

UNIT

4 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 976–977 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 4.

 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



1931–1941

A World in Flames

~ The Big Ideas ~

SECTION 1: America and the World

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

SECTION 2: World War II Begins

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events. World War II officially began with the Nazi invasion of Poland and the French and British declaration of war on Germany in September 1939.

SECTION 3: The Holocaust

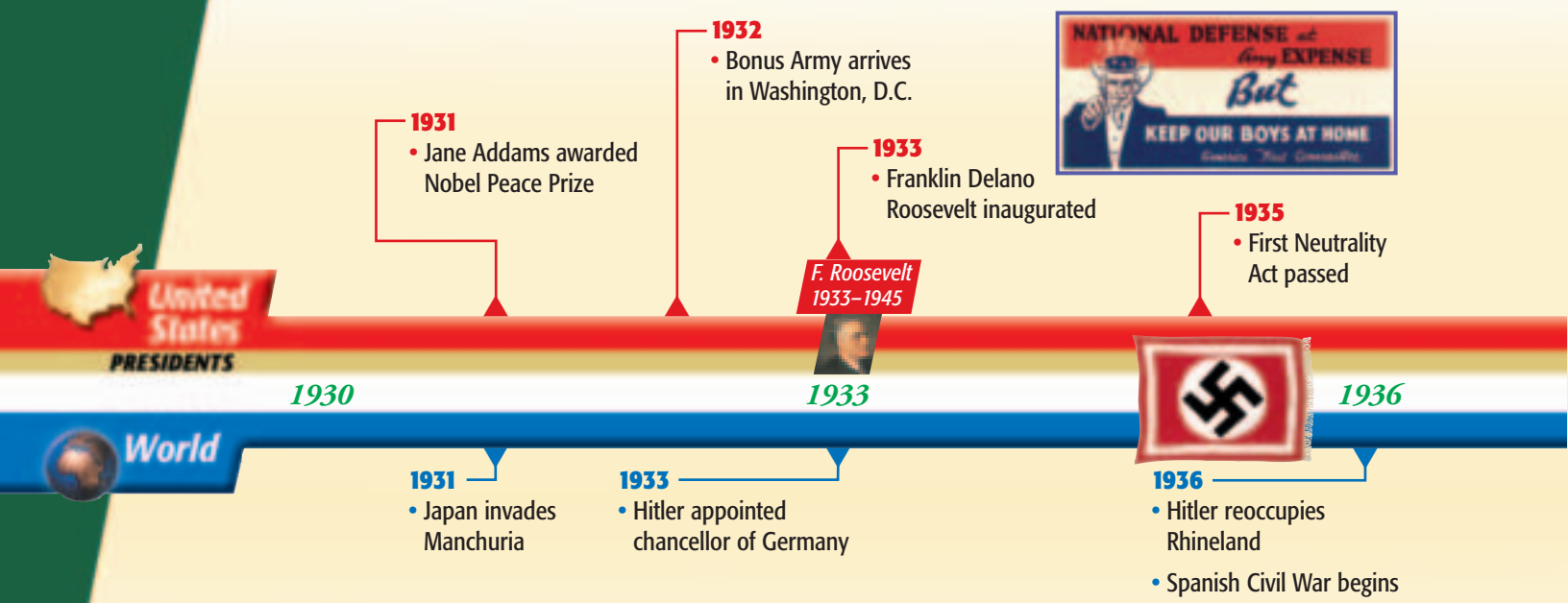
The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events. Nazis steadily increased their persecution of Jews and eventually set up death camps and tried to kill all the Jews in Europe.

SECTION 4: America Enters the War

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events. When World War II first began, the United States attempted to continue its prewar policy of neutrality.



The American Vision: Modern Times Video The Chapter 11 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



1939

1942

1938
 • Munich Conference appeases Hitler

1939
 • World War II begins with Hitler's attack on Poland

1940
 • France falls to the Nazis



HISTORY Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 11** to preview chapter information.

Preparing to Read Chapter 11

Reading Skill

Making Inferences

You learned in Chapter 5 that effective readers use a skill called making inferences to understand the deeper, and sometimes hidden, meanings of the text. While some may call it “reading between the lines,” it is really a process of questioning, predicting, and connecting in order to understand what is not directly said.

An excellent way to improve your skills of making inferences is to talk with a partner about the material you just read. You will often discover that different people understand the same text in slightly different ways. When you talk with someone else about your predictions, questions, and connections, both of you benefit from the ideas you gather from the information in the text. You can also learn from one another how to develop and refine the skills necessary to make inferences.

Read the following paragraph about the beginning days of World War II and use inferences to draw conclusions about how each of the countries mentioned felt about the war in western Europe.

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 sent troops to assist France, but because both countries remained on the defensive, waiting for the Germans to attack, there were no battles or warfare. (page 545)

MAKING INFERENCES

Use your background knowledge to help you understand the passage. What do you already know about World War II?

