class support for Socialism during this period was rapid and significant, with the Italian Socialist Party increasing its membership to 250,000, the major Socialist trade union "The General Confederation of Labour" reaching two million members, and the anarchist Italian Syndicalist Union gaining up to 500,000 affiliates.

In this period of civil war, communists and radicals created factory councils. In the countryside, there were combats between different classes characterized by chaotic strikes that prevailed on the north side of Italy. The revolution in Italy was weakening, although its enormous growth and increasing support facilitated the emergence of fascism and decreased the interest of change (Drake, 2004).

1.1.2.2.4. Finland and the Finnish Civil War

Tepora (2014) discusses that during WWI, Finland did not have any sort of contribution from its neighbour Russia and did not provide any type of assistance, for instance soldiers or heavy armoury. This situation had changed after the collapse of the Tsar reign in 1917, which was a diverse empire ruled by a series of Tsar, that led to a heated competition to claim the throne. This competition had escalated to an armed brawl.

Tepora (2014) adds that the country was considered free from debt by socialist Democrats who were representing the Finnish parliament, by legislating the Laws of Supreme Authority in July 1917. The parliament handed the control over the army and the Finnish foreign policy on the hands of the temporary Russian government, but the Russian dissolved with the help of Finnish political parties. Bourgeoisie autocrats won the elections and the race for authority, which caused more contempt and hatred from socialists towards the autocrats and worsened the political states in the country. During this period, WWI was still going on along with the local discomfort, which were big reasons for the lack of job opportunities, poverty, and famine. Further intensifying the situation in Finland.

Finnish workers followed the steps of Russian workers by organizing a general strike between the Red Guards and the middle class workers guards. Autocrats in Finland sought separation from the Russian empire; that ambition was foiled by the strong intimacy of the Bolsheviks. In the later months, Russia officially granted Finland independence (Tepora, 2014).

Even after the independence from Russia, Tepora (2014) clarifies that the pursuit of authority was still intense and in progress, along with the race for armed reinforcements by equipping their troops with heavy weaponry. Democrats were hesitant to start a revolution against the ruling autocrats because they were waiting for the social situation in the country to become unbearable.

Despite the fact that autocrats were still meeting socialist demands, Democrats were still searching for provocative reasons to initiate a civil war. Plans were made by socialists to commence a potential rebellion against the current government and, as a reaction to that, autocrats prepared for any possible conflict by creating the bourgeois civil guards the state's army (Tepora, 2014).

Small conflicts were occurring sequentially before the estimated date of the start of the civil war in Finland at the beginning of 1918. On January 27th, the capital city of Finland, Helsinki, was under the siege of socialist troops declaring the revolution. At the same time, the Finnish government summoned Russian troops who were settling in the west of the country in order to help maintain control of the situation and confront the socialist troops. Russian forces in March 1918 withdrew from Finland because of the signed peace treaty between the Soviet and the Central Powers (Tepora, 2014).

After the revolutionary war started in Finland, Tepora (2014) elaborates that a group of rulers left the war scene that took place in Helsinki, heading to Vaasa in Ostrobothnia. These members gathered to create the alleged White Senate. On the other side of the war, they arranged the revolutionary government by the Reds. (Tepora, 2014)

100000 men and women created the Red Army, all of whom were labourers, 80% of them were armed, and the rest were concerned with maintenance. Russia remained neutral in spite of the Bolsheviks support for the rebellious

troops (Reds). On the other hand, the whites seized the majority of the agrarian territories. White army soldiers were handpicked and participant subjects, afterwards; they were reinforced with veteran soldiers and some troops from Sweden. In addition to 1200 Finnish hunters trained and prepared for war in Germany, they were known to be anti-Russian crusaders. This addition was impactful, giving the upper hand to the whites. This army was estimated to be about 90000 men, veterans took the frontline, followed by the troops with less experience. The Red Army was less equipped and organized than the White Army given that both armies lacked experience and were immature (Tepora, 2014).

The White Army requested assistance from the German allies to corner the Reds in the south of Finland and attack from both sides. The Reds were in a better pace to gain victory in the war, but the Whites overtook their momentum. Eventually, the victory was conquered by the White Army, even without the help of the German alliance, in the battle of Tampere On April 6. Between April and May, the White Army expanded their conquest to retrieve control over the other sectors, reaching the capital city (Tepora, 2014).

Tepora (2014) states that the armed battle caused 38,000 casualties, which were estimated at 1% of the Finnish total population. 32.5% of casualties were Finnish reds. Both sides used all battle tactics except taking hostages, but after the war, the whites abused the tactic capturing more than 10000 victims, all of whom were imprisoned in war camps designed for the Reds and their supporters. Those prisoners suffered from slow deaths caused by famine and the Spanish flu epidemic.



Figure1.4 : *European Countries Involved in Revolutions of 1917-1923* ("Revolutions of 1917-1923", n.d.)

1.1.3. Causes of Immigration

WWI was a painful experience for the European people. They had to wake up to the sounds of military planes passing by their households, filling them with constant fear of being bombed and killed. Soldiers were suffering from hunger and diseases, leading them to their eventual slow death. Moreover, the continuous terror of being randomly killed by sniper shells, which were distributed in many areas across the conflicted sides in WWI, in addition to the constant bombing from planes and tanks.

In post-war the situation in Europe was in complete shambles. On the societal level, people suffered from illnesses and diseases with the appearance of influenza epidemic. In addition, suffering from the negative psychological effect of war especially for soldiers. European economy was destroyed, which caused the decline of the great powers in Europe, handing the leadership of the world to the United States of America, which did not experience any major losses from the great war.

1.1.3.1. During WWI

Handwritten impressions of airship raids over London in 1915 are among the digitized World War I resources on the British Library website, as recorded by boys from Princeton Street Elementary School in Holborn. Their testimonies show how unexpected the air raids were, and how unprepared Britain was to handle this new threat. The majority of the youngsters were preparing to sleep, or playing on the street when the zeppelins arrived, indicating that Londoners were unaware of the planned strikes. The juveniles exhibit both delight and horror at the sight of airships, and it is evident that the majority went outside to check the damage after they left (Bodleian Libraries, 2023).

