CHAPTER 34

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

PART I: REVIEWING THE CHAPTER

A. CHECKLIST OF LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After mastering this chapter, you should be able to

1. describe the isolationist motives and effects of FDR’s early foreign policies.
2. explain how American isolationism dominated U.S. policy in the mid-1930s.
3. explain how America gradually began to respond to the threat from totalitarian aggression while still trying to stay neutral.
4. describe Roosevelt’s increasingly bold moves toward aiding Britain in the fight against Hitler and the sharp disagreements these efforts caused at home.
5. discuss the events and diplomatic issues in the Japanese American conflict that led up to Pearl Harbor.

B. GLOSSARY

To build your social science vocabulary, familiarize yourself with the following terms:

1. exchange rate The monetary ratio according to which one currency is convertible into another, e.g., American dollars vis-à-vis German deutschmarks, which determines their value relative to one another. “Exchange-rate stabilization was essential to revival of world trade . . .” (p. 806)

2. militarist Someone who glorifies military values or institutions and extends them into the political and social spheres. “Yet in Tokyo, Japanese militarists were calculating that they had little to fear . . .” (p. 807)

3. totalitarianism A political system of absolute control, in which all social, moral, and religious values and institutions are put in direct service of the state. “Post-1918 chaos in Europe, followed by the Great Depression, fostered the ominous spread of totalitarianism.” (p. 809)

4. quarantine In politics, isolating a nation by refusing to have economic or diplomatic dealings with it. “. . . they feared that a moral quarantine would lead to a shooting quarantine.” (p. 812)

5. division The major unit of military organization, usually consisting of about 3,000 to 10,000 soldiers, into which most modern armies are organized. “. . . he sent his mechanized divisions crashing into Poland at dawn on September 1, 1939.” (p. 813)

6. unilateral In politics, concerning a policy or action undertaken by only one nation. “This ancient dictum [was] hitherto unilateral . . .” (p. 815)

7. multilateral In politics, referring to a policy or action undertaken by more than one nation. “Now multilateral, [the Monroe Doctrine bludgeon] was to be wielded by twenty-one pairs of American hands . . .” (p. 815)
8. steppes The largely treeless great plains of southeastern Europe and western Asia. "The two fiends could now slit each other's throats on the icy steppes of Russia." (p. 822)

9. convoy (v.) To escort militarily, for purposes of protection. (The escorting ships or troops are called a convoy.) "Roosevelt made the fateful decision to convoy in July 1941." (p. 823)

10. warlord An armed leader or ruler who maintains power by continually waging war, often against other similar rulers or local military leaders. "...Roosevelt had resolutely held off an embargo, lest he goad the Tokyo warlords..." (p. 824)

11. hara-kiri Traditional Japanese ritual suicide. "Japan's hara-kiri gamble in Hawaii paid off only in the short run." (p. 825)

PART II: CHECKING YOUR PROGRESS

A. True-False

Where the statement is true, circle T; where it is false, circle F.

1. T F Roosevelt's policy toward the 1933 London Economic Conference showed his concern for establishing a stable international economic order.

2. T F Roosevelt adhered to his Good Neighbor principle of nonintervention in Latin America even when Mexico seized American oil companies in 1938.

3. T F American isolationism was caused partly by deep disillusionment with U.S. participation in World War I.

4. T F The Neutrality Acts of the mid-1930s prevented Americans from lending money or selling weapons to warring nations and from sailing on belligerent ships.

5. T F Despite the neutrality laws, the United States provided some assistance to the democratic Spanish Loyalist government in its Civil War with the Fascistic General Franco.

6. T F America's isolationist mood began to swing toward interventionism immediately after Roosevelt's "Quarantine" speech and Japan's attack on the U.S. gunboat Panay in 1937.

7. T F The United States attempted to dissuade the Western European democracies from pursuing their policy of appeasing Hitler's aggressive demands at the Munich Conference and after.

8. T F The "cash-and-carry" Neutrality Act of 1939 allowed America to aid the Allies without making loans or transporting weapons on U.S. ships.