Apply the Skill

After you have read the passage, think about the various names the Germans, British, and Americans used to describe the war in western Europe. Then discuss these questions with a partner:

- Based on this passage, how did Germany feel about the war?
- Is this similar to, or different from, the British and American outlooks?
- What do you believe the public wanted in these countries?
- What do you expect will happen next?



Historical Interpretation When you study historical events, you will learn to recognize the complexity of historical causes and effects, including the limitations on determining cause and effect.

You learned in Chapter 1 that events can cause changes. At times these changes occur quickly, while other times they spread over many years. To understand cause and effect is to know why and how an event occurred. A *cause* is an action or situation that produces an event. What happens as a result of a cause is an *effect*. Sometimes the effect of one event can be the cause of future events.

Historians use cause-and-effect relationships to explain why events occurred. As they analyze events, they know that there are limitations to their cause-and-effect analyses. In some cases the causes are not clear, while in other cases the effects may not be known for decades.

Read the following passages about the increasing involvement of the United States into World War II.

Worried that growing German and Italian aggression might lead to war, Congress passed the Neutrality Act of 1935. (page 540)

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. (page 557)

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. (page 558)

By December 1940, Great Britain had run out of funds. . . . Roosevelt came up with a way to remove the cash requirement of the Neutrality Act. . . . Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act by a wide margin. (pages 559–560)

In the mid-1930s, Americans did not want to get involved in another war in Europe. They took steps with the Neutrality Act of 1935 to avoid such an involvement. With increasing German aggression, the United States began to aid the Allies in Europe, first with the destroyers-for-bases deal and then with the Lend-Lease Act.

Apply the Skill

Read the text under the heading “Japan Attacks the United States” on pages 561–563 of your textbook. Explain how President Roosevelt’s efforts to help Britain led to Japan’s decision to attack the United States.



Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous chapter, you learned about President Roosevelt's efforts to end the Great Depression. In this section, you will discover how events in Europe and Asia pushed the nation to adopt a policy of neutrality.

Main Idea

- Strong dictatorial rulers took control of the governments of Italy, the USSR, Japan, and Germany. (p. 537)
- Despite Roosevelt's emphasis on internationalism, most Americans felt that they did not want to be involved in another war in Europe. (p. 539)

Content Vocabulary

fascism, internationalism

Academic Vocabulary

impose, investigate, civil

People and Terms to Identify

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

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.

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.

Preview of Events

1922

1922

Fascist Party takes power in Italy; USSR established

1927

1931

Japan takes control of Manchuria

1933

Hitler takes power in Germany

1932

1935

Congress passes first Neutrality Act

1937

1937

Japan attacks China

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.7.1 Examine the origins of American involvement in the war, with an emphasis on the events that precipitated the attack on Pearl Harbor.

11.7.4 Analyze Roosevelt's foreign policy during World War II (e.g., Four Freedoms speech).

The Big Idea

Societies change over time. While the United States was battling the Great Depression, European nations saw the rise of dictatorships. Italy's Benito Mussolini based his leadership on the ideas of fascism and anti-communism; Joseph Stalin cemented Communist rule in Russia; and in Germany, Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party based their rule on nationalism. In Japan, militarists gained control of the government and pursued a policy of expansion in Asia. Discouraged Americans responded to these developments by supporting isolationism. Congress began to legislate neutrality, hoping to keep the United States out of any future wars.

The Rise of Dictators

Main Idea Strong dictatorial rulers took control of the governments of Italy, the USSR, Japan, and Germany.

Reading Connection How do you think your life would change if you lived in a country ruled by a dictator? Read on to learn about repressive governments that arose during the 1920s and 1930s.

When World War I ended in 1918, the future of democracy in Europe seemed bright. President Woodrow Wilson announced, “Everything for which America fought has been accomplished.” Wilson 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.

★ An American Story ★

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*

It was less than 20 years since Woodrow Wilson expressed his optimism about the world that the

dictatorial German government expelled Dorothy Thompson. The antidemocratic governments of Europe and Asia were already strong.

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 barrier to Communism. 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.

“I, fortunately,
am an
American . . .”

—Dorothy Thompson



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 to his rule, 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 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 prejudice 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

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?](#)





Picturing History

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

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?

America Turns to Neutrality

Main Idea **Despite Roosevelt’s emphasis on internationalism, most Americans felt that they did not want to be involved in another war in Europe.**

Reading Connection Do you think that the United States should become involved in the wars of other nations even when it is not under attack? Read on to discover the attitude of Americans during the 1930s.

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.



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?](#)

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 U.S. decision 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 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.

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.

