

Isolationism and the Road to World War II 1920-1941

I. Peace attempts in the 1920s and the Great Depression

A. American **isolationism** after World War I

1. The U.S. fatally weakened the League of Nations by refusing to sign the League Covenant and the Versailles Treaty.
 - a. Later, the U.S. would bear part of the blame for WWII as it undercut the League of Nations by refusing to join it.
 - b. The Security Treaty with France was also rejected by the Senate.
 - France then undertook to build a powerful military in the face of increased German power and lack of U.S. support.
 - Germany, fearing France's buildup, embarked on an even more vigorous rearmament program under Hitler.
 - c. The U.S. Senate refused to adhere to the World Court, the League's judicial arm.
 - d. The U.S. thus avoided an opportunity to emerge as a world leader and to shape world events for the benefit of peace.
2. July 1921, Congress passed a joint resolution declaring WWI officially over (as far as the U.S. was concerned).
3. While the U.S. refused to participate in alliances that might obligate the country to fight a future war, it did participate in peace agreements that were largely symbolic
 - "Paper agreements" that looked good in theory, but had no real enforcement measures resulted (e.g. Five Power Treaty and Kellogg-Briand Treaty)
4. The U.S. did play an important economic role in European affairs as the world's leading creditor and through the Dawes Plan.

B. Washington Disarmament Conference (1921-1922)

1. Threats to peace
 - a. A naval arms race was brewing between the U.S., Britain, and Japan.
 - A long-standing Anglo-Japanese alliance (1902) obligated Britain to aid Japan in the event of a Japanese war with the U.S.
 - b. Charles Evans Hughes, U.S. secretary of state, organized the conference.
2. The conference addressed naval disarmament and the unstable political situation in the Far East.

Use space below for notes

3. **Five Power Treaty** (signed February 1922)
 - a. Established a 5-5-3 battleship ratio with the U.S. and Britain having five ships for every 3 Japanese ships.
 - b. Italy and France would have 1.75 ships each
 - c. Japan received guarantees that the U.S. & Britain would not fortify their Far Eastern territories, including the Philippines.
 - In effect, the treaty gave Japan naval supremacy in the Pacific as it was not subjected to same restraints in their possessions.
 - d. Manufacture of new battleships would be banned for 10 years.
4. Four Power Treaty (1922) replaced the Anglo-Japanese alliance.
 - Obligated Britain, Japan, France, and U.S. to preserve the status quo in the Pacific, a concession to Japan's favor.
5. Nine-Power Treaty (1922): The Open Door in China was preserved.
6. Loopholes in the treaties:
 - a. No restrictions on small warships; resulted in other powers constructing cruisers, destroyers, and submarines while the U.S. lagged dangerously behind.
 - b. Congress made no commitment to the use of armed force or any kind of joint action when it ratified the Four-Power Treaty.
 - The treaty was thus effectively dead

C. Loans and Reparations

1. U.S. emerged from WWI as the world's largest creditor nation and demanded repayment of its war-era loans to Europe
 - a. Despite U.S. loans war-torn European economies could not fully recover.
 - b. The Allies owed the U.S. \$16 billion
2. Europeans protested U.S. financial and economic policies
 - a. Britain and France protested U.S. demands as unfair as they had sacrificed their youth in the war for the Allied victory.
 - Believed the U.S. should write-off loans as a cost of the war (just like casualties)
 - b. Debtors also complained that the effect of their loans had fueled the American economy as U.S. products and services were bought by Europeans during the war.
 - c. U.S. tariffs (especially the Fordney-McCumber Tariff of 1922) were making it impossible for Europeans to sell goods and earn the money necessary to repay debts.
3. Allied demands on Germany
 - a. As provided in the Versailles Treaty, France and Britain demanded that Germany make enormous reparations payments totaling about \$32 billion for war damages.
 - Hoped to settle debts with U.S. with money paid by Germany

- The Germany economy could not handle the pressure and collapsed in 1923
 - b. **Ruhr Crisis**, 1923 France sent troops into Germany's industrial Ruhr region in 1923 when Germany could not pay its reparations.
 - c. Germany responded by allowing its currency to undergo hyperinflation
 - Oct. 1923: a loaf of bread cost \$120 million!
 - Germany was in danger of anarchy while the international banking system was in serious jeopardy
 - d. U.S. refused to cancel its debts
4. **Dawes Plan of 1924**
- a. American businessman and politician Charles Dawes was appointed by Coolidge to alleviate the reparations crisis
 - b. Dawes rescheduled German reparations payments and opened the way for further American private loans to Germany
 - c. U.S. loans helped Germany repay France and Britain, who in turn, paid back the U.S. for their debts.
 - Dawes received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1925 for his work in the crisis, although the Dawes Plan would prove unworkable and was replaced by the Young Plan in 1929
 - d. U.S. credit continued to help the reparations issue until crash of 1929.
 - e. Nevertheless, U.S. tariff and banking policies vis-à-vis Europe harbored ill-will among European nations toward America
 - Contributed to neutrality legislation passed by Congress during 1930s.