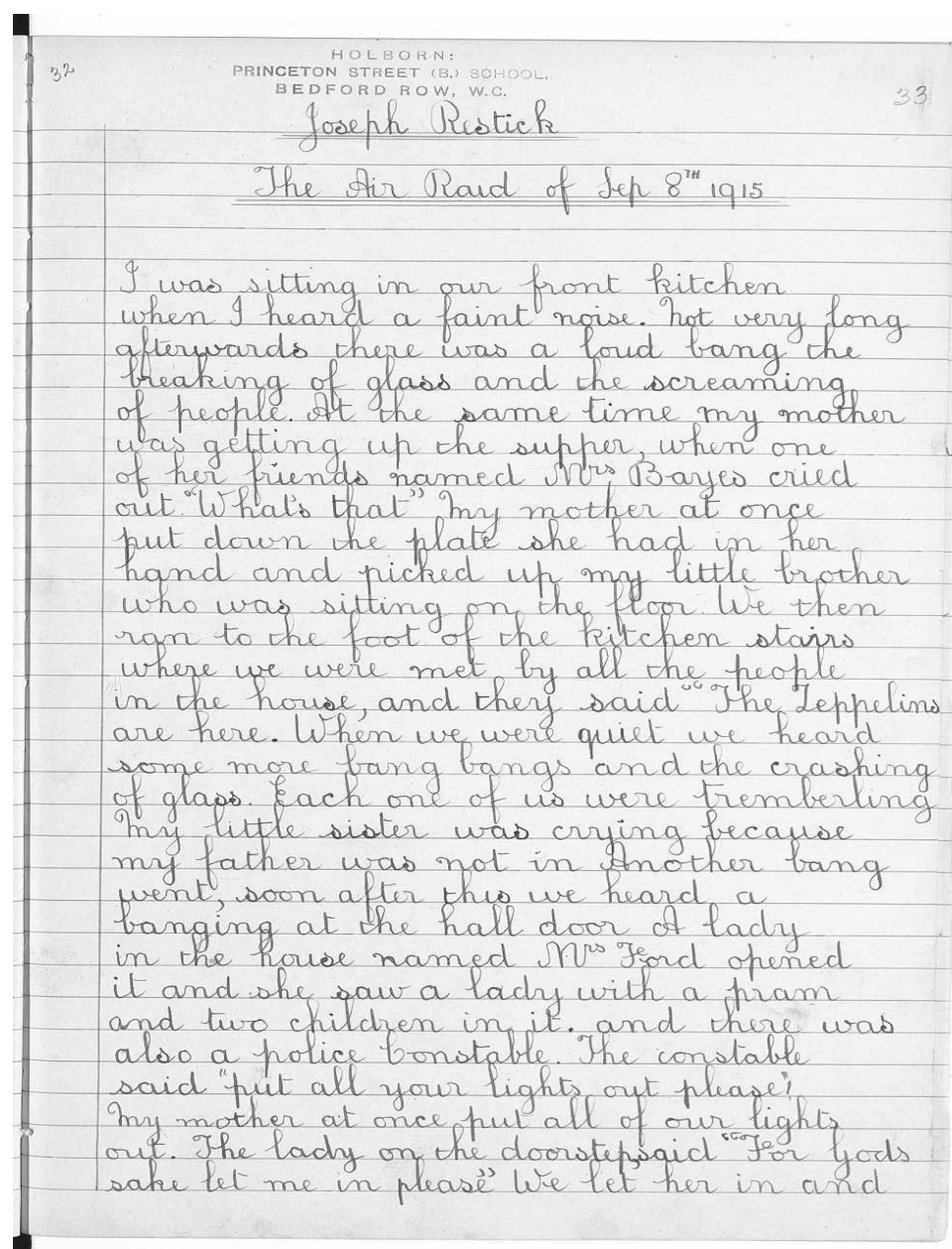


Figure1.5 : *Child's Perspective of Airship Raids over London* (Bodleian Libraries, 2023)

During WWI, food shortages affected civilian populations in all fighting nations. Wartime needs put agriculture and distribution under strain, while naval blockades curtailed imports. Britain was largely reliant on imported grain, and Germany's strategy of unrestricted submarine warfare was designed to force it into a food crisis. The government endeavoured to expand food production, but their primary success was the implementation of effective rationing mechanisms. Rationing began in London early in 1918 and was expanded nationwide over the summer. (Bodleian Libraries, 2023)

Butterworth (2018) explains that during the war, soldiers suffered from difficult mental problems called Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and even veterans did not have the ability to endure them. The majority of them carried it for the rest of their lives. Troops sustained this trauma from the horrifying scenes they encountered during their service in the war, this fear was at that time named Combat Stress Reaction, which is now known as PTSD.

Some soldiers believe that the reaction to heavy bombings that they were exposed to was a shell-shock. In the period of WWI, European hospitals were overwhelmed by soldiers who were injured not only physically but to a

higher degree mentally. Some of the people did not accept the idea of mental illness, and they accused these soldiers of being cowards and having weak personalities. (Butterworth, 2018)

1.1.3.2. After WWI

1.1.3.2.1. Influenza Epidemic

As big as the World War I remnants were, which were estimated to be over 16 million lives, History com editors (2010) report that a deadly virus overran the world and surpassed the number significantly, causing more than 50 million casualties, which was estimated to be one fifth of the world's population at that time.

In the first few days of the virus in May 1918, it was known as a three-day-fever. At the start, it affected a small number of people in Europe and those who were infected died and others recovered, but in fall 1918, the Spanish flu re-emerged as more dangerous, and it spread quickly in the continent. Doctors could not fathom the nature of this disease, its brutality, or why it was spreading so fast. This virus was new to them, untreatable, and uncontrollable. (Editors, 2010)

History com editors (2010) describe that the Spanish flu symptoms that appeared on people who carried the virus were generally chills, a severe fever, strong fatigue and weakness, blue skin and at the end, their lungs were filled with fluid that eventually led them to suffocate to death.

Few people who carried this virus died in a few hours, while few others survived only for a few days. Teenagers, who are mostly immune to this type of infection, were among the largest groups of casualties, in addition to the elderly and children. ("The Deadly Virus of Influenza Epidemic of 1918", n.d.)

1.1.3.2.2. Social Trauma

Bessel (2017) explains that the Great War had an extraordinarily negative impact on societies across Europe, especially on central and eastern sides. People were happy for the end of the war, hoping to accomplish a better future. And the remains of the war were temporary, and people started to forget and cope with the new situation. However, some negative consequences were starting to take a toll on society. Some soldiers, who took part in the war, returned home and tried to rebuild their lives, and became civilians once again despite the horrible conditions. Due to the war, the number of population was greatly reduced, and those who lived carried shallow souls with physical and mental disabilities. Even though the war ended and the fire was ceased, some societies had a lingering mood of violence that stayed in post-war. The economies that were affected by the war had caused constant struggle within the society, causing them to desert their homelands heading to other countries.

The major powers in Europe lost approximately 12 million of their population; furthermore, the German, Austrian, and Russian governments were destroyed. This situation frustrated any hopes for achieving the promised evolution that the war started for. Europe was dominated by a chaotic state, which wiped away any feeling of progress. People neglected their identities and traditions because they seemed to have demolished the three major empires in Europe: the German, the Austrian, and the Russian, shifting the dominance from them to the USA and easing its process to emerge as a new power in the world. (Bessel, 2017)

Bessel (2017) adds that the idea of WWI was largely supported when it started, even among intellectuals who do not support violence, people believe that war will be short and beneficial. Soon they realized they were wrong after witnessing the sheer terror of the conflict, with streets filled with corpses, stray bullets, poison gas, and filthy food. And so people were waiting for the inevitable death.

