

UNIT

8

Global Struggles

1931–1960

Why It Matters

The rise of dictatorships in the 1930s led to World War II, the most destructive war in the history of the world. After the war, the fragile alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union collapsed into the Cold War—a period of intense political, economic, and military competition. Learning about the events of this crucial period in our nation’s history will help you understand the events occurring in the nation and around the world today. The following resources offer more information about this period in American history.

Primary Sources Library

See pages 1054–1055 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 8.

 Use the **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** to find additional primary sources about global struggles.



Dog tags



American soldier
in World War II





*“More than an end to war,
we want an end to the
beginning of all wars.”*

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1945



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CHAPTER

24

A World in Flames 1931–1941

Why It Matters

After World War I, Europe was unstable. Fascists led by Benito Mussolini seized power in Italy, and Adolf Hitler and the Nazis took control of Germany. Meanwhile, Japan expanded its territory in Asia. As the Nazis gained power, they began a campaign of violence against Jews. When Germany attacked Poland, World War II began. The United States clung to neutrality until Japan attacked Pearl Harbor.

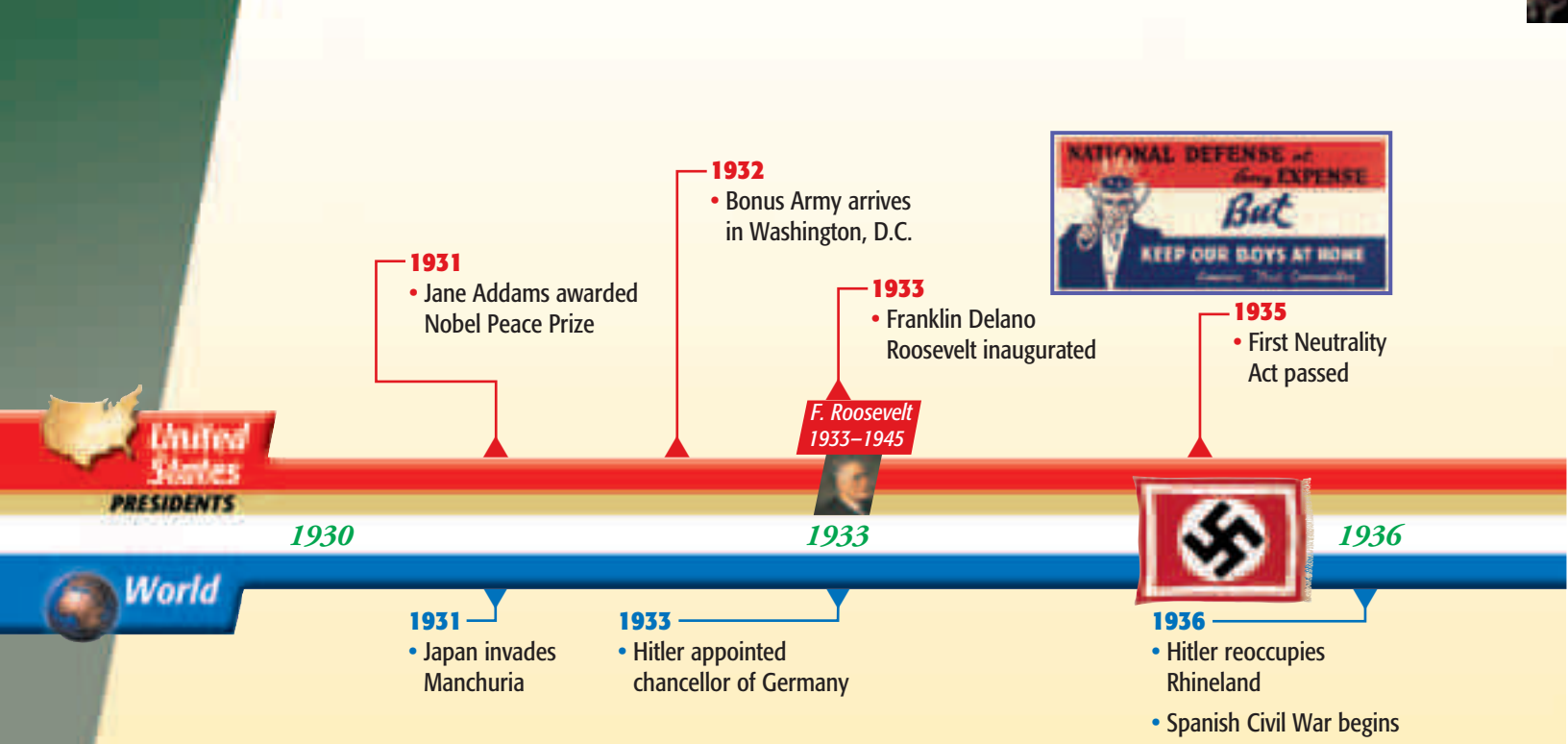
The Impact Today

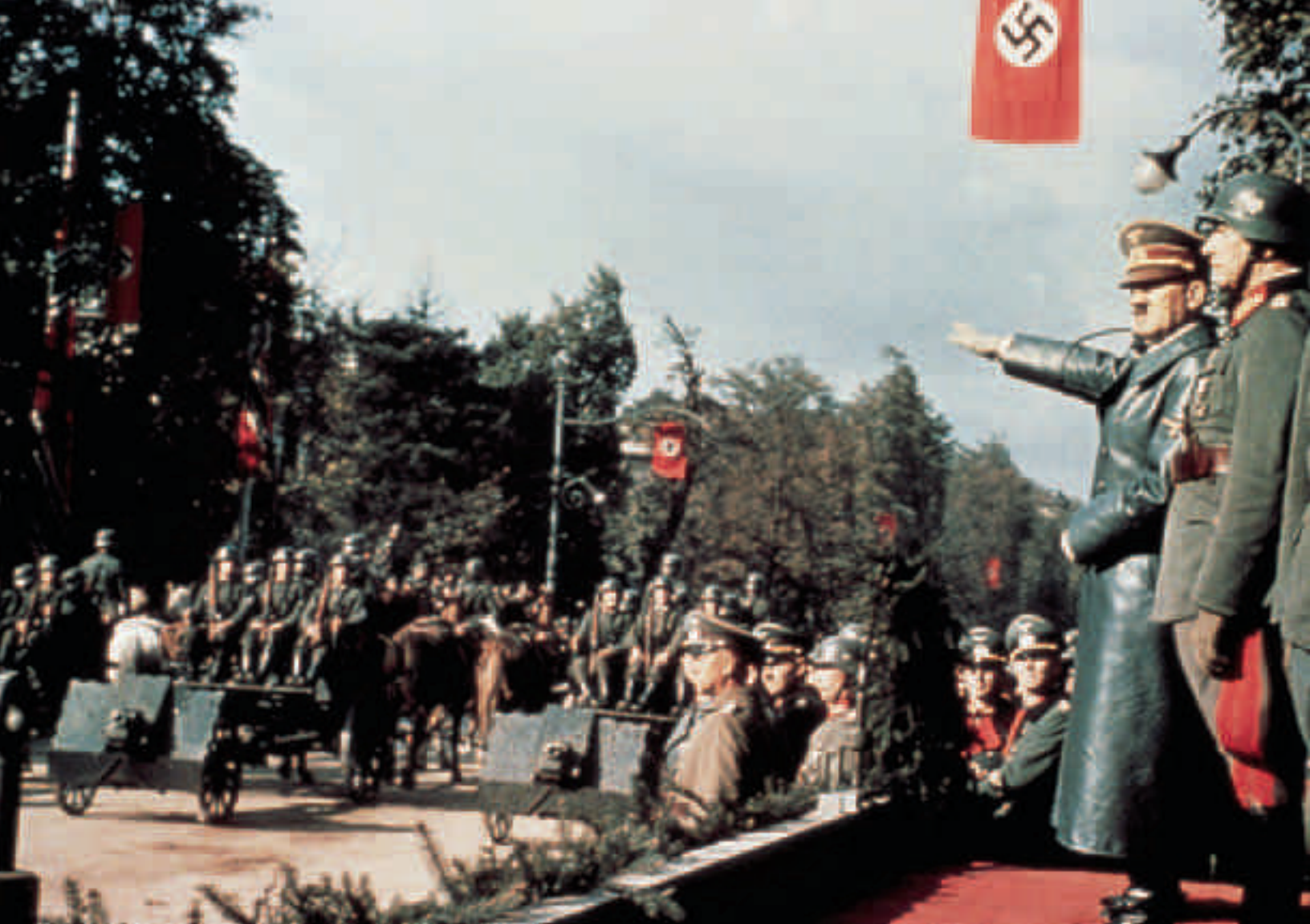
European events of this time serve as lessons for American leaders.

- The danger of ethnic and religious prejudice is more readily recognized than it was before.
- Many American leaders believe that international aggression cannot be ignored.



The American Vision Video The Chapter 24 video, "Holocaust Stories," presents firsthand accounts from survivors of the Holocaust.





German chancellor Adolf Hitler reviews a parade of Nazi troops.



1937

- Neutrality Act limits trade with all warring nations

1939

- SS *St. Louis* denied permission to dock in United States

1940

- Roosevelt makes "destroyers-for-bases" deal with Britain

1941

- Roosevelt and Churchill coauthor Atlantic Charter

December 7, 1941

- Japan attacks Pearl Harbor



HISTORY Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 24** to preview chapter information.

CLICK HERE

1939

1942

1938

- Munich Conference appeases Hitler

1939

- World War II begins with Hitler's attack on Poland

1940

- France falls to the Nazis



CONTENTS

SECTION 1 America and the World

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

In the years following World War I, aggressive and expansionist governments took power in both Europe and Asia.

Key Terms and Names

Benito Mussolini, fascism, Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Adolf Hitler, Manchuria, Neutrality Act of 1935, internationalism

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about the events in Europe and Asia after World War I, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

America and the World
I. The Rise of Dictators
A.
B.
C.
D.
II.

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** how postwar conditions contributed to the rise of antidemocratic governments in Europe.
- **Explain** why many Americans supported a policy of isolationism in the 1930s.

Section Theme

Global Connections German and Japanese actions in the 1930s led President Roosevelt to work to prevent aggression.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Dorothy Thompson

In August 1934, American journalist Dorothy Thompson received an urgent call from the porter at her Berlin hotel. A member of Germany's secret state police wanted to talk to her. Thompson had been reporting on Adolf Hitler's rise to power, and she had written various anti-Nazi articles for the American press. In one she described the beautiful singing she had heard at a Hitler youth camp, where thousands of boys ages 10 to 16 marched and sang. The boys' lovely voices echoing across the hills stirred Thompson, but the words on an enormous banner hanging across one hillside chilled her:

“It was so prominent that every child could see it many times a day. It was white, and there was a swastika painted on it, and besides that only seven words, seven immense black words: YOU WERE BORN TO DIE FOR GERMANY.”

