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
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 7th 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 reposess 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 lobbying 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
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

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### 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

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### 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 probes 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
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
    - 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

- 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

- 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
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
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
X. The Fall of France (cont.)

• Roosevelt’s moves:
  – Called upon already debt-burdened nation to build huge air fleets 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

• 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 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

- 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
XII. Bolstering Britain (cont.)

• Argument double-barreled:
  – To interventionists—appealed for direct succor to British by such slogans as “Britain’s 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

— 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 Netherlands 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

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

- 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
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

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 Britain 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:
  — Expended 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 shrews 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

- 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 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 neutral aid that
    invited attacks from German submarines

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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

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CHRONOLOGY

- 1939: Fall of France
  - Hitler invades Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, and Belgium
  - Paris is occupied
  - Battle of Britain
  - Russo-German Pact
- 1940: Fall of France
  - Hitler attacks Soviet Union
  - Atlantic Charter
  - Japan attacks Pearl Harbor
  - British govt. evacuates to Egypt
  - Battle of Britain
  - America enters war

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