In the aftermath of the war, many citizens felt that the world they once knew was destroyed without the ability to change things for the better. They were named the lost generation because of the disappointment they felt from the discovery that war was not as good as they believed it to be. The period between WWI and WWII was called the Age of Anxiety. ("1920s in Europe: the Age of Anxiety (the Lost Generation)", 2012)

1.1.3.2.3. Economic Consequences

Postwar European countries, were suffering from a significant lack of money and resources due to heavy spending in the war. The spending was concerned with upgrading their arsenal, expanding their fleet, and equipping them with the latest military technology. As an example, Germany was considered one of the major industrial powers in the world; but it lost that position after the war. (Castillo, Sullivan, 2023)

Castillo and Sullivan (2023) both state that on a societal level, the rich gained more wealth and were not drastically affected by the war, whereas the situation of the poor was worse because they lost their primary source of income. Others who were relying on family members that supported them financially, either killed in the war or crippled enough to become unable to work. Countries that took part in WWI jumped into an economic dilemma because they were compelled to pay for and compensate for the war's destruction. This reality was not easy for the people to accept and made them feel rather frustrated and melancholic.

Even the winning side did not end the war without economic regression, this includes countries such as France and Britain. This has eased the way to the birth of the new power in the world, which resembled the USA due to its minor contribution in the war, being far from the battleground, and therefore not suffering from the same level of losses as the Europeans. (Castillo, Sullivan, 2023)

1.1.4. United States conditions after WWI

In contrast to the lifestyle in Europe, which was very challenging and frustrating for the people, the lifestyle in the USA was different in the 1920s. The economy in the USA was stable and wealthy due to the massive income that America gained from fuelling the war by selling military production. The large-scale industries flood the American markets with the plethora of products reaching self-sufficiency, which makes life accommodation far more manageable for the American individual. That helped with the appearance of advertisements that led to the mentality of mass consumption, affecting positively the lives of people. The technological advancements that infested the USA during this era opened the doors to more job opportunities. ("Roaring Twenties", n.d.)

Roaring Twenties (n.d.) describes that the evolution made luxurious items more accessible to all USA citizens, improved their lifestyle standards, and increased the population in cities. These luxurious items included the appearance of new means of transport, the fast spread of radios, and the improvement of infrastructure.

1.1.4.1. Means of Transport

In the 1920s, Americans were introduced to brand new means of transport, which was the car. Henry Ford was a figure that helped immensely with the emergence of car manufacturing industry. His company increased the cars produced massively, which affected the prices, making them more affordable for middle class families. The increasing demand for vehicles pushed the need to develop the infrastructure in America, especially the roads, bridges, and highways. ("Roaring Twenties", n.d.)

1.1.4.2. Radio

Roaring Twenties (n.d.) argues that the invention of the radio was a luxury that was enjoyed only by the hierarchy in America, but the 1920s had changed that reality. The radio became a common commodity that entered every house and was enjoyed by all classes of society. Along with the appearance of the first public radio station, it attracted more users and followers that would gather around the radio and seeking entertainment and passing time. More radio stations arrived afterwards, imminently increasing radio users.

1.1.4.3. Improved Infrastructure

The increasing use of different vehicles in America urged the need to develop the infrastructure. Vehicles generally require regular maintenance, roads, bridges, and fuel stations, which are mostly supported by municipal and state governments through gasoline taxes. Farmers were early adopters, using their pickup trucks to transport people, commodities, and animals. New industries emerged, producing tyres, glass, and fuel, as well as servicing and repairing millions of automobiles and trucks. Vehicle manufacturers franchised new car dealers, who quickly rose to

prominence in the local business sector. Tourism saw a massive growth, with hotels, restaurants, and antique shops sprouting. ("Roaring Twenties", n.d.)

Conclusion

After WWI, many revolutions started to take place in eastern and southern Europe, causing many revolts in the government systems in that area. Those revolutions were led by the Bolsheviks, communists, and radicals. It had triggered a growing fear inside America and the American government.

WWI had left a destructive impact on Europe's economy, politics, and social state, that had forced Europeans to escape illness, social traumas, and the economic deterioration heading towards the new economic, political, and social power that emerged, which was the United States of America.

CHAPTER TWO

Impact of the Red Scare of 1920s in The United States on **Immigrants**

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Introduction

The second chapter of the current study investigates the impact of the Red Scare of the 1920s in the USA on immigrants. First, this chapter states the reasons that led Americans to change their attitudes towards immigrants, which encapsulates the different aspects of prejudice and racism. Secondly, it illustrates the laws and legislations that were imposed on immigrants during the 1920s. Thirdly, it investigates the challenges that immigrants encountered in their living in the USA during the Red Scare. Finally, this chapter covers the foreign policy that was adopted by the US government during and after WWI, and its influence on immigrants.

2.1. Reasons for Changing Attitudes

United States citizens have changed their attitudes towards immigrants and immigration as a whole due to many factors that have impacted immigrants' lives excessively. In the early 1920s, Americans did not welcome the new waves of immigrants as the situation was in the late 1800s, which caused them to change their treatments towards the new immigrants. These treatments were characterized by hostility, aggression, and oppression. Using all kinds of provocative actions such as prejudice in their rights, and racism on the social scale. On the other hand, the government system attempted to limit the number of the newcomers by legislating many rules and acts that worked in favour of the distinguished minority coming from northern European countries.

Immigrants who made it to the USA, were affected massively by this change of sentiment because their existence threatened native Americans in terms of competing with them in the daily life accommodations, causing many conflicts between their communities. Employers were another reason for making immigrants' lives more difficult by mistreating them and abusing their acceptance of hard labour and low payment. Politicians view immigrants as communist and anarchist threats to American national security, because they started to have a louder voice and political stance. After WWI, America encountered a number of losses in human resources, therefore they decided to stay away from the outside world matters and only focus on the local level.

2.1.1. Prejudice and Racism

In the 19th century, it was believed that immigration was the basis for the strength of the US economy. Immigrant labour was characterized with its cheap services and that was desired by businessmen at the time. Suddenly, the point of view of businessmen changed due to the large number of immigrants and diverse cultures that invaded the land. M. A. Jones, a historian who studies American history, reveals that what worried the American population was not the sheer number but rather their change in nature. "America's old Anglo-Saxon' sock, they warned, was in danger of being swamped by hordes of 'new' immigrants. In spite of the general prosperity of the 1920s, many old-stock Americans were haunted by the fear that their society was being undermined." (Jones, 1983)

The majority of immigrants in the 1850s that entered the USA were from northern Europe, particularly Britain, Germany, and Scandinavian countries. Old immigrants offspring were Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and white, later called WASP. They considered “new” immigrants, those who come from eastern and southern Europe, as inferior to them and themselves as natives. Therefore religiously and culturally prejudiced against newcomers. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

2.1.1.1. Prejudice

Prejudice is a stereotypical deliberate or undeliberate prejudgement and thought, which occasionally focuses on the negative characteristics of a certain community based on culture, religion, race, and disability. This behaviour existed in America in the 1920s from natives towards immigrants from southern and eastern Europe religiously and culturally

2.1.1.1.1. Religious Prejudice

According to Cathkin High School (n.d.), there are many cases that led eastern and southern European immigrants to escape to the USA including unemployment, poverty, social revolution, and persecution. Above all they were unable to write or read and had neither talent nor skill. As a result, they were welcomed with intense hostility and aggression by WASP. Americans were scared of the sheer number of foreigners and their diversity, so they had specific rules for opposing the new settlers. Especially Catholics and Jews.