When Thompson met with the police, they ordered her to leave Germany immediately. “I, fortunately, am an American,” Thompson observed, “so I was merely sent to Paris. Worse things can happen to one.”

—quoted in *The Women Who Wrote the War*

The Rise of Dictators

Less than 20 years before the dictatorial German government expelled Dorothy Thompson, the future of democracy in Europe seemed bright. When World War I ended in 1918, President Woodrow Wilson had announced, “Everything for which America fought has been accomplished.” Wilson had hoped that the United States could “aid in

the establishment of just democracy throughout the world.” Instead, the treaty that ended the war, along with the economic depression that followed, contributed to the rise of antidemocratic governments in both Europe and Asia.

Mussolini and Fascism in Italy One of Europe’s first major dictatorships arose in Italy. There, a former schoolmaster and journalist named **Benito Mussolini** returned from World War I convinced that his country needed a strong leader.

In 1919 Mussolini founded Italy’s Fascist Party. **Fascism** was a kind of aggressive nationalism. Fascists believed that the nation was more important than the individual. They argued that individualism made countries weak and that a strong government led by a dictator was needed to impose order on society. Fascists believed a nation became great by expanding its territory and building up its military.

Fascism was also strongly anticommunist. After the Communist revolution in Russia, many Europeans feared that Communists, allied with labor unions, were trying to bring down their governments. Mussolini exploited these fears by portraying fascism as a bulwark against the Communists. Fascism began to stand for the protection of private property and of the middle class. Mussolini also offered the working class full employment and social security. He stressed national prestige, pledging to return Italy to the glories of the Roman Empire.

Backed by the Fascist militia known as the Blackshirts, Mussolini threatened to march on Rome in 1922, claiming he was coming to defend Italy against a Communist revolution. Liberal members of the Italian parliament insisted that the king declare martial law. When he refused, the cabinet resigned. Conservative advisers then persuaded the king to appoint Mussolini as the premier.

Once in office, Mussolini worked quickly to destroy democracy and set up a dictatorship. Weary of strikes and riots, many Italians welcomed Mussolini’s leadership. With the support of industrialists, landowners, and the Roman Catholic Church, Mussolini—who took the title of *Il Duce*, or “The Leader”—embarked on an ambitious program of bringing order to Italy.

Stalin Takes Over the USSR The Communists were a much larger force in Russia than in Italy. After the Russian Revolution began in 1917, the Bolshevik Party, led by **Vladimir Lenin**, established Communist governments throughout the Russian empire. In 1922 they renamed these territories the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). They then proceeded to establish control over these territories. To

do this, the Communists instituted one-party rule, suppressed individual liberties, and punished opponents. After Lenin died in 1924, a power struggle began. By 1926, **Joseph Stalin** had become the new Soviet dictator. In 1927 Stalin began a massive effort to industrialize his country. Tolerating no opposition, the effort brought about the deaths of 8 to 10 million peasants who resisted the Communist policies.

Hitler and Nazism in Germany **Adolf Hitler** was a fervent anticommunist and an admirer of Mussolini. Hitler had fought for Germany in World War I. Germany’s surrender and the subsequent Versailles Treaty left him and many other Germans with a smoldering hatred for the victorious Allies and for the German government that had accepted the peace terms.

The political and economic chaos in postwar Germany led to the rise of new political parties. One of these was the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, or the **Nazi Party**. The party did not represent the working class, as its name suggested, but was nationalistic and anticommunist. Adolf Hitler was one of the party’s first recruits.

In November 1923, the Nazis tried to seize power by marching on city hall in Munich, Germany. Hitler intended to seize power locally

Picturing History

Supreme Soviets Joseph Stalin (right) took over control of the Soviet Union after Lenin’s death in 1924. He was determined to modernize and industrialize his nation. [How many people died while opposing Stalin’s leadership?](#)



and then march on Berlin, the German capital, but the plan failed and Hitler was arrested.

While in prison, Hitler wrote his autobiography, titled *Mein Kampf* (“My Struggle”). In the book, Hitler called for the unification of all Germans under one government. He claimed that Germans, particularly blond, blue-eyed Germans, belonged to a “master race” called Aryans. He argued that Germans needed more lebensraum, or living space, and called for Germany to expand east into Poland and Russia. According to Hitler, the Slavic people of Eastern Europe belonged to an inferior race, which Germans should enslave. Hitler’s racism was strongest, however, toward Jews. He believed that Jews were responsible for many of the world’s problems, especially for Germany’s defeat in World War I.

After his release from prison, Hitler changed his tactics. Instead of trying to seize power violently, he focused on getting Nazis elected to the Reichstag, the lower house of the German parliament. When the Great Depression struck Germany, many desperate Germans began to vote for radical parties, including the Nazis and Communists. By 1932 the Nazis were the largest party in the Reichstag.

Many traditional German leaders supported Hitler’s nationalism. They believed that if they helped Hitler become leader of Germany legally, they could control him. In 1933 the German president appointed Hitler as chancellor, or prime minister.

After taking office, Hitler called for new elections. He then ordered the police to crack down on the Socialist and Communist Parties. Storm Troopers, as

the Nazi paramilitary units were called, began intimidating voters. After the election, the Reichstag, dominated by the Nazis and other right-wing parties, voted to give Hitler dictatorial powers. In 1934 Hitler became president, which gave him control of the army. He then gave himself the new title of *führer*, or “leader.” The following year, he began to rebuild Germany’s military, in violation of the Treaty of Versailles.

Militarists Gain Control of Japan In Japan, as in Germany, difficult economic times helped undermine the political system. Japanese industries had to import nearly all of the resources they needed to produce goods. During the 1920s, Japan did not earn enough money from its exports to pay for its imports, which limited economic growth and increased unemployment. When the Depression struck, other countries raised their tariffs. This made the situation even worse.

Many Japanese military officers blamed the country’s problems on corrupt politicians. Most officers believed that Japan was destined to dominate East Asia. Many also believed that democracy was “un-Japanese” and bad for the country.

Japanese military leaders and the civilians who supported them argued that the only way for Japan to get needed resources was to seize territory. They targeted the resource-rich province of **Manchuria** in northern China as the perfect place to conquer.

A group of Japanese officers decided to act without the government’s permission. In September 1931, the Japanese army invaded Manchuria. After the invasion began, the Japanese government tried to end the war, but when the Japanese prime minister began negotiations, officers assassinated him. From that point forward, the military was effectively in control. Although Japan still had a civilian government, it now supported the nationalist policy of expanding the empire, and it appointed several military officers to serve as prime minister.

✓ Reading Check

Examining How did postwar conditions contribute to the rise of dictatorships in Europe?

Picturing History

Meeting of Minds Mussolini and Hitler are shown here meeting in October 1940. [What beliefs did they share?](#)



America Turns to Neutrality

The rise of dictatorships and militarism after World War I discouraged many Americans. The sacrifices they had made during the war seemed pointless. Once again, Americans began to support isolationism, or the belief that the United States should avoid international commitments that might drag the nation into another war.

The Nye Committee Isolationist ideas became even stronger in the early 1930s for two reasons. When the Depression began, many European nations found it difficult to repay money they had borrowed during World War I. In June 1934, all of the debtor nations except Finland announced they would no longer repay their war debts.

At about the same time, dozens of books and articles appeared arguing that arms manufacturers had tricked the United States into entering World War I. In 1934 Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota held hearings to investigate the country's involvement in World War I. The **Nye Committee** documented the huge profits that arms factories had made during the war. The report created the impression that these businesses influenced the United States to go to war. The European refusal to repay their loans and the Nye Committee's findings turned even more Americans toward isolationism.

Legislating Neutrality Worried that growing German and Italian aggression might lead to war, Congress passed the **Neutrality Act of 1935**. Based on the belief that arms sales had helped bring the United States into World War I, the act made it illegal for Americans to sell arms to any country at war.

In 1936 a rebellion erupted in Spain after a coalition of Republicans, Socialists, and Communists was elected. General **Francisco Franco** led the rebellion. Franco was backed by the Falangists, or Spanish Fascists, army officers, landowners, and Catholic Church leaders.

The revolt quickly became a civil war and attracted worldwide attention. The Soviet Union provided arms and advisers to the government forces, while Germany and Italy sent tanks, airplanes, and soldiers to help Franco. To keep the United States neutral, Congress passed another neutrality act, banning the sale of arms to either side in a civil war.

Shortly after the **Spanish Civil War** began in 1936, Hitler and Mussolini signed an agreement pledging to cooperate on several international issues. Mussolini referred to this new relationship with Germany as the Rome-Berlin Axis. The following



Picturing History

Anti-Fascist Propaganda Spanish general Francisco Franco led the Fascist rebellion that received support from Hitler and Mussolini. This poster translates to “The claw of the Italian invader intends to make slaves of us.” [How did the United States respond to these events?](#)

month, Japan aligned itself with Germany and Italy when it signed the **Anti-Comintern Pact** with Germany. The pact required the two countries to exchange information about Communist groups. Together Germany, Italy, and Japan became known as the **Axis Powers**, although they did not formally become allies until September 1940.

With the situation in Europe getting worse, Congress passed the Neutrality Act of 1937. This act continued the ban on selling arms to nations at war, but it also required warring countries to buy nonmilitary supplies from the United States on a “cash-and-carry” basis. If a country at war wanted goods from the United States, it had to send its own ships to pick up the goods, and it had to pay cash. Loans were not allowed. Isolationists knew that attacks on neutral American ships carrying supplies to Europe had helped bring the country into World War I. They were determined to prevent it from happening again.

GOVERNMENT

Roosevelt and Internationalism When he took office in 1933, President Roosevelt declared that “our international relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy.” Roosevelt knew that ending the Depression was his first priority, but he was not an isolationist. He supported **internationalism**, the idea that trade between nations creates prosperity and helps to prevent war. Internationalists also believed the United States should try to preserve peace in the world.

Roosevelt supported internationalism but knew that the public wanted neutrality. He warned that the neutrality acts “might drag us into war instead of keeping us out,” but he did not veto the bills. Isolationism was too strong to resist.

In July 1937, Japanese forces in Manchuria launched a full-scale attack on China. Roosevelt decided to help the Chinese. Since neither China nor Japan had actually declared war, Roosevelt claimed the Neutrality Act of 1937 did not apply, and he authorized the sale of weapons to China. He warned that the nation should not stand by and let an “epidemic of lawlessness” infect the world:

“When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community . . . joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease. . . . War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. . . . There is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality. . . .”

