Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War

1933 – 1941
The London Conference

• Summer 1933 – London Conference called to organize coordinated attack on Great Depression
  – Hoped to stabilize currencies and currency exchange rates to restart world trade

• Roosevelt at first agreed to send delegation, but then changed his mind
  – Wanted to use inflationary measures to stimulate US recovery
  – Did not want to be tied by international agreements maintaining the value of the dollar
The London Conference
The London Conference

• Effects of US staying out of conference
  – Conference adjourned without accomplishing anything
  – Going it alone policy made Depression worse
  – Increased trend to extreme nationalism strengthened power of nationalistic dictators that rose to power in the 1930s in Europe
Freedom for (from?) the Filipinos and Recognition for the Russians

• Americans wanted to disengage from the Philippines
  – High cost
  – Unions wanted to keep low-wage Filipino labor from producing goods for the US market
  – US sugar producers wanted to eliminate competition from Philippines
  – US had promised Filipinos eventual freedom
Freedom for (from?) the Filipinos and Recognition for the Russians

• 1934 - Tydings-McDuffie Act
  – Independence for Philippines in 1946
  – US would give up army bases, but not naval bases
  – Reclassified Filipinos as aliens
    • Quota of only 50 people per year set who were allowed to immigrate into the US
Independence Ceremony in the Philippines
Freedom for (from?) the Filipinos and Recognition for the Russians

• Effects of the Tydings-McDuffie Act
  – US wanted to dump Philippines for its own reasons, not to give them freedom
  – US left Filipinos in difficult economic situation
  – Japan took this as sign that US was unconcerned with Pacific
Freedom for (from?) the Filipinos and Recognition for the Russians

• 1933 – recognition of Russia by FDR
  – Done over protest of anticommunist conservatives and Roman Catholics offended by antireligious policies in Russia
  – Why FDR recognized Russia
    • US needed trading partner to help end Depression
    • US needed friendly power against Germany and Japan
So You’re the Big Bad Bear!
Becoming a Good Neighbor

- US seemed only interested in being a regional (not world) power, as shown by:
  - Withdrawal from Asia and Europe
  - Improving relations with Latin America
Becoming a Good Neighbor

• Motivations for improving relations with Latin America
  – Military intervention (the policy of presidents since Theodore Roosevelt) had produced resentment
  – US not investing in Latin America because of Depression
  – Roosevelt wanted Latin American countries’ support in case of war with Germany
Becoming a Good Neighbor

• The Good Neighbor agreements
  – Late 1933 – Seventh Pan-American Conference (in Uruguay)
    • US formally endorsed nonintervention (renunciation of Teddy’s Roosevelt Corollary)
  – 1936 – Pan American Conference (in Argentina)
    • Roosevelt personally pledged to submit future disputes to arbitration
    • Spoke of Americas united against possible European enemy (such as Germany)
Becoming a Good Neighbor

- The Good Neighbor policy in practice
  - 1934 – Marines withdrawn from Haiti
  - 1934 – Cuba released from part of Platt Amendment that allowed US to intervene in its affairs, although the US retained its naval base at Guantanamo
  - 1936 – US hold on Panama Canal loosened
  - 1938 – Mexican President Cárdenas seized US-owned oil properties
    - Roosevelt refused to intervene and told US business to negotiate a settlement
The Good Neighbor Goes Visiting
Becoming a Good Neighbor

• Effects of the Good Neighbor policy
  – Roosevelt the most popular US citizen in Latin America
  – Policy paid off by Latin Americans giving US good will and support
  – Some US investors lost money in disputes with Latin America
Secretary Hull’s Reciprocal Trade Agreements

• Secretary of State Cordell Hull
  – Trade must be reciprocal – a nation can sell abroad only if it buys from abroad
  – Tariffs stop foreign trade and can cause wars because of mistrust
Secretary Hull’s Reciprocal Trade Agreements

• 1934 – Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act
  – Roosevelt could lower tariffs by up to 50%, if the other country did the same
  – Done without approval of Senate to avoid politics and time delays
• 1939 – 21 countries had reciprocal trade agreements with US; US trade increased as a result
Tariff Levies on Dutiable Imports, 1821 - 2003

Tariff Levies on Dutiable Imports, 1821–2003 (ratio of duties to value of dutiable imports)