Catholics were gradually increasing in the USA, reaching 3 million by 1860, filling over a tenth of the population, knowing that before 1830, America was predominantly Protestant. A good number of those immigrants were Roman Catholic, Irish, Italian, and Hispanic. American Irish and Protestants had strong chemistry due to their firm attachment to Catholicism. The Irish suffered from offensive stereotypes and violent anti-Catholic prejudices. With the assumption that they are ignorant, filthy, and clannish people unable to represent the American individual. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

Jews were situated on the lower east side of New York City by the year 1913, reaching a census of 1.25 million and nicknamed ‘Kikes’, as reported by Cathkin High School (n.d.). Those who were settled and became successful and prosperous were targets for hostility. Even Henry Ford, an American author and the founder of Ford Motor Company, bought a local newspaper and abused it as a means of attacking Jews. The Jews were blamed in Ford’s newspaper articles for everything from the Bolshevik Revolution to bootlegged liquor. They were also accused of plotting to enslave Christianity and disfiguring the WASP way of life. In addition to that, they were discriminated against in employment and targeted by the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).

2.1.1.1.2. Cultural Prejudice

The majority of immigrants had escaped countries where, in their view, the government was abusing laws to their advantage and should not be trusted. Therefore, the absence of democracy was viewed by Americans as a threat to their democratic standards, and their disbelief in any government emerged as a menace to the Constitution of US. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

Cathkin High School (n.d) states that the lack of nutrition and medical care for immigrants had caused their appearance to be disfigured and weak, and that terrified the American population. Despite being away from their homeland, they kept their traditional clothing habits and style, and that contradicted the modernity of the American streets.

Consequently, immigrants were exposed to ignorant prejudice and racism by natives. With each wave of immigrants, native were anxious about the effect of the intrusive blood inside American society in general, and by 1921, the overflow of immigrants had stopped and that was welcomed by natives. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

2.1.1.2. Racism

Racism is the thought that a race is more dominant than it is the base of all humanity, and anything that differs, is considered automatically inferior. Any political and social entity based on that race dominates the one that is considered lesser. Racism was strengthened in the late 19th century, when different ethnicities and races arrived in America, increasing the Americans pride of being natives, and caused the reassembly of the Ku Klux Klan group.

2.1.1.2.1. Nativism

Cathkin High School (n.d.) argues that the sudden increase in immigration flow by the end of the 19th century urged the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants to defend the racial purity of natives, starting what was called the 100% Americanism Movement, and those who embraced it were often called nativists who were basically born in USA. Governors, in early 1920, demanded setting limitations on the huge numbers and the variations of immigrants because they believed that immigrants endangered American lifestyles.

The urge for immigration limitations in 1920 was based on fake racism widespread in the years before and during the WWI. Scholars and politicians with minimum knowledge of either science or experience in public affairs, were given privilege as professionals on 'race', but their writing showed poor judgement and invalid opinions on the matter. They used false scientific proof to convince the Americans that these south-eastern Europeans are racially inferior to them. The image of the American ideal was threatened by immigrants from the point of view of nativists, therefore, they swore to protect it. Such racist ideologies were infused into ordinary people in churches and literary

works, furthermore, ordinary people who held these views were hostile towards immigrants. The individual endorsed the idea that immigrants took their employment chances and dreaded competing with them. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

2.1.1.2.2. Ku Klux Klan

The KKK had been long gone since the end of the 19th century, but the increase in immigration in the USA caused its resurgence in Georgia in 1915, focusing on antagonizing Catholicism and Semitism. The KKK and the WASP found themselves in such similar positions that American purity was about to be erased. In Washington, D.C., by 1924, the KKK launched a purge aimed at the Catholics, Jews, and black populations. These minorities were settling in from the south to the western and northern states. Hiram Wesley Evans, the grand imperial wizard of the KKK(n.d.), stated, “The vast horde of immigrants who have reached our shores... Italian immigrants, Irish Catholics, Russian Jews, Finns, Letts, and Lithuanians of the lowest class.”

This goes to show the amount of hostile behaviours against immigrants that has been oppressed by American nativists due to their fear of bad influence. This prejudice and racism were a big part of soon to be passed anti-immigration legislation. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

2.1.1.3. Laws and Legislation

The American rulers viewed immigrants as a threat to their original identity, therefore, they started to react aggressively to limit the number of incoming immigrants, so they started to pass many political acts and laws such as the Dillingham Commission, Immigration act, and Anti-Immigrant Movement.

2.1.1.3.1. The Dillingham Commission

Kim (2024) reports the fact that the Dillingham Commission revealed that late 19th century immigrants originated from countries such as Greece, Romania, Lithuania, Turkey, Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, or, in other words, southern and eastern Europe, were considered to have less than WASP type human characteristics than those who emigrated before the 1880s.

This treaty emphasized the fact that new immigrants pose dangers to American society and culture, so they requested a significant reduction in immigration. Given the fact that the new immigrants are mostly illiterate and unskilled, the commission suggested the idea of a literacy test to make it more difficult for immigrants cross the border with the USA in order to control the increasing number of immigration. Despite the restrictions, America still found itself flooded with more immigrants. This commission’s ultimate discoveries suggested the immigration

Restriction Acts of the 1920s, inspired by political and economic factors that worked in favour of immigrants from the north and west of Europe. (Kim, 2024)

2.1.1.3.2. Immigration Act

Two pieces of legislation were passed in the 1920s by the American government, which show the significant importance of embracing prejudice and racism ideologies in changing attitudes towards immigrants. (Immigration History, n.d.)

Immigration History (n.d.) estimates that the Emergency Immigration Law Act enacted in 1921, limited the number of immigrants to 350000 to enter the USA every year, using a precise quota system to distinguish between immigrants from unwanted countries to be deported back. This law sets an annual limit on immigration from European countries down to 3%.

This quota system came against southern and eastern Europeans, unlike northern and western Europeans, who benefited greatly from it. 75% of those who were permitted to enter the USA in 1921 were from Britain, Ireland, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia; meanwhile, a tiny number of those who were accepted to enter were from undesired countries, and the doors were shut in front of East Asians. As a result of this act, only Whites and Protestants represented new immigrants, in other words, this act was characterized of being unjust and racist. (Immigration History, n.d.)

To further restrict immigration entry, Immigration History (n.d.) states that the Congress passed the National Origins Act (Johnson Reed Act) in 1924. This Act continued to decrease the percentage of immigrants significantly, all the way down to 2%, limiting their number to 150000 immigrants per year, favouring 85% of northern and western Europeans, and forbidding all those from Orient areas especially Japan. Because their need for cheap labour, the act did not apply to Mexicans, especially during the fruit harvest period. The act also targeted keeping protestants in dominance and stopping the intrusion of other ethnicities in American society.

This was not the last stretch of this act, as it went even further to reduce the number of incoming immigrants to 120000 a year and designate 85% of all places for desired immigrants. This goes to show that the number of immigrants was not necessarily the main concern of Americans but rather their origins and homelands, describing prejudice and racism as a very crucial aspect of the changing attitudes towards immigration in 1920. (Immigration History, n.d.)

2.1.1.4. Anti-Immigrants Movements

Cathkin High School (n.d.) discusses that the Anti-immigration movement was not necessarily triggered by WWI alone; in contrary, the movement existed in the late 19th century and before, and it became more apparent and severe after it.

