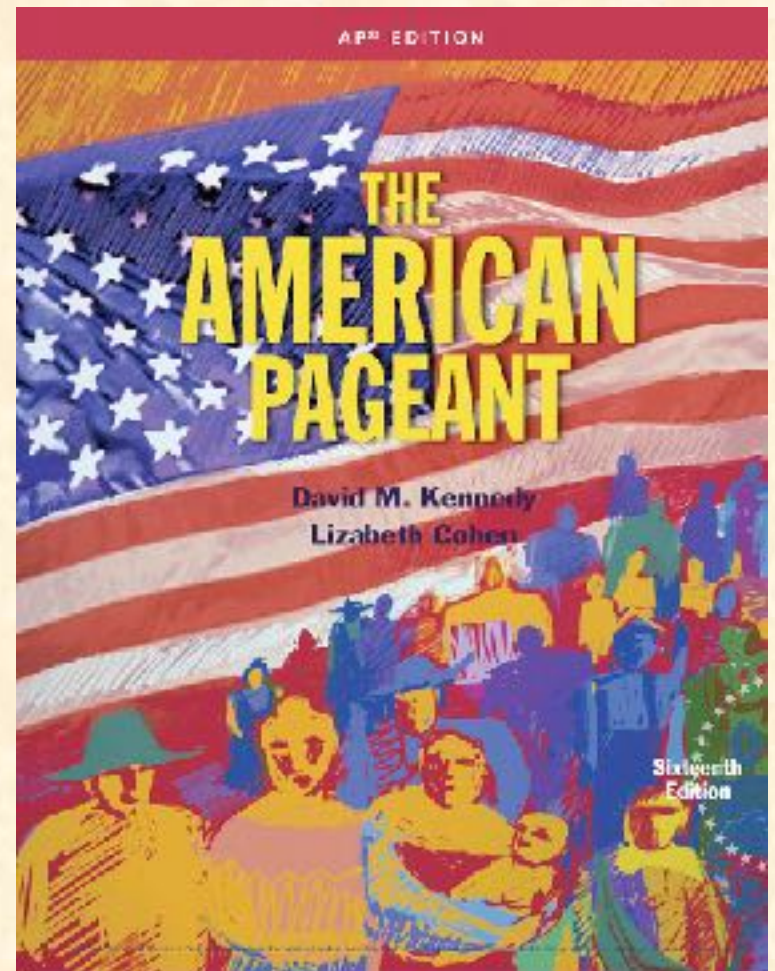


## Chapter 33

### *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War, 1933–1941*



# I. The London Conference

- **London Economic Conference 1933:**
  - Roosevelt's early foreign policy subordinated to his strategy for domestic economic recovery:
    - Delegates hoped to coordinate international attack on global depression
      - By stabilizing values of currencies and rate of exchange
      - Exchange-rate stabilization essential to revival of world trade

# I. The London Conference (cont.)

- Roosevelt and conference:
  - First thought of sending a delegation, including Secretary of State Cordell Hull but then had concerns about conference's agenda
    - Wanted to pursue inflationary policies at home to stimulate American recovery
    - International agreement to maintain value of dollar might tie his hands
  - FDR unwilling to sacrifice possibility of domestic recovery for sake of international cooperation

# I. The London Conference (cont.)

- FDR scolded conference for attempting to stabilize currency
  - Essentially declared America's withdrawal from negotiations
- Delegates adjourned empty-handed, amid cries of American bad faith
- Roosevelt's attitude of every-man-for-himself plunged planet even deeper into economic crisis

# I. The London Conference (cont.)

- Conference collapse strengthened global trend toward extreme nationalism
- Made international cooperation even more difficult
- Reflected powerful persistence of American isolationism
- Played into hands of dictators determined to shatter world peace
- America would pay high price for trying to go it alone in modern world

## II. Freedom for (from?) the Filipinos and Recognition for the Russians

- Roosevelt matched isolation from Europe with withdrawal from Asia
  - Great Depression burst McKinley's imperialistic dream in Far East
  - Americans taxpayers eager to reject expensive liability of Philippine Islands
  - Organized labor demanded exclusion of low-wage Filipino workers
  - American sugar producers clamored for elimination of Philippine competition

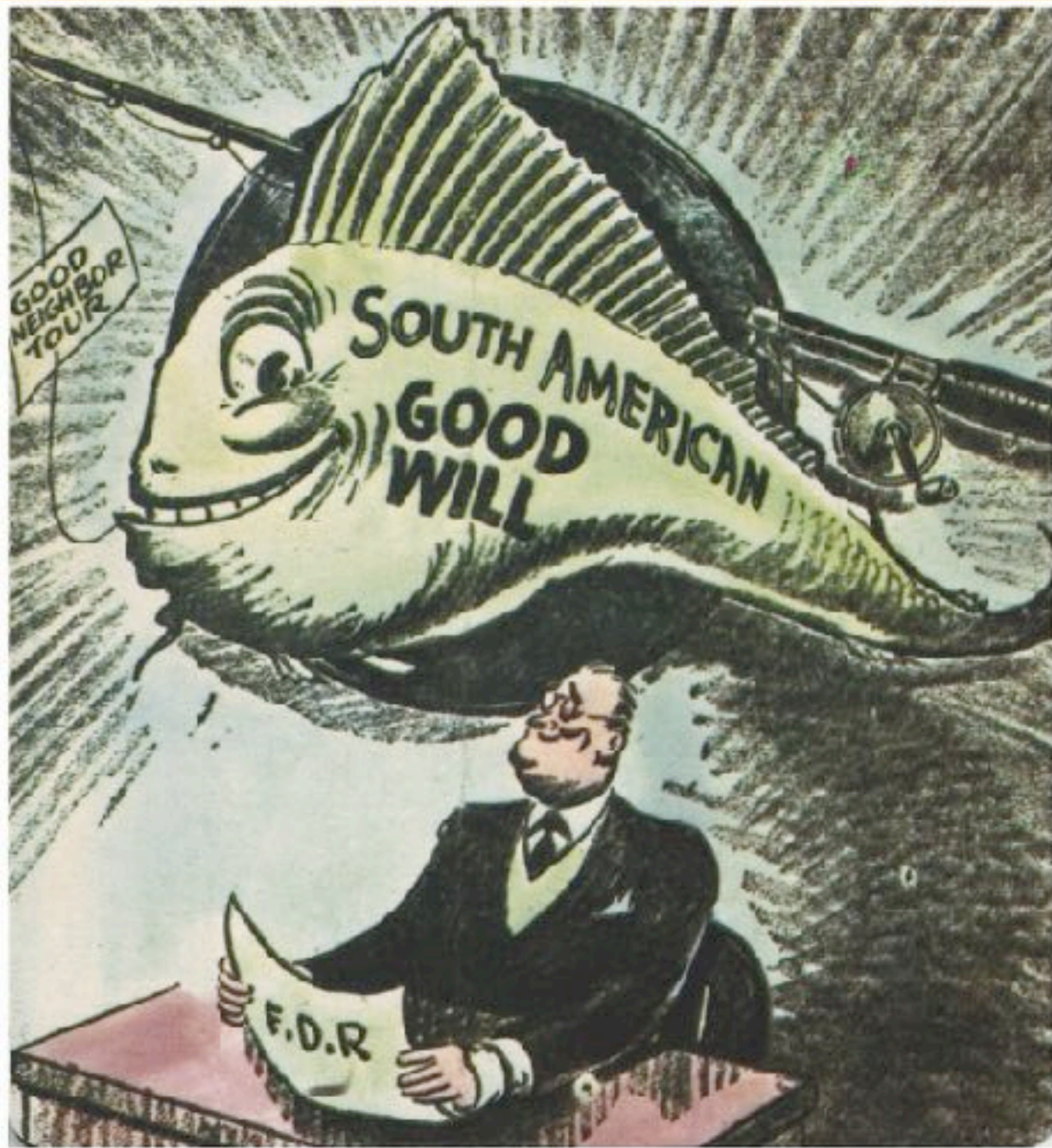
## II. Freedom for (from?) the Filipinos and Recognition for the Russians