D. Peace treaties in the 1920s turned out to be ineffective

1. The numerous treaties agreed to at the Washington Disarmament Conference ultimately failed due to their lack of enforcement.
 - Locarno Pact (1926)
 - Western European nations (including Germany) guaranteed the existing borders (as established by the Versailles Treaty) and sought peaceful solutions to international conflicts
 - Many Europeans believed the "Spirit of Locarno" meant no future war in Europe would occur.
2. **Kellogg-Briand Pact** (1928): drafted by U.S. and France
 - a. Growing unrest in Europe due to the slumping economy and Japan's aggressive moves against China concerned democratic countries.
 - b. Eventual agreement was ratified by 62 nations
 - c. Pact declared war was "illegal" except for defensive purposes.
 - "Defensive" proved to be a major loophole rendering the pact impotent.
 - d. Major flaw: no enforcement mechanism against aggressors

The International Financial System
Under the Dawes Plan and Young Plan
1924-30



- e. Gave Americans a false sense of security in the 1930s.
- E. The Great Depression was a major cause for the rise of totalitarianism in Japan and Germany
1. The U.S. Stock Market Crash in October 1929 triggered a worldwide depression.
 2. Germany ravaged by 50% unemployment and enormous inflation.
 - The crisis set the stage for the rise of Hitler in 1933
 3. Japanese exports fell by 50%; blamed the West for protectionist trade policies.
 - a. Japan moved away from the disarmament policies established in Washington, D.C. in 1922.
 - b. The military took control of the government and assassinated the Japanese prime minister in 1930, instituting a fascist regime.
- II. U.S. Policy Shift Towards Latin America in the 1920s and 1930s
- A. Intervention in the Caribbean and Central America
1. By 1924, U.S. controlled the financial policies in 14 of 20 Latin American countries
 2. U.S. troops were removed from the Dominican Republic in 1924 (after 8 years of occupation)
 3. U.S. troops remained in Haiti from 1914 to 1934
 4. Coolidge removed forces from Nicaragua in 1925 (there since 1909) but sent them back in 1926 until 1933 after the U.S. placed Anastasio Somoza in power.
 - Somoza family ruled Nicaragua until 1979 when they were overthrown by the anti-U.S. Sandinistas.
5. **Mexican oil crisis**
- a. In 1925, Mexico nationalized its oil fields and declared U.S. companies could not own them for the next 50 years.
 - Some U.S. oil companies had invested heavily in Mexican oil
 - b. Coolidge directed **Dwight D. Morrow**, a prominent international banker, to settle the situation without resorting to war.
 - c. Mexico agreed to allow pre-1917 companies to keep oil fields.
 - Many Mexicans were angered over continued U.S. imperialism.
6. **Clark Memorandum** (1928)
- a. Secretary of State J. Reuben Clark pledged the U.S. would never intervene in Latin American affairs in order to protect U.S. property rights.
 - b. Rebuked the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine
 - c. However, he declared the U.S. would intervene for its own defense.
7. The Coolidge and Hoover administrations thus paved the way for

improved relations with Latin America that led to the Good Neighbor Policy in the 1930s.

B. "Good Neighbor" Policy

1. FDR's "Good Neighbor" Policy was largely a reaction to overseas aggression in the 1930s.
 - a. It seemed important to U.S. policy makers to have everybody in Western Hemisphere united
 - b. Made FDR popular figure in Latin America -- "the good neighbor respects himself and the rights of others."
 - c. In effect, it was a policy of non-intervention and cooperation
 - d. Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 lowered the Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930 and improved economic ties with Latin America
2. **Montevideo Conference** : 7th Pan-American Conference (1933)
 - a. Sec of St. Cordell Hull: "No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another."
 - b. Hull recommended that tariffs be lowered
3. The U.S. withdrew from Nicaragua in 1933.
4. 1934, Marines withdrew from Haiti
 - First time since 1915 that no U.S. troops were in Latin America
5. U.S. signed a treaty with Cuba in 1934 repealing the Platt Amendment (although the U.S. retained the Guantanamo Naval Base)
6. 1936 **Buenos Aires Convention**: U.S. agreed to admit all international disputes in the Western Hemisphere to arbitration.
7. 1938, the U.S. did not intervene when Mexico nationalized its oil fields, though U.S. companies lost much of their original holdings

III. Liberalization of Trade Policies and Imperialism

A. FDR officially recognized the U.S.S.R. (late 1933)

1. The Soviet Union had already received recognition from other major powers.
2. FDR believed recognition of Moscow might bolster the USSR against Japan.
3. Americans also hoped trade with the USSR would help the U.S. economy.
4. Soviets formally promised to refrain from revolutionary propaganda in the U.S.
 - They broke that pledge when a huge U.S. loan to Russia was not granted as the USSR was seen as bad credit risk.