In the 19th century, there was a widespread fear of immigrants called the “Red Scare,” an anti-immigrant sentiment along with hatred towards Catholicism and Semitism radicals. 1884 witnessed the foundation of the immigration Restriction League in Boston. They claimed that new immigrants do not meet American individual standards physically and intellectually and should not be accepted in the American soil, so they pushed a campaign to encourage the reinforcement of literacy tests to ensure the majority of these immigrants do not pass the border. So starting in 1882, a sequence of immigration laws were enacted. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

- The first **Federal Immigration Act** was concerned with restricting inmates, mentally ill people, and beggars from setting foot inside America.
- The **Chinese Exclusion Act** seen in California was concerned with forbidding Chinese immigrants from entering the state, developing to completely interdict them in the entire country in 1902.
- In 1907, the **Gentleman’s Agreement** was a reaction to a decision made by San Francisco’s authorities to separate Japanese students from white American ones in schools. That has provoked a wave of anger from Japan, forcing the president to retire it with the condition of disallowing Japanese employees from entering the USA.
- The **Alien Land Law** of 1913 was concerned with disallowing any immigrant from owning any agricultural land in California. Later on, it was directed excessively towards Japanese “Aliens.” This example was applied in the other eleven states immediately.
- The 1917 **Immigration Act** raised the taxes that immigrants had to pay, added lists of unacceptable individual characteristics from European countries in addition to closing immigration from Asian nationalities, furthermore made a revolutionary shift in American policy by applying literacy tests.

As a result, immigration controls were launched in the late 19th century and continued to gain the country’s support in 1920s. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

Cathkin High School (n.d.) says that in 1914, American citizens were waiting for the application of those restrictions on immigration, part of was because of the invasion of immigrants each year but most of it was the fear of losing the original nature of immigrants. WWI caused the spread of xenophobia (fear of foreigners) and Nativism. The WASPs were overprotective of their traditional American values, blaming new immigrants for any sudden cultural change. Some people thought the new immigrants were the reason behind losing their ancestors peaceful ordinary life. The state of European countries that suffered from war had made Americans stressed over the nature of

Europeans fleeing into the USA bringing those ideologies that caused the instability of the continent, starting the intimidation. This was the ultimate reason for enacting immigration controls in the 1920s.

2.1.2. Social Scares

After immigrants settled in America, they created many social problems to the working class in America crowding the cities, and started to challenge for residence winning opportunities, which were a rare accommodation. Many poor immigrants started to commit theft, in order to have enough money and food, shaking the safety of the cities in America. Some immigrants were prevented from exercising simple rights such as land ownership or education.

2.1.2.1. Residence

Despite a small minority of Americans being compassionate and unprejudiced, they held hatred just like the majority towards newcomers. The WWI caused a remarkable rise in the number of immigrants to the USA, leaving behind the horrors of the war and the economic ruins in their countries. They were grouped in rapidly growing states such as Chicago, Pittsburgh, Boston, and New York. They created small communities within bigger territories, each of which has its own name, such as Chinatown, Little Italy, or Irishtown. The main reason behind the creation of these communities is to remain compact with people who share their mother tongue, traditions, and customs. Schools, shops, and entertainment were also distinguished within those communities. The strange cultures and religions can be overwhelming to the American lifestyle claimed by WASPs, which has also escalated the level of hostility towards them. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

Furthermore, Cathkin High School (n.d.) adds that immigrants were compelled to get low salaries resulting in their having to live in horrid conditions, forced to choose the worst areas of the city. Life accommodations were as low as having one room for a dozen people with no light, unhygienic, cramped, and infrastructural shortages; for instance, sewage system was filling the streets. Despite these conditions, rent prices were unfathomably high due to the vast demand for housing. Low class Americans were upset by the competition from new settlers for the heretofore insufficient commodities in the poorer areas of the city. This competition has helped to increase the level of anger directed at poor immigrants. These cities became incapable of holding large numbers of a mixture of immigrants and Americans. Nativists accused immigrants of ruining the circumstances of the cities, making them less preferable for living, although the accusation should be on the authorities.

2.1.2.2. Crime

Cathkin High School (n.d.) continues with the rising inhabitants being introduced to a social problem, which is crime. Immigrants were condemned for every social issue that stormed their cities, and as a result, politicians and journalists who embraced the idea of restricting immigration were using the areas of the ascending crime rates that immigrants were involved in as evidence for the negative impact of them on their environment. In 1858, 17328 criminals were arrested in New York, of whom 14636 were foreigners. Between 1910 and 1920, it was claimed that there was a connection between Italian immigrants and the mafia.

Immigrants insisted on trespassing the limits, privacy and ethics by bringing saloons, gambling houses, and brothels, therefore, it was not accepted in the sophisticated neighbourhoods. Most of the time, they are still found particularly in their communities. These places were the only escape routes for immigrants from their horrendous lives. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

Cathkin High School (n.d.) emphasizes the fact that the motive behind the crimes committed by immigrants was mostly because of poverty not their nature. Yet the stereotype of immigrant criminality has stuck. This signifies that the USA had pre-existing descriptions of people from abroad.

2.1.2.3. Forbiddance

Germans and Italians's cultural and traditional practices were hated by native Americans because they contained the consumption of alcohol, this insulted the firm ethical standards of American society. Drunken Irish navies were found disrespecting the Puritans (anti-Catholic) holy practices, so that created a picture of the Irish as inferior, as Cathkin High School (n.d.) states.

The temperance movement insisted on forcing and acting to forbid the consumption and trade of alcohol, so in 1919, the Volstead Act was a result of this movement. Americans could not live without drinking, so illegal trade has started causing crimes, chaos, and bloodshed. Therefore, the prohibition had to be stopped 12 years later. The immigrant communities were the main source of these illegal trades, whether in importing or brewing. Many jobs were provided by this organization to the jobless new immigrants, but they settled on the path of crime, which only reinforced the image painted for immigrants of being naturally criminals. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

2.1.2.4. Learning

Few young immigrants were starting to gain knowledge, so they began to apply to high level and sophisticated universities. Most of the universities declined their entry. Some private schools, guided by old graduates who had the power to stand against politicians who were trying to refuse the immigrant students, allowed their entry, granting them full access to American privileges. Voices were raised to direct public opinion towards accepting immigrants to

gain access to education, ultimately convincing people in power implicitly. However, these voices were not a deterrent to overthrow the influential WASP. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

2.1.3. Economic Scares

Native Americans despised the fact that they had to share their chances with immigrants to accommodate jobs, and their acceptance of the low salary payment and poor working conditions, that were offered by employers. Immigrants, in the other hand, suffered from racial and ethnic discrimination in employment, hindering their chances to compete with the white people.

