

C. The New Deal may have helped, but it did not get the U.S. out of the depression. It would take WWII to end the Great Depression.

- i. The war solved unemployment. Massive spending during the war jacked the debt up even higher, to \$258 billion.

XXI. FDR's Balance Sheet

- A. FDR's supporters said the New Deal had avoided the Depression from being even worse than it was.
- B. FDR was hated by capitalists due to his taxation policies, but was also disliked by socialists. The New Deal may have actually *cut down* on socialism by avoiding a more radical turn to the left or right.
- C. In a very tough time, FDR provided considerable change with no revolution. Other nations (Italy, Germany) were taking very radical changes.
- D. Like Thomas Jefferson, though wealthy and of the elite class, FDR always spoke on behalf of the "forgotten man."
- E. Maybe his greatest achievement was yet to come--his leadership during WWII.

Chapter 34

Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War

I. The London Conference

- A. With the goal of coming up with an international fix to the Great Depression, the **London Conference** was set up in 1933.
- B. FDR initially planned to send Sec. of State **Cordell Hull**. Later he changed his mind and reprimanded Europe for trying to stabilize currencies.
- C. Without America's participation, the London Conference got nothing accomplished (like the League of Nations).
 - i. More importantly, America's non-participation in the conference solidified U.S. isolationist policies. In war and in the economy, the U.S. would go at it alone.

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

- A. The Philippines had been a headache ever since the U.S. took over the islands. With times hard, Americans were eager to let the Filipinos go.
 - i. American sugar growers also wanted to cut free from Filipino sugar.
 - ii. Congress passed the **Tydings-McDuffie Act** (1934) that said the Philippines would become independent after 12 years (in 1946).
- B. FDR formally recognized the Soviet Union in 1933.
 - i. His move was not popular with many Americans who didn't like acknowledging the communist nation. His motive was hopes of trade with the huge nation and perhaps check the growing power of Germany and Japan.

III. Becoming a Good Neighbor

- A. In his inaugural address, FDR affirmed America's ambition to be a "Good Neighbor" with Latin America.
- B. At the Pan-American Conference, FDR announced that the U.S. would no longer use military strength in Latin America. He singled out Teddy Roosevelt's "Big Stick Policy" as particularly bad.
 - i. The next year, 1934, the last of the U.S. Marines left Haiti. America lessened her influence in Cuba and Panama as well.
- C. Mexico, however, seized American oil properties. This was a test to see if the Good Neighbor policy was the "Push-over Policy."

- ii. Italy and Germany did help Franco. Knowing he'd soon put them to use, Hitler used the Spanish Civil War as a testing ground for his tanks and planes. Franco and the fascists won and this helped embolden the dictators, especially Hitler.
 - B. Though neutral, America didn't build up her military for defense. America actually let the navy get weaker.
 - i. Congress passed a law to build up the navy in 1938, very late in the game and only one year before WWII broke open.
- VIII. Appeasing Japan and Germany
- A. Japan invaded China in 1937. FDR did not name the action a war, however, so the Neutrality Acts were not invoked and both China and Japan could still buy American war-stuffs.
 - B. In 1937, FDR gave his "**Quarantine Speech**." In it he asked for America to quarantine the aggressors (Italy and Japan) and to morally side against them.
 - i. This was a step *away* from isolationism. When isolationists complained, FDR backed off a bit in his words.
 - C. Japan went at it again when they bombed and sank the American gunboat the *Panay*. Two were killed, 30 wounded--possible grounds for war.
 - i. Japan apologized, paid an indemnity, and the situation cooled.
 - ii. Americans in China, however, were jailed and beaten as the Japanese took out anti-American frustrations.
 - iii. The "*Panay Incident*" further supported American isolationism.
 - D. Back in Europe, Hitler was taking increasingly bold steps.
 - i. He broke the Treaty of Versailles by (1) making military service mandatory and (2) marching troops into the Rhineland region by France. Britain and France watched, but did nothing.
 - ii. Drunk on Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* about a German "master race", Nazi Germany began persecuting the Jews.
 - a) Persecution started out with restrictions on Jews, then corralling into "ghettos", then relocation into labor camps, then to death camps to carry out the "final solution."
 - b) All told, about 6 million Jews were killed in the Holocaust, about 11 million people total.
 - iii. Hitler kept up his march by taking his birth nation of Austria in 1938.
 - iv. Next he declared he wanted the **Sudetenland**, a section of Czechoslovakia inhabited mostly by Germans.
 - a) At each step, Hitler said this would be his last. Naively, Britain and France were eager to appease (give in) to Hitler.
 - b) At the **Munich Conference** (Sept. 1938) British Prime Minister **Neville Chamberlain** fell victim to Hitler's lies. Chamberlain agreed to let Hitler have the Sudetenland.
 - c) Chamberlain returned and gave his infamous claim that he'd achieved "peace in our time." True, but it proved to be a very short time.
 - d) Hitler broke his promise and took over *all* of Czechoslovakia in March of 1939.
- IX. Hitler's Belligerency and U.S. Neutrality
- A. The world was stunned on Aug. 23, 1939 when Russia and Germany signed the **Russo-German Nonaggression Pact**. In it, Stalin and Hitler promised to not fight one another. (Believing Hitler was becoming foolish and Russia got suckered here--Hitler would later break this pact.)
 - i. Without having to fear a two-front war like in WWI, the nonaggression pact opened the door for Germany attack Poland.
 - ii. Still, little was done to halt Hitler. Britain and France did finally draw one last line-in-the-sand, saying that if Poland was taken, war would start.
 - B. Hitler attacked Poland anyway on September 1, 1939, and overran the nation in only two weeks. Britain and France did declare war and WWII had begun.
 - C. America rooted for Britain and France, but was committed to neutrality.