—quoted in *Freedom from Fear*



Picturing History

Imperial Expansion In 1931 Japan occupied the northeast Chinese province of Manchuria. In 1937 the Japanese invaded all of China, prompting FDR to authorize the sale of arms to the Chinese Army. [How did Roosevelt justify his actions in light of the Neutrality Act?](#)

Despite Roosevelt’s words, Americans were still not willing to risk another war to stop aggression overseas. “It is a terrible thing,” the president said, “to look over your shoulder when you are trying to lead—and find no one there.”

Reading Check Evaluating Why did many Americans support isolationism?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

1. **Define:** **fascism**, **internationalism**.
2. **Identify:** Benito Mussolini, Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Adolf Hitler, Manchuria, Neutrality Act of 1935.
3. **Explain** why isolationism was strong in the United States in the early 1930s.

Reviewing Themes

4. **Global Connections** What events caused President Roosevelt to become more of an internationalist?

Critical Thinking

5. **Interpreting** Why did antidemocratic governments rise to power in postwar Europe and Asia?
6. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to compare the antidemocratic governments that arose in Europe and Asia.

Country	Dictator	Ideology

Analyzing Visuals

7. **Analyzing Art** Study the Spanish Civil War era propaganda poster reproduced on page 711. Without being told the phrase, how would you be able to discover the poster’s meaning?

Writing About History

8. **Persuasive Writing** Write a newspaper editorial urging fellow citizens to embrace either isolationism or internationalism after World War I. Be certain to include reasons your readers should back a specific position.

SECTION 2 World War II Begins

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

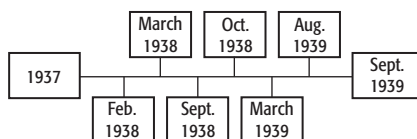
World War II officially began with the Nazi invasion of Poland and the French and British declaration of war on Germany in September 1939.

Key Terms and Names

Anschluss, appeasement, blitzkrieg, Maginot Line, Winston Churchill, Battle of Britain

Reading Strategy

Sequencing As you read about the events leading up to the beginning of World War II, record them by completing a time line similar to the one below.



Reading Objectives

- **Explain** why Hitler was able to take over Austria and Czechoslovakia.
- **Describe** the early events of the war and why Britain was able to resist the Nazis.

Section Theme

Continuity and Change The desire of the French and British to avoid another war helped encourage Hitler's aggression in Europe.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Sumner Welles

In February 1940, President Franklin Roosevelt sent Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles to Europe to report on the political situation. A few months earlier, Germany had invaded Poland, and Roosevelt hoped to negotiate peace before wider hostilities erupted.

In Italy Welles found Mussolini intent on war and judged that “there was not the slightest chance of any successful negotiation.” In Paris Welles glumly noted the “sullen apathy” in people’s faces and concluded that France had little will to resist a German onslaught. After speaking to Hitler, Welles concluded that a negotiated peace settlement was impossible: “It was only too tragically plain that all decisions had already been made.” In London, Welles did not feel the sense of doom he had in Paris. The British, he reported, would “fight to the very last ditch.” Welles later reflected on his mission:

“Only one thing could have deflected Hitler from his purpose: the sure knowledge that the power of the United States would be directed against him if he attempted to carry out his intention of conquering the world by force. . . . At that time no representative of this government could have been authorized to intimate any such thing. . . . My mission, therefore, was a forlorn hope.”

—quoted in *Roosevelt and Churchill*

“Peace in Our Time”

Whether or not the United States could have forced Hitler to negotiate is uncertain. By 1940 the German army had been rebuilt, and Hitler was bent on conquest. What is known is that in the years before Welles visited Europe, when the Nazi regime was



Appeasement in Action At Munich in September 1938, Mussolini (second from left), Britain's Neville Chamberlain (left), and Hitler (second from right) were among those deciding Czechoslovakia's fate.

much weaker, European leaders did not try to stop Hitler. Instead, they vainly tried to buy peace by giving in to his demands.

Europe's leaders had several reasons for believing—or wanting to believe—that Hitler could be satisfied and war avoided. First, the shadow of World War I loomed large, making many leaders fearful of another bloody conflict. Second, some thought Hitler's demand that all German-speaking regions of Europe be united with Germany was reasonable. Third, many people assumed that the Nazis would be more interested in peace once they gained more territory.

The Austrian *Anschluss* Hitler's first demands concerned Austria and Czechoslovakia. In late 1937 Hitler stepped up his call for the unification of all German-speaking people, including those in Austria and Czechoslovakia. Seizing Austria and Czechoslovakia would also gain food supplies, defensible frontiers, and soldiers for Germany. Hitler believed that Germany could only expand its territory by “resort[ing] to force with its attendant risks.”

In February 1938 Hitler threatened to invade German-speaking Austria, his native land, unless Austrian Nazis were given important government posts. Austria's chancellor quickly gave in to this demand. Several weeks later, the chancellor tried to put the matter of unification with Germany to a democratic vote. Fearing the outcome, Hitler sent troops into Austria in March and announced the *Anschluss*, or unification, of Austria and Germany.

The Munich Crisis and Appeasement Shortly after Germany annexed Austria, Hitler announced German claims to the Sudetenland, an area of Czechoslovakia with a large German-speaking

population. Since Austrians shared a common culture and language with Germany, many people had accepted the *Anschluss*. In Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, people spoke several different languages. In addition, while Austria had an authoritarian government, Czechoslovakia was a democracy. Furthermore, Austria had no allies to help it defend itself, but Czechoslovakia was allied with France and the Soviet Union.

The Czechs strongly resisted Germany's demands for the Sudetenland. France threatened to fight if Germany attacked, and the Soviet Union also promised assistance. British prime minister **Neville Chamberlain** publicly promised to support France, Britain's ally.

To prevent another war, representatives of Britain, France, Italy, and Germany agreed to meet in Munich to decide Czechoslovakia's fate. At the Munich Conference on September 29, 1938, Britain and France agreed to Hitler's demands, a policy that came to be known as **appeasement**. Appeasement is the policy of giving concessions in exchange for peace. Supporters of appeasement mistakenly believed that Hitler had a few limited demands. They felt that if they gave Hitler what he wanted, he would be satisfied and war would be avoided. Czechoslovakia was informed that it must give up the Sudetenland or fight Germany on its own.

Chamberlain had gambled that sacrificing part of Czechoslovakia would satisfy Hitler. He also knew that Britain's military was not ready for war, so he was buying time. When Chamberlain returned home he promised “a peace with honor . . . peace in our time,” but he also began to speed up British rearmament.

The following March, in brazen violation of the Munich agreement, Germany sent troops into Czechoslovakia and broke up the country. Slovakia became independent in name, but it was actually a satellite state under German control. The Czech lands became a German protectorate.

Danzig and the Polish Corridor After the Munich conference, Hitler turned his sights on Poland. In October 1938 he demanded the return of Danzig, a Baltic Sea port with strong German roots, to German control. Although Danzig was more than 90 percent German, it had been separated from Germany at the end of World War I to give Poland access to the sea. Hitler also requested a highway and railroad across the Polish Corridor, which separated western Germany from the German state of East Prussia.

Hitler's demands on Poland convinced the British and French that appeasement had failed. On March 31,

1939, the British announced that if Poland went to war to defend its territory, Britain and France would come to its aid. This encouraged the Polish government to refuse Hitler's demands.

In May 1939, Hitler ordered the German army to prepare to invade Poland. He also ordered his foreign minister to begin negotiations with the USSR. If Germany was going to fight Britain and France, Hitler did not want to have to fight the Soviets too.

The Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact When German officials proposed a nonaggression treaty to the Soviets, Stalin agreed. He believed the best way to protect the USSR was to turn the capitalist nations against each other. If the treaty worked, Germany would go to war against Britain and France, and the USSR would be safe.

On August 23, 1939, Germany and the USSR signed the nonaggression pact. The Nazi-Soviet pact shocked the world. Communism and Nazism were supposed to be totally opposed to each other. Leaders in Britain and France understood, however,

that Hitler had made the deal to free himself for war against their countries and Poland. What they did not know was that the treaty also contained a secret deal between Germany and the Soviet Union to divide Poland between them.

Reading Check Explaining What were three reasons European leaders agreed to a policy of appeasement?

The War Begins

On September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland from the west, and soon after the Soviets invaded from the east. On September 3, Britain and France declared war on Germany, marking the start of World War II.

Blitzkrieg in Poland Poland bravely resisted Germany's onslaught, but to no avail. The Germans used a new type of warfare called **blitzkrieg**, or lightning war. Blitzkrieg used large numbers of massed tanks to break through and rapidly encircle enemy



positions. Supporting the tanks were waves of aircraft that bombed enemy positions and dropped paratroopers to cut their supply lines. Blitzkrieg depended on radios to coordinate the tanks and aircraft. The Polish army was unable to cope with the German attack. On September 27, the Polish capital of Warsaw fell to the Germans. By October 5, 1939, the Polish army had been defeated.

GEOGRAPHY

The Fall of France In contrast to the war in Poland, western Europe remained eerily quiet. The Germans referred to this situation as the *sitzkrieg*, or sitting war. The British called it the “Bore War,” while American newspapers nicknamed it the “Phony War.” The British had sent troops to France, but both countries remained on the defensive, waiting for the Germans to attack.

After World War I, the French had built a line of concrete bunkers and fortifications called the **Maginot Line** along the German border. Rather than risk their troops by attacking, the French preferred to wait behind the Maginot Line for the Germans to approach. Unfortunately, this decision allowed Germany to concentrate on Poland first before turning west to face the British and French.

After taking Poland, Hitler and his generals decided to attack Norway and Denmark before invading France. Germany’s industry depended on iron ore from Sweden that had to be shipped down Norway’s coast part of the year. If the British sent

troops to Norway, they could block the iron shipments. On April 9, 1940, the attack began, and within a month, Germany controlled both countries.

With his northern flank secure, Hitler turned his attention to France. Hitler planned to go around the Maginot Line, which protected France’s border with Germany but not France’s border with Belgium and Luxembourg. To get around the Maginot Line, the Germans would have to invade the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg first—which is exactly what they did. On May 10, Hitler launched a new blitzkrieg in the west. While German troops parachuted into the Netherlands, an army of tanks rolled into Belgium and Luxembourg.