2.1.3.1. Competition for Jobs

Cathkin High School (n.d.) indicates that the American economy flourished during the period of WWI because the USA was not directly involved, thus it had little to no damage to their economy. Its contribution to the war was by providing several materials that their European allies needed, such as agriculture, munitions, and heavy armoury. These productions assisted in providing a number of job opportunities. In addition, it contributes by sending 4 million military soldiers into the warzone. In order to sustain war industry productivity, they rely on the continuity of wartime, but in 1914 the great war ended causing the gradual decline of manufacturing which led to an increase in unemployment. This matter became worse because of the return of the American soldiers were seeking jobs after losing their source of income, adding more pressure to the already succumbed employment corner. Factories and industries started relying on cheap and low priced labour so they found their purpose in immigrants who were willing to accept any kind of job. As a result, it generated wild anger between Americans towards immigrants, assuming that they were challenging them into an unwanted competition for jobs. The majority of new immigrants did not learn any kind of craftsmanship; therefore, they looked for simpler occupations in the new uprising industries. In the period of America's economic collapse and violence against immigrants, Europeans ,who were escaping war and unemployment in their home countries, were not well welcomed and treated harshly.

2.1.3.2. Poor Working Conditions

It was assumed that southern and eastern European immigrants were stealing job opportunities from Americans. Lack of skill and desperation forced immigrants to work in severe conditions for long hours with low pay; consequently, employers found it unnecessary to improve working conditions and increase wages and landlords followed the same path of no improvement in living conditions. This angered the poor native Americans ,who were convinced that the immense reliance on low-cost labour and the humble salary, made them even poorer. Before the cheap labour wave in America, American trade unions attempted to improve the working conditions for low class American labourers but these attempts were disrupted before they began because cheap labourers coped with these

cruel conditions. For instance, the trade union tried to reach an agreement with employers that prefer cheap labour to enhance the means of work that American employees need, but the availability of the workers, especially immigrants stood in the way of the agreement. Americans did not accept to work in some dirty and dangerous jobs, and that forced factories to appreciate the demand for cheap labour. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

2.1.3.3. Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Employment

In 1929, the American economy faced a substantial decline, and life became even harder for immigrants. The regression of the American economy was the reason behind racial and ethnic discrimination in employment. White citizens were the priority of employers and white workers in terms of employment. For instance, Mexicans were dismissed from working in fruit farms in California and replaced by white employees. Also, Chinese people found it difficult to start their business in laundry in New York. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

Ultimately, Cathkin High School (n.d.) ends with the negative aspects of American and poor streets that were becoming stereotypes for immigrants, and they were blamed for any damage that happened to the American economy. Many Americans were tempted to move from the countryside to cities that were flourishing in industries, which has helped in the gradual disappearance of the countryside with the increase in size of the cities, and immigration has slowed the rate of this phenomenon.

2.1.4. Political Scares

2.1.4.1. Communist fears: Palmer Raids 1919

Mitchell Palmer, an American attorney general, is a determined man who wanted to rule all of the USA as mentioned by Cathkin High School (n.d.). He thought his popularity might increase by battling against communism and anarchism. With that stand, his house was bombed, and he claimed to condemn this barbaric action as the work of radicals and anarchists so he promised to eliminate it by any means necessary. Eventually, he was to blame immigrants as the centre of radicalism and chaotic behaviours.

He began his pursuit after communists and rioters, he hired his assistant, J. Edgar Hoover, as a leader of the General Intelligence Division within the Department of Justice. Their main job is to spy on and collect information about these organization. Hoover's first move was in January 1920, when he targeted 33 cities filled with presumably communists aggressively and detained 6000 immigrant anarchists holding them into custody without legal action. They were tortured, tormented, put in miserable conditions, and compelled to confess false allegations. They had to release most of them because a of lack of evidence, yet 600 prisoners were transferred to their home countries. Palmer declared a state of emergency and prepared for an incoming attack by anarchists, so he organized a group of officers and special troops, but eventually nothing happened, causing the general public to turn against him. The fear

was over-exaggerated by Palmer's claims. The majority of immigrants are adapting to their new lives to anticipate any oppressive political actions. These entire raids by Palmer revealed that White Protestants were afraid of the intrusion of the new political ideologies and their urge to be isolated from the world. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

2.1.4.2. Anarchist Fears: the Case of Sacco and Vanzetti

The 'Scare' over the immigrants ,who were descendants of southern and eastern Europe, was at its highest form in the case of two Italians named Nicola Sacco and Bartolommeo Vanzetti. They adopted anarchist views and backed radical, revolutionary ideas, causing Americans to suspect them of being communists. These two figures were captured in Massachusetts and impeached for murder and armed robbery. They were discovered to be foreigners while possessing firearms. In court, their lawyer defended them by pointing out their absence from the crime scene while the theft happened and that they were detained due to their political backgrounds. Despite the lack of evidence, Americans believed that they were surely at fault, not because they were criminals, but because they were immigrants and held anarchic and radical views that sought modifications to the US political system. The judge held the same point of view as the WASPs, as he called the criminals 'anarchist bastards'. Vanzetti himself was convinced that the main reason behind his suffering was because he was 'radical' and 'Italian'; therefore, both of them were proved guilty and ruled to death. ("Sacco and Vanzetti", n.d.)

There was a general belief among people in 1927 that the two men were free of charge. Despite the vagueness and the worldwide manifestations, they were executed in the electric chair. This decision surprised many people in the north of the USA who embraced the democratic mind, which encourages freedom of speech and thought. Meanwhile, this decision was widely accepted in wild America, where they believe that anyone who tries to modify or replace the American political system is basically guilty and should be punished. They were afraid of cities that were crowded with immigrants who insisted on bringing their cultures and principles to the American soil, and that would erase the American way of life. ("Sacco and Vanzetti", n.d.)

2.1.4.3. Political Impact

Cathkin High School (n.d.) states that when it comes to politics, foreigners had no significant trace, but eventually the US government granted them the right to vote, although there was a little excitement they had towards voting and delivering their opinion. In major cities in the US that were mostly filled with immigrants, they contributed in the growing number of congressmen who represented those cities. Despite that, their voice was not of importance when it came to decision making due to the massive influence of the native Americans. Immigrants ,who had the right to vote, had separate opinions and did not share on the same political point of view. That can be seen when the creation of a unified state was supported by Woodrow Wilson, which contains all Polish immigrants in the

US, but this suggestion was not welcomed by other immigrants of different nationalities. Thus, the immigrants' disagreement was very noticeable. Political parties knew how to win immigrants votes and their satisfaction. For instance, some politicians used bribery on those poor immigrants in order to buy their voice, unlike other competitors who sought the protection of immigrants from the aggression coming from natives and provided them with fundamentals, in order to win their genuine votes.

Some Irish foreigners had strong leverage in New York, they began to control the political policies and decisions. Tammany Hall, an association created by the Irish, had a major impact on the city's politics. It was considerably backed by Irish immigrants because it focused on aiding jobless immigrants, providing job opportunities, and ameliorating their status as proud US citizens. Winning the support of the Irish controlled cities guaranteed success to any motivated man who was eager to have political power, which made the WASPs content. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

2.1.5. Isolationism and World War I

2.1.5.1. What is Isolationism?

It was a policy followed by the US by maintaining a long distance between them and other countries in internal and external matters. It was originated in 1796 by President George Washington, who officially announced his warning about this matter. This decision was the cornerstone of the United States' diplomatic relations up until year 1917. This explains that isolationism was not caused by WWI, but it surely contributed significantly to its expansion in the 1920s and was therefore a major reason for reshaping attitudes towards immigrants. (Norwich University, n.d.)