(Sources: Historical Statistics of the United States, Statistical Abstract of the United States, relevant years, and United States International Trade Commission.)
Storm-Cellar Isolationism

• Dictators take control in Europe because of the chaos after WWI that created the conditions that allowed this to happen
  – Joseph Stalin – USSR
  – Benito Mussolini – Italy
  – Adolf Hitler – Germany
Storm-Cellar Isolationism

- Hitler and Mussolini
  - Germans followed Hitler as hope to fix economic problems and national disgrace caused by postwar polices of Allies
  - 1933 – Germany withdrew from League of Nations and began secretly rearming
  - 1935 – Mussolini attacked Ethiopia with bombers and tanks; the League of Nations members refused to stop Italy by embargoing oil
  - 1936 – Rome-Berlin Axis created an alliance between Hitler and Mussolini
Italian Attack on Ethiopia
Mussolini and Hitler
Storm-Cellar Isolationism

• Nationalist militarists in Japan
  – Resented Treaty of Versailles that they saw as limiting Japan’s actions in Pacific
  – 1934 – Japan terminated Washington Naval Treaty
    • Had limited amount of battleships and aircraft carriers Japan could build to 5:5:3 ratio with US and Britain
  – 1935 – naval conference in London
    • Japan demanded equality with US and Britain (5:5:5)
    • Japan turned down; Japanese delegates walked out
  – Japan begins crash program of building giant battleships
  – 1935 – Japan withdrew from League of Nations
  – 1940 – Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany, and Italy
Japan as Breaker of Treaties After Manchuria
Storm-Cellar Isolationism

- Isolationism in the US increased in response to problems in Asia and Europe
  - Believed oceans protected the US
  - Disillusionment from false hopes of “democracy” and peace after World War I
  - Anger at Allies who had defaulted on WWI debts
    - Johnson Debt Default Act (1934): nations owing money to US after WWI could not borrow more money
  - Many supported constitutional amendment that would prevent declaration of war (except for invasion) unless people voted for it directly
Congress Legislates Neutrality

- Isolationist propaganda flooded the public in the mid-1930s
  - Articles condemned munitions manufacturers as war mongers
  - 1934 Senate Investigation by Gerald Nye
    - Blamed US involvement on WWI on US bankers and arms manufacturers
Congress Legislates Neutrality

• Neutrality Acts
  – Isolationists in both parties were majority in Congress through 1938
  – 3 separate laws (1935, 1936, 1937)
  – When the president proclaimed the existence of a foreign war, certain restrictions would automatically go into effect
Congress Legislates Neutrality

- Neutrality Act of 1935
  - President authorized to prohibit all arms shipments and forbid US citizens to travel on ships of belligerent nations
- Neutrality Act of 1936
  - Forbade the extension of loans and credit to belligerents
- Neutrality Act of 1937
  - Forbade shipment of arms to the opposing sides in civil war in Spain
Isn’t This What We Really Want?

- A Neutrality Act that will keep us out of any war,
- Will insure the continuity of American commerce,
- Will act to curb the power of the dictatorships,
- And will scrub floors and do the dishes in its spare time.
Congress Legislates Neutrality

• Tragic shortsightedness of isolationism
  – False assumption that decision for peace was only its own
  – Failed to see that it could have influenced international events instead of being at mercy of dictators
  – Policy of no distinction made between attacker and attacked really favored the aggressors and led them to further attacks
No Foreign Entanglements
America Dooms Loyalist Spain

• 1936 – 1939 – Spanish Civil War
  – Leftist Loyalist government against fascist rebels led by General Francisco Franco
  – Fascists helped by Hitler and Mussolini
  – Loyalists received some help from Soviet Union (although much less than the fascists received from Hitler)
  – Many Americans opposed helping Loyalists because of the help they had received from the USSR
America Dooms Loyalist Spain

- US and the Spanish Civil War
  - At first, because this was a civil war, US could ship munitions to Loyalist government
  - 1937 Neutrality Act forbade shipment to either side
- 1939 – Spanish Loyalists defeated
  - US stayed out while dictators destroyed democracy
  - Encouraged dictators to further action
The Spanish Civil War, 1936 - 1939
Guernica by Pablo Picasso
America Dooms Loyalist Spain