- Congress passed Tydings-McDuffie Act 1934:
  - Provided for independence of Philippines after 12-year period of economic and political tutelage (1946)
  - United States agreed to relinquish army bases
  - Naval bases reserved for future discussion—and retention
  - Americans not so much giving freedom to Philippines as freeing themselves *from* them
  - Americans proposed to leave Filipinos to their own fate
  - While imposing upon Filipinos economic terms so ungenerous as to threaten their future economy

## II. Freedom for (from?) the Filipinos and Recognition for the Russians

- Once again American isolationists rejoiced
- Roosevelt made one internationalist gesture when:
  - He formally recognized Soviet Union in 1933
  - He extended diplomatic recognition despite:
    - » Noisy protests of anti-communist conservatives
    - » Roman Catholics offended by Kremlin's antireligious policies
  - FDR motivated by trade with Soviet Russia
  - And hoped to bolster Soviet Russia as counterweight to Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia





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# III. Becoming a Good Neighbor

- Roosevelt inaugurated refreshing new era in relations with Latin America:
  - Proclaimed in inaugural address “policy of the Good Neighbor”
    - Suggested U.S.A. giving up ambition to be world power
    - Would content itself with being regional power
    - Interests and activities confined to Western Hemisphere
    - FDR eager to line up Latin Americans to help defend Western Hemisphere

### III. Becoming a Good Neighbor (cont.)

- FDR renounced armed intervention—especially Roosevelt Corollary to Monroe Doctrine
- In 1933, at 7<sup>th</sup> Pan-American Conference, U.S. delegation formally endorsed nonintervention
- Marines left Haiti in 1934
- After Fulgencio Batista came to power in Cuba, Cubans released from Platt Amendment—
  - Under which America had been free to intervene
  - U.S.A. retained Guantanamo naval base (see Chap. 27)

### III. Becoming a Good Neighbor (cont.)

- Panama received similar uplift in 1936:
  - When U.S.A. relaxed grip on isthmus nation
- **Good Neighbor policy:**
  - Accent on consultation and nonintervention
  - Received acid test in Mexico:
    - Mexican government seized Yankee oil properties in 1934
    - American investors demanded armed intervention to repossess confiscated businesses
    - Roosevelt resisted badgering and settlement made in 1941

### III. Becoming a Good Neighbor (cont.)

- Success of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy:
  - Paid dividends in goodwill among Latin Americans
  - No other U.S. citizen has been held in such high regard as FDR in Latin America
  - Colossus of North now seemed less a vulture and more an eagle

## IV. Secretary Hull's Reciprocal Trade Agreements

- Chief architect Secretary of State Hull believed:
  - Trade a two-way street
  - A nation can only sell abroad as it buys abroad
  - Tariff barriers choke off foreign trade
  - Trade wars beget shooting wars
- **Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act 1934:**
  - Designed to lift U.S. export trade hurt by depression
  - Aimed at both relief and recovery
  - Activated low-tariff policies of New Dealers  
(see tariff chart in Appendix)

## IV. Secretary Hull's Reciprocal Trade Agreements (cont.)

- Avoided dangers of wholesale tariff revision:
  - Whittled down most objectionable schedules of Hawley-Smoot law by amending them:
    - Empowered president to lower existing rate by as much as 50% in agreements with other countries willing to respond with similar reductions
    - Agreements effective without formal approval of Senate
    - Ensured speedier action and sidestepped twin evils of high-stakes logrolling and high-pressure lobbying in Congress
  - Hull successfully negotiated pacts with 21 countries by end of 1939
  - U.S. foreign trade increased appreciably

## IV. Secretary Hull's Reciprocal Trade Agreements (cont.)

- Trade agreements improved economic and political relations with Latin America
- Proved to be influence for peace in war-bent world
- Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act:
  - Landmark piece of legislation
  - Reversed high-protective-tariff policy that had existed unbroken since Civil War
    - Had so damaged American and international economies following World War I
  - Paved way for American-led free-trade international economic system that took shape after WWII