2.1.5.2. Isolationism and World War I

Norwich University (n.d.) reports that at the start of the Great War, the USA government made the decision to stay neutral and not take part in the war or Europe's internal revolutions. In early 1914, America did not intervene in any political decisions with the major powers in Europe that needed economic help from America, that decision forced European powers to create diplomatic ententes between them so they could pass the economic depression they were facing. American society, at the beginning, strongly agreed with this policy, so most of them followed it and did not care about external issues, and did not bother to solve problems in other countries or even attempt to know them. Turning their focus on themselves and their internal matters. Americans saw that the war had a little effect on them; therefore, helping European countries that suffered from WWI was unnecessary and useless. (Norwich University, n.d.)

Although the previous policy had taken place, America eventually found itself taking part in the war in 1917. On that account, the American population had contradictory points of view about this move, which shook America's stability and balance of mind. Old immigrants originated from England and France (WASP) tended to support their home countries, which embraced democratic rule, on the other hand, Americans who had German descendants tended to support Germany, which was under dictatorial and military rule. That was opposed to the American way. In the 1910 census, One-third of American individuals were old and new immigrants who still had close connections to their home countries. A huge proportion of those immigrants were from Germany and Italy, which were two of the major powers in Europe. (Norwich University, n.d.)

2.1.5.3. Hyphenated Americanism

Anti-immigration sentiments were more likely to be adapted after WWI ended as highlighted by Cathkin High School (n.d.), along with laws passed to reduce immigration. The American government used all its power to convince Americans to take part in the war and misrepresent the Germans, so they became hated inside American society. In a short period, anything or anyone who looked or sounded strange to native characteristics was considered a threat, and nationalism transformed into a phobia towards immigrants.

“Dislike of foreigners had been a traditional plank of American conservatism throughout much of the history of the Republic. The age was one of hyperbolic expressions of loyalty to America and super abundant patriotism.” (Snowman, 1968)

A large number of immigrants were exposed to still having firm connections to their home countries during and after WWI. That could also be seen in the old immigrants and considered double standards, those immigrants used to talk about countries such as Scotland, and it was viewed as normal and acceptable by natives. Hyphenated Americanism was disapproved by the American government, forcing foreign-born Americans to abandon their sympathies to their origins and only stand by America; therefore, old and new immigrants found difficulties adapting to this new situation. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

In 1917, German-Americans were estimated to be about 8 million citizens. On that account, when WWI started, Americans assumed that German-Americans were biased and pitiful towards the German Empire, and were immediately seen as traitors.

- Americans of German descendants were tortured, buried alive, and whipped.
- Those who had German family names were changed according to American family names, for instance, Schmidt to Smith.
- The names of German dishes were modified to be more English.

- German language teaching was stopped in American schools and universities.

Cathkin High School (n.d.) estimates Irish-Americans to be about 4.5 million. Most of them held grudges and hostility towards Britain because they were under colonialism from England that they had encountered since their home countries since the 17th century. That being the case, they assumed their hatred for Britain would transform into hatred for America, particularly when they were not protestants.

Italian radicals did not like the fact that America involved itself in the war. Many Italian writings were disturbing American society to the degree of capturing many writers entering the USA and sending them back to Italy. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

2.1.5.4. Isolationism after World War I

As the policy of isolationism was still intact, Cathkin High School (n.d.) says that the involvement in WWI violated it, and it continues that America suffered significant losses in human resources, and it has overwrought its military power. Most Americans regretted their involvement in the war and demanded to return to isolationism, which clearly appeared when they refused to be part of the League of Nations, which was originally proposed by the American president. They were concerned that the involvement in the League of Nations would presumably encourage European powers to abuse their alliance with them and become the only ones to benefit. A Republican competitor to President Henry Cabot Lodge started a campaign attempting to intercept the idea of the League of Nations and he succeeded. Hatred towards President Wilson existed already, although the fear of losing the American position of power in the world and their will to act in isolation. This decision that was taken by the USA was mainly to ensure that no one, especially the League of Nations, controls their foreign policy. Many republicans dreaded another war being started in Europe, and the USA could be pressured to participate in it because it was a member of the League of Nations.

The attitude towards immigrants had changed drastically by the end of WWI after more than 300 years of open doors to the reception of foreigners in the USA, but afterwards these doors were strongly shut. Politicians noticed this significant change in citizens' attitudes and tried to take a step to limit immigration. In the wake of the war, America tended aggressively towards secluding itself from the world, particularly from eastern and southern Europeans, by making laws to restrict immigrants via the Quota system.

“After the armistice in 1918, however, the anti-foreign fears and hatred of those who were 100% Americans were transferred from the German element to alien revolutionaries and radicals” (Jones, 1960)

The Emergency Immigration Law Act 1921 and the National Origins Act of 1924 were obviously inclined towards favouring native Americans over the new immigrants. WWI helped substantially in the policy of isolationism, which made Americans more perseverant in taming immigrants to the minimum, in order to maintain the purity of the native American individual and protect their ethnic beliefs. (Cathkin High School, n.d.)

2.1.5.5. Before World War I

American isolationism was not a consequence of World War I according to Cathkin High School (n.d.). America adapted independence from the rest of the world before the war. For instance, in 1913, the Californian government passed a law called the Alien Land Law, which prevented Japanese and other Asian immigrants from starting an agricultural business; subsequently, 11 states applied this law as well.

Conclusion

The Red Scare was an abomination of sentiments and feelings of hatred and hostility towards immigrants, because of this, the attitudes towards immigrants had changed in the USA during the period of the 1920s. These reasons vary from prejudice, which is about native Americans denial, to the fact that immigrants were not the reason behind the growth of the US economy and their importance in American society. Prejudice spread into two domains: religious and cultural. In addition to prejudice, racial discrimination played an essential role in the change in American sentiments. It was characterized by the obsession of the native Americans with their racial white Anglo-Saxon individual purity and attempting to protect it from the integration of the new races coming to the USA, especially those who were from southern eastern Europe and Catholics, as a result of that, a racist group called the Ku Klux Klan was assembled.

The change in attitudes towards immigration did not only occur on a social level; but it also reached a political level, as can be seen through several acts and legislation, such as the Dillingham Commission, the Immigration Act and Anti-immigration legislation, in order to put an end to the flood of immigrants coming to the USA.

Furthermore, Americans found more reasons to fear immigrants, for instance, on the social level concerning residential issues and the increase of the rate of crime, limitations and prohibitions in terms of fundamental ways of life for immigrants, and lastly, on the educational level, which was about denying immigrants the opportunity to apply for college and university. Secondly, economic fears hit natives in terms of the competition that was mandatory on them in finding job opportunities, and whenever they eventually found a job, poor working conditions were imposed on them. In addition, employers have been choosing their labourers based on their racial and religious backgrounds. On political level, the American government was afraid that immigrants may have carried radical,

communist, and anarchist ideologies to the USA, which could pose a threat to their authority. Also, immigrants were starting to gain political power, seeking to have more control over their decisions and destiny.

At the end of WWI, America tended to follow the policy of isolationism. This decision was made because they have seen the dangers of the war on a country's economy and society. Americans were starting to suspect anything or anyone that seemed strange or different to their visualized American character. Because of this, many foreigners started to change their names and traditions so that they did not get harassed.