9. T F The fall of France to Hitler in 1940 strengthened U.S. determination to stay neutral.

10. T F Isolationists argued that economic and military aid to Britain would inevitably lead to U.S. involvement in the European war.

11. T F Republican presidential nominee Wendell Willkie joined the isolationist attack on Roosevelt's pro-Britain policy in the 1940 campaign.

12. T F The 1941 Lend-Lease Act marked the effective abandonment of U.S. neutrality and the beginning of naval clashes with Germany.

13. T F The Atlantic Charter was an agreement on future war aims signed by Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.
14. T F U.S. warships were already being attacked and sunk in clashes with the German navy before Pearl Harbor.

15. T F The focal point of conflict between the United States and Japan in the pre–Pearl Harbor negotiations was Japan’s refusal to withdraw from the Dutch East Indies.

B. Multiple Choice

Select the best answer and circle the corresponding letter.

1. Roosevelt torpedoed the London Economic Conference of 1933 because
   a. he wanted to concentrate primarily on the recovery of the American domestic economy.
   b. he saw the hand of Hitler and Mussolini behind the conference’s proposals.
   c. he was firmly committed to the gold standard.
   d. he wanted economic cooperation only between the United States and Britain, not the rest of Europe.

2. Seeking to withdraw from overseas commitments and colonial expense, the United States in 1934 promised future independence to
   a. Puerto Rico.
   b. the Virgin Islands.
   c. the Philippines.
   d. Cuba.

3. Roosevelt’s Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America included
   a. a substantial program of American economic aid for Latin American countries.
   b. a renunciation of American intervention in Mexico or elsewhere in the region.
   c. an American military presence to block German influence in Argentina and Brazil.
   d. an American pledge to transfer the Panama Canal to Panama by the year 2000.

4. The immediate response of most Americans to the rise of the Fascist dictators Mussolini and Hitler was
   a. a call for a new military alliance to contain aggression.
   b. a focus on political cooperation with Britain and the Soviet Union.
   c. support for the Spanish government against Fascist rebels.
   d. a deeper commitment to remain isolated from European problems.

5. The Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937 provided that
   a. the United States would remain neutral in any war between Britain and Germany.
   b. Americans could not sail on belligerent ships, sell munitions, or make loans to nations at war.
   c. no belligerent could conduct propaganda campaigns, sell goods, or make loans within the United States.
   d. the United States would take the lead in neutral efforts to end the wars in China and Ethiopia.

6. The effect of the strict American arms embargo during the civil war between the Loyalist Spanish government and Franco’s Fascist rebels was
   a. to encourage a negotiated political settlement between the warring parties.
   b. to strengthen the Spanish government’s ability to resist Franco.
   c. to push Britain and the Soviet Union to intervene in the Spanish Civil War.
   d. to cripple the Loyalist government while the Italians and Germans armed Franco.

7. The policy of appeasing the Fascist dictators reached its low point in 1938 when Britain and France sold out Czechoslovakia to Hitler in the conference at
   b. Versailles.
c. Munich.
d. Prague.

8. The “cash-and-carry” Neutrality Act of 1939 was cleverly designed to
   a. guarantee that American policy would not benefit either side in World War II.
   b. enable American merchants to provide loans and ships to the Allies.
   c. prepare America for involvement in the war.
   d. help Britain and France by letting them buy supplies and munitions in the United States.

9. The “destroyers-for-bases” deal of 1940 provided that
   a. the United States would give Britain fifty American destroyers in exchange for eight British
      bases in North America.
   b. the United States would give Britain new bases in North America in exchange for fifty
      British destroyers.
   c. if America entered the war it would receive eight bases in Britain in exchange for American
      destroyers.
   d. the British would transfer captured French destroyers to the United States in exchange for
      the use of American bases in East Asia.

10. The twin events that precipitated the reversal of American policy from neutrality to active, though
     nonbelligerent, support of the Allied cause were
     a. the Munich Conference and the invasion of Poland.
     b. the fall of France and the Battle of Britain.
     c. the fall of Poland and the invasion of Norway.
     d. the invasion of the Soviet Union and the German submarine attacks on American shipping.