B. Philippines: **Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934)**

1. The Philippines were to become free after 10-year period of economic and political support.

- The U.S. would relinquish military establishments on the islands but naval bases would remain.
 - The Jones Act in 1916 had granted the Philippines territorial status and promised independence as soon as a "stable gov't" could be established.
2. Why give up Philippines?
 - a. U.S. organized labor wanted low-wage Filipino labor excluded from the U.S.
 - b. U.S. sugar growers and other producers sought less Filipino competition
 - c. U.S. isolationists were eager to be rid of a political liability in Asia.
 3. The U.S. economic terms towards the Philippines were harsh
 4. Japan was encouraged by U.S. unwillingness to maintain its Asian possessions.

C. Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934

1. Put forth by U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull
2. Aimed at both relief and recovery of the U.S. economy
3. Low-tariffs were implemented (including reduction of Hawley-Smoot)
4. Authorized the president to negotiate bilateral reciprocal trade agreements with other countries
 - Congress could ratify a tariff treaty with a simple majority vote, rather than the 2/3 necessary to ratify foreign treaties.
5. Significance:
 - a. Reversed the high-tariff protectionist policies the U.S. had promoted since the Civil War.
 - b. Paved the way for U.S.-led international system of free trade after World War II.
6. By 1939, Hull successfully negotiated pacts with 21 countries.

IV. The Rise of Totalitarianism and Fascist Aggression

- A. Rise of **totalitarian** regimes occurred after World War I (dictatorships that sought to control every aspect of people's lives)
 1. **Fascism:** glorified the state and aggressively sought to expand through conquest ("survival of the fittest" ideology)
 - a. Italy was ruled by **Benito Mussolini** beginning in 1922
 - b. In Japan, a military dictatorship took control in the early 1930s
 - c. Germany came under the control **Adolf Hitler** and the **Nazi Party** in 1933
 2. **Communism** took root in Russia during World War I under Vladimir Lenin.
 - An even more ruthless dictatorship under **Joseph Stalin** developed in the USSR after 1924.

B. 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria (northeast China)

1. The League of Nations condemned Japan's action but did nothing to enforce collective security.
 - a. Japan violated the Nine Power Treaty and Kellogg-Briand Pact
- b. **Hoover-Stimson Doctrine:** President Hoover refused economic or political sanctions but did not recognize Japanese conquests by force.
 - Japan was angry that the U.S. refused to recognize the conquest of Manchuria as the U.S. in the past had taken most of its own colonies by force.
- c. Japan withdrew from League of Nations in response.
2. Reasons for Japanese aggression
 - a. Sought economic self-sufficiency by having access to badly needed raw materials (coal, oil, & iron) —“autarky”
 - b. Sought more space for its large population
 - Angry at the U.S., Australia, and Canada for limiting Japanese immigration
 - National Origins Act (1924) banned Asians from immigrating to the U.S.
 - c. Sought to open new foreign markets but had been economically frustrated
 - High tariffs of other nations in 1930 had reduced Japanese exports by 50% in merely two years
 - d. Anger at the U.S. for Japan's unequal status in the 1921-22 naval treaties
 - e. Anger at the Hoover-Stimson Doctrine for refusing to recognize "Manchukuo" (Manchuria)
3. 1934, repudiated the Washington Naval Treaty (1922) and started a massive naval buildup
4. 1936, signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany (anti-communism; anti-USSR)
5. **1940, signed the Tripartite Pact that created the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis during World War II**

C. 1935, Italy invaded and conquered Ethiopia

1. Mussolini sought to reestablish the glory of the Roman Empire.
2. League of Nations hit Italy with economic sanctions *except* oil, a necessary resource to wage war.
3. July, the League lifted sanctions; effectively ended the League of Nations

V. American Isolationism in the 1930s

A. Americans were primarily occupied with the Great Depression

1. Sought to avoid involvement in an increasingly dangerous Europe
2. Most Americans were not immediately alarmed at totalitarianism.
3. Ludlow Amendment (introduced several times between 1935-1940)
 - a. Some members of Congress sought a constitutional amendment to forbid a declaration of war by Congress—except in case of invasion—unless there was first a favorable public referendum.
 - b. Although the amendment did not pass, it nevertheless reflected America's strong isolationism in the mid- to late-1930s.