- 1938 – US finally began building up its fleet, but too late to stop WWII
  - Roosevelt had been labeled “warmonger” before when calling for preparedness
  - Lawmakers didn’t want to pass higher taxes
Appeasing Japan and Germany

• 1937 – Japan begins invasion of China; Roosevelt refused to call this a war
  – Allowed the US to continue shipping small amount of munitions to China that were desperately needed (which was the side the US wanted to help)
  – Japan could also purchase huge amounts of war material (because the US had to be neutral, even though the US was opposed to Japan fighting and winning this war)
Japanese Expansion Before World War II
Brutality of Japan’s Invasion of China
Losses
Appeasing Japan and Germany

October 5, 1937 – Roosevelt delivered “Quarantine Speech”

- In Chicago – unofficial isolationist capital in US
- Called for “positive endeavors” to “quarantine” aggressors (probably by economic embargoes)
Appeasing Japan and Germany

• Reaction to the Quarantine Speech
  – Angry response from isolationists who believed moral quarantine would lead to war
Roosevelt the “Peacemaker”
Appeasing Japan and Germany

- December 1937 – Japanese planes bomb and sink US ship, the Panay, in Chinese waters
  - Sinking of USS Maine in 1898 had provoked war
  - Japan quickly apologized and paid indemnity (compensation)
  - US happy to not have to go to war over this issue
    - Japanese vent anger at American civilians in China through slappings and strippings
Appeasing Japan and Germany

- Hitler’s violations of Treaty of Versailles, with nothing done by Britain, France, or the League of Nations
  - 1935 – introduced compulsory military service in Germany
  - 1936 – troops marched into demilitarized Rhineland
  - 1930s – progression of attacks on German Jews
  - 1930s – built German mechanized army and air force
  - 1938 – Anschluss (connection), the bloodless takeover of Austria
The Rhineland
Nazis, with Hitler Standing in the Lead Car, Enter Vienna
Anschluss
Appeasing Japan and Germany

- September 1938 – Munich Conference
  - Hitler demanded Sudetenland (part of Czechoslovakia with majority German population)
    - Area also had large arms factory and was strategic for Czech defense
  - Britain, France, Germany, Italy participated; Czechoslovakia did not
  - Germany promised Sudetenland if Hitler promised to go no further
    - Sudetenland “is the last territorial claim I have to make in Europe” – Hitler
  - Munich became symbol of appeasement (granting concessions to potential enemies to make peace)
Neville Chamberlain Declares “Peace in Our Time” after Munich
The Appeaser

‘Remember... One More Lollypop, and Then You All Go Home!’
German Troops Enter the Sudetenland
The Sudetenland
March 1939 – Hitler took Over the Rest of Czechoslovakia
Hitler’s Belligerency and US Neutrality

• Summer 1939 – Britain and France attempt to negotiate a mutual defense treaty with USSR
  – Talks break down because of mistrust
• August 23, 1939 – Hitler-Stalin Pact
  – Also called the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (after the ministers from each country who signed the treaty)
  – USSR announced a nonaggression treaty with Hitler
Signing of German Soviet Treaty of Friendship
Union of Two Former Enemies

The Scum of the Earth, I believe

The bloody assassin of the workers, I presume?
Hitler’s Belligerency and US Neutrality

• Effects of the Hitler-Stalin Pact
  – Germany now free to attack in west without fear of attack on rear (east)
  – Western Europeans’ hopes of Hitler attacking Stalin, thus ridding them of 2 problems, ended
  – Stalin turned the tables – he would let Hitler and Western Europe destroy each other
Axis Aggression through 1941
Hitler’s Belligerency and US Neutrality

• Late August 1939 – Hitler demands German land given to Poland after WWI
  – Specifically Port of Danzig, that divided western Germany with a strip to the east
  – Poland refuses and asks for help
  – Britain and France promise to defend Poland if attacked
The Polish Corridor after World War I
Hitler’s Belligerency and US Neutrality