11. In the campaign of 1940, the Republican nominee Willkie essentially agreed with Roosevelt on
     the issue of
     a. the New Deal.
     b. the third term.
     c. Roosevelt’s use of power in office.
     d. foreign policy.

12. The Lend-Lease Act clearly marked
     a. the end of isolationist opposition to Roosevelt’s foreign policy.
     b. an end to the pretense of American neutrality between Britain and Germany.
     c. a secret Roosevelt plan to involve the United States in war with Japan.
     d. the beginning of opposition in Congress to Roosevelt’s foreign policy.

13. The provisions of the Atlantic Charter signed by Roosevelt and Churchill in 1941 included
     a. self-determination for oppressed peoples and a new international peacekeeping organization.
     b. a permanent alliance between Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.
     c. a pledge to rid the world of dictators and to establish democratic governments in Germany
        and Italy.
     d. an agreement to oppose Soviet communism, but only after Hitler was defeated.

14. By the fall of 1940, American warships were being attacked by German destroyers near the coast of
     a. Spain.
     b. Ireland.
     c. Iceland.
     d. Canada.

15. The key issue in the failed negotiations with Japan just before Pearl Harbor was
     a. the refusal of the Japanese to withdraw their navy from Hawaiian waters.
     b. Americans’ insistence on their right to expand naval power in Asia.
     c. the Japanese refusal to withdraw from China.

d. the Japanese refusal to guarantee the security of the Philippines.

C. Identification
Supply the correct identification for each numbered description.

1. _______ International economic conference on stabilizing currency that was sabotaged by FDR
2. _______ Nation to which the U.S. promised independence in the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934
3. _______ FDR's repudiation of Theodore Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, stating his intention to work cooperatively with Latin American nations
4. _______ A series of laws enacted by Congress in the mid-1930s that attempted to prevent any American involvement in future overseas wars
5. _______ Conflict between the rebel Fascist forces of General Francisco Franco and the Loyalist government that severely tested U.S. neutrality legislation
6. _______ Roosevelt's 1937 speech that proposed strong U.S. measures against overseas aggressors
7. _______ European diplomatic conference in 1938 where Britain and France conceded to Hitler's demands for Czechoslovakia
8. _______ Term for the British-French policy of attempting to prevent war by granting German demands
9. _______ Leading U.S. group advocating American support for Britain in the fight against Hitler
10. _______ Leading isolationist group advocating that America focus on continental defense and non-involvement with the European war
11. _______ Controversial 1941 law that made America the "arsenal of democracy" by providing supposedly temporary military material assistance to Britain
12. _______ Communist nation invaded by Hitler in June 1941 that was also aided by American lend-lease
13. _______ U.S.-British agreement of August 1941 to promote democracy and establish a new international organization for peace
14. _______ U.S. destroyer sunk by German submarines off the coast of Iceland in October 1941, with the loss of over a hundred men
15. _______ Major American Pacific naval base devastated in a surprise attack in December 1941

D. Matching People, Places, and Events
Match the person, place, or event in the left column with the proper description in the right column by inserting the correct letter on the blank line.

1. ____ Cordell Hull a. Courageous prime minister who led Britain's lonely resistance to Hitler
2. ____ Adolf Hitler b. Leader of the "America First" organization and chief spokesman for
3. ____ Benito Mussolini
E. Putting Things in Order

Put the following events in correct order by numbering them from 1 to 5.

1. TDR puts domestic recovery ahead of international economies, torpedoes a major monetary conference
2. Western democracies try to appease Hitler by sacrificing Czechoslovakia, but his appetite for conquest remains undiminished.

3. Already engaged against Hitler in the Atlantic, the United States is plunged into World War II by a surprise attack in the Pacific.