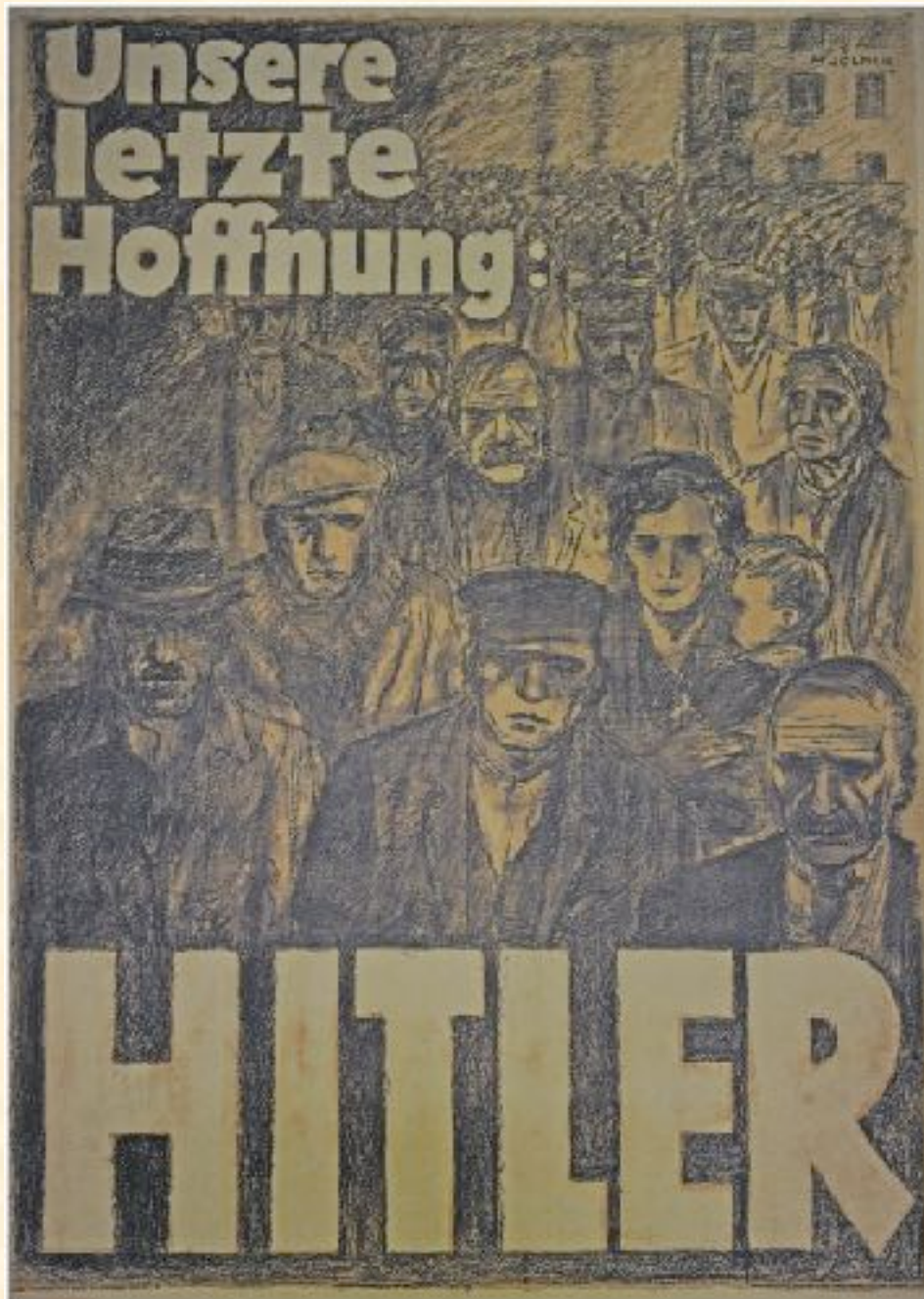


# V. Storm-Cellar Isolationism

- Spread of totalitarianism:
  - Individual is nothing; state is everything
  - Communist USSR led way:
    - Ruthless Joseph Stalin emerged as dictator
    - In 1936 he began to purge USSR of all suspected dissidents:
      - Executed hundreds of thousands
      - Banished millions to remote Siberian forced-labor camps
  - Benito Mussolini, a Fascist, seized power in Italy in 1922

## V. Storm-Cellar Isolationism (cont.)

- Adolf Hitler, a fanatic who plotted and harangued his way to control of Germany in 1933
  - Most dangerous dictator because he combined tremendous power with impulsiveness
  - Secured control of Nazi party by making political capital of Treaty of Versailles and Germany's depression-spawned unemployment
  - Withdrew Germany from League of Nations in 1933
  - Began clandestinely (and illegally) rearming
  - 1936: Hitler and Mussolini allied themselves in Rome-Berlin Axis



NSDAP election poster, April 1932. Germany/Photo © Teakery/The Bridgeman Art Library



# V. Storm-Cellar Isolationism (cont.)

- International gangsterism also spread in Far East:
  - Imperial Japan, like Germany and Italy
    - » A so-called have-not power
    - » Resented ungenerous Treaty of Versailles
    - » Demanded additional space for its teeming millions, cooped-up in crowded island nation
  - Japanese navalists not to be denied:
    - » Gave notice in 1934 of termination of 12-year-old Washington Naval Treaty

## V. Storm-Cellar Isolationism (cont.)

- In 1935 in London, Japan torpedoed all hope of effective naval disarmament
  - When denied complete parity, they walked out of multipower conference
  - And accelerated construction of giant battleships
  - 1935: Japan quit League of Nations
  - Five years later joined arms with Germany and Italy in Tripartite Pact

## V. Storm-Cellar Isolationism (cont.)

- Mussolini brutally attacked Ethiopia in 1935
  - Brave defenders speedily crushed
  - League could have crushed Mussolini with oil embargo but refused to do so
- Isolationism in America boosted by alarms from abroad:
  - America believed encircling sea gave her immunity
  - Continued to suffer disillusionment from participation in WWI
  - Nursed bitter memories about debtors

## V. Storm-Cellar Isolationism (cont.)

- Congress passed **Johnson Debt Default Act** (1934):
  - Prevented debt-dodging nations from borrowing further in United States
    - If attacked, delinquents could “stew in their own juices”
- Mired down by Great Depression, Americans had no real appreciation of revolutionary forces being harnessed by dictators



## V. Storm-Cellar Isolationism (cont.)

- Have-not powers out to become “have” powers
- Americans feared being drawn into totalitarian aggression
- Called for constitution amendment to forbid declaration of war by Congress—except in case of invasion—unless there was favorable popular referendum
- Princeton University students agitated in 1936 for bonus to be paid to Veterans of Future Wars (VFW) while prospective frontliners still alive

# VI. Congress Legislates Neutrality

- Senator Gerald Nye of North Dakota appointed in 1934 to investigate “blood business”
  - Senatorial probers tended to shift blame away from German submarines onto American bankers and arms manufactures
    - Because they made money, illogical conclusion was that they had *caused* war to make money
- Congress made haste to legislate nation out of war:

## VI. Congress Legislates Neutrality (cont.)

- **Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937:**
  - Stipulated that *when the president proclaimed* existence of foreign war
    - Certain restrictions automatically go into effect
    - No American could legally sail on a belligerent ship
    - Sell or transport munitions to a belligerent
    - Or make loans to a belligerent
  - Legislation abandoned traditional policy of freedom of seas



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## VI. Congress Legislates Neutrality (cont.)

- Specifically tailored to keep United States out of conflict like World War I
- Storm-cellar neutrality proved to be tragically shortsighted:
  - Falsely assumed decision for peace or war lay in U.S. hands
  - Prisoners of its own fears, U.S.A. failed to recognize it might have used its enormous power to shape international events
  - Instead, it remained at mercy of events controlled by dictators
- Statutory neutrality of dubious morality
  - America would make no distinctions between brutal aggressors or innocent victims

## VI. Congress Legislates Neutrality (cont.)

- America actually helped encourage aggressors along their blood-spattered path of conquest
  - By declining to use industrial strength to
    - Aid democratic friends
    - And defeat totalitarian foes

# VII. America Dooms Loyalist Spain

- Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939
  - Painful lesson in folly of neutrality-by-legislation
  - General Francisco Franco:
    - Fascist aided by fellow conspirators Hitler and Mussolini
    - Franco sought to topple republican Loyalist regime
    - Loyalists got some assistance from Soviet Union
    - American Roman Catholics opposed Loyalist regime

## VII. America Dooms Loyalist Spain (cont.)

- **Abraham Lincoln Brigade:**
  - 3,000 headed to Spain to fight as volunteers
  - Washington continued official relations with Loyalist government
  - Existing neutrality legislation changed to apply arms embargo to both Loyalists and rebels
  - Roosevelt did nothing while Franco abundantly supplied by fellow dictators



## VII. America Dooms Loyalist Spain (cont.)

- Democracies so determined to stay out of war they helped condemn fellow democracy to death
  - In so doing, they encouraged dictators toward further aggression
  - Such peace-at-any-price-ism cursed with illogic
  - America declined to build armed forces to where it could deter aggressors
  - Allowed navy to decline in relative strength
  - When Roosevelt repeatedly called for preparedness, he was branded a warmonger

## VII. America Dooms Loyalist Spain (cont.)

- Not till 1938 would Congress pass billion-dollar naval construction act
  - Calamitous story repeated: too little, too late

# VIII. Appeasing Japan and Germany

- 1937 Japanese militarists touched off explosion that led to all-out invasion of China
  - Roosevelt declined to invoke neutrality laws by refusing to call China incident an officially declared war
    - Did not want to cut off trickle of munitions on which Chinese depended
    - While Japanese could continue to buy war supplies in United States

## VIII. Appeasing Japan and Germany (cont.)

- **Quarantine Speech** by Roosevelt in Chicago, autumn of 1937:
  - Called for “positive endeavors” to “quarantine” aggressors—presumably by economic embargoes
  - Isolationists feared a moral quarantine would lead to a shooting quarantine
  - Roosevelt retreated and sought less direct means to curb dictators