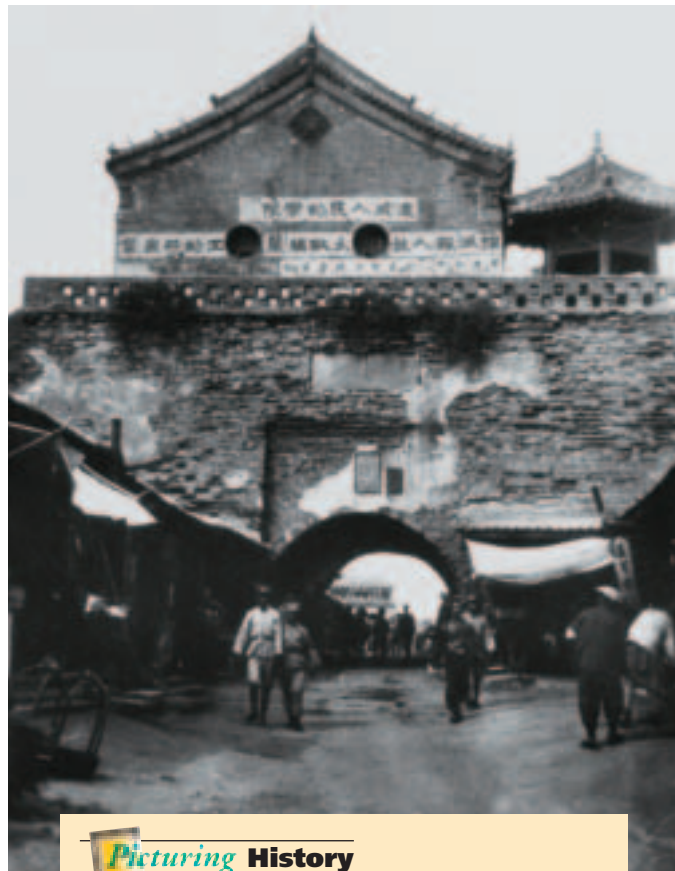
In July 1937, Japanese forces in Manchuria launched a full-scale attack on China. Roosevelt decided to help the Chinese. Since neither China nor Japan had actually declared war, Roosevelt claimed the Neutrality Act of 1937 did not apply, and he authorized the sale of weapons from the United States to 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*

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?



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?**

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: fascism, impose, investigate, civil, internationalism.
- People and Terms** Identify: Benito Mussolini, Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Adolf Hitler, Manchuria, Neutrality Act of 1935.
- Explain** why isolationism was strong in the United States in the early 1930s.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Examining** What events caused President Roosevelt to become more of an internationalist?

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Interpreting** Why did antidemocratic governments rise to power in postwar Europe and Asia? Could the United States have slowed or prevented their rise? Explain. **CA HIT**
- 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

- Analyzing Art** Study the Spanish Civil War era propaganda poster reproduced on page 540. Without being told the phrase, how would you be able to discover the poster’s meaning?

Writing About History

- 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.

CA 11WS1.1; 11WA2.3a

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned how the United States tried to stay neutral as militarism gained strength in the world. In this section, you will read about the circumstances surrounding the beginning of World War II.

Main Idea

- European nations tried to prevent war by giving in to Hitler's demands. (p. 543)
- Although Poland and France fell to the Nazis, the British were able to evacuate thousands of trapped British and French troops from Dunkirk in France. (p. 544)

Preview of Events



- Disregarding the bombing of London and other major cities, Britain's Winston Churchill stood firm against the threat of Nazi invasion. (p. 547)

Content Vocabulary
appeasement, blitzkrieg

Academic Vocabulary
regime, furthermore, anticipate

People and Terms to Identify
Anschluss, Maginot Line, Winston Churchill, Battle of Britain

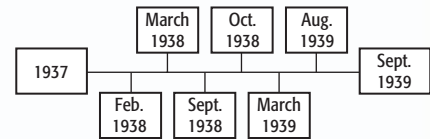
Reading Objectives

- **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.

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.



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.7.1 Examine the origins of American involvement in the war, with an emphasis on the events that precipitated the attack on Pearl Harbor.

11.7.4 Analyze Roosevelt's foreign policies during World War II (e.g., Four Freedoms speech).

11.7.6 Describe major developments in aviation, weaponry, communication, and medicine and the war's impact on the location of American industry and use of resources.

The Big Idea

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events.

After establishing his rule in Germany, Adolf Hitler began his conquest of Europe by seizing Austria. His claims to the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia prompted Great Britain and France to pursue a policy of appeasement to avoid war. Despite an agreement, Hitler sent troops into Czechoslovakia and demanded the return of Danzig, a Polish seaport with German roots. When Germany invaded Poland and began the war, Britain and France fulfilled their promise to come to the aid of Poland. Hitler's tactics led to a quick victory in Poland and the fall of France. Britain remained defiant despite constant bombing raids by the Germans.

“Peace in Our Time”

Main Idea European nations tried to prevent war by giving in to Hitler’s demands.

Reading Connection Do you think giving in to Hitler’s demands was a good idea? Read on to learn about the events leading to another world war.

Prior to 1940, when the Nazi **regime** was much weaker, European leaders did not try to stop Hitler. Instead, they vainly tried to buy peace by giving in to his demands. By 1940, however, the German army had been rebuilt, and Hitler was bent on conquest.

★ An American Story ★

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*

Whether or not the United States could have forced Hitler to negotiate is uncertain. Europe’s leaders had several reasons for hoping that Hitler could

be satisfied and war avoided. First, the memory of World War I made 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 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, however, 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.