General Conclusion

In the first chapter, this study discusses the meaning the Red Scare and narrates the historical events that contributed in shaping the fear from immigrants in the USA, and describes the social, political, and economic situation in Europe, during and after WWI. The second chapter investigates the impact of the Red Scare of the 1920s in the USA on immigrants, and clarifies why Americans changed their attitudes towards immigrants, also, provides the laws and legislation that were forced on immigrants, in addition, it reports the challenges that immigrants confronted in the USA in the 1920s. It concludes with explaining the approach that the Americans took in terms of their foreign policy, and its influence on immigrants.

The first theoretical part begins with accurate definition the Red Scare, which is the generated fear that existed among the US society from the possible penetration by the eastern European radicals, known widely as the Reds. And then it discusses the first Red Scare, which was the hostility towards immigrants in the USA assuming that they have communist and radical ideologies. In addition to the point of views that eastern Europeans had against capitalism; afterwards, it clarifies the main causes behind the Red Scare, such as the Russian Revolution and the Communist Revolutions in western Europe, Hungary, Italy and Finland.

The Russian Revolution was a period of political and social transformations in the Russian empire that began in 1917. The Russian Revolution can also be viewed as a prelude to other European revolutions that occurred during and after WWI.

Communist Revolutions occurred subsequently after the Russian Revolution, that created many conflicts and civil wars between the different levels of society, creating a considerable number of political movements and parties which were racing towards the leadership chair, dethroning their undesired leaders. Ultimately, the first theoretical part describes the main causes behind the immigration of European citizens to the USA during and after WWI.

During WWI, Europeans suffered from the lack of the essential needs, which led to hunger and illnesses. Soldiers suffered from PTSD because they were exposed to continuous bombardment and unpredictable threats.

After WWI, people suffered from the sudden invasion of the influenza epidemic, that caused the death of hundreds of thousands. Social trauma was another negative effect of the war, people lived in disillusionment and disappointment because they thought that the end of the war was going to be the solution to make the situation in Europe better, only to be shocked with the harsh reality.

The Great War had a drastic negative effect on Europe's economy, causing the decline of the major powers in Europe.

Lastly, the first chapter describes the US conditions after WWI which was characterized as stable, wealthy economy and social, political rest.

This study aims to investigate the impact of the Red Scare of the 1920s in the USA on immigrants. This is why the second theoretical part begins with stating the reasons behind changing attitudes towards immigrants in the USA, which contains all types of prejudice culturally and religiously, in addition to racism and its consequences. Also, it provides the laws and legislations that aimed to restrict the immigrants. Furthermore, it describes the situation of immigrants in the USA, in terms of social, economic, and political levels. Lastly, it explains the foreign policy that the US government adopted during and after the WWI.

Immigrants were discriminated against based on their religious and cultural backgrounds, and they were treated aggressively, because they do not meet the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant individual characteristics. The large number of immigrants brought different varieties of races and ethnicities, so the WASPs felt the need to protect their racial purity, this movement was backed by racist group called the Ku Klux Klan.

In an attempt to restrict and limit the number of immigrants flow to the USA, the American government legislated different acts and commissions such as the Dillingham Commission, Immigration Act, and Anti-Immigrants Movement.

After the laws that were imposed on immigrants in the USA, immigrants lives encountered many difficulties in different aspects of life such as, socially which includes residence, incriminating them, prohibiting them from simple rights, and education, economically in terms of job opportunities, poor working conditions, and discrimination in employment, and lastly politically with different communist and anarchist cases in the USA, and their voices in the political matters. In the end of WWI, America decided to not engage in any foreign matters and isolate itself from the outside world and eliminate any suspicion of communist intrusion.

This study attempted to investigate the impact of the Red Scare of the 1920s on immigrants in the United States. Through the circumstances that described the discriminatory practices and policies directed towards

immigrants during the period of the 1920s, in addition to the socioeconomic conditions that the immigrants encountered, and the challenges faced by them.

The Red Scare was in fact caused by WWI and the political conflicts in Europe. And the consequences of the war were the main reason behind the immigration of European citizens towards the USA. Also, immigrants communities were in fact affected by hostility of the American natives and the government and faced many discriminatory practices during the 1920s. Since the current study aims to investigate the impact of the Red Scare of the 1920s on immigrants in the USA, this qualitative research used the historical and descriptive methods, relying on pre-existing historical literature.

In the process of conducting this research, we have encountered some difficulties and limitations ,such as the large number of references making it difficult to choose the useful information, many of those references were not cited, lastly some references only granted their access through payment.

For further research, there are far more difficulties and challenges that immigrants faced during their period in 1920s than we mentioned and also investigating if immigrants were granted more political power and permitted to have governmental positions, even after these many acts and restrictions.

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ملخص

إن تاريخ الولايات المتحدة مليء بأحداث اجتماعية أثرت في حياة وحقوق المدنيين الأمريكيين وحكومتهم، بالإيجاب أو السلب. بين الفترة من 1919 إلى 1920، كان هناك ارتفاع ملحوظ في عدد المهاجرين الذين اتبعوا الأيديولوجيات الشيوعية والاشتراكية والفوضوية، وذلك بسبب ثورة أكتوبر الروسية عام 1917 والقصف الفوضوي في الولايات المتحدة، مما ترك انزعاجًا سياسيًا جذريًا في المجتمع الأمريكي. وأدى انتشار هذه الأيديولوجيات اليسارية المتطرفة في الحركة العمالية الأمريكية إلى إثارة الشعور بالقلق، وبعبارة أخرى، ولّد هذا ما سمي بالخوف الأحمر. الهدف من الدراسة هو اكتشاف تأثير الخوف الأحمر على المهاجرين في الولايات المتحدة في عشرينيات القرن العشرين، تم إجراؤها من أجل التوضيح و الإعلام عن المعاناة التي واجهها المهاجرون في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية خلال فترة الحرب العالمية الأولى بدءًا من مدى استهداف المهاجرين خلال فترة الخوف الأحمر، وتحليل التداعيات الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والتمييز المفروض على مجتمعات المهاجرين، بما في ذلك التوظيف والإسكان والتكامل الاجتماعي، وكذلك التحقيق في دور سياسات الحكومة في التأثير على حياتهم وتقييم تأثير هذه السياسات على ديناميكيات المجتمع وأخيرًا تقديم نظرة ثاقبة لتجاربهم وتحدياتهم وآليات التكيف. نحن نجري هذا البحث باستعمال النهج النوعي والذي يعتمد على التحليل التاريخي والدراسات الديموغرافية ودراسات الحالة و التنبؤ بنتائجها المتوقعة. يساهم هذا البحث في فهم دقيق لتأثير الخوف الأحمر على المهاجرين، وتسلط الضوء على فترة تاريخية لها آثار دائمة على سياسات الهجرة والمواقف المجتمعية. قد تفيد النتائج أيضًا المناقشات الحالية حول الهجرة، مما يوفر سياقًا تاريخيًا للقضايا المعاصرة

كلمات مفتاحية: المهاجرين، التأثير، الخوف الأحمر في عشرينيات القرن العشرين، الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.