## VIII. Appeasing Japan and Germany (cont.)

- America's isolationist mood intensified:
  - December 1937 Japanese bombed and sank American gunboat *Panay*:
    - Two killed and thirty wounded
    - Tokyo made necessary apologies and paid proper indemnity—Americans breathed sigh of relief
  - Hitler grew louder and bolder in Europe:
    - Openly flouted Treaty of Versailles by introducing compulsory military service in Germany
    - 1935 he sent troops into demilitarized German Rhineland

## VIII. Appeasing Japan and Germany (cont.)

- March 1938, Hitler bloodlessly occupied German-speaking Austria
- Then demanded German-inhabited Sudetenland of neighboring Czechoslovakia
- Roosevelt's messages to both Hitler and Mussolini urged peaceful settlement
- Conference held in Munich, Germany (Sept. 1938)
  - Western European democracies, badly unprepared for war, betrayed Czechoslovakia to Germany by shearing off Sudetenland

## VIII. Appeasing Japan and Germany (cont.)

- **Appeasement** of dictators:
  - Symbolized by ugly word *Munich*
  - Surrender on installment plan
  - In March 1939, scarcely six months later:
    - Hitler erased rest of Czechoslovakia from map
    - Contrary to his solemn vows
  - Democratic world stunned

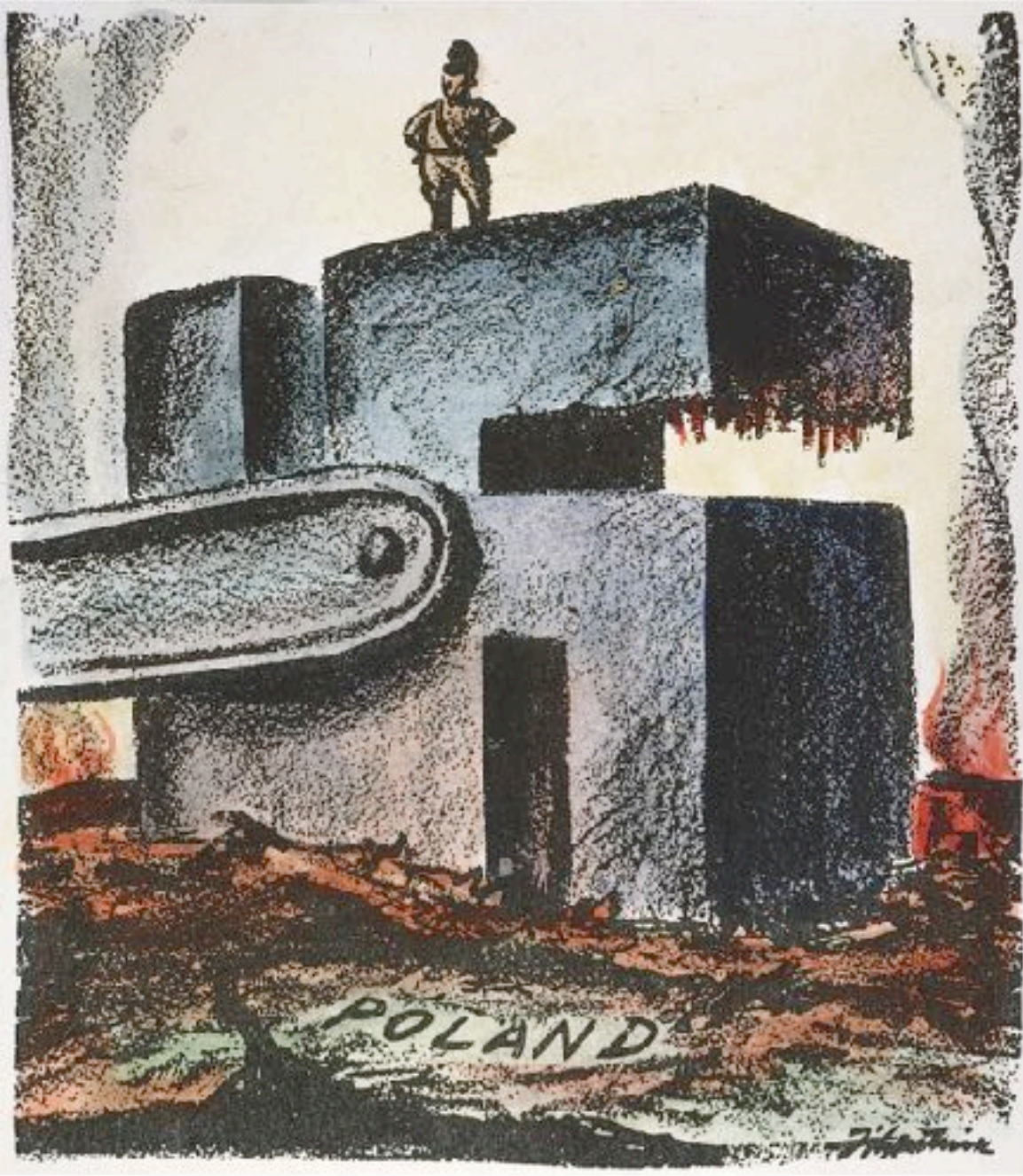
## IX. Hitler's Belligerency and U.S. Neutrality

- Stalin, sphinx of Kremlin, key to peace puzzle:
  - On August 23, 1939, astounded world by signing nonaggression treaty with German dictator
  - Notorious **Hitler-Stalin pact**:
    - Gave Hitler green light to make war with Poland and Western democracies
    - Stalin plotted to turn German accomplice against Western democracies



# IX. Hitler's Belligerency and U.S. Neutrality (cont.)

- With signing of pact, World War II only hours away
- Hitler demanded Poland return land she gained from Germany after WWI
  - Hitler attacked Poland on Sept. 1, 1939
- Britain and France, honoring commitments to Poland, declared war
  - At long last they perceived folly of continued appeasement but they were powerless to aid Poland
- World War II now fully launched, and long truce of 1919-1939 at end



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# IX. Hitler's Belligerency and U.S. Neutrality (cont.)

- Roosevelt issued routine proclamation of neutrality
- Americans overwhelmingly anti-Nazi and anti-Hitler
  - Fervently hoped democracies would win
  - Fondly believed forces of righteousness would triumph, as in 1918
  - Determined to stay out; not going to be “suckers” again
  - Neutrality promptly became heated issue in U.S.
  - Britain and France urgently needed American planes and weapons
  - Neutrality Act of 1937 raised forbidding hand

## IX. Hitler's Belligerency and U.S. Neutrality (cont.)

- **Neutrality Act of 1939:**
  - European democracies might buy U.S. war materials but only on “cash-and-carry basis”
    - Would have to transport munitions in their own ships, after paying for them in cash
    - America would avoid loans, war debts, and torpedoing of American arms-carriers
    - Roosevelt authorized to proclaim danger zones into which U.S. merchant ships forbidden to enter

## IX. Hitler's Belligerency and U.S. Neutrality (cont.)

- Unneutral neutrality law hurt China, which was effectively blockaded by Imperial Japanese Navy
- Clearly favored European democracies against dictators
  - United States not only improved its moral position but also helped its economic position
  - Overseas demand for war goods brought sharp upswing from recession of 1937-1938
  - Ultimately solved decade-long unemployment crisis (see Figure 32.4)