Sumner Welles ➤





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

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.

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. 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. 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 wanted to avoid the strain on his army of having 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 knew that Hitler made the deal to free himself for war against their countries and Poland. They did not know 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

Main Idea Although Poland and France fell to the Nazis, the British were able to evacuate thousands of trapped British and French troops from Dunkirk in France.

Reading Connection Can you think of a historical or contemporary situation in which people acted heroically to save those in danger? Read on to learn of the heroism of civilians and armed forces in World War II.

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.



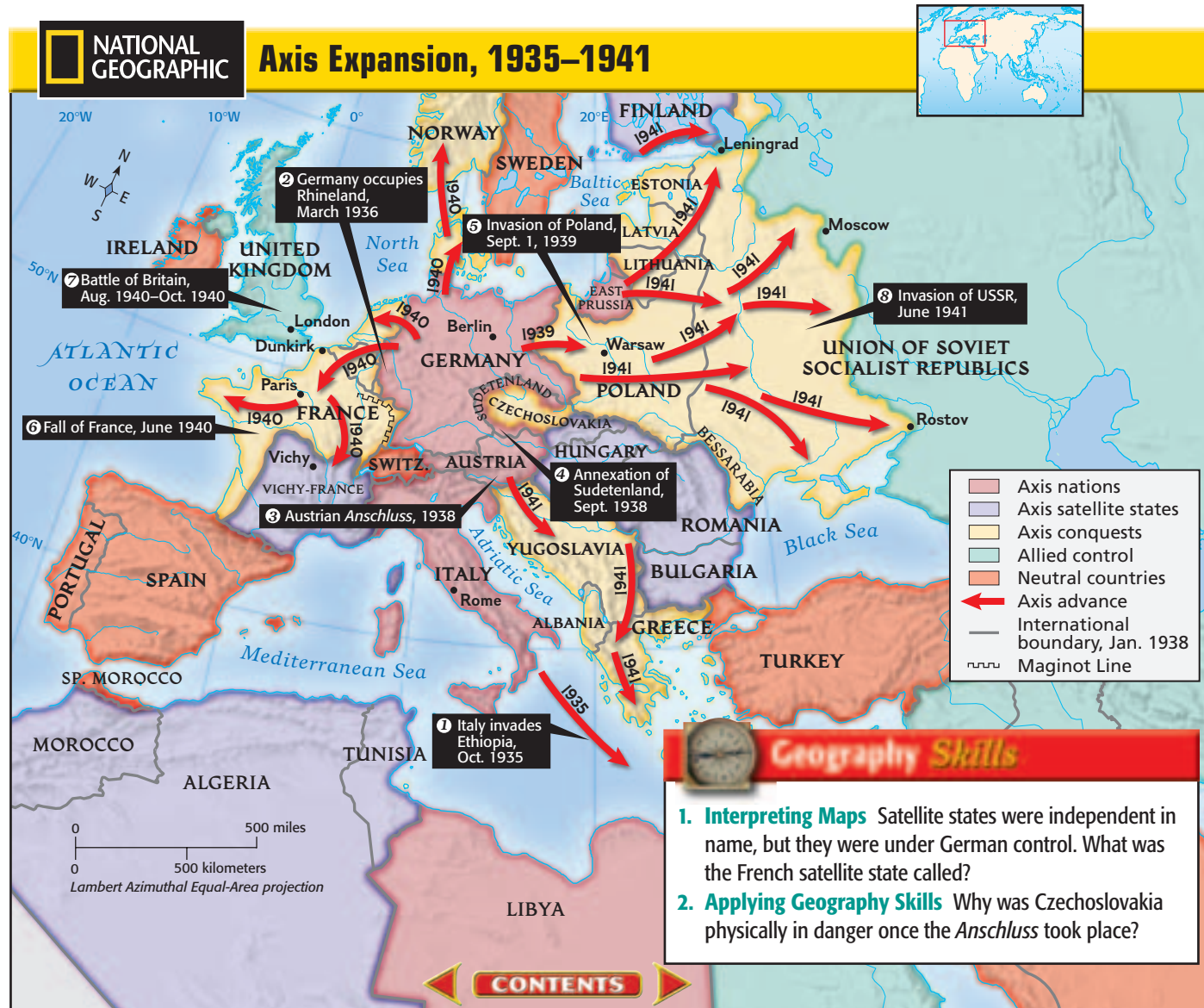
Blitzkrieg in Poland Poland bravely resisted Germany's onslaught but was unable to stop the attack. The Germans used a new type of warfare called **blitzkrieg**, or lightning war. Blitzkrieg used large numbers of massed tanks to break through and rapidly encircle enemy positions. Supporting the tanks 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 attack left the German enemy completely surrounded, cut off from supplies, and with heavy losses. 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.

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 sent troops to assist France, but because both countries remained on the defensive, waiting for the Germans to attack, there were no battles or warfare.