B. London Economic Conference

1. Attended by 66 nations in the summer of 1933
2. Purpose: confront the global depression
3. Goals: stabilize national currencies and revive international trade.
4. FDR undermined the conference as he didn't want to return to a gold standard.
5. Significance: showed Hitler and Mussolini that the U.S. would not intervene in European affairs.
 - a. Perhaps as important as the Munich Conference (1938) in showing a lack of resolve among the democracies.
 - b. Resulted in even more international isolationism

C. Nye Committee (headed by North Dakota Senator Gerald P. Nye)

1. Many believed that the U.S. entered WWI to increase profits for American munitions makers
 - a. The Nye Committee investigated this charge and confirmed the theory
 - b. Munitions manufacturers were dubbed "merchants of death"
2. The committee claimed bankers wanted the war to protect their loans to Europe and that President Wilson had provoked Germany by allowing U.S. ships to sail into a war zone in the Atlantic.
3. Today, many believe the committee was flawed and excessively anti-business
4. Resulted in the Neutrality Acts between 1935 & 1937

D. Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937

1. When the president proclaimed the existence of a foreign war, certain restrictions would automatically go into effect:
 - a. Prohibited the sale of arms to nations at war
 - b. Prohibited loans and credits to nations at war
 - c. Forbade Americans to travel on vessels of nations at war (in contrast to WWI)
 - d. Non-military goods must be purchased on a **cash and carry**

- basis**—payment was due when goods were picked up
- e. Banned U.S. involvement in the Spanish Civil War
 2. In effect, the laws limited the options of the president in a crisis
 3. These laws also ignored the issue of who was aggressor and who was the victim and thus prevented aid to traditional allies of the U.S.
 4. America declined to build up its armed forces where it could deter aggressors.
 - a. Navy declined in relative strength to the major powers
 - Many believed that huge navies caused wars.
 - b. Did not want to burden taxpayers during the depression

E. Spanish Civil War (1936)

1. Nationalists, led by fascist Francisco Franco, fought democratic Republican Loyalists for control of Spain
 - a. Franco sought to restore power of the church and to destroy socialism and communism in Spain
 - b. He called for creation of a fascist state
2. Congress, encouraged by FDR, amended neutrality legislation to apply an arms embargo to *both* Republican Loyalists and fascist rebels.
3. International implications:
 - a. Democracies of the world stood by as the Loyalist democracy in Spain was killed by fascist aggressors.
 - b. Italy sent troops to help Franco
 - c. Hitler sent an air force to bomb cities held by Republicans
 - d. Both Mussolini and Hitler used Spain as testing ground for future military aggression
4. The newly-created **Rome-Berlin Axis** (a loose alliance between Hitler and Mussolini) helped the fascist Nationalists win in 1939

F. Japan launched a full-scale attack on southern China in 1937

1. Sought to establish a "new order in Asia" in which Japan had commercial supremacy in China
 - a. Represented the end of the Open Door in China
 - b. Japan also expanded into French Indochina (Vietnam) and Dutch East Indies (Indonesia)
2. **Panay Incident**
 - a. December 1937, Japan bombed and sank a U.S. gunboat (the *Panay*) and three Standard Oil tankers on the Yangtze River.
 - Two Americans were killed; 30 were wounded
 - Through the Open Door, the Yangtze River was by treaty an international waterway.
 - Japan was testing U.S. resolve
 - b. Roosevelt reacted angrily: planned to seize and protect U.S.-held property in China (a move to stall Japan's conquest)

- c. Japan apologized, paid the U.S. an indemnity, and promised no further attacks.
 - d. U.S. public opinion called for withdrawal of all U.S. forces from China.
 - Most Americans were satisfied and relieved at Japan's apology
 - Japan interpreted the weak U.S. tone as a license to vent their anger against U.S. civilians in China with physical abuse
3. Roosevelt's "**Quarantine**" Speech (1937)
- a. Condemned Japan and Italy for their aggressive actions.
 - b. Urged the democracies to "quarantine" the aggressors through economic embargoes.
 - c. The speech was heavily criticized by isolationists who feared FDR might lead the U.S. into war.
 - d. FDR publicly scaled back his anti-fascist rhetoric and sought less direct means to address totalitarianism.