# X. The Fall of France

- “Phony war”—period following collapse of Poland
  - Silence fell on Europe
  - Hitler shifted divisions from Poland for knockout blow at France
  - Soviets prepared to attack Finland
  - Finland granted \$30 million by isolationist Congress for *nonmilitary* supplies
  - Finland flattened by Soviet steamroller
  - Abrupt end to “phony war” in April 1940 when Hitler overran Denmark and Norway

# X. The Fall of France (cont.)

- Hitler then took Netherlands and Belgium, followed by paralyzing blow at France
- By late June, France forced to surrender
- Crisis brought forth inspired leader in Prime Minister Winston Churchill
  - Nerved his people to fight off fearful air bombings of their cities
- France's sudden collapse shocked Americans out of daydreams
- Possible death of Britain, a constitutional government, steeled American people to tremendous effort



McLure-Dun, 1st Col. 1st Infantry, COREIS



## X. The Fall of France (cont.)

- Roosevelt's moves:
  - Called upon already debt-burdened nation to build huge airfleets and two-ocean navy, which could check Japan
  - Congress appropriated \$37 billion:
    - Figure more than total cost of World War I
    - About five times larger than any New Deal annual budget

[ 1.] (U.S. Oct 3 '39) Do you think the United States should do everything possible to help England and France win the war, except go to war ourselves? (AIPO)

Yes 63%      No 38%

[ 2.] (U.S. Oct 3 '39) If it appears that Germany is defeating England and France, should the United States declare war on Germany and send our army and navy to Europe to fight? (AIPO)

	Yes	No
National total.....	29%	71%

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

New England.....	33%	67%
Middle Atlantic.....	27	73
East central.....	25	75
West central.....	26	74
South.....	47	53
West.....	28	72

(Jan 30 '40) National total.....	23%	77%
----------------------------------	-----	-----

[ 3.] (U.S. May 29 '40) If the question of the United States going to war against Germany came up for a national vote within the next two or three weeks, would you vote to go to war (go into the war or stay out of the war)? (AIPO)

	Yes 16%	No 84%
(June 11 '40).....	Go in 19%	Stay out 81%

[ 4.] (U.S. Aug 5 '41) Should the United States go to war now against Japan? (AIPO)

	Yes	No	No opinion
	22%	78% = 100%	11%
(Oct 22 '41).....	13	74	13

[ 5.] (U.S. Sept 17 '41) Should the United States go into the war now and send an army to Europe to fight? (AIPO)

Yes 9%	No 87%	No opinion 4%
--------	--------	---------------

[ 6.] (U.S. Nov 5 '41) If, in trying to defeat Germany, it becomes necessary to send a large American army to Europe, would you favor this step? (AIPO)

Yes 47%	No 46%	No opinion 7%
---------	--------	---------------

# X. The Fall of France (cont.)

- Congress passed conscription law on Sept. 6, 1940
  - America's first peacetime draft:
    - » Provided for training each year 1.2 million troops and 800,000 reserves
  - Act later adapted to requirements of global war
- Havana Conference of 1940:
  - United States agreed to share with twenty New World neighbors responsibility of upholding Monroe Doctrine
  - Now multilateral, it would to be wielded by twenty-one pairs of hands—at least in theory

# XI. Refugees from the Holocaust

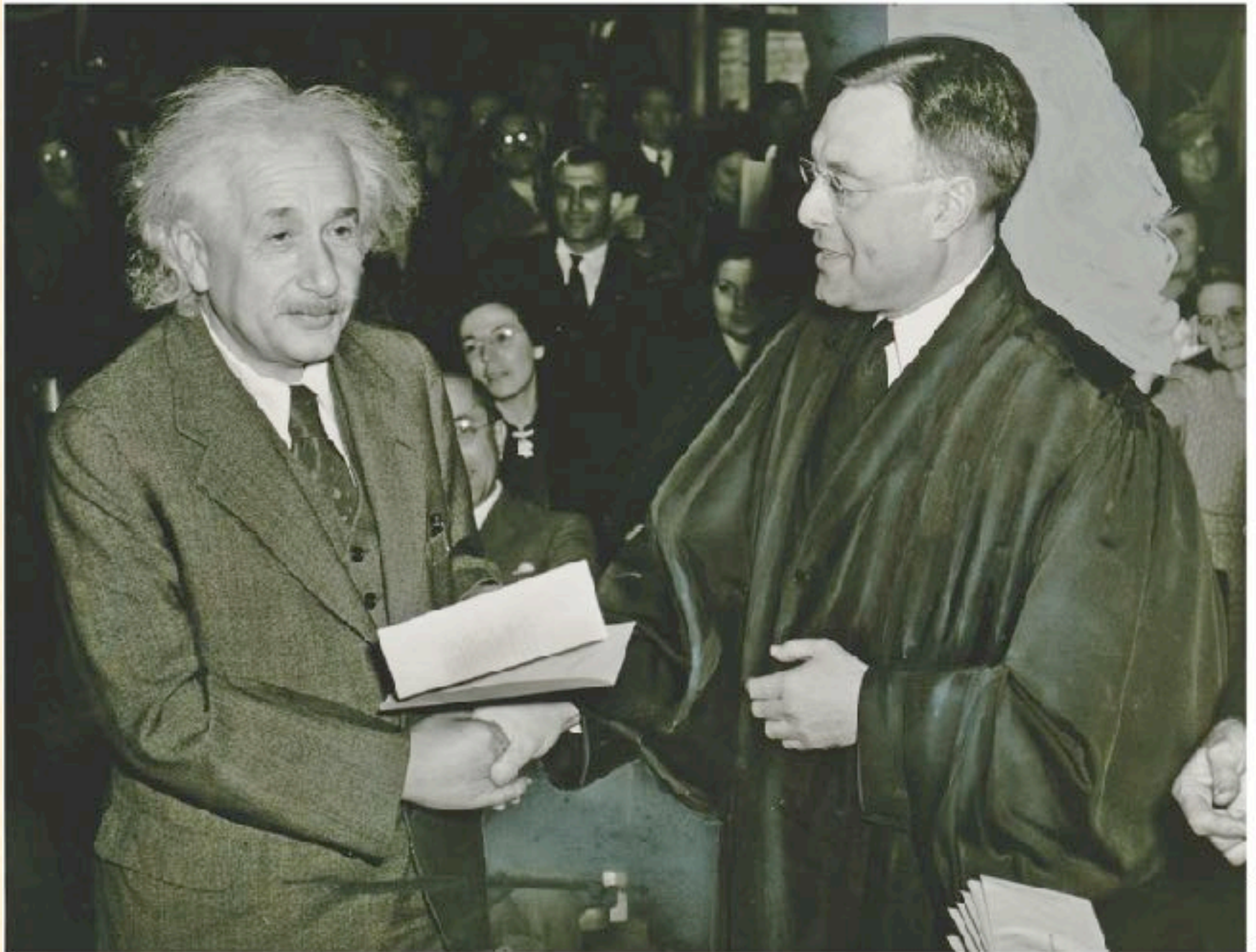
- Jewish communities in Eastern Europe:
  - Frequent victims of pogroms, mob attacks approved or condoned by local authorities
  - November 9, 1938, instigated by speech from Nazi Joseph Goebbels:
    - Mobs ransacked more than seven thousand Jewish shops and almost all synagogues in Germany
    - Ninety-one Jews killed
    - About 30,000 sent to concentration camps in wake of **Kristallnacht**, “night of broken glass”
    - *St. Louis* left Germany in 1939 with 937 passengers, almost all Jewish refugees, went to Cuba, Miami, Canada
      - » Had to return to Europe, where many killed by Nazis



tzpk, Berlin/[name of museum]/[name of photographer]/[Art Resource, NY

# XI. Refugees from the Holocaust (cont.)

- **War Refugee Board:**
  - Created by Roosevelt in 1942
  - Saved thousands of Hungarian Jews from deportation to death camp at Auschwitz
  - Only 150,000 Jews, mostly Germans and Austrians, found refuge in United States
  - By end of war, 6 million Jews had been murdered in Holocaust