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, without the need to simultaneously fight the French, before turning west to face the British and French.

After conquering Poland, Hitler and his generals decided to attack Norway and Denmark before invading France. France continued to wait for attack. 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.



- 1. Interpreting Maps** Satellite states were independent in name, but they were under German control. What was the French satellite state called?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Why was Czechoslovakia physically in danger once the *Anschluss* took place?



Dunkirk Allied troops waded out to ships waiting to evacuate them from Dunkirk

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 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

Main Idea Disregarding the bombing of London and other major cities, Britain's Winston Churchill stood firm against the threat of Nazi invasion.

Reading Connection Describe a time when you felt the odds were against you. How did you react? Read on to find out about the resolve of the British when faced with Nazi air attack.

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 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.

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

 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.





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*?

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. Hitler's attempt to destroy the morale of the British people failed.

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, with the ability to detect German aircraft, 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?

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

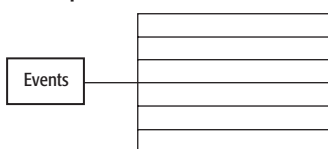
- Vocabulary** Define: regime, furthermore, appeasement, blitzkrieg, anticipate.
- People and Terms** Identify: *Anschluss*, Maginot Line, Winston Churchill, Battle of Britain.
- Explain** why Hitler was able to take over Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Reviewing Big Ideas

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

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Evaluating** Why do you think the British were able to prevent the Germans from invading their country? Do you think Hitler was wise in canceling the attempted invasion? **CA HI.4**
- 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 547 and 548. 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.

CA 11WS1.6; 11WA2.4b; 11WA2.4d

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned how Hitler's aggressive actions led to World War II. In this section, you will discover the Nazi ideology about Jews and the "final solution."

Main Idea

- The Nazis blamed the Jews for everything and required them to resign their jobs and wear special clothing or live in specially designated sections of town. (p. 550)
- Hitler's atrocities included sending millions of Jews to concentration camps and extermination camps. (p. 553)

Content Vocabulary

Holocaust, concentration camp, extermination camp

Academic Vocabulary

implement, prohibit, method

People and Terms to Identify

Shoah, Nuremberg Laws, Wannsee Conference

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.

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	_____

Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.7.5 Discuss the constitutional issues and impact of events on the U.S. home front, including the internment of Japanese Americans (e.g., *Fred Korematsu v. United States of America*) and the restrictions on German and Italian resident aliens; the response of the administration to Hitler's atrocities against Jews and other groups; the roles of women in military production; and the roles and growing political demands of African Americans.

11.7.6 Describe major developments in aviation, weaponry, communication, and medicine and the war's impact on the location of American industry and use of resources.

The Big Idea

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events.

Once the Nazis had taken power in Germany, they quickly acted on Hitler's racial policies. They enacted laws denying citizenship to Jews and taking away their rights. Soon Jews faced severe unemployment and violence. Many Jews tried to flee the country, and some managed to escape to the United States or other European countries. Immigration was made difficult because many countries, including the United States, imposed restrictions. Jews who remained in Germany faced the concentration camps and extermination camps that marked the Nazis' pursuit of the "final solution."

Nazi Persecution of the Jews

Main Idea The Nazis blamed the Jews for everything and required them to resign their jobs and wear special clothing or live in specially designated sections of town.

Reading Connection Describe how you would feel and react if you were a Jewish person living under these restrictions in Nazi Germany. Read on to learn about the prejudice against Jewish people in Nazi Germany.

During the **Holocaust**, the catastrophe that ravaged Europe's Jews, the Nazis killed nearly 6 million Jews. The Nazis also killed 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.

★ *An American Story* ★

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*

Mira Ryczke and her family were only a few of the millions of Jews who suffered terrible persecution before and 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 people with disabilities, 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.



◀ Mira Ryczke

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

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.



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 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."

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.



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

Main Idea Hitler's atrocities included sending millions of Jews to concentration camps and extermination camps.

Reading Connection Explain your opinion on forcing political prisoners to work hard labor. Read on to discover more about the work camps the Nazis built.

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. The T4 Project, set up by Hitler, used various methods to kill people with disabilities that were in the government's care in an effort to find the method Nazis would use at extermination camps.

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



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.

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 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 people with disabilities, 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.”

Profiles IN HISTORY

Albert Einstein

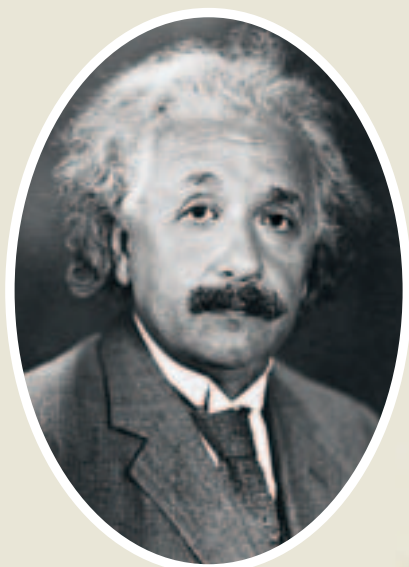
1879–1955

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.”