- September 1, 1939 – Hitler sends his army and air force into Poland (blitzkrieg – lighting war)
  - Britain and France declare war against Germany
  - Poland defeated in 3 weeks
  - USSR entered from east to split Poland with Germany (part of a secret agreement Hitler and Stalin had made)
German Invasion of Poland, September 1, 1939
The German Invasion of Poland, 1939
German Troops in Poland
Eastern Europe After the German-Soviet Pact, 1939 - 1940
Little Goldilocks Riding Hood
Hitler’s Belligerency and US Neutrality

• US responds
  – Roosevelt issues statement of neutrality
  – US public opinion overwhelmingly anti-German, but did not want to be sucked into the war
  – US debated how and whether to assist Britain and France
    • Neutrality Act of 1936 barred US from sending these countries arms or other assistance
Hitler’s Belligerency and US Neutrality

- Neutrality Act of 1939
  - Set up “cash-and-carry” policy
    - Europeans could buy US war materials, but would have to pay cash and transport them in their own ships
    - Would avoid problems of war debts, loans, attacks on US shipping (from WWI)
  - To appease isolationists, president authorized to declare danger zones where US merchant ships could not go

- Effects of cash-and-carry
  - Helped Britain and France (who controlled the seas)
  - Hurt China because Japan had blockaded China
It Ain’t What It Used to Be
The Fall of France

- October 1939 – April 1940 – the “phony war”
  - Europe was “peaceful” after Poland fell because Hitler had to transfer army west to attack France
  - Russia took over Finland during this time
The Story of the Last Seven Years, May 1940
The Fall of France

• April 1940 – Hitler suddenly attacked Denmark and Norway

• May 1940 – Hitler attacked Netherlands and Belgium

• May – June 1940 – Germans attacked and defeated France, with Italy attacking from the South
  – British evacuate most of their troops in frantic transport across English Channel at Dunkirk

• Chamberlain resigned and Winston Churchill elected as prime minister of England
German Invasion of Western Europe, 1940
British Evacuation at Dunkirk
The Fall of France

- France stunned Americans into action
  - Britain last constitutional government in Europe
  - If Britain fell, Germany would have industry, labor and military power (including British navy) under its control
The Fall of France

• Roosevelt and Congress take action
  – Military buildup
    • Huge air fleet and two-ocean navy
    • Congress appropriated huge sum of $37 billion
      – More than all of WWI, 5 times larger than New Deal annual budget
  – 1940 – conscription (draft)
    • 1.2 million troops and 800,000 reserves each year
    • First peacetime draft in US
  – Improvement of relations with Latin America
    • Conquered territories (Netherlands, Denmark, France) in Europe had colonies in Latin America
    • 1940 – Havana Conference
      – US and Latin American countries together reasserted Monroe Doctrine to warn Germany against trying to take the colonies over
Bolstering Britain with the Destroyer Deal (1940)

• August 1940 – Battle of Britain
  – German air attacks against Britain, including sustained bombing of civilian cities
  – Hitler planned for September invasion
  – Royal Air Force’s defense of England made Hitler put off plans for invasion indefinitely
The Battle of Britain, 1940 - 1941
German Bombers over London
During the Battle of Britain
Bolstering Britain with the Destroyer Deal (1940)

• US’s decision as Britain was attacked
  – Make US a defensive fortress against Europe
  – Help Britain by any means except actual war
Bolstering Britain with the Destroyer Deal (1940)

• Supporters of aid to Britain
  – Appealed to interventionists by arguing Britain was fighting to defend US also
  – Appealed to isolationists by advocating anything short of war to aid Britain
  – Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies

• Isolationists
  – US should concentrate its strength at home so that Hitler would not attack US after defeating Britain
  – America First Committee; Charles Lindbergh
America First Committee

National Defense at any expense

But

Keep our boys at home

America First Committee
The Isolationist
The Lindbergh Quarter

“Since when did we swap our ego for an ostrich?”
And on this platform, folks, those most perplexing people... the Lads with the Siamese Beard! Unrelated by blood, they are joined in a manner that mystifies the mightiest minds in the land!
But Those Were Foreign Children and It Didn’t Matter
Bolstering Britain with the Destroyer Deal (1940)