The British and French had expected the German attack. As soon as it began, British and French forces raced north into Belgium. This was a mistake. Instead of sending their tanks through the open countryside of central Belgium, the Germans sent their main force through the Ardennes Mountains of Luxembourg and eastern Belgium. The French did not think that large numbers of tanks could move through the mountains, and they had left only a few troops to defend that part of the border. The Germans easily smashed through the French lines, then raced west across northern France to the English Channel. The British and French armies were still in Belgium and could not move back into France quickly enough. They were now trapped in Belgium.

The Miracle at Dunkirk After trapping the Allied forces in Belgium, the Germans began to drive them toward the English Channel. The only hope for Britain and France was to evacuate their surviving troops by sea, but the Germans had captured all but one port, **Dunkirk**, a small town in northern France near the Belgian border.

As German forces closed in on Dunkirk, Hitler suddenly ordered them to stop. No one is sure why he gave this order. Historians know that Hitler was nervous about risking his tank forces, and he wanted to wait until more infantry arrived. Hermann Goering, the head of the German air force, was also assuring Hitler that aircraft alone could destroy the trapped soldiers. There is also some evidence that Hitler thought that the British would be more willing to accept peace if the Germans did not humiliate them by destroying their forces at Dunkirk.

Whatever Hitler’s reasons, his order provided a three-day delay. This gave the British time to strengthen their lines and begin the evacuation. Some 850 ships of all sizes, from navy warships to small sailboats operated by civilian volunteers, headed to

Fact

Fiction

Folklore

The Battle of Dunkirk Hitler’s invasion of Poland fueled the fears of Americans who preferred not to become involved in Europe’s conflict. In contrast, the evacuation from Dunkirk less than a year later generated very different reactions. For example, soon after the evacuation, the *New York Times* wrote:

“So long as the English tongue survives, the word Dunkirk will be spoken with reverence. For in that harbor, in such a hell as never blazed on earth before, at the end of a lost battle, the rages and blemishes that have hidden the soul of democracy fell away. There, beaten but unconquered, in shining splendor, she faced the enemy.”

Indeed, the Battle of Dunkirk would soon help to lift the United States out of its isolationism.



NATIONAL
GEOGRAPHIC

MOMENT in HISTORY

NEVER GIVE IN

Few photographs capture the British resolve to keep a stiff upper lip better than this one. Night after night between September 1940 and May 1941, German warplanes rained bombs on London, Coventry, and other British cities. The attacks were intended to destroy British morale and war production, but Royal Air Force pilots shot down bombers faster than Germany could replace them. Plucky British civilians, like this milkman making his rounds through a debris-strewn London street, remained determined to carry on as usual each morning.



Dunkirk from England. The British had hoped to rescue about 45,000 troops. Instead, when the evacuation ended on June 4, an estimated 338,000 British and French troops had been saved. This stunning success led British newspapers to refer to the evacuation as the “Miracle at Dunkirk.”

The evacuation had its price, however. Almost all of the British army’s equipment remained at Dunkirk—90,000 rifles, 7,000 tons of ammunition, and 120,000 vehicles. If Hitler invaded Britain, it would be almost impossible to stop him from conquering the country.

Three weeks later, on June 22, 1940, Hitler accepted the French surrender in the same railway car in which the Germans had surrendered at the end of World War I. Germany now occupied much of northern France and its Atlantic coastline. To govern the rest of the country, Germany installed a puppet government at the town of Vichy and made Marshal Philippe Pétain the new government’s figurehead leader. Pétain predicted that Britain “will have her neck wrung like a chicken.”

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** Why was Germany able to overtake Poland?

Britain Remains Defiant

Neither Pétain nor Adolf Hitler anticipated the bravery of the British people or the spirit of their leader, **Winston Churchill**, who had replaced Neville Chamberlain as prime minister. Hitler fully expected the British to negotiate peace after France surrendered. For Winston Churchill, however, peace was not an option. The war was a fight to defend civilization. On June 4, 1940, Churchill delivered a defiant speech in Parliament, intended not only to rally the British people but to alert the isolationist United States to Britain’s plight:

“Even though large tracts of Europe have fallen . . . we shall not flag or fail. . . . We shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.”

—quoted in *Freedom from Fear*

When Hitler realized that Britain would not surrender, he ordered his commanders to prepare to invade. Only the choppy waters of the narrow




In June 1940, the German air force, called the *Luftwaffe*, began to attack British shipping in the English Channel. Then, in mid-August, the *Luftwaffe* launched an all-out air battle to destroy the British Royal Air Force. This air battle, which lasted into the fall of 1940, became known as the **Battle of Britain**.

On August 23, German bombers accidentally bombed London, the British capital. This attack on civilians enraged the British, who responded by bombing Berlin the following night. For the first time in the war, bombs fell on the German capital. Infuriated, Hitler ordered the *Luftwaffe* to stop its attacks on British military targets and to concentrate on bombing London.

Hitler's goal now was to terrorize the British people into surrendering. The British people endured, however, hiding out in the city's subway tunnels whenever German bombers appeared.

Although the Royal Air Force was greatly outnumbered, the British had one major advantage. They had developed a new technology called radar. Using radar stations placed along their coast, the British were able to detect incoming German aircraft and direct British fighters to intercept them.

Day after day, the British fighters inflicted more losses on the Germans than they suffered. The skill of a few hundred pilots saved Britain from invasion. Praising the pilots, Churchill told Parliament, "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." On October 12, 1940, Hitler cancelled the invasion of Britain.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** Why was Britain able to resist Hitler and the Nazis?

Picturing History

Never Surrender Hitler ordered Nazi aircraft to bomb British cities, intending to weaken the people's will. Though shaken, the British, like the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral (right), stood firm. **What technology allowed the outnumbered Royal Air Force to resist the German *Luftwaffe*?**

English Channel separated Britain from Germany's powerful army, but getting across the Channel posed a major challenge. Germany had few transport ships, and the British air force would sink them if they tried to land troops in England. To invade, therefore, Germany first had to defeat the British air force.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

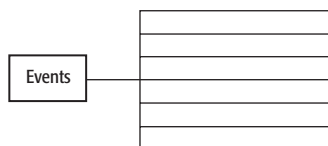
- Define:** *appeasement*, *blitzkrieg*.
- Identify:** *Anschluss*, Maginot Line, Winston Churchill, Battle of Britain.
- Explain** why Hitler was able to take over Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Reviewing Themes

- Continuity and Change** How did the policy of appeasement affect France and Great Britain?

Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** Why were the British able to prevent the Germans from invading their country?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the early events of the war in Poland and western Europe.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photographs on pages 717 and 718. How do they reflect the British resolve to "never surrender"?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Using library or Internet resources, find more information on the German annexation of Czechoslovakia. Use the information to write a report detailing the events leading up to and including the annexation. Share your report with the class.

SECTION 3 The Holocaust

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

The Nazis believed Jews to be subhuman. They steadily increased their persecution of Jews and eventually set up death camps and tried to kill all the Jews in Europe.

Key Terms and Names

Holocaust, Shoah, Nuremberg Laws, Wannsee Conference, concentration camp, extermination camp

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the Holocaust, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing examples of Nazi persecution of German Jews.

Examples of Persecution	_____

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** Nazi prejudices against Jews and early persecution of German Jews.
- **Explain** the methods Hitler used to try to exterminate Europe's Jewish population.

Section Theme

Civic Rights and Responsibilities The Nazis systematically deprived Jews of their rights, while other nations refused to accept many Jewish refugees.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Mira Ryczke



Mira Ryczke was born in 1923 to a middle-class Jewish family in Danzig, Poland, a port on the Baltic Sea. After World War II broke out in September 1939, the Nazis expelled Danzig's Jews to Warsaw, where they were forced to live in deplorable conditions in a special area known as the Warsaw ghetto. In 1943 the Nazis emptied the Warsaw ghetto. The Ryczkes had to ride for three days in a suffocating cattle car headed for Auschwitz, the infamous Nazi death camp, and its neighboring camp of Birkenau.

After arriving at the camps, the terrified newcomers learned that a selection was to take place. When 20-year-old Mira asked what the selection was for, an old-time prisoner pointed to chimneys on top of a building and replied, "Selected for the gas chambers to go up in smoke." Mira later wrote:

“[W]e were told by the old-timers to try to look strong, healthy, and to walk in an upright position when our turn came. . . . Because the women I was with were young, only a few were taken out. Their numbers, tattooed on their left arms, were written down by the SS, and after a few days during roll call, their tattoo numbers were called out and these women were marched to the gas chamber.”

—quoted in *Echoes from the Holocaust*

Nazi Persecution of the Jews

Mira Ryczke and her family were only a few of the millions of Jews who suffered terrible persecution before and during World War II. During the **Holocaust**, the catastrophe that ravaged Europe's Jews, the Nazis killed nearly 6 million Jews. The Nazis also killed

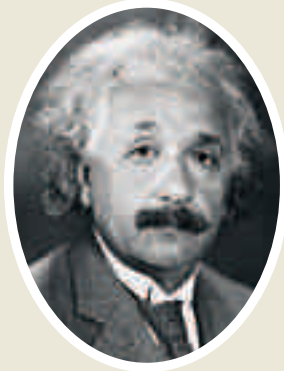
Profiles IN HISTORY

Albert Einstein 1879–1955

Among the Jews who left Nazi Germany in the early 1930s was Albert Einstein, whose brilliant scientific theories revolutionized physics. Einstein gained international fame in 1919 when the Royal Society of London announced that calculations had supported his general theory of relativity. Einstein's fame increased after he won the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1921. Lecture invitations poured in from around the world.

Einstein never actively practiced Judaism, but he did proudly identify himself as a Jew. As anti-Semitism took hold in Germany, Einstein's worldwide fame contrasted with the insults he faced in Berlin for practicing "Bolshevism [Communism] in physics." His public support for Zionism, the right of Jews to settle in Palestine (later Israel), aroused further anger among Nazis.

Soon after Hitler became Germany's chancellor in 1933, Einstein renounced his citizenship and left Germany for Belgium. Fears for his life prompted friends to take him secretly by private



yacht to England. He later settled in Princeton, New Jersey.

A pacifist who had opposed World War I, Einstein ironically saw his scientific ideas applied to the creation of a powerful and destructive weapon, the atomic bomb. After the United States detonated the first atomic bomb in combat over Hiroshima, Japan, in 1945, Einstein devoted his final years to promoting pacifism. The scientist's greatest legacy, however, would be the revolutionary scientific discoveries he had made in the early 1900s. As Einstein himself had observed, "Politics are for the moment. An equation is for eternity."

millions of people from other groups they considered inferior. The Hebrew term for the Holocaust is **Shoah**, meaning "catastrophe," but it is often used specifically to refer to the Nazi campaign to exterminate the Jews during World War II.