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.

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

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: Holocaust, implement, prohibit, method, concentration camp, extermination camp.
- People and Terms** Identify: Shoah, Nuremberg Laws, Wannsee Conference.
- List** the groups of people who were persecuted by the Nazis.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Examining** What are some factors that attempt to explain the Holocaust?

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Analyzing** What responsibilities did you think other nations had to stop the persecution of Jews in Germany and German held territories of Europe? **CA HI4**
- 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 551–553. 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 events during the days following *Kristallnacht* as well. **CA 11WA2.1a; 11WA2.1c; 11WA2.3a**

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the Holocaust the Jews faced in Germany. In this section, you will discover how the United States was drawn into the war.

Main Idea

- Despite the Neutrality Act of 1939, FDR supported the British with a destroyer-for-bases deal. (p. 557)
- In the midst of a debate about whether America should remain neutral, Roosevelt was elected for a third term. (p. 558)
- Roosevelt and Congress continued to support the British through the Lend-Lease Act and the idea of a hemispheric defense zone. (p. 559)

- Angered by American policies that aided the British and an embargo on Japanese goods, the Japanese attacked the naval base at Pearl Harbor, forcing the United States to declare war. (p. 561)

Content Vocabulary

hemispheric defense zone, strategic materials

Academic Vocabulary

eliminate, policy, primary

People and Terms to Identify

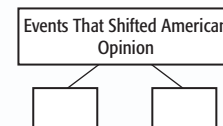
America First Committee, Lend-Lease Act, Atlantic Charter

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.

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.

**Preview of Events**

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.7.1 Examine the origins of American involvement in the war, with an emphasis on the events that precipitated the attack on Pearl Harbor.

11.7.4 Analyze Roosevelt's foreign policies during World War II (e.g., Four Freedoms speech).

The Big Idea**The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events.**

While Jews faced the Holocaust in Germany, Americans continued to debate isolationist policy. President Roosevelt declared the United States officially neutral at the beginning of the war, but he supported laws that allowed him to help Great Britain. He was able to make a destroyers-for-bases deal with Britain and pushed through the Lend-Lease Act. To establish safe shipping in the Atlantic, he developed the idea of a hemispheric defense zone. At the same time, Roosevelt began policies to discourage Japan from attacking the British Empire in the Pacific, restricting exports to Japan and extending aid to China. When Japan sent troops to Indochina, the president added further restrictions. Japan responded by attacking the U.S. naval base in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

FDR Supports England

Main Idea Despite the Neutrality Act of 1939, FDR supported the British with a destroyer-for-bases deal.

Reading Connection Should presidents be able to work around the decisions of Congress? Read on to learn how Roosevelt followed his own instincts to help Britain.

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked the Pearl Harbor naval base in Hawaii. The attack surprised many Americans. Most people had believed that Germany posed the greatest danger.

★ *An American Story* ★

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*

What Americans did not realize was that the causes of the Japanese attack could be traced back more than 40 years to the tension between the United States and Japan over the Open Door Policy. This tension escalated two years earlier with President Roosevelt’s policies for helping Britain against Germany.

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.

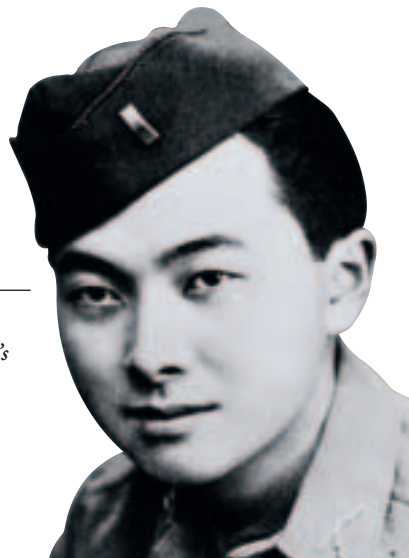
He asked Congress to **eliminate** the ban on arms sales to nations at war. Public opinion strongly supported the president. Congress passed the new law, but isolationists demanded a price for the revision. Under the Neutrality Act of 1939, warring nations could buy weapons from the United States only 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?

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





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?**

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** in September of 1940. The America First Committee was 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 committee attempted to influence elections and public opinion in support of isolationism with speeches and publications.

The Election of 1940 The heated debate over neutrality took place in the midst of the 1940 presidential election campaign. For several 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, many people feared that 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?

The Isolationist Debate

Main Idea In the midst of a debate about whether America should remain neutral, Roosevelt was elected for a third term.

Reading Connection Do you believe that holders of public office should be limited in the number of terms they serve? Read on to find out about Roosevelt's decision to break with the traditional two terms of office.