- i. The Neutrality Acts were invoked which cut supplies to belligerents. Wanting to help Britain and France, FDR and Congress passed the **Neutrality Act of 1939** which said the U.S. would sell war materials on a "**cash-and-carry**" basis.
 - a) Cash-and-carry meant no credit and no U.S. ships hauled the stuff.
 - b) Though technically open to Germany too, the British and French navies could keep the Germans away.
 - c) The U.S. improved her moral standing with the law, but also made some bucks.

X. The Fall of France

- A. When Poland was fully under German power, there was a pause in the war as Hitler moved troops and supplies to the west for an attack on France.
 - i. The only action was when the USSR attacked Finland. The U.S. gave Finland \$30 million for nonmilitary supplies; Finland lost to Russia.
- B. The so-called "phony war" ended when Hitler suddenly (April 1940) attacked and conquered Denmark and Norway, then the Netherlands and Belgium.
 - i. The Germans used *blitzkrieg* ("lightning warfare") and hit with planes, tanks and ground troops very fast.
- C. The attack on France came very quickly and surrender came quickly, by late June of 1940.
 - i. Mussolini attacked France while she was down to get some of the booty.
 - ii. The only good news was a miraculous evacuation at Dunkirk. Pinned against the English Channel, a waters suddenly settled to an unusual calm and small boats were able to cross the channel and evacuate the troops.
- D. Americans now realized Britain was now the only major European country left standing between the U.S. and Nazi Germany.
 - i. FDR called for America to build up the military. Congress appropriated \$37 billion, a huge number.
 - ii. A conscription law was passed--America's first peacetime draft. It would train 1.2 million troops yearly and 800,000 reserves.
- E. There was concern that Germany may take the orphaned Dutch, Danish, and French colonies in Latin America. At the **Havana Conference**, it was agreed that the Europe-stay-away policy of the Monroe Doctrine would be shared by 21 American countries.

XI. Refugees from the Holocaust

- A. Adolf Hitler stirred up the old feelings of anti-Semitism (hatred of Jews).
 - i. Old violence against Jews began to reemerge in the early 1900's Germany.
 - ii. The most infamous was Kristallnacht or "night of broken glass."
 - a) Joseph Goebbels, master of Nazi propaganda, stirred up the German people into action.
 - b) Mobs raided and destroyed Jewish homes and businesses. At least 91 Jews were killed.
- B. Many Jews tried to escape.
 - i. Due to immigration restrictions, only a few Jews were allowed into the U.S. Perhaps most notable was Albert Einstein, the brilliant physicist and mathematician.
 - ii. The vast majority of Jews were not admitted into the U.S.
 - a) In one sad case, 937 Jewish passengers boarded the St. Louis and sailed to Havana, Cuba. They were not welcome.
 - b) They went to Miami and FDR seemed to open his arms, but Sec. of State Cordell Hull convinced him to not allow the immigrants.
 - c) In the end, they returned to various European nations and ultimately felt the wrath of Nazi Germany during WWII.
- C. As reports of a Jewish holocaust began to trickle in, FDR started the War Refugee Board. It saved thousands of Hungarians from the Auschwitz death camp.
- D. By the end of WWII, 6 million Jews had been killed in the Holocaust, plus 5 million others.