Nazi Ideology Once the Nazis took power in Germany, they acted swiftly to implement the political racial policies Hitler had outlined in *Mein Kampf*. Although the Nazis persecuted anyone who dared oppose them, as well as the disabled, Gypsies, homosexuals, and Slavic peoples, they reserved their strongest hatred for the Jews. This loathing went far beyond the European anti-Semitism common at the time. Over the centuries, people who were prejudiced against Jews had put down Jewish religious practices and discriminated against Jews in many ways. For example, Jews were sometimes segregated in ghettos or prohibited from owning land. For the Nazis, however, all Jewish

people were evil no matter what their religion, occupation, or education.

The Nuremberg Laws After the Nazis took power, they quickly moved to deprive German Jews of many rights that all citizens had long taken for granted. In September 1935 the **Nuremberg Laws** took citizenship away from Jewish Germans and banned marriage between Jews and other Germans. Two months later, another decree defined a Jew as a person with at least one Jewish grandparent and prohibited Jews from holding public office or voting. Other laws forbade Jews from employing female German servants under age 35 and compelled Jews with German-sounding names to adopt "Jewish" names. Soon the passports of Jews were marked with a red "J" to clearly identify them as Jewish.

By the summer of 1936, at least half of Germany's Jews were jobless, having lost the right to work as civil servants, journalists, farmers, teachers, and actors. In 1938 the Nazis also banned Jews from practicing law and medicine and from operating businesses. With no source of income, life became very difficult.

Despite worsening conditions, many Jews chose to remain in Germany during the early years of Nazi rule. Well integrated into German society before this time, they were reluctant to leave and give up the lives they had built there. Many also thought that conditions would surely improve after a time. In fact, they soon became worse.

Kristallnacht On November 7, 1938, a young Jewish refugee named Herschel Grynszpan shot and killed a German diplomat in Paris. Grynszpan's father and 10,000 other Jews had been deported from Germany to Poland, and the distraught young man was seeking revenge for this act and for the persecution of the Jews in general.

In retaliation for the killing, an infuriated Hitler ordered his minister of propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, to stage attacks against the Jews that would appear to be a spontaneous popular reaction to news of the murder. On the night of November 9, this plan played out in a spree of destruction.

In Vienna a Jewish child named Frederick Morton watched in terror that night as 10 young Nazi Storm Troopers broke into his family's apartment:

“They yanked out every drawer in every one of our chests and cupboards, and tossed each in the air. They let the cutlery jangle across the floor, the clothes scatter, and stepped over the mess to fling the next drawer. . . . ‘We might be back,’ the leader said. On the way out he threw our mother-of-pearl ashtray over his shoulder, like confetti. We did not speak or move or breathe until we heard their boots against the pavement.”

— quoted in *Facing History and Ourselves*

The anti-Jewish violence that erupted throughout Germany and Austria that night came to be called *Kristallnacht*, or “night of broken glass,” because broken glass littered the streets afterward. When daylight came, more than 90 Jews lay dead, hundreds were badly injured, and thousands more were terrorized. The Nazis had forbidden police to interfere while roving bands of thugs destroyed 7,500 Jewish businesses and wrecked over 180 synagogues.

The lawlessness of *Kristallnacht* did not end with the dawn. Following that night of violence, the **Gestapo**, the government's secret police, arrested at least 20,000 wealthy Jews, releasing them only if they agreed to emigrate and surrender all their

possessions. The state also confiscated insurance payments owed to Jewish owners of ruined businesses.

The week after *Kristallnacht*, Nazi interior minister Hermann Goering added insult to injury by fining the Jewish community to pay for the damage. “German Jewry,” he proclaimed “shall, as punishment for their abominable crimes . . . have to make a contribution for one billion marks. . . . I would like to say that I would not like to be a Jew in Germany.”

Jewish Refugees Try to Flee *Kristallnacht* and its aftermath marked a significant escalation in the Nazi policy of persecution against the Jews. Many Jews, including Frederick Morton's family, decided that it was time to leave and fled to the United States. Between 1933, when Hitler took power, and the start of World War II in 1939, some 350,000 Jews escaped Nazi-controlled Germany. These emigrants included prominent scientists such as Albert Einstein and businesspeople like Otto Frank, who resettled his family in Amsterdam in 1933. Otto's daughter **Anne Frank** would later keep a diary of her family's life in hiding after the Nazis overran the Netherlands.

By 1938 the American consulate in Stuttgart, Germany, had a backlog of over 100,000 visa applications from Jews trying to leave Germany and come to the United States. Following the Nazi *Anschluss*, 3,000 Austrian Jews each day applied for American visas. Many never received visas to the United States

The Final Solution

Before the war, a Jewish family in Germany poses for a photograph during a family outing. Few members of this family would survive the war.

On *Kristallnacht*, roaming bands of thugs destroyed Jewish property and menaced Jewish families throughout Germany.



CONTENTS

or to the other countries where they applied. As a result, millions of Jews remained trapped in Nazi-dominated Europe.

Several factors limited Jewish immigration to the United States. First, Nazi orders prohibited Jews from taking more than about four dollars out of Germany. Second, many countries refused to accept Jewish immigrants. In the United States, laws restricted granting a visa to anyone “likely to become a public charge.” American customs officials tended to assume that this applied to Jews since Germany had forced them to leave any wealth behind. High unemployment rates in the 1930s also made immigration politically unpopular. Few Americans wanted to raise immigration quotas, even to accommodate European refugees. The existing immigration policy allowed only a total of 150,000 immigrants annually, with a fixed quota from each country. The law permitted no exceptions for refugees or victims of persecution.

At an international conference on refugees in 1938, several European countries, the United States, and Latin America stated their regret that they could not take in more of Germany’s Jews without raising their immigration quotas. Meanwhile, Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels announced that “if there is any country that believes it has not enough Jews, I shall gladly turn over to it all our Jews.” Hitler also declared himself “ready to put all these criminals at the disposal of these countries . . . even on luxury ships.”

As war loomed in 1939, many ships departed from Germany crammed with Jews desperate to escape. Some of their visas, however, had been forged or sold illegally, and Mexico, Paraguay, Argentina, and Costa Rica all denied access to Jews with such documents. So too did the United States.

On May 27, 1939, the *SS St. Louis* entered the harbor in Havana, Cuba, with 930 Jewish refugees on board. Most of these passengers hoped to go to the United States eventually, but they had certificates improperly issued by Cuba’s director of immigration giving them permission to land in Cuba. When the ships arrived in Havana, the Cuban government, partly in response to anti-Semitic sentiment stirred up by Nazi propaganda, revoked the certificates and refused to let the refugees come ashore. For several days, the ship’s captain steered his ship in circles off the coast of Florida, awaiting official permission to dock at a United States port. Denied such permission, the ship turned back toward Europe on June 6. The forlorn passengers finally disembarked in France, Holland, Belgium, and Great Britain. Within two years, the first three of these countries fell under Nazi domination. Many of the refugees brought to these countries aboard the *SS St. Louis* perished in the Nazis’ “final solution.”

 **Reading Check** **Analyzing** Why did many Jews remain in Germany even though they were persecuted?



The Final Solution

After the war broke out, the Nazis methodically deprived Jews of their rights, confining many to overcrowded ghettos. After weeks of fierce resistance, Jews in the Warsaw ghetto were rounded up for deportation to concentration camps in May 1943.



The Final Solution

On January 20, 1942, 15 Nazi leaders met at the **Wannsee Conference**, held in a Berlin suburb, to determine the “final solution of the Jewish question.” Previous “solutions” had included rounding up Jews, Gypsies, and Slavs from conquered areas, shooting them, and piling them into mass graves. Another method required forcing Jews and other “undesirables” into trucks and then piping in exhaust fumes to kill them. These methods, however, had proven too slow and inefficient for the Nazis.

At Wannsee, the Nazis made plans to round up Jews from the vast areas of Nazi-controlled Europe and take them to detention centers known as **concentration camps**. There, healthy individuals would work as slave laborers until they dropped dead of exhaustion, disease, or malnutrition. Most others, including the elderly, the infirm, and young children, would be sent to **extermination camps**, attached to many of the concentration camps, to be executed in massive gas chambers.

Concentration Camps The Nazis had established their first concentration camps in 1933 to jail political opponents. After the war began, the Nazis built concentration camps throughout Europe.

Buchenwald, one of the first and largest concentration camps, was built near the town of Weimar in

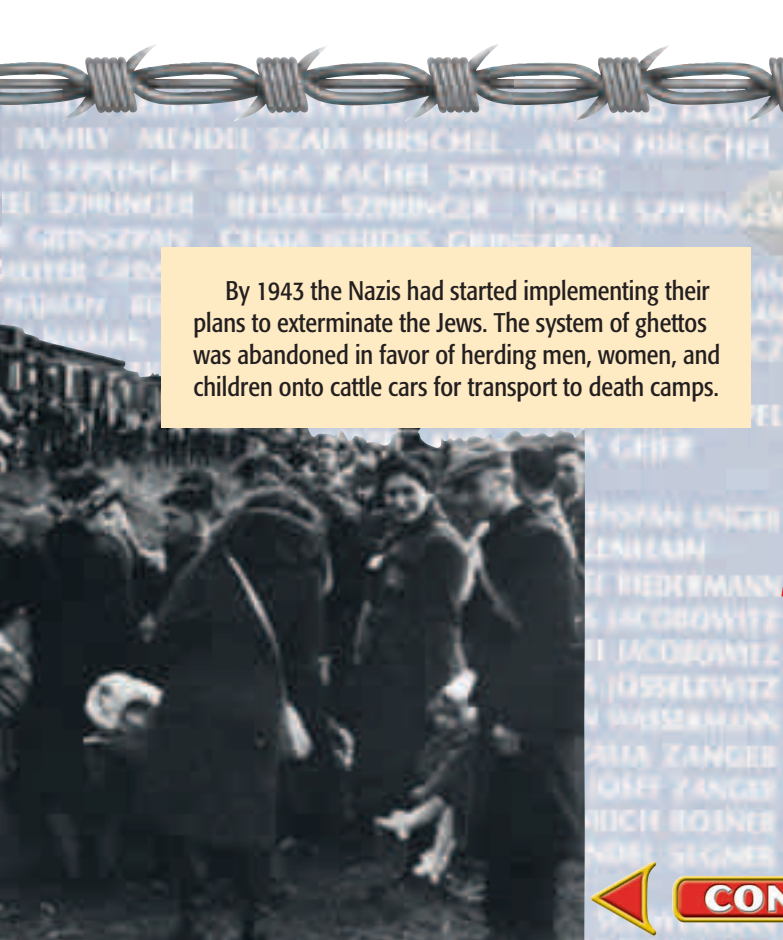
Germany in 1937. During its operation, over 200,000 prisoners worked 12-hour shifts as slave laborers in nearby factories. Though Buchenwald had no gas chambers, hundreds of prisoners died there every month as a result of exhaustion and the horrible living conditions.