## XII. Bolstering Britain

- Britain in war:
  - August 1940, Hitler launched air attacks on Britain, to prepare for September invasion
  - Battle of Britain raged for months in air
  - Royal Air Force's tenacious defense eventually led Hitler to postpone planned invasion indefinitely
- Debate intensified in United States over what foreign policy to embrace



## XII. Bolstering Britain (cont.)

- Radio built sympathy for British, but not enough to push United States into war
- Roosevelt faced historic decision:
  - Hunker down in Western Hemisphere, assume “Fortress America” defensive posture
    - » Let rest of world go it alone
  - Or bolster beleaguered Britain by all means short of war itself
  - Both positions had advocates
- Supporters of aid to Britain formed propaganda groups:
  - Most potent one—Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies

# HELP BRITAIN

## DEFEND AMERICA



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## XII. Bolstering Britain (cont.)

- Argument double-barreled:
  - To interventionists—appealed for direct succor to British by such slogans as “Britain Is Fighting Our Fight”
  - To isolationists—appealed for assistance to democracies by “All Methods Short of War,” so conflict would be kept to faraway Europe
- Isolationists, both numerous and sincere, very vocal
  - Organized America First Committee
  - Contended Americans should concentrate strength to defend their own shores
  - Basic philosophy: “The Yanks Are Not Coming”
  - Most effective speechmaker was Charles A. Lindbergh

## XII. Bolstering Britain (cont.)

### – Britain:

- In critical need of destroyers because of German subs
- On September 2, 1940, Roosevelt agreed to transfer to Great Britain fifty WWI destroyers
- In return, British handed over to U.S.A. eight valuable base sites, stretching from Netherland to South America
  - To remain under Stars and Stripes for 99 years
- Agreement legally questionable since it was a presidential agreement, not passed by Congress
- An un-neutral act, but public-opinion polls demonstrated majority supported “all aid short of war” to England

# XIII. Shattering the Two-Term Tradition

- Distracting presidential election
- Republicans:
  - Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio
  - Lawyer Thomas E. Dewey of New York
  - Late comer: Wendell L. Willkie of Indiana
  - At Philadelphia convention, Willkie chosen
  - Platform condemned FDR's alleged dictatorship and costly and confusing zigzags of New Deal

## XIII. Shattering the Two-Term Tradition (cont.)

- Democrats:
  - Democrats in Chicago decided third-termer better than “Third-Rater”
  - Willkie agreed with FDR on necessity to bolster beleaguered democracies
  - In foreign policy:
    - Both promised to stay out of war
    - Both promised to strengthen nation's defenses
    - Willkie hit hard at Rooseveltian “dictatorship” and third term

## XIII. Shattering the Two-term Tradition (cont.)

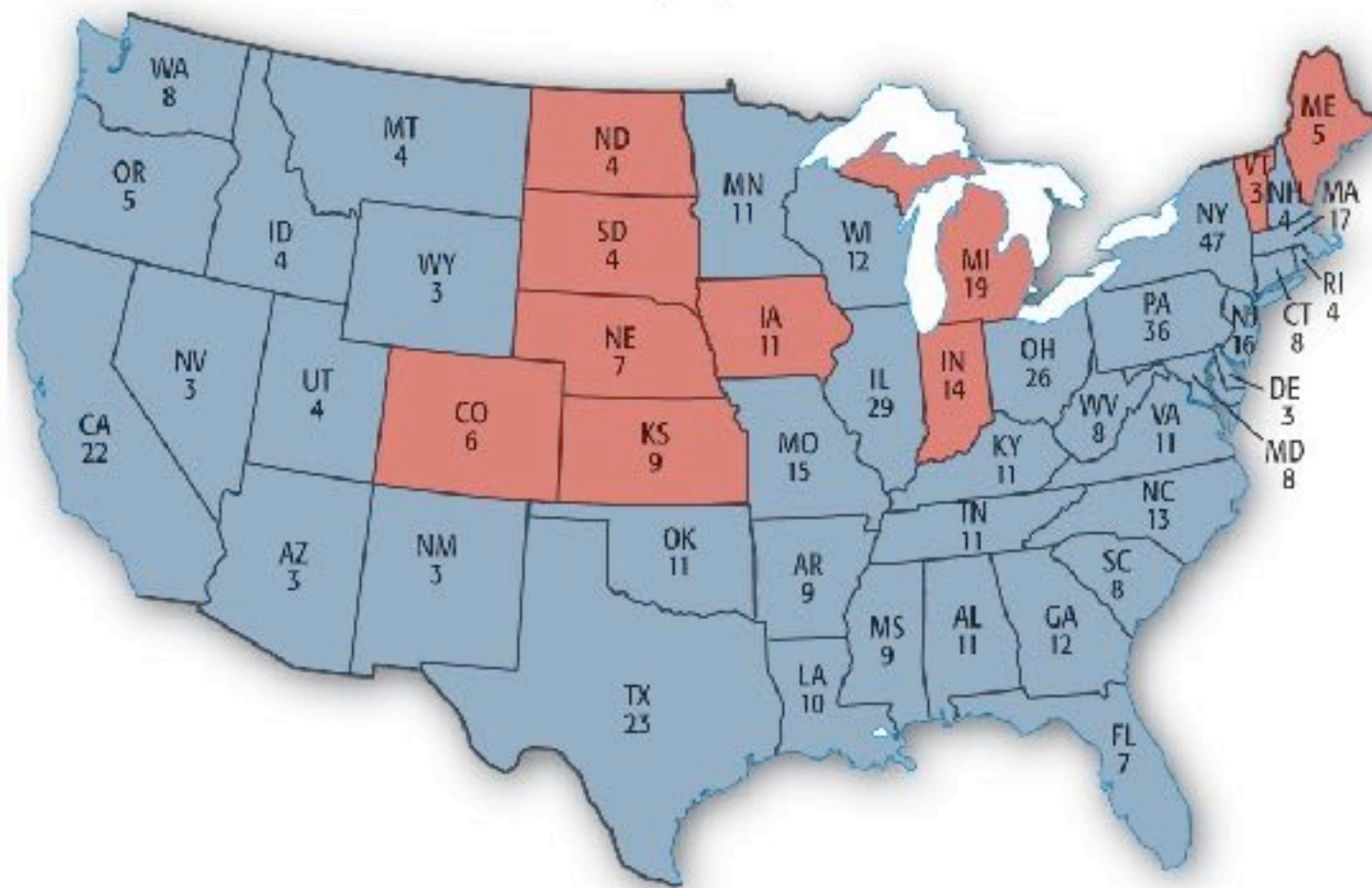
- Roosevelt, busy in White House, made few speeches
  - Promised no men would be “sent into foreign wars;” this later came back to plague him
- He and supporters defended New Deal and all-out preparations for defense of America and aid to Allies
- The count:
  - Roosevelt triumphed, although Willkie ran strong race