G. German aggression

- 1. Hitler withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933
- 2. Nazi Germany repeatedly defied the Versailles Treaty
 - a. Secretly and illegally built up its military
 - b. In 1936, occupied the Rhineland (a region that had been demilitarized in the Versailles Treaty)
 - c. 1937, Germany withdrew from the Treaty of Versailles altogether
- 3. Germany invaded and annexed Austria in March 1938 (the "Anschluss")
 - a. British Prime Minister, **Neville Chamberlain**, adopted a policy of **appeasement** toward Germany; sought to avoid war.
 - Rejected joining an alliance with France and Russia claiming it would destroy the possibility of future negotiations.
 - Appeasement: Giving in to an aggressor in order to preserve peace
 - **Pacifism:** Refusal to fight in a war
 - Widespread pacifist sentiment existed in Britain and France as memories of WWI still ran deep
 - b. U.S. isolationism (e.g. Neutrality Laws) prevented any action on the part of FDR
- 4. Germany took over Czechoslovakia in 1938-39
 - a. Hitler demanded the **Sudetenland** (a largely German-speaking province in Czechoslovakia)
 - Failure of the Czechs to comply would result in a German invasion and World War II
 - b. **Munich Conference** (Sept. 1938) sought to settle the issue of

the Sudetenland

- Attended by Germany, France, Britain and Italy.
- Czechoslovakia and its ally, the USSR, were not invited.
- Terms: Czechoslovakia lost the Sudetenland
 - If Czechoslovakia refused, Britain and France would not come to her aid in the future.
 - Hitler guaranteed the independence of Czechoslovakia and claimed he would not make any more territorial demands in Europe.
- Europeans naively thought threat of war was now over

c. March 1939, Hitler invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia

5. Germany's invasion of Poland began WWII

- a. One week after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Hitler demanded the return to Germany of the port city of Danzig on the Baltic Coast in the Polish Corridor.
 - The Polish Corridor had been created by the Versailles Treaty and separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany.
- b. Britain and France promised to come to Poland's defense if it was attacked

c. **German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact**, August 23, 1939

- The world was shocked by the treaty: fascists and communists were traditional arch-enemies.
- Hitler wanted to prevent a two-front war if he invaded Poland.
- Stalin was afraid of Hitler and wanted assurances Germany would not invade Russia
- Provisions:
 - Public clause: Non-aggression agreement between Germany and Russia in the event of a future war
 - Secret clause: Poland would be divided between Germany and the USSR
 - Stalin would sell Germany raw materials.
- The Pact thus allowed Germany to invade Poland without Soviet interference.

d. Sept. 1, 1939, Germany troops invaded Poland

e. Two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany, officially beginning WWII

f. September 5, 1939: FDR officially proclaimed U.S. neutrality.

<u>Axis</u>	vs.	<u>Allies</u>
Germany (1939)		Great Britain (1939)
Italy (1939)		France (1939)
Japan (1940)		U.S.S.R. (1941)
Hungary (1940)		U.S. (1941)
Romania (1940)		China
Bulgaria (1941)		43 other countries

VI. Axis offensives in Europe and Soviet Expansion

A. German invasion of Poland, Sept. 1, 1939

1. **Blitzkrieg**--"lightning war"--new type of warfare
 - a. Combined planes, tanks, artillery, and mechanized infantry.
 - b. Pierced holes in enemy line & quickly cut it off; chopped the enemy into smaller groups; Luftwaffe strafed civilian roads and bombed cities.
2. Poland surrendered four weeks later
3. Britain and France could not aid Poland in time.

B. Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe

1. The USSR invaded Poland from the east about a month after Germany's invasion.
2. Stalin annexed Estonia, Latvia, & Lithuania in 1940
 - a. Believed Hitler would one day attack USSR
 - b. Fortified defenses in the Baltics
3. Invaded Finland in 1939 and won by March 1940

C. German expansion in Western Europe

1. April 1940: Denmark and Norway were conquered
 - In response, FDR declared that Greenland, a possession of conquered Denmark, was now covered by the Monroe Doctrine
 - The U.S. supplied military assistance to set up a coastal patrol there.
2. May 1940: Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg fell
3. **Fall of France** (June, 1940)
 - a. German troops occupied 2/3 of France and took control of its gov't.
 - b. The Vichy government was installed as a puppet gov't in southern France—"Vichy France"

D. **Battle of Britain** (Autumn 1940)

1. Hitler demanded that Britain return Germany's former colonies and agree to Germany's domination of continental Europe.
 - Britain categorically refused
2. Hitler thus ordered German bombers to attack Britain's Royal Air Force on August 13, 1940
 - Reason: Soften up Britain for a German invasion
3. Germans began bombing London on September 7
 - a. Change of bombing tactics was a mistake: the first of Hitler's fatal blunders
 - b. The RAF was thus allowed to recover while waves of German planes lost due to Britain's use of radar
4. Results
 - a. The RAF defeated the German *Luftwaffe*
 - b. Hitler was forced to cancel plans for the invasion of Britain

- c. Britain became the launching pad for the Allies invasion of France in 1944 and the eventual defeat of Hitler.

E. **Germany invaded the Soviet Union** in June, 1941

1. *Lebensraum*: Hitler sought "living space" for a new German Empire in Eastern Europe
2. Germany's advance was halted on the outskirts of Moscow in late 1941 when winter set in
3. The siege of Leningrad lasted two years
4. The Russian invasion was Hitler's second fatal error: it opened a second front before Britain had been defeated in the West.