Leon Bass, a young American soldier, described viewing a barracks in Buchenwald at the end of the war. Built to hold 50 people, the room had housed more than 150, with bunks built almost to the ceiling. Bass recalled:


“I looked at a bottom bunk and there I saw one man. He was too weak to get up; he could just barely turn his head. He was skin and bones. He looked like a skeleton; and his eyes were deep set. He didn’t utter a sound; he just looked at me with those eyes, and they still haunt me today.”

—quoted in *Facing History and Ourselves*

Extermination Camps After the Wannsee Conference, the Nazis built extermination facilities in a number of the concentration camps, mostly in Poland, to kill Jews more efficiently. At these camps, including the infamous Treblinka and Auschwitz, Jews were the Nazis’ main victims. **Auschwitz** alone housed about 100,000 people in 300 prison barracks. Its gas chambers, built to kill 2,000 people at a time, sometimes gassed 12,000 people in a day. Of the



By 1943 the Nazis had started implementing their plans to exterminate the Jews. The system of ghettos was abandoned in favor of herding men, women, and children onto cattle cars for transport to death camps.



When the war ended, Allied troops managed to liberate the few surviving inmates of the death camps—many of whom were too shocked to believe they were being freed.



Geography Skills

- Interpreting Maps** What country had the highest number of Jews in its population killed?
- Applying Geography Skills** A relatively low percentage of Italy's Jewish population died in the Holocaust. From this information, how would you compare Fascists and Nazis in terms of their Jewish policies?

In only a few years, Jewish culture, which had existed in Europe for over 1,000 years, had been virtually obliterated by the Nazis in the lands they conquered. Despite exhaustive debate, there is still great controversy about why and

how an event so horrifying as the Holocaust could have occurred. No consensus has been reached, but most historians point to a number of factors: the German people's sense of injury after World War I; severe economic problems; Hitler's control over the German nation; the lack of a strong tradition of representative government in Germany; German fear of Hitler's secret police; and a long history of anti-Jewish prejudice and discrimination in Europe.

estimated 1,600,000 people who died at Auschwitz, about 1,300,000 were Jews. The other 300,000 were Poles, Soviet prisoners-of-war, and Gypsies. Upon arrival at Auschwitz, healthy prisoners such as Mira Ryczke were selected for slave labor. Elderly or disabled people, the sick, and mothers and children went immediately to the gas chambers, after which their bodies were burned in giant crematoriums. In her memoirs, Ryczke described "columns of people marching slowly toward the gas chambers" and "the horrible stench in the air—the smell of burning human flesh. I have never forgotten that smell."

how an event so horrifying as the Holocaust could have occurred. No consensus has been reached, but most historians point to a number of factors: the German people's sense of injury after World War I; severe economic problems; Hitler's control over the German nation; the lack of a strong tradition of representative government in Germany; German fear of Hitler's secret police; and a long history of anti-Jewish prejudice and discrimination in Europe.

Reading Check Summarizing What methods did Hitler use to try to exterminate Europe's Jewish population?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** Holocaust, concentration camp, extermination camp.
- Identify:** Shoah, Nuremberg Laws, Wannsee Conference.
- List** the groups of people who were persecuted by the Nazis.

Reviewing Themes

- Civic Rights and Responsibilities** Do you think the German people or other nations could have prevented the Holocaust? Why or why not?

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** What are some factors that attempt to explain the Holocaust?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the methods used to try to exterminate Europe's Jewish population.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photographs of the Final Solution on pages 721–723. How do the photographs show the systematic destruction of Jewish life?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of a person living in Germany during *Kristallnacht*. Write a diary entry describing the events of that night. Include a description of the events during the days following *Kristallnacht* as well.

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

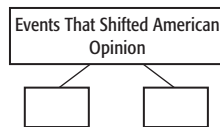
After World War II began, the United States attempted to continue its prewar policy of neutrality.

Key Terms and Names

America First Committee, Lend-Lease Act, hemispheric defense zone, Atlantic Charter, strategic materials

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the efforts of the United States to stay neutral in the war, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by naming two events that shifted American opinion toward helping the Allies.

**Reading Objectives**

- **Explain** how Roosevelt helped Britain while maintaining official neutrality.
- **Trace** the events that led to increasing tensions, and ultimately war, between the United States and Japan.

Section Theme

Individual Action Even while the United States was officially neutral, President Roosevelt found ways to help the British fight Germany.

Preview of Events

★ **An American Story** ★

Daniel Inouye after joining the U.S. Army's 442nd Infantry

December 7, 1941, dawned like any other Sunday in Hawaii, where teenager Daniel Inouye lived with his family. Like other Americans who lived through the experience, Inouye would never forget what he was doing the moment American isolationism ended:

“As soon as I finished brushing my teeth and pulled on my trousers, I automatically clicked on the little radio that stood on the shelf above my bed. I remember that I was buttoning my shirt and looking out the window . . . when the hum of the warming set gave way to a frenzied voice. ‘This is no test,’ the voice cried out. ‘Pearl Harbor is being bombed by the Japanese!’”

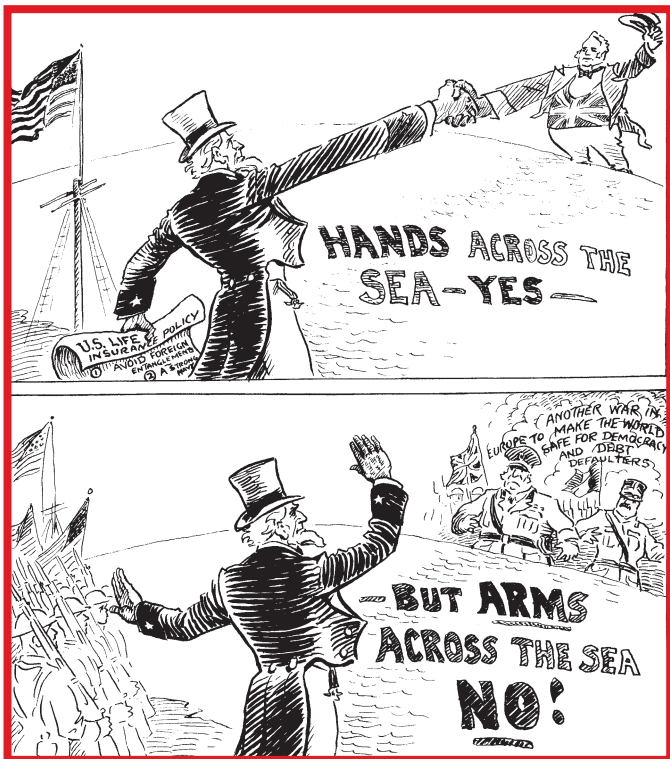
The Inouye family ran outside and gazed toward the naval base at Pearl Harbor:

“And then we saw the planes. They came zooming up out of that sea of gray smoke, flying north toward where we stood and climbing into the bluest part of the sky, and they came in twos and threes, in neat formations, and if it hadn’t been for that red ball on their wings, the rising sun of the Japanese Empire, you could easily believe that they were Americans, flying over in precise military salute.”

—quoted in *Eyewitness to America*

FDR Supports England

The Japanese attack surprised many Americans. Most people had believed that Germany posed the greatest danger. What Americans did not realize was that the causes of the Japanese attack could be traced back more than two years to President Roosevelt’s policies for helping Britain against Germany.



Analyzing Political Cartoons

Peace Above All Many Americans were willing to help European democracies but did not want to sell them arms. **In what ways did the United States assist these nations?**

The Neutrality Act of 1939 President Roosevelt officially proclaimed the United States neutral two days after Britain and France declared war on Germany. Despite this declaration, he was determined to do all he could to help the two countries in their struggle against Hitler. Soon after the war began, Roosevelt called Congress into a special session to revise the neutrality laws. He asked Congress to eliminate the ban on arms sales to nations at war. Public opinion strongly supported the president. Congress passed the new law, but isolationists demanded a price for the revision. Under the Neutrality Act of 1939, warring nations could buy weapons from the United States only if they paid cash and carried the arms on their own ships.

Destroyers-for-Bases Deal In the spring of 1940, the United States faced its first test in remaining neutral. In May British Prime Minister Winston Churchill began asking Roosevelt to transfer old American destroyers to Britain. Britain had lost nearly half its destroyers and needed more to protect its cargo ships from German submarines and to block any German attempt to invade Britain.

Determined to give Churchill the destroyers, Roosevelt used a loophole in the provision of the Neutrality Act that required cash for purchases. In exchange for the right to build American bases on British-controlled Newfoundland, Bermuda, and islands in the Caribbean, Roosevelt sent 50 old American destroyers to Britain. Since the deal did not involve an actual sale, the Neutrality Act did not apply. On September 3, 1940, he announced his action to an astonished press.

Reading Check **Examining** How were the Neutrality Acts revised?

The Isolationist Debate

Widespread public acceptance of the destroyers-for-bases deal demonstrated a marked change in American public opinion. The shift began after the German invasion of France and the rescue of Allied forces at Dunkirk. By July 1940 most Americans favored offering limited aid to the Allies.

The Range of Opinion American opinion was hardly unanimous. In fact, beginning in the spring of 1940, a spirited debate took place between people who wanted greater American involvement in World War II and those who felt that the United States should remain neutral.

At one extreme was the Fight for Freedom Committee, a group which urged the repeal of all neutrality laws and wanted stronger action against Germany. Closer to the center, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, headed by journalist William Allen White, pressed for increased American aid to the Allies but opposed armed intervention.

Roosevelt's destroyers-for-bases deal led to the founding of the **America First Committee**, a staunchly isolationist group that firmly opposed any American intervention or aid to the Allies. The group had many famous members, including aviator Charles Lindbergh, former governor Philip LaFollette, and Senator Gerald Nye.

The Election of 1940 The heated debate over neutrality took place in the midst of the 1940 presidential election campaign. For months Americans had wondered whether President Roosevelt would follow long-standing tradition by retiring at the end of his second term. With the United States in a precarious position, a change of leaders might not be in the country's best interest. Roosevelt decided to run for an unprecedented third term.

During the campaign, FDR steered a careful course between neutrality and intervention. The Republican nominee, Wendell Willkie, did the same, promising that he too would stay out of the war but assist the Allies. The voters re-elected Roosevelt by a wide margin, preferring to stick with a president they knew during this crisis period.