Widespread public acceptance of the destroyers-for-bases deal demonstrated a marked change in American public opinion. Americans were now more open to the idea of assisting the Allies. 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. While most people were open to aiding the Allies, there were those who believed the United States should not offer even limited assistance. In fact, beginning in the spring of 1940, a spirited

Edging Toward War

Main Idea Roosevelt and Congress continued to support the British through the Lend-Lease Act and the idea of a hemispheric defense zone.

Reading Connection How far from its shores should a nation defend its borders? Read on to discover how Roosevelt expanded the area of American defense.

With the election safely over, President Roosevelt was able to expand the nation's role in the war. Britain was fighting for democracy, he said, and the United States had to help Britain in this endeavor. Speaking to Congress, the president 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 999 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. Since Britain was unable to provide the cash needed to purchase weapons, 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 much needed weapons to Britain without cash payment 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.



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?](#)

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

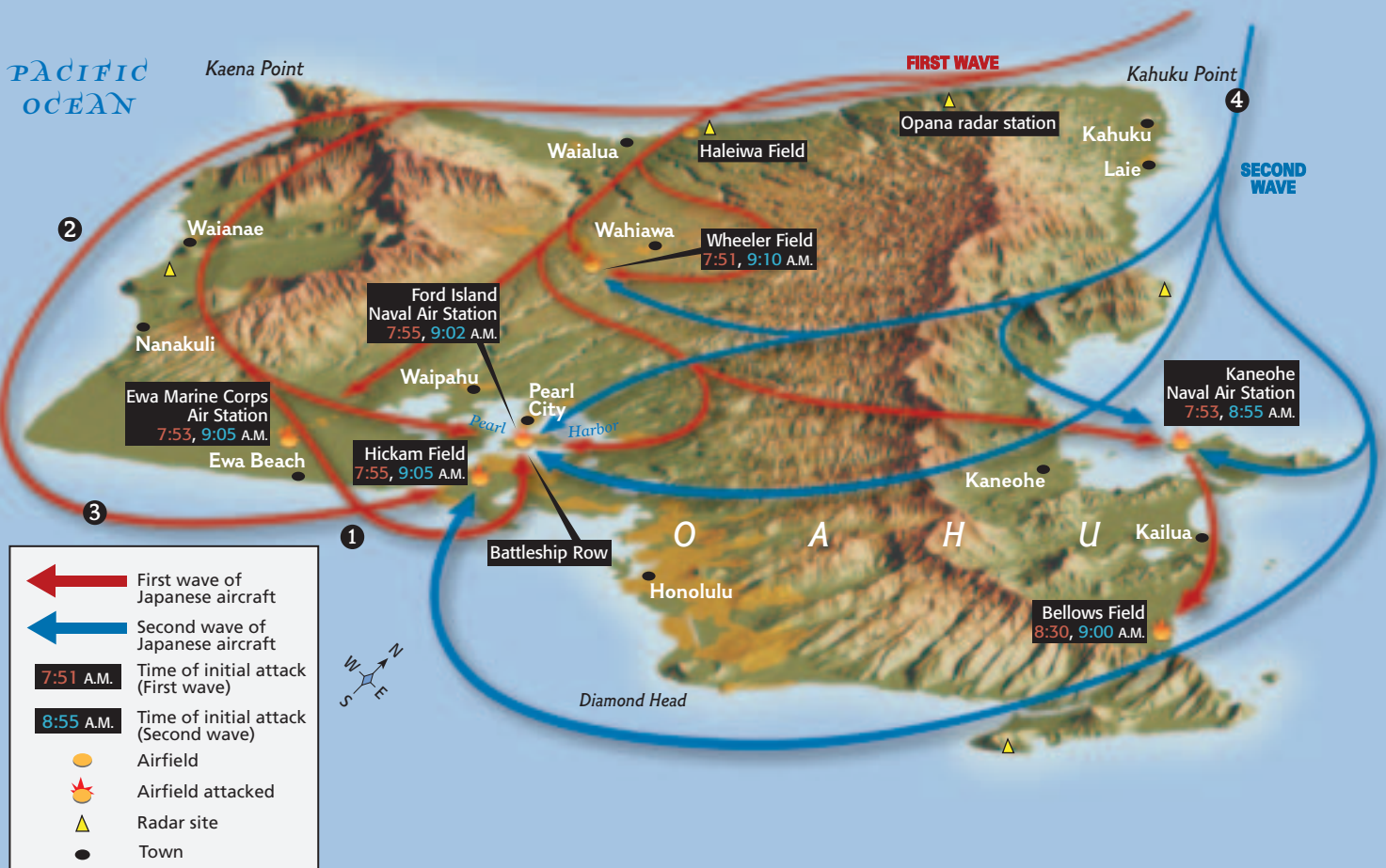
to Britain. German submarines patrolling the Atlantic Ocean were sinking hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping each month, and the British navy simply did not have enough ships in the Atlantic to stop them.

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 locations of German submarines to the British.