## XIII. Shattering the Two-term Tradition (cont.)

- Popular total 27,307,819 to 22,321,018 and electoral count 449 to 82 (see Map 33.1)
- Contest less a walkaway than in 1932 and 1936
- Democratic majorities in Congress remained about same
- Democrats hailed triumph as mandate to abolish two-term tradition
  - Voters felt that should war come, experienced leader needed at helm



# 1940



Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote
 Roosevelt (Democrat)	449 85%	27,307,819 54.8%
 Willkie (Republican)	82 15%	22,321,018 44.8%

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# XIV. A Landmark Lend-Lease Law

- Lending and leasing policy:
  - Scheme of Roosevelt to provide arms to democracies running out of money
  - **Lend-Lease Bill**, patriotically numbered 1776, entitled “An Act Further to Promote the Defense of the United States”:
    - Praised by administration as device that would keep nation out of war rather than drag it in
    - Underlying concept was “Send guns, not sons” or “Billions, not bodies”

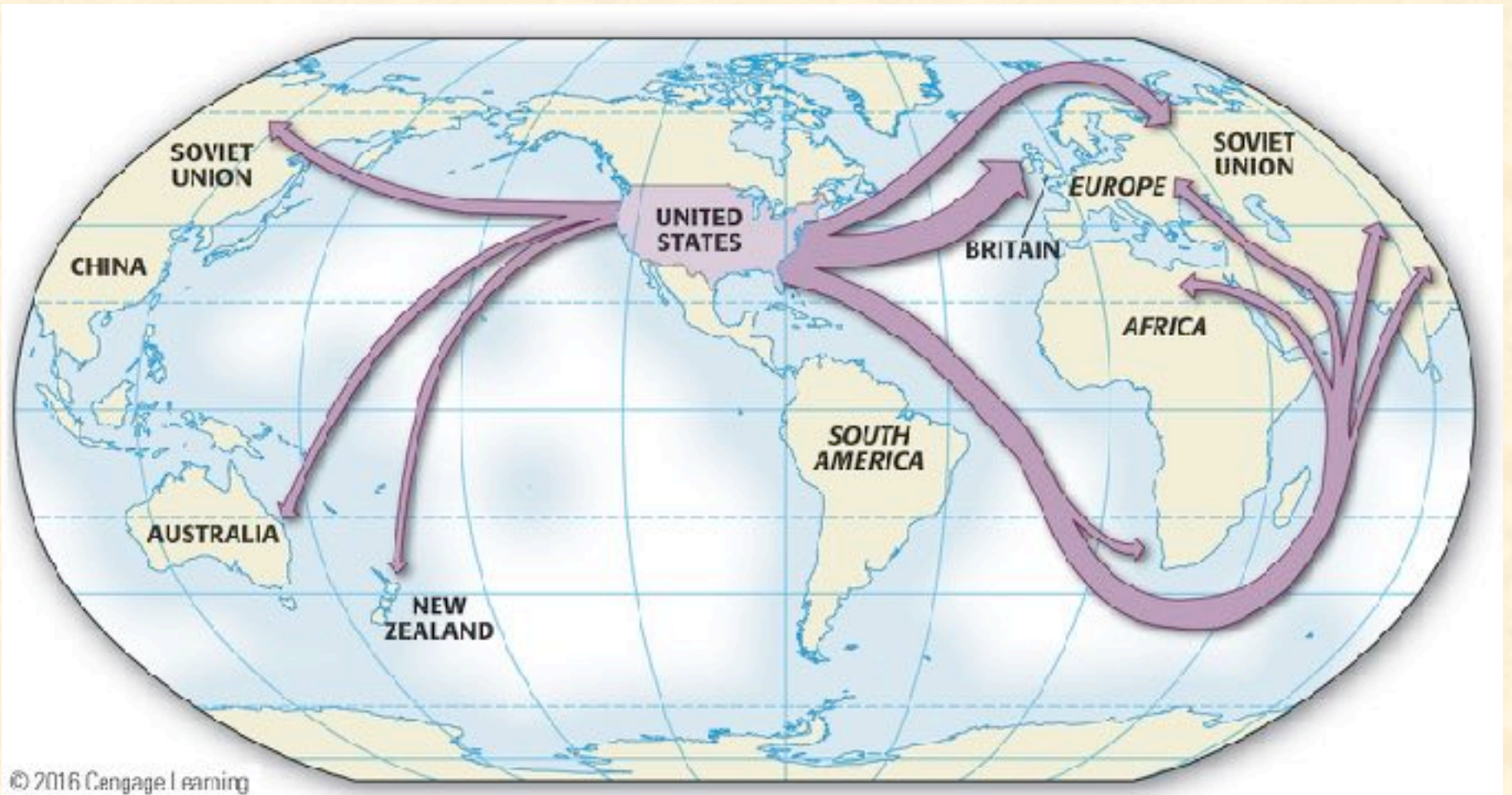
## XIV. A Landmark Lend-Lease Law (cont.)

- America, Roosevelt promised, would be “arsenal of democracy”
- Send limitless supply of arms to victims of aggression:
  - Who in turn would finish job
  - And keep war on their side of Atlantic
  - Accounts settled by returning used weapons or equivalents to United States when war ended
- Debated in Congress, with opposition coming from isolationists and anti-Roosevelt Republicans:
  - Scheme assailed as “blank-check bill”
  - Nevertheless bill approved in March 1941 by sweeping majorities in both houses of Congress



## XIV. A Landmark Lend-Lease Law (cont.)

- Lend-lease one of most momentous laws ever to pass Congress:
  - Challenge hurled directly at Axis dictators
  - America pledged to bolster nations indirectly defending U.S.A. by fighting aggression
  - By 1945, Americans had sent about \$50 billion worth of arms and equipment to nations fighting aggressors (see Map 33.2)
  - Passing of lend-lease, an economic declaration of war
  - A shooting declaration could not be very far around corner



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## XIV. A Landmark Lend-Lease Law (cont.)

- Abandoned any pretense of neutrality
  - No destroyer deal arranged privately by Roosevelt
  - Bill universally debated
  - Most Americans prepared to take chance rather than see Britain collapse and then face dictators alone
- Results of lend-lease:
- Geared U.S. factories for all-out war production
  - Enormously increased capacity that saved America when shooting war started

## XIV. A Landmark Lend-Lease Law (cont.)

- Hitler recognized lend-lease as unofficial declaration of war
  - Until then, Germany avoided attacking U.S. ships
  - After lend-lease, little point in trying to curry favor with United States
  - On May 21, 1941, *Robin Moor*, unarmed American merchantman, torpedoed and destroyed by German submarine



# XV. Charting a New World

- Two global events marked course of World War II:
  - Fall of France in June 1940
  - Hitler's invasion of Soviet Union, June 1941
    - Stalin balked at German control of Balkans
    - Hitler decided to crush coconspirator, seize oil and other resources of Soviet Union
    - On June 22, Hitler launched devastating attack on Soviet neighbor



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## XV. Charting a New World (cont.)