 **Reading Check** **Analyzing** Why did Roosevelt win an unprecedented third term in office?

Edging Toward War

With the election safely over, Roosevelt expanded the nation's role in the war. Britain was fighting for democracy, he said, and the United States had to help. Speaking to Congress, he listed the "Four Freedoms" for which both the United States and Great Britain stood: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

 (See page 1075 for an excerpt from this speech.)

The Lend-Lease Act By December 1940, Great Britain had run out of funds to wage its war against Germany. President Roosevelt came up with a way to remove the cash requirement of the Neutrality Act. With the **Lend-Lease Act**, the United States would be able to lend or lease arms to any country considered "vital to the defense of the United States." This act meant that the United States could send weapons to Britain if Britain promised to return or pay rent for them after the war.

The president warned that if Britain fell, an "unholy alliance" of Germany, Japan, and Italy would keep trying to conquer the world, and then "all of us in all the Americas would be living at the point of a gun." The president argued that the United States should become the "great arsenal of democracy" to keep the British fighting and make it unnecessary for Americans to go to war.

The America First Committee disagreed, but Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act by a wide margin. By the time the program ended, the United States had contributed more than \$40 billion in weapons, vehicles, and other supplies to the Allied war effort.

While shipments of supplies to Britain began at once, lend-lease aid eventually went to the Soviet Union as well. After calling off the invasion of Britain, Hitler returned to his original goal of carving out lebensraum for Germany in eastern Europe. In June 1941, in violation of the Nazi-Soviet pact, Hitler launched a massive invasion of the Soviet Union. Although Churchill detested communism and

considered Stalin a harsh dictator, he vowed that any person or state "who fights against Nazism will have our aid." Roosevelt, too, supported this policy.

The Hemispheric Defense Zone Congressional approval of the Lend-Lease Act did not solve the problem of how to get American arms and supplies to Britain. German submarines patrolling the Atlantic Ocean were sinking hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping each month, and the British navy simply did not have enough ships in the Atlantic to stop them.

Roosevelt could not simply order the U.S. Navy to protect British cargo ships, since the United States was still technically neutral. Instead, he developed the idea of a **hemispheric defense zone**. Roosevelt declared that the entire western half of the Atlantic was part of the Western Hemisphere and therefore neutral. He then ordered the U.S. Navy to patrol the western Atlantic and reveal the location of German submarines to the British.

The Atlantic Charter In August 1941 Roosevelt and Churchill met face-to-face on board American and British warships anchored near Newfoundland. During these meetings, the two men agreed on the text of the **Atlantic Charter**. It committed the two

Picturing History

Neutrality Debate The America First Committee strongly opposed the increasingly weak neutrality of the United States. Here an American soldier confronts an isolationist marching outside the White House. [How did the Lend-Lease Act further weaken the nation's official neutrality?](#)



leaders to a postwar world of democracy, non-aggression, free trade, economic advancement, and freedom of the seas. Churchill later said that FDR pledged to “force an ‘incident’ . . . which would justify him in opening hostilities” with Germany.

An incident quickly presented itself. In early September a German U-boat fired on the American destroyer *Greer*, which had been radioing the U-boat’s position to the British. Roosevelt promptly responded by ordering American ships to follow a “shoot-on-sight” policy toward German submarines.

The Germans escalated hostilities the following month, targeting two American destroyers. One of them, the *Reuben James*, broke in two after being torpedoed. It sank into the frigid waters of the North Atlantic, where 115 sailors died. As the end of 1941 grew near, Germany and the United States continued a tense standoff in the North Atlantic.

Reading Check **Evaluating** How did the Lend-Lease Act help the Allied war effort?

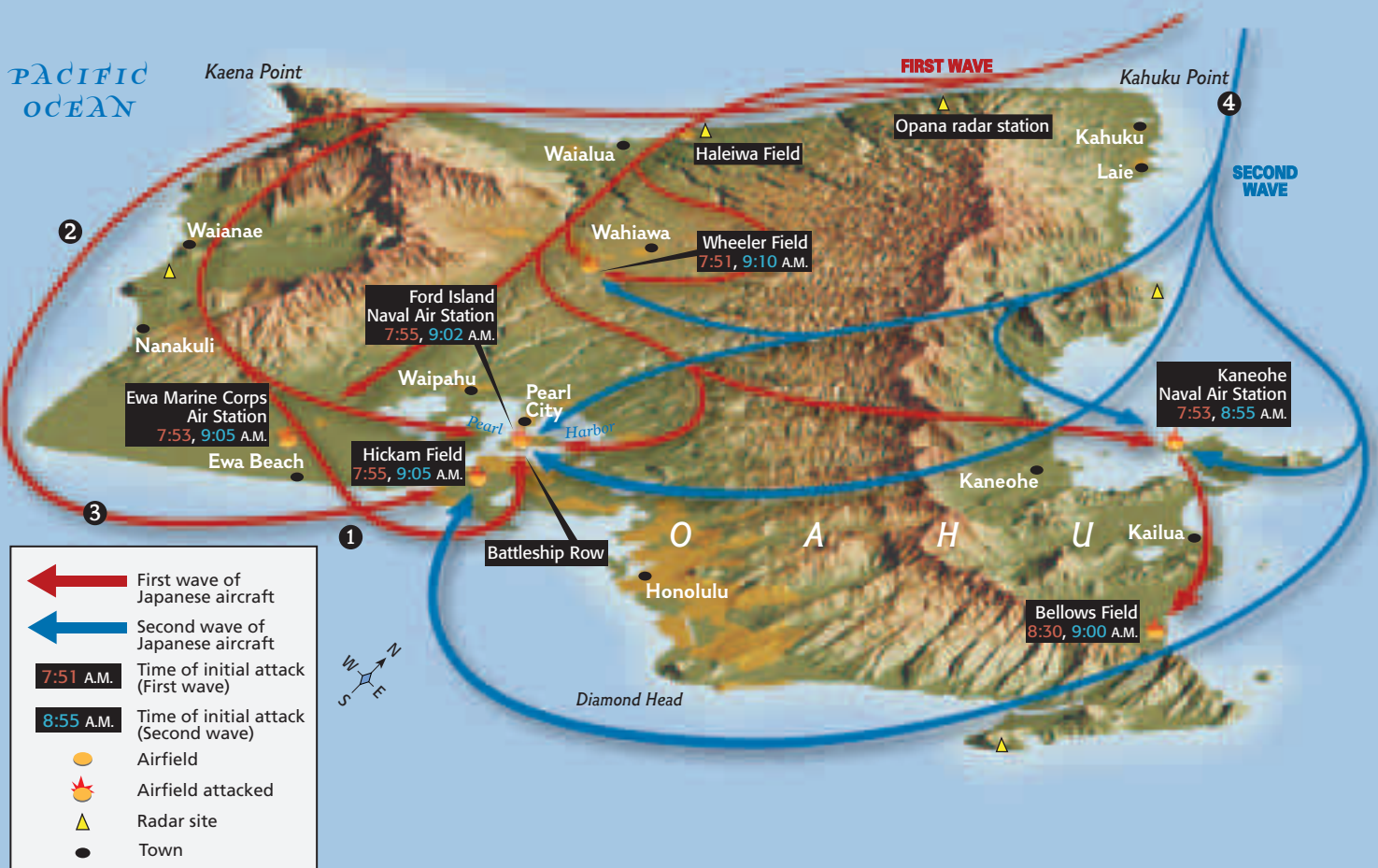
Japan Attacks the United States

Despite the growing tensions in the Atlantic, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was what finally brought the United States into World War II. Ironically, Japan’s decision to attack the United States was a direct result of Roosevelt’s efforts to help Britain in its war against Germany.

America Embargoes Japan Between August 1939 and December 1941, Roosevelt’s primary goal was to help Britain and its allies defeat Germany. He knew that one of the problems Britain faced was the need to keep much of its navy in Asia to protect British territories there from Japanese attack. As German submarines began sinking British shipping, the British began moving warships from Southeast Asia to the Atlantic, leaving their empire vulnerable. In response, Roosevelt introduced policies to discourage the Japanese from attacking the British Empire.



Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, December 7, 1941





Student Web Activity Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 24** for an activity on Pearl Harbor.

Roosevelt began by putting economic pressure on Japan. Japan depended on the United States for many key materials, including scrap iron, steel, and especially oil. Approximately 80 percent of Japan’s oil came from the United States. In July 1940, Congress passed the Export Control Act, giving Roosevelt the power to restrict the sale of **strategic materials** (materials important for fighting a war) to other nations. Roosevelt immediately blocked the sale of airplane fuel and scrap iron to Japan. Furious, the Japanese signed an alliance with Germany and Italy, formally becoming a member of the Axis.

In 1941 Roosevelt began sending lend-lease aid to China. Japan had invaded China in 1937, and by 1941, it controlled much of the Chinese coast. Roosevelt hoped that lend-lease aid would enable the Chinese to tie down the Japanese and prevent them from attacking elsewhere. The strategy failed. By July 1941, the Japanese had sent troops into southern Indochina, posing a direct threat to the British Empire. Japanese aircraft were now in position to

strike British shipping in the Strait of Malacca and bomb Hong Kong and Singapore.

Roosevelt responded very quickly to the Japanese threat. He froze all Japanese assets in the United States, reduced the amount of oil being shipped to Japan, and sent General Douglas MacArthur to the Philippines to build up American defenses there.

Roosevelt made it clear that he would lift the oil embargo only if Japan withdrew from Indochina and made peace with China. With the war against China now in jeopardy because of a lack of oil and other resources, the Japanese military began making plans to attack the resource-rich British and Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia. They also decided to seize the Philippines and to attack the American fleet at Pearl Harbor. They could not risk leaving the United States with a navy in the Pacific to oppose their plans. While the Japanese prepared for war, negotiations with the United States continued, but neither side would back down. On November 26, 1941, six Japanese aircraft carriers, two battleships, and several other warships set sail for Hawaii.



- 1 6:45 A.M.: The destroyer *Ward* sinks a Japanese midget submarine near the entrance to Pearl Harbor.
- 2 7:02 to 7:39 A.M.: Army radar at Opana tracks a cloud of aircraft approaching from the north. An officer at Fort Shafter concludes it is a flight of B-17s due in from California.
- 3 7:49 A.M.: The first wave of 183 Japanese planes is ordered to attack. The force includes 40 torpedo bombers and 49 high-altitude bombers—each armed with a single projectile—bound for Battleship Row. Other bombers and Zero fighters attack airfields.
- 4 8:55 A.M.: The second wave of 167 planes renews the attack on airfields and ships. Oil tanks and most ship-repair facilities are ignored, an omission the Japanese later regret.