- September 2, 1940 – Destroyers for bases
  - US transferred 50 old (from WWI) destroyers to Britain
  - Britain in exchange gave US 8 valuable defensive bases in Western Hemisphere (99-year rent-free leases)
  - Deal was done without approval from Congress using strained view of presidential power
    - Opponents condemned the deal because of secrecy, expansion of presidential powers, and violation of neutrality
    - Majority of Americans supported “all aid short of war” to Britain
Not the Way to Build a Two-Ocean Navy
FDR Shatters the Two-Term Tradition (1940)

- Republican nomination
  - Favorites had been Robert A. Taft or Thomas E. Dewey, but newcomer Wendell Willkie won the nomination
  - Wendell Willkie had a magnetic personality and came across as honest and trustworthy
FDR Shatters the Two-Term Tradition (1940)

• Democratic nomination
  – Roosevelt claimed that even though he wanted to retire, because of problems in Europe, he would grant his experience to help his country
  – Democrats realized only FDR could defeat Willkie
  – Roosevelt drafted with a unanimous vote
  – “Better a Third Term Than a Third-Rater”
FDR Shatters the Two-Term Tradition (1940)

- Willkie’s campaign
  - Attacked FDR’s “dictatorship”, 3\textsuperscript{rd} term and complicated New Deal programs
  - Willkie campaigned across country, giving speeches until his voice was hoarse (500 in all)
  - Areas of agreement with Roosevelt
    - Aid to Britain
    - Staying out of war
    - Strengthening national defenses
Down the Dictators

Wake up Mr. VOTER!
Down the Dictators

FDR

The Three Termites

Uhrehr

UCE

Osevelt
FDR Shatters the Two-Term Tradition (1940)

• Roosevelt’s campaign
  – Didn’t campaign much because of work
  – Denied that he was going to get US involved in war
    • “Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars”
  – Defended New Deal, defense preparations, and aid to Britain
FDR Shatters the Two-Term Tradition (1940)

• Results
  – Roosevelt won, but by less than previously
  – 27.3 million to 22.3 million popular votes; 449 to 82 electoral votes
  – Democratic majorities in Congress stayed about the same

• Why Roosevelt won
  – Voters wanted experience during time of possible war
  – Roosevelt probably would not have won if not for the war, but he probably wouldn’t have run either
Election of 1940

Electoral Vote Total: 531

Popular Vote Total: 49,752,978

Democratic (F. D. Roosevelt)

Republican (Willkie)
Knocking Down Another One
Congress Passes the Landmark Lend-Lease Law

• Late 1940 – Britain’s credit drying up with US, but they still needed lots of arms
• Roosevelt wanted to get rid of the “old dollar sign” (remembering bitterness over loans after WWI)
• Roosevelt’s plan
  – Compared loaning guns and tanks to loaning a neighbor a hose when his house is on fire
    • The neighbor just had to return the hose
  – Isolationist Senator Taft said it was more like loaning chewing gum – no one would want them back after they were loaned
Congress Passes the Landmark Lend-Lease Law

- Lend-Lease Bill
  - Defended by administration as bill that would keep US out of war
    - US would send weapons instead of soldiers
    - US would be the “arsenal of democracy”
      - Arsenal – store of weapons
    - US would send unlimited amount of weapons to Britain keep war in Europe
    - Britain would give used weapons or equivalent when war was over
  - Criticism mainly came from isolationists or anti-Roosevelt Republicans
  - March 1941 – passed by large majorities in both houses
Congress Passes the Landmark Lend-Lease Law

• Effects of the Lend-Lease Law
  – By 1945, $50 billion worth of supplies sent to Allies
  – Abandonment of even pretense of neutrality
    • Debated openly in US; citizens came out in favor, even at risk of eventual war
  – Increased production in factories; helped prepare US for when it entered war
  – Germany began sinking US ships; had avoided this before, remembering how US became involved in WWI
Main Flow of Lend-Lease Aid
(width of arrows indicates relative amount)
Opening the Floodgates
Hitler’s Assault on the Soviet Union Spawns the Atlantic Charter

- Hitler and Stalin did not trust each other, even after their nonaggression pact in 1939
  - Conflict over division of conquered territory
- June 22, 1941 – Hitler attacked USSR (Operation Barbarossa)
  - Hoped to knock USSR out and then use their supplies (oil) to defeat Britain
- Roosevelt used lend-lease to give USSR $1 billion in aid ($11 billion by 1945)
- Hitler held back at Moscow by Soviet army and early Russian winter
Invasion of the Soviet Union, 1941 - 1942
Stabbed in the Back
Hitler’s Assault on the Soviet Union Spawns the Atlantic Charter