VII. U.S. response to the war in Europe

A. **Neutrality Act of 1939:** U.S. response to the invasion of Poland

1. Britain and France desperately needed U.S. airplanes and other weapons.
 - a. The Neutrality Act of 1937 had forbidden the sale of weapons to warring countries.
 - b. The U.S. was officially neutral, although 84% of U.S. public opinion supported Britain and France.
 - c. September 21, FDR persuaded Congress to allow the U.S. to aid the European democracies in limited fashion.
2. Provisions of Neutrality Act of 1939
 - a. Allowed sale of weapons to European democracies on a "cash-and-carry" basis.
 - U.S. would thus avoid loans, war debts, and the torpedoing of U.S. merchant ships
 - b. FDR proclaimed danger zones which U.S. ships & citizens could not enter (contrasted Wilson's WWI policy)
3. Results
 - a. The democracies benefited as they still controlled the Atlantic in 1939
 - The aggressors could not buy U.S. munitions.
 - b. The U.S. economy improved as European demand for war goods helped bring the country out of the recession of 1937-1938.
 - The unemployment crisis was effectively over.

B. FDR's "Arsenal of Democracy" speech (Dec 29, 1939)

1. Proclaimed the U.S. could not remain neutral: its independence had never been in such danger
2. He stated the Nazi war aim was world domination
3. This speech marked a decisive shift in U.S. policy.
4. The U.S. would become the "Great Warehouse" of the Allies

C. U.S. response to fall of France and Battle of Britain

1. Fall of France forced a major change in strategy for the U.S.: it would probably have to fight in the war; not just be a "great warehouse"
2. FDR called on America to build a huge air force and a two-ocean navy.
3. Congress appropriated \$37 billion (more than total cost of WWI and 5 times larger than any New Deal annual budget).
4. **Havana Conference**, July 1940
 - a. U.S. agreed to share with 20 Latin American republics the responsibility of upholding the Monroe Doctrine.
 - b. Marked the first time the Monroe Doctrine was multi-lateral.
5. Sept. 1940, Congress passed the Selective Service and Training Act
 - a. America's first peace-time draft: Men 21 to 35 were registered and many were called for one year of military training.
 - b. The act was later expanded when the U.S. entered the war.
6. **Destroyer-Bases Deal** (September 2, 1940)
 - a. FDR agreed to transfer to Britain 50 WWI-class destroyers
 - Though Britain had little need for the ships, the deal was Prime Minister **Winston Churchill's** way of slowly reeling in FDR and the U.S. to fight for the Allies.
 - b. Britain promised the U.S. eight valuable defensive base sites from Newfoundland to South America.
 - These bases would remain in U.S. control for 99 years.
 - c. The deal was achieved by a simple presidential agreement.
 - d. Isolationists charged FDR had violated the Constitution by circumventing Congress' power to ratify treaties and that he was putting the U.S. on a course for war.

D. The rise of **internationalism** in the U.S.

1. **Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies**
 - a. Most potent organization of the pro-intervention movement.
 - b. Claimed the U.S. couldn't let Axis powers dominate the world.
 - c. Argued that though the Axis powers could not yet target the Western Hemisphere, the U.S. would be turned into "fortress America."
 - d. Urged direct aid to Britain.
 - e.Appealed to isolationists for "All Methods Short of War" to defeat Hitler.
2. Roosevelt had strong internationalist sympathies but still had to temper them publicly with the election of 1940 looming

- E. Isolationists argued against internationalism
1. Isolationists tended to be Republicans who had earlier opposed U.S. entry into the League of Nations
 2. **America First Committee**
 - a. Slogan: "England will fight to the last American."
 - b. Advocated U.S. protection of its own shores if Hitler defeated Britain.
 - c. **Charles Lindbergh** was the most famous of the isolationists.
 3. Senator Robert A. Taft urged "Fortress America"; defense not intervention

F. **Election of 1940**

1. Republicans nominated Wendell L. Willkie
 - a. Accused FDR of being a dictator and criticized deficit spending of the New Deal.
 - Willkie was not opposed to New Deal, just its excesses.
 - b. Like FDR, he promised to stay out of war and strengthen U.S. defenses while claiming FDR was a war-monger
2. Democrats nominated FDR for a third term
 - a. FDR vowed to keep the U.S. out of the war.
 - b. Vigorously defended the New Deal and U.S. aid to the Allies.
3. Result:
 - a. FDR defeated Willkie 449-82 but the margin of victory was smaller than in the 1932 and 1936 elections.
 - b. Democrats maintained their majority in Congress