Japan Attacks Pearl Harbor The Japanese government appeared to be continuing negotiations with the United States in good faith. American intelligence, however, had decoded Japanese communications that made it clear that Japan was preparing to go to war against the United States.

On November 27, American commanders at the Pearl Harbor naval base received a war warning from Washington, but Hawaii was not mentioned as a possible target. It was a great distance from Japan to

Hawaii, and Washington officials doubted Japan would try to launch such a long-range attack.

The failure to collect sufficient information and the failure of the branches of the U.S. military to share the information available left Pearl Harbor an open target. The result was devastating. Japan’s surprise attack on December 7, 1941, sank or damaged 21 ships of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, including 8 battleships, 3 cruisers, 4 destroyers, and

Dorie Miller, World War II’s first recognized African American hero, won the Navy Cross for bravery for defending a battleship during the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor.



World Geography Connection



Geography and War

Throughout history, geography has played a key role in wars. In 1941, for example, Japan attacked Malaya and Indonesia to gain access to oil and rubber. It also wanted control of the Strait of Malacca, an important waterway linking the Indian Ocean with the South China Sea. Geography can also influence a war's outcome, as it did in the Vietnam War.

There, miles of dense jungle allowed guerrillas to wage war first against French troops and then against American forces. **Why do you think the Strait of Malacca was so important?**



6 other vessels. The attack also destroyed 188 airplanes and killed 2,403 Americans. Another 1,178 were injured.

On the night of the attack, a gray-faced Roosevelt met with his cabinet to tell them the country now faced the most serious crisis since the outbreak of the Civil War. The next day, the president asked Congress to declare war:

“Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was

suddenly and deliberately attacked by the naval and air forces of Japan. . . . I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost, but we will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again. . . . No matter how long it may take us . . . the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.”

—quoted in *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Rendezvous with Destiny*

Following the president's speech, the Senate voted 82 to 0 and the House 388 to 1 to declare war on Japan.

Germany Declares War Although Japan was now at war with the United States, Hitler did not have to declare war on the Americans. The terms of the alliance with Japan specified that Germany only had to come to Japan's aid if Japan was attacked, not if Japan attacked another country. Hitler, however, had grown frustrated with the American navy's attacks on German submarines, and he believed the time had come to declare war.

Hitler greatly underestimated the strength of the United States, and he expected the Japanese to easily defeat the Americans in the Pacific. He hoped that by helping Japan now, he could count on Japanese support against the Soviet Union once the Americans had been beaten. On December 11, Germany and Italy both declared war on the United States.

Reading Check Examining What finally caused the United States to become involved in World War II?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

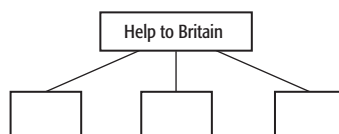
- Define:** hemispheric defense zone, strategic materials.
- Identify:** America First Committee, Lend-Lease Act, Atlantic Charter.

Reviewing Themes

- Individual Action** After Roosevelt made the destroyers-for-bases deal with Britain, some Americans called him a dictator. Do you think Roosevelt was right or wrong in his actions? Explain your answer.

Critical Thinking

- Interpreting** Why was the United States unprepared for Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer to list how Roosevelt helped Britain while maintaining official neutrality.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Maps** Study the map on pages 728–729. Based on the geography of Oahu, why was the location of Pearl Harbor perfect for a naval base?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Take on the role of an American in 1940. Write a letter to the editor of your newspaper explaining why you think the United States should either remain neutral or become involved in World War II.

Critical Thinking SKILLBUILDER

Making Generalizations

Why Learn This Skill?

Have you heard statements such as “Only tall people play basketball well,” or “Dogs make better pets than cats”? Do you accept these statements at face value, or do you stop and consider whether or not they are valid?

Learning the Skill

The statements listed above are called *generalizations*, which are broad statements about a topic. To be valid, a generalization must be based on accurate information.

Let’s examine the generalization, “Only tall people play basketball well.” We can find many examples of tall basketball players, but there are also many shorter players who excel at this sport.

In this case, we began with a generalization and looked for facts to support or disprove it. In other cases, you will start with a group of facts about a topic and then make a generalization from these facts. To make a valid generalization, first collect information relevant to the topic. This information must consist of accurate facts, not opinions.

Suppose that you want to make a generalization about the relative danger of airplane travel compared to automobile travel. First, you would collect accident statistics involving airplanes and cars. Your next step would be to classify the information into categories. Then you would look for relationships between these categories. For example, you might put the airplane and automobile statistics in separate categories. You might also categorize the number of accidents and the number of fatalities. Finally, you should make a generalization that is consistent with most of the facts you gathered.

Practicing the Skill

Reread the passage about the Austrian *Anschluss* on page 714, and then answer these questions.

- 1 What facts about the *Anschluss* are presented?
- 2 Organize these facts into categories.



- 3 How does the vote held in Austria relate to the other facts?
- 4 What generalization can you make about Austria regarding the *Anschluss*?

Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 733 and the Chapter 24 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

Applying the Skill

Making Generalizations Review the information in the chapter about appeasement as it related to the countries of Czechoslovakia, France, and Britain. Write a generalization about Czechoslovakia’s role in the appeasement policy. Support your generalization with at least five facts.



Glencoe’s **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

Reviewing Key Terms

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

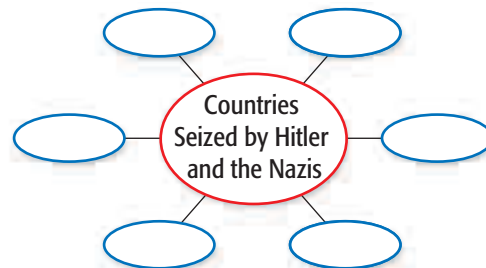
- 1. fascism
- 2. internationalism
- 3. appeasement
- 4. blitzkrieg
- 5. Holocaust
- 6. concentration camp
- 7. extermination camp
- 8. hemispheric defense zone
- 9. strategic materials

Reviewing Key Facts

- 10. **Identify:** Benito Mussolini, Vladimir Lenin, Adolf Hitler.
- 11. Where did antidemocratic governments arise in Europe and Asia after World War I?
- 12. Why was Austria easier for Hitler to annex than Czechoslovakia?
- 13. What were four ways that Nazis persecuted Jews?
- 14. In what three ways did Roosevelt help Britain while maintaining an American policy of neutrality?

Critical Thinking

- 15. **Analyzing Themes: Global Connections** If Roosevelt's internationalist policy had been fully pursued, do you think it could have prevented World War II?
- 16. **Evaluating** Why were the British able to stop the German invasion of their country?
- 17. **Determining Cause and Effect** How did the rise of dictatorships and the attack on Pearl Harbor cause the United States to become involved in World War II?
- 18. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list countries that Hitler and the Nazis seized between 1936 and 1940.



Chapter Summary

Axis

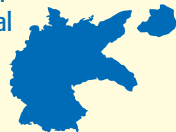
Italy

- Mussolini's Fascist Party believed in supreme power of the state
- Cooperated with Germany from 1936 onward



Germany

- Hitler's Nazi Party believed in all-powerful state, territorial expansion, and ethnic purity
- Invaded Poland in 1939, France in 1940, and the USSR in 1941



Japan

- Military leaders pushed for territorial expansion
- Attacked Manchuria in 1931
- Invaded China in 1937
- Attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941



USSR

- Communists, led by harsh dictator Joseph Stalin, created industrial power
- Signed non-aggression pact with Germany in 1939
- Received U.S. aid; eventually fought with Allies to defeat Germany



Allies

United States

- Passed Neutrality Acts in 1935, 1937, and 1939
- Gave lend-lease aid to Britain, China, and the USSR
- Declared war on Japan in 1941



Great Britain

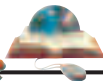
- Tried to appease Hitler by allowing territorial growth
- Declared war on Germany in 1939
- Resisted German attack in 1940
- Received U.S. aid through lend-lease program and cash-and-carry provision



France

- Along with Great Britain, tried to appease Hitler
- Declared war on Germany in 1939 after Poland was invaded
- Occupied by Nazis in 1940





Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 24** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

19. **Interpreting Primary Sources** The America First Committee tried to prevent American involvement in World War II. On April 24, 1941, aviator Charles Lindbergh spoke in New York on behalf of this committee. Read the excerpt from his speech and answer the questions that follow.

“War is not inevitable for this country. Such a claim is defeatism in the true sense. No one can make us fight abroad unless we ourselves are willing to do so. No one will attempt to fight us here if we arm ourselves as a great nation should be armed. Over a hundred million people in this nation are opposed to entering the war. If the principles of democracy mean anything at all, that is reason enough for us to stay out. If we are forced into war against the wishes of an overwhelming majority of our people, we will have proved democracy such a failure at home that there will be little use fighting for it abroad.”

— quoted in *Readings In American History*

- Why did Lindbergh favor isolationism?
- How do you think Lindbergh might have felt about isolationism after the attack on Pearl Harbor?

Practicing Skills

20. **Making Generalizations** Read the passage below and answer the questions that follow.

“Hitler and the Nazis believed the Germanic people to be superior to all others. . . . The groups the Nazis held in low regard included homosexuals, the disabled, Gypsies, and Slavic peoples. The Nazis reserved their most virulent hatred for the Jews, however. . . . For the Nazis, all people who were ethnically Jewish were completely evil no matter what their religion, occupation, or education.”

- What facts are presented about the attitude of Hitler and the Nazis toward Germans and Jews?
- What generalization can be made from these facts?

Geography and History

21. The map on this page shows Nazi concentration and extermination camps. Study it and answer these questions.
- Interpreting Maps** In which two countries were most of the concentration and extermination camps located?

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camps, 1933–1945



- Applying Geography Skills** What can you conclude about the extent of the Nazis’ “final solution”?

Chapter Activity

22. **Research Project** Research and write a short biography of Winston Churchill. Then describe his career, involvement in World War II, and beliefs to the class.

Writing Activity

23. **Descriptive Writing** Using the Internet and the library, find firsthand accounts of Holocaust survivors. Create a report on these survivors, and present the report to your classmates.



Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the phrase that best completes the following statement.

When Roosevelt signed the Lend-Lease Act in 1941, he said that the United States must become the “arsenal of democracy” in order to

- end the Depression.
- help the Axis powers.
- remain neutral.
- help Great Britain.

Test-Taking Tip: An *arsenal* is a stockpile or storehouse of weapons. Eliminate any answer that does not relate to using weapons to protect democracy.