- Sound American strategy dictated speedy aid to Moscow
- Roosevelt made some military supplies available
- Extended \$1 billion in lend-lease to Soviet Union—  
first installment on ultimate total of \$11 billion
  - Russian valor and Russian winter halted Hitler's invasion
- Atlantic Conference (August 1941):
  - Meeting of Churchill and Roosevelt on warship off coast of Newfoundland

## XV. Charting a New World (cont.)

- History-making conference to discuss common problems, including menace of Japan
- **Atlantic Charter**; eight point charter:
  - Formerly accepted by Churchill and Roosevelt, later by Soviet Union
  - Outlined aspirations for better world at war's end
  - Argued for rights of individuals rather than nations
  - Laid groundwork for later advocacy on behalf of universal human rights

# XV. Charting a New World (cont.)

- Opposed imperialistic annexations:
  - No territorial changes contrary to wishes of the people (self-determination)
- Affirmed right of people to choose their own form of government:
  - In particular, to regain governments abolished by dictators
- Charter declared for disarmament
- And a peace of security:
  - Pending “permanent system of general security,” new League of Nations

# XV. Charting a New World (cont.)

- World views:
  - Liberals took heart from Atlantic Charter:
    - As they had taken heart from Wilson's Fourteen Points
    - Especially gratifying to subject populations:
      - Like Poles under iron heel of a conqueror
    - Condemned in United States by isolationists and others hostile to Roosevelt
      - What right had “neutral” America to confer with belligerent British on common policies?
      - Such critics missed point: U.S.A. no longer neutral

# XVI. U.S. Destroyers and Hitler's U-boats Clash

- Lend-lease shipments of arms to Britain:
  - Freighters needed to be escorted by U.S. warships
    - Britain did not have enough destroyers
    - Roosevelt made fateful decision in July 1941
      - As commander in chief, issued orders to navy to escort lend-lease shipments as far as Iceland
      - British would then shepherd them rest of the way
      - September 1941, U.S. destroyer *Greer* attacked by German sub it had been trailing, without damage to either
      - Roosevelt proclaimed shoot-on-sight policy

## XVI. U.S. Destroyers and Hitler's U-boats Clash (cont.)

- October 17 escorting destroyer *Kearny*
  - Engaged in battle with U-boats
  - Lost 11 when it was crippled, but not sunk
- Two weeks later destroyer *Reuben James*:
  - Torpedoed and sunk off southwestern Iceland
  - Loss of more than a hundred officers and enlisted men
- Neutrality still on books, but not in American hearts:
  - Congress voted in mid-November 1941 to pull teeth from now-useless Neutrality Act of 1939 by allowing arming of merchant ships
  - Americans braced themselves for wholesale attacks by Hitler's submarines



# XVII. Surprise Assault on Pearl Harbor

- Japan, since September 1940, had been formal military ally of Nazi Germany:
  - America's shooting foe in North Atlantic
  - Japan mired down in costly and exhausting “China incident”
- Japan and American relations:
  - Japan fatally dependent on immense shipments of steel, scrap iron, oil, and aviation gasoline from U.S.A.
  - Such assistance to Japanese aggressor highly unpopular in America
  - Washington, late in 1940, imposed first embargo on Japan-bound supplies

## XVII. Surprise Assault on Pearl Harbor (cont.)

- Mid-1941, United States froze Japan's assets in United States
- Imposed cessation of all shipments of gasoline and other sinews of war
- As oil gauge dropped, squeeze on Japan grew steadily more nerve-racking
- Japan's leaders faced two alternatives:
  - Either knuckle under to America
  - Or break out of embargo ring by desperate attack on oil supplies and other riches of Southeast Asia
- Tense negotiations with Japan took place in Washington during November and early December 1941

## XVII. Surprise Assault on Pearl Harbor (cont.)

- State Department insisted Japan leave China
  - » Offered Japan new trade relations on limited basis
- Japan's imperialists unwilling to lose face by withdrawal
- Faced with capitulation or continued conquest, they chose sword
- Washington had cracked code and learned Tokyo's decision for war
- No one in high authority in Washington believed Japanese either strong enough or foolhardy enough to strike Hawaii
- Struck **Pearl Harbor** while Tokyo deliberately prolonged negotiations in Washington

## XVII. Surprise Assault on Pearl Harbor (cont.)

- December 7, 1941, “Black Sunday,” Japanese bombers attacked Pearl Harbor without warning
- A date “which will live in infamy,” Roosevelt told Congress
- About 3,000 casualties inflicted on American personnel
- Many aircraft destroyed
- Battleship fleet virtually wiped out when eight were sunk
- Numerous small vessels damaged or destroyed
- Fortunately for America, three aircraft carriers not in harbor



## XVI. Surprise Assault on Pearl Harbor (cont.)

- Angered Congress next day officially recognized war had been “thrust” on U.S.A.
  - Senate and House roll call one vote short of unanimity
  - Germany and Italy, allies of Japan, spared Congress further debate by declaring war on Dec. 11, 1941
  - Challenge formally accepted by unanimous vote of both Senate and House on same day
  - Unofficial war, already of many months' duration, now official

## XVIII. America's Transformation from Bystander to Belligerent

- Japan's hara-kiri gamble in Hawaii paid off only in short run:
  - To very day of attack, strong majority of Americans wanted to keep out of war
    - Bombs on Pearl Harbor blasted isolationists into silence
  - Pearl Harbor not full answer to question why United States went to war:
    - Attack last explosion in long chain reaction

# XVIII. America's Transformation from Bystander to Belligerent

## – Following fall of France

- Americans confronted with dilemma:
  - Desired above all to stay out of conflict,
  - Yet, they did not want Britain to be knocked out
- They wished to halt Japan's conquests in Far East:
  - Conquests menaced not only American trade and security but international peace as well
- To keep Britain from collapsing:
  - Roosevelt felt compelled to extend unneutral aid that invited attacks from German submarines



# XVIII. America's Transformation from Bystander to Belligerent

- To keep Japan from expanding:
  - Washington undertook to cut off vital Japanese supplies with embargoes that invited possible retaliation
  - Rather than let democracy die and dictatorship rule supreme, most citizens evidently determined to support a policy that might lead to war
  - It did

# CHRONOLOGY

**1933** FDR torpedoes London Economic Conference  
United States recognizes Soviet Union  
FDR declares Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America  
Hitler becomes German chancellor  
Germany quits League of Nations

**1934** Tydings-McDuffie Act provides for Philippine independence on July 4, 1946  
Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act  
U.S. Marines vacate Haiti

**1935** Mussolini invades Ethiopia  
U.S. Neutrality Act of 1935  
Japan quits League of Nations

**1936** U.S. Neutrality Act of 1936  
Mussolini and Hitler form Rome-Berlin Axis  
Stalin begins Great Purge  
German troops invade Rhineland

**1936–1939** Spanish Civil War

**1937** U.S. Neutrality Act of 1937  
*Panay* incident  
Japan invades China

**1938** Hitler seizes Austria  
Munich Conference  
Kristallnacht in Germany

**1939** Hitler seizes all of Czechoslovakia  
Nazi-Soviet pact  
World War II begins in Europe with Hitler's invasion of Poland  
U.S. Neutrality Act of 1939

**1940** Fall of France  
Hitler invades Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, and Belgium  
United States invokes first peacetime draft  
Havana Conference  
Battle of Britain  
Bases-for-destroyers deal with Britain  
FDR defeats Willkie for presidency

**1941** Lend-Lease Act  
Hitler attacks Soviet Union  
Atlantic Charter  
Japan attacks Pearl Harbor