4. The fall of France pushes FDR into providing increasingly open aid to Britain.

5. Japan invades China and attacks an American vessel, but the United States sticks to its neutrality principles.

**F. Matching Cause and Effect**

Match the historical cause in the left column with the proper effect in the right column by writing the correct letter on the blank line.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ___ FDR's refusal to support international economic cooperation in the 1930s</td>
<td>a. Thrust the United States into an undeclared naval war with Nazi Germany in the North Atlantic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ___ Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy</td>
<td>b. Prompted FDR to make his &quot;Quarantine Speech,&quot; proposing strong action against aggressors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ___ Bad memories of World War I and revelations about arms merchants</td>
<td>c. Brought new respect for the United States and for democracy in Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ___ The U.S. Neutrality Acts of the 1930s</td>
<td>d. Shook the United States into enacting conscription and making the &quot;destroyers-for-bases&quot; deal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ___ Japanese aggression against China in 1937</td>
<td>e. Forced Japan to either accept U.S. demands regarding China or go to war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ___ Hitler's invasion of Poland</td>
<td>f. Caused the United States to institute a &quot;cash-and-carry&quot; policy for providing aid to Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ___ The fall of France in 1940</td>
<td>g. Deepened the worldwide Depression and aided the rise of Fascist dictators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ___ Willkie's support for FDR's pro-British foreign policy</td>
<td>h. Actually aided Fascist dictators in carrying out their aggressions in Ethiopia, Spain, and China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ___ The U.S. embargo on oil and other supplies to Japan</td>
<td>i. Promoted U.S. isolationism and the passage of several Neutrality Acts in the mid-1930s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ___ Roosevelt's decision to convoy lend-lease shipments</td>
<td>j. Kept the 1940 presidential campaign from becoming a bitter national debate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
G. Developing Historical Skills

Reading Text for Sequence and Context

In learning to read for and remember the historical sequence of events, it is often helpful to look for the context in which they occurred.

In the first list below are several major events discussed in the chapter. The second list contains the immediate contexts in which those events occurred. First, link the event to the appropriate context by putting a number from the bottom list to the right of the proper event. Then put the event-with-context in the proper sequence by writing numbers 1 to 7 in the spaces to the left.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Destroyer-for-bases deal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Atlantic Charter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good Neighbor policy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pearl Harbor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lend-lease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Munich Conference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Context

1. Failure of U.S.–Japanese negotiations
2. Decline of U.S. investment in Latin America
3. Nye Hearings and Italy’s invasion of Ethiopia
4. Britain’s near-defeat from German bombing
5. The fall of France
6. Hitler’s threats to go to war
7. Hitler’s invasion of Russia

H. Map Mastery

Map Discrimination

Using the maps and charts in Chapter 35, answer the following questions:

1. *Presidential Election of 1940*: In the 1940 election, how many electoral votes did Willkie win west of the Mississippi River?

2. *Presidential Election of 1940*: How many electoral votes did Willkie win east of the Mississippi River?

3. *Main Flow of Lend-Lease Aid*: Which continent received the most U.S. lend-lease aid?
4. *Main Flow of Lend-Lease Aid:* Which nation received lend-lease aid by way of both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans?

**PART III: APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED**

1. How and why did the United States attempt to isolate itself from foreign troubles in the early and mid-1930s?

2. Discuss the effects of the U.S. neutrality laws of the 1930s on both American foreign policy and the international situation in Europe and East Asia.

3. How did the Fascist dictators' continually expanding aggression gradually erode the U.S. commitment to neutrality and isolationism?

4. How did Roosevelt manage to move the United States toward providing effective aid to Britain while slowly undercutting isolationist opposition?

5. Was American entry into World War II with both Germany and Japan inevitable? Is it possible the U.S. might have been able to fight either Germany or Japan, while avoiding armed conflict with the other?

6. How did the process of American entry into World War II compare with the way the country got into World War I? (See Chapter 30.) How were the Neutrality Acts aimed at the conditions of 1914–1917, and why did they prove ineffective under the conditions of the 1930s?

7. Argue for or against: America's foreign policy from 1933 to 1939 was fundamentally shaped by domestic issues and concerns, particularly the Great Depression.

8. Isolationists and hostile critics in 1940-41 and even after World War II charged Franklin Roosevelt with deliberately and sometimes deceitfully manipulating events and public opinion so as to lead the United States into war. What factual basis, if any, is there for such a charge? Which of Roosevelt's words and actions tend to refute it?