XII. Bolstering Britain

- A. Britain was next on Hitler's list. To attack Britain, Hitler first needed air superiority. He began bombing, but the British Royal Air Force fought back and halted Germany in the world's first all-air war, the Battle of Britain.
 - B. In America, two voices spoke to FDR on whether the U.S. should get involved:
 - i. Isolationists set up the **America First Committee**. Charles Lindbergh was a member.
 - ii. Interventionists set up the **Committee to Defend the Allies**.
 - C. Both sides campaigned their positions; FDR chose a middle route at this time.
 - i. In the **Destroyer Deal** (1940), America transferred 50 old destroyers from WWI days to Britain. In return, the U.S. got eight defensive bases in the Americas, from Newfoundland down to South America.
 - ii. The pattern (Quarantine speech, Neutrality Acts, cash-and-carry, Destroyer Deal) showed the U.S. was clearly taking steps from isolation toward intervention.
- XIII. Shattering the Two-Term Tradition (1940)
- A. 1940 was also an election year. **Wendell L. Willkie** came out of nowhere to capture the Republican nomination. Franklin Roosevelt set aside the two-term tradition, and was nominated for a third term.
 - i. Willkie criticized some of the New Deal mishandlings, but the New Deal was not the big issue anymore, the war was. On foreign affairs, there wasn't much difference between the candidates. Willkie's main point of attack was the two-term tradition which was around since George Washington.
 - ii. FDR's camp came back with, "Better a third term a third-rater" and Lincoln's old adage to not change horses midstream was still strong. FDR also promised to *not* send "boys" to "any foreign war" (which haunted him).
 - B. FDR won big again, 449 to 82.
- XIV. A Landmark Lend-Lease Law
- A. Britain needed money. FDR wanted to help, but also didn't want another WWI-like debt mess. FDR's solution would be to simply loan weapons and ships to the British. They can use them, then return them.
 - i. Senator Taft countered lending tanks would be like lending chewing gum--you don't want it back afterward.
 - B. The **Lend-Lease Bill** passed and the U.S. would become the "arsenal of democracy." By 1945, America had sent about \$50 billion worth of arms and material to the Allies.
 - C. Lend-Lease marked an almost official abandonment of isolation. Everyone realized this, from Mainstreet America to Adolf Hitler. Germany had avoided American ships 'til this point. On May 21, 1941, a German sub destroyed an American ship, the Robin Moor.
- XV. Charting a New World
- A. In June of 1941, Hitler broke his pact with Russia and invaded the USSR. Neither trusted the other, so Hitler moved to double-cross Stalin first. This was great news for the democracies. Now those two could beat up on one another.
 - B. The thinking was that the Germans would quickly defeat the Russians.
 - i. FDR sent \$1 billion to Russia to help defend Moscow. Germany made quick and early gains, but the red army slowed the Nazis until the winter set in. The Germans literally froze at the gates of Moscow.
 - C. The **Atlantic Conference** (Aug 1941) saw **Winston Churchill** of England meet with FDR in Newfoundland.
 - D. The **Atlantic Charter** was formed at the meeting and was later okayed by the Soviet Union. Oddly with the U.S. not even *in* the war, the Charter set up goals for after the war was won. The main points of the Charter were reflective of Wilson's Fourteen Points of WWI...
 - i. There would be no territorial or government changes without the people's vote (self-determination).
 - ii. Disarmament would be sought.
 - iii. A new peace-keeping organization, like the League of Nations, would be set up.

- E. Isolationists criticized the Atlantic Conference and Charter. They simply failed to see that the U.S. was no neutral anymore.
- XVI. U.S. Destroyers and Hitler's U-Boats Clash
- A. Sending war materials to Britain would be risky with German sub "wolfpacks" prowling around. FDR concluded that a convoy system would be used--merchant ships would be escorted by U.S. warships to Iceland. Then the British would take over the escorting.
- B. Incidents happened, including German attacks on the American destroyer *Greer*. FDR declared a shoot-on-sight policy.
- i. The American *Kearny* saw 11 men killed and was damaged.
 - ii. The destroyer *Reuben James* was torpedoed and sunk off of Iceland, killing over 100 Americans.
 - iii. In November of 1941, Congress stopped pretending and pulled the plug on the outdated Neutrality Act of 1939. Merchant ships could arm and enter combat zones.
- XVII. Surprise Assault at Pearl Harbor
- A. Meanwhile, Japan was marching toward their vision of an empire of the rising sun. They were still beating the Chinese.
- B. In protest of Japan's actions in China, the U.S. put an embargo on Japan. The main blow was cutting off oil, which Japan needed for its sprawling empire. Japan's solution was to attack.
- C. American code-breakers knew the Japanese were up to some no-good. The best thinking was that Japan would attack British Malaya or the Philippines.
- i. Japan certainly wouldn't try to hit Hawaii, maybe a sneak sabotage attack, but nothing foolish like an all-out attack.
- D. An all-out attack on Hawaii is what came. The **attack on Pearl Harbor** was one of the most surprising in history.
- i. The attack came in the morning of December 7, 1941 (FDR's "date which will live in infamy"). Japanese bombers caught the Americans sleepy.
 - ii. Several ships were sunk or damaged including the *U.S.S. Arizona*. 3,000 Americans were killed or wounded.
 - iii. The only good news was that the American aircraft carriers were out at sea. If they'd been destroyed, the American naval situation would've been hopeless.
- E. On December 8, the United States declared war on Japan. On December 11, Germany and Italy declared war on the U.S. and the U.S. declared war right back. War was now official.
- XVIII. America's Transformation from Bystander to Belligerent
- A. Pearl Harbor galvanized the will of America. On December 8, 1941, there was no disagreement on isolationism.
- B. America had been riding a teeter-totter for several years: wanting to stop Germany and Japan, but wanting to do it from a convenient distance. Those days were over.

Chapter 35

America in World War II

I. The Allies Trade Space for Time