G. **"Four Freedoms" speech** (January 6, 1941) -- made to Congress

1. Now reelected, FDR did not have to worry as much about his isolationist critics.
2. FDR asked Congress for increased authority to help Britain.
3. Four Freedoms worth protecting according to FDR:
 - a. Speech and expression
 - b. Religion
 - c. Freedom from Want: even during depression, Americans did not experience famine; the government provided relief
 - d. Freedom from fear: the U.S. currently did not have to worry about being invaded by a foreign country
4. Congress responded with the Lend-Lease Act

H. **Lend-Lease Act** (April 1941)

1. Considered one of most momentous laws ever passed by Congress.
2. Provisions:
 - a. Authorized FDR to give military supplies to any nation he deemed "vital to the defense of the US."
 - The British were rapidly exhausting their cash reserves with

- which to buy U.S. goods.
- b. Payments would be settled after the war.
 - FDR: "Loan a neighbor your hose to save his house from fire; worry about the hose later."
3. Criticism
- a. Isolationists and anti-Roosevelt Republicans saw it as "the blank check bill."
 - b. Some saw it as getting the U.S. even closer to involvement in the war.
4. Results:
- a. Effectively ended U.S. neutrality; in effect, an economic declaration of war against Germany
 - b. U.S. war production increased immediately.
 - c. Hitler began sinking U.S. ships on a limited scale with German submarines
 - Until then, Germany had avoided sinking U.S. ships (remembered the lessons of WWI)
 - d. By war's end, the U.S. gave \$50 billion worth of arms and equipment to nations fighting aggressors, especially Britain and the Soviet Union.

I. U.S. patrol of the Western Atlantic

- 1. April 1941, FDR started the American Neutrality Patrol.
 - The U.S. navy would search but not attack German submarines in the western half of the Atlantic, and warn British vessels of their location
- 2. The U.S. occupied Greenland (a Danish territory) in April.
- 3. In July, U.S. forces occupied Iceland (another Danish territory)
- 4. Convoys
 - a. July 1941, FDR ordered the U.S. navy to escort lend-lease shipments to Iceland; Britain would take them the rest of the way.
 - b. Many ships were still sunk by the Germans
- 5. September, FDR proclaimed a "**shoot-on-sight policy**" on German U-boats.
- 6. November, Congress proclaimed that U.S. merchant ships could now be armed and could enter combat zones with munitions for Britain
 - a. The Neutrality Law of 1939 was now obsolete.
 - b. Cause for action: German sinking of the U.S. destroyers *Kearny* and *Reuben James* in October where well over 100 U.S. sailors were lost.

VIII. The Atlantic Charter (August 1941)

A. Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941

1. The USSR thus became an unlikely ally of Britain and the U.S.
2. The invasion proved to be Hitler's undoing as he eventually had to fight a two-front war

B. A secret meeting was held between FDR & Churchill on a U.S. warship off the coast of Newfoundland

1. First of a series of conferences between the two leaders
2. The Conference was a response to Hitler's invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941

C. Atlantic Charter

1. Accepted by FDR and Churchill and endorsed by Stalin later that year.
2. Proclaimed that when the Allies won the war, there would be no territorial changes contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants (self-determination)
3. Democratic governments overthrown by Hitler and Mussolini would be restored to power
4. Called for "a permanent system of general security" (became the United Nations after the war)

D. Public reaction in the U.S. was mixed:

1. Liberals applauded the charter as they had Wilson's 14 Points during WWI
2. Isolationists condemned FDR for seemingly developing a military alliance with Great Britain.

IX. Escalating tensions between the U.S. and Japan

A. Japan's conquests in Asia led to increased tensions with the U.S.

1. The U.S. refused to recognize "Manchukuo" after Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931.
2. U.S. was concerned that Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany in 1936.
3. The U.S. condemned Japan's attack on China in 1937
 - Roosevelt's famous "Quarantine speech" in 1937 was largely aimed at Japan.
4. Japan outlined the proposed "**Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere**" which deeply concerned the U.S.
 - a. Sought a vast empire in east Asia and the Western Pacific.
 - b. Declared the Open Door policy dead and forced out American and other business interests from occupied China.
5. July 1940, Congress placed an embargo against Japan
 - a. Following the Fall of France, Japan got the right from Vichy France to build air bases and to station troops in northern