• August 1941 – the Atlantic Charter
  – Roosevelt secretly met with Winston Churchill on ship off Newfoundland; USSR agreed later that year
  – 8 points outlined plans for postwar world
    • Self-determination (no territorial changes without people’s consent)
    • Right of people to choose their own government
    • Restoration of governments destroyed by dictators
    • Disarmament
    • A new League of Nations (eventually the UN)
  – Criticized by isolationists in US
    • Why was “neutral” US making agreements with a belligerent
    • Missed the point that US was no longer neutral
The US and Britain Agree on the Atlantic Charter
US Destroyers and Hitler’s U-boats Clash

- Britain did not have enough ships to protect US lend-lease shipments from U-boats
- June 1941 – Roosevelt ordered navy to escort US ships to Iceland; Britain would escort the rest of the way
US Destroyers and Hitler’s U-boats Clash

- Clashes between US ships and U-boats
  - September 1941 – US destroyer Greer attacked; no damage to either side
    - Roosevelt proclaimed shoot-on-sight policy
  - October 17, 1941 – US destroyer Kearney crippled; 11 killed
  - Late October, 1941 – US destroyer Reuben James sunk; over 100 killed
US Destroyers and Hitler’s U-boats Clash

• US response to U-boat attacks
  – Neutrality Act of 1939 amended
    • Merchant ships could now be armed and sail into combat zones with munitions for Britain
Surprise Assault on Pearl Harbor

• Japan’s situation in the Pacific
  – Stuck in costly war in China that it could not win
  – Dependent on huge shipments of steel, scrap iron, oil, and airplane fuel from US
Surprise Assault on Pearl Harbor

- Roosevelt had not imposed embargo in order to not put Japan in the position of being forced to attack oil-rich Dutch East Indies
- Mid-1940 – Roosevelt bans sale of aviation fuel and scrap metal to Japan
  - Response to aggression in Asia (especially China)
- September 1940 – Embargo extended to steel and other materials
  - Response to Tripartite Pact (between Germany, Japan, and Italy) and attack on Indochina
- July 1941 – FDR freezes all Japanese assets in US and imposes total trade embargo with Japan
  - Response to Japan overrunning Indochina
Surprise Assault on Pearl Harbor

• Japan’s choices in mid 1941
  – Give in to American demands
  – Attack oil-rich countries in Southeast Asia

• November – early December, 1941 – diplomatic talks between US and Japan
  – US demanded withdrawal from China in exchange for renewed trade relations
  – Japan refused to withdraw from China
Surprise Assault on Pearl Harbor

- US response to breakdown in talks
  - Knew Japan had chosen war
    - US had broken Japan’s secret code
    - Expected attack somewhere in Southeast Asia
  - As a democracy, the US could not attack first, to wage a preventative war
Surprise Assault on Pearl Harbor

- December 7, 1941 – attack at Pearl Harbor
  - Japan prolonged negotiations to give cover to aircraft carriers sailing to Hawaii
  - 3 hour attack on Sunday morning
  - 2,400 Americans killed
  - 200 planes destroyed
  - 8 battleships, 3 light cruisers, 3 destroyers sunk or crippled; 3 important aircraft carriers out of harbor and not hit
  - Roosevelt – “a date which will live in infamy [evil fame or reputation]”

- December 11, 1941 – US, Italy, Germany declared war on each other
Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941
Attack on Pearl Harbor

- First wave, about 180 aircraft
- Second wave, about 170 aircraft
- Air bases attacked by Japanese
- Pearl Harbor
View of Pearl Harbor from Cockpit of a Japanese Plane
The Attack on Pearl Harbor
Destruction after the Attack on Pearl Harbor
America’s Transformation from Bystander to Belligerent

• Effects of Pearl Harbor
  – Before, majority of Americans wanted to keep US out of war; after, US united in defeating Axis
  – Culmination of chain of events that led to war
    • Aid to Britain to prevent German victory
    • Embargo on Japan to prevent expansion
    • Americans had realized that appeasement didn’t work; only full war was able to defeat Axis