- French Indochina.
- b. The embargo targeted aviation fuel, lubricants, scrap iron and steel exports to Japan while granting an additional loan to China for its war against Japan
 - c. In December, the embargo was extended to iron ore and pig iron, some chemicals, machine tools, and other products.
6. September 1940, Japan signed the **Tripartite Pact** that created the **Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis**
- All agreed to support each other if attacked by the U.S.
7. Early 1941, FDR moved U.S. Pacific Fleet from the West Coast to Pearl Harbor to demonstrate military readiness
8. Embargo of 1941
- a. Japan gained new concession from Vichy France by obtaining military control of southern Indochina.
 - b. The U.S. froze Japanese assets in the U.S., closed the Panama Canal to Japan, activated the Philippine militia, and placed an embargo on the export of oil and other vital products to Japan.
- B. Japanese-U.S. negotiations.
- 1. Japan offered withdrawal from southern Indochina if the U.S. resumed economic relations with Japan
 - 2. The U.S. demanded Japanese withdrawal from Indochina AND China, promises not to attack any other area in western Pacific, and withdrawal from Tripartite Pact.
 - Negotiations were an attempt by U.S. to buy time to fortify the Philippines and build up the U.S. navy
 - 3. October, 1941 **Hideki Tojo**, an outspoken expansionist, became Prime Minister of Japan
 - 4. The Japanese government decided if no agreement was reached by November 25, Japan would attack the U.S.
- C. Japanese decision to attack
- 1. December 1, the decision was made after negotiations remained stalled.
 - 2. Japan felt war with the U.S. was inevitable and tried to seize the initiative rather than wait and later be in weaker position.
 - Japanese leaders believed a surprise attack would cripple the U.S. fleet and cause the U.S. to sue for peace
 - 3. Japanese war plan:
 - a. Take Dutch East Indies, Malaya, and Philippines to gain oil, metals and other raw materials.
 - b. Attack on Pearl Harbor would destroy U.S. Pacific fleet and keep it from interfering with its plans.
 - 4. U.S. experts cracked the top-secret code of the Japanese
 - a. Expected Japan to attack in early December the Dutch East Indies and Malaya.

- b. U.S. thought Japan would avoid a direct attack on the U.S. to avoid provocation.
- c. Evidence that FDR knew about the imminent attack on Pearl Harbor is unsubstantiated and misleading.

D. **Pearl Harbor--Dec. 7th, 1941** (7:55 A.M. Sunday; second wave at 8:50 A.M.)

1. Damage:

- a. Japanese sank or badly damaged all 8 battleships inside the Harbor including the *Oklahoma* and the *Arizona*.
 - Damaged 10 other ships; destroyed 188 planes
- b. Over 2,500 Americans were killed; 1,100 wounded
- c. 3 U.S. aircraft carriers escaped destruction as they were out at sea
- d. Japanese losses were much smaller

2. Roosevelt asked Congress for a Declaration of War against Japan on December 8—"a date that will live in infamy."

- Congress quickly complied with only one dissenting vote.

3. Germany and Italy declared war against the U.S. (three days later)

- a. They were allied with Japan
- b. Hitler's 3rd fatal blunder: Germany didn't have to declare war on the U.S.; FDR and Churchill now agreed to defeat "Germany first" rather than concentrating on Japan

4. U.S. increased its troops from 2 million to 12 million by 1946

Terms to Know

isolationism	Panay incident
Washington Disarmament Conference	"Quarantine" Speech
Five-Power Treaty	Neville Chamberlain
reparations	appeasement
Ruhr Crisis	pacifism
Dawes Plan	Sudetenland
Kellogg-Briand Pact	Munich Conference
Great Depression	invasion of Czechoslovakia
debt moratorium	German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact
Mexican Oil Crisis	invasion of Poland
Dwight D. Morrow	<i>Blitzkrieg</i>
Clark Memorandum	Fall of France
"Good Neighbor" policy	Battle of Britain
Montevideo Conference	German invasion of the Soviet Union
Buenos Aires Convention	Neutrality Act of 1939
Tydings-McDuffie Act	"Arsenal of Democracy" Speech
Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act	Havana Conference
Secretary of State Cordell Hull	Destroyer-Bases Deal
totalitarianism	Winston Churchill
fascism	Internationalism
Benito Mussolini	Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies
Adolf Hitler, Nazi Party	America First Committee
communism	Charles Lindbergh
Joseph Stalin	election of 1940
Japan's invasion of Manchuria	"Four Freedoms" Speech
Hoover-Stimson Doctrine	Lend-Lease Act
Tripartite Pact: Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis	"shoot on sight" policy
Italy's invasion of Ethiopia	Atlantic Charter
London Economic Conference	"Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"
Nye Committee	Tripartite Pact: Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis
Neutrality Acts	Hideki Tojo
"cash and carry"	Pearl Harbor
Spanish Civil War	
Rome-Berlin Axis	

Essay Questions

Note: This sub-unit is a high probability area for the AP exam. In the past 10 years, 4 questions have come wholly or in part from the material in this chapter. Below are some questions that will help you study the topics that have appeared on previous exams.

1. Trace the shift of American foreign policy from isolationism in the 1920s and 1930s to increased internationalism prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. What factors accounted for this shift?
2. Compare and contrast U.S. isolationism prior to World War II with U.S. isolationism prior to World War I.

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