The Atlantic Charter In August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met face-to-face onboard 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 leaders to a postwar world of democracy, nonaggression, free



Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, December 7, 1941



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 with the United States the following month when they targeted 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

Main Idea **Angered by American policies that aided the British and an embargo on Japanese goods, the Japanese attacked the naval base at Pearl Harbor, forcing the United States to declare war.**

Reading Connection Do you know of a situation in which a person became involved in a dispute because a friend or family member was involved? Read on to learn how Japan and its allies were able to draw the United States into a world conflict.

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.



- 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.



Americans responded heroically to Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor: 16 men received the Medal of Honor, the nation’s highest award; 5 were awarded the Distinguished Service Cross; and 69 received the Silver Star. The Navy Cross was awarded to another 51, including Dorie Miller, World War II’s first recognized African American hero, who bravely operated an antiaircraft gun on his ship during the Japanese attack.

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.

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. Despite assistance with weapons from the United States, 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 against the British Empire. 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 against Japan 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. The Japanese 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.

Japan Attacks Pearl Harbor The Japanese government appeared to be continuing negotiations with the United States in good faith. This was part of Japan's strategy to surprise the United States. American intelligence had decoded Japanese communications that made it clear that Japan had no intention of reaching an agreement and, instead, was preparing to go to war against the United States.



◀ *Attack on Pearl Harbor*

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. This would prove to be a fatal error.

The failure to collect sufficient information and the failure of the branches of the U.S. military to share the available information 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 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, unanimously, 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 on the United States.

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 against the United States, 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?



Student Web Activity Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 11** for an activity on Pearl Harbor.



For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

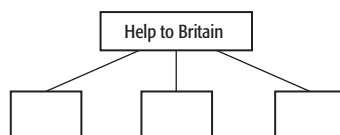
- Vocabulary** Define: eliminate, policy, hemispheric defense zone, primary, strategic materials.
- People and Terms** Identify: America First Committee, Lend-Lease Act, Atlantic Charter.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Justifying** 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 560-561. Based on the geography of Oahu, why was the location of Pearl Harbor selected 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. **CA 11WS1.2**

Primary Sources

Eyewitness to History

With the onset of World War II in Europe, Americans began to debate whether or not to join the fight against Germany. President Franklin D. Roosevelt argued that the United States had an obligation to aid democracies. Many other Americans disagreed. They wanted nothing to do with international affairs and opposed any actions that would lead to war.

SOURCE 1:

James Bryant Conant, the president of Harvard University, strongly supported Roosevelt. From 1939 on, Conant was involved in the Office of Scientific Research and Development, where he chaired the National Defense Research Council and was central in the development of the atomic bomb. In 1940 he was asked to give his opinion about the world crisis confronting the United States.



▲ James Bryant Conant

Let me ask you to visualize our future as a democratic free people in a world dominated by ruthless **totalitarian**¹ states. There are those who argue that Hitler's war machine, when its task is done in Europe, will be converted to an instrument of peaceful industrial activity. I do not think so. There are those who imagine that a government which has broken promise after promise, which has scorned the Democratic countries and all they stand for, which mocks and laughs at free institutions as a basis for civilization – that such a government can live in a peaceful relationship with the United States. I do not think so.

To my mind a complete Nazi victory over France and England would be, by necessity, but a prelude to Hitler's attempt to dominate the world. If Germany were triumphant, at best there would result an armed

truce. . . . Our way of life would be endangered for years to come. . . .

At this moment, today, the war is in effect veering towards our shores. The issue before the United States is, I repeat, can we live as a free, peaceful, relatively unarmed people in a world dominated by the totalitarian states? . . .

. . . Action is the only answer, action which may help immediately, action which will be to the Allies an earnest and encouragement of help to come. . . .

SOURCE 2:

The America First Committee opposed the entrance of the United States into World

War II. It was frequently asked about the national interests of the American people. In 1941 the Committee gave the following response.

It is difficult, of course, to define our national interests, but it is always safe to assume that our chief national interest is the maintenance of our democracy and the well-being of our own American people. It is true that we have a stake in the maintenance of democracy throughout the world. It is also true that many Americans have commercial interests abroad which they are naturally interested in protecting. It is far from certain, however, that this war or our involvement in it will protect any of those interests.

¹ **totalitarian**: a form of government in which the political leader has full control and opposition is outlawed

Our part should be first of all to protect our own democracy. Since experience has taught us that democracy vanishes in wartime, it would seem that the surest way to keep our form of government is to avoid involvement. We should also seek an adequate national defense to make sure that we can maintain our territorial integrity in the event we are attacked by a foreign power.

If, after announcing their intention to stay out of the war, as they have repeatedly done, the American people wish to aid Great Britain, they should do so. But they should make certain to keep aid and direct participation separate.

SOURCE 3:

Charles A. Lindbergh became an international hero in 1927 with the first transatlantic flight. When World War II broke out, he became an outspoken opponent of U.S. involvement. Lindbergh joined the America First Committee and toured the country, giving speeches such as this one reported in the April 24, 1941 New York Times.

It is not only our right, but it is our obligation as American citizens to look at this war objectively and to weigh our chances for success if we should enter it. I have attempted to do this, especially from the standpoint of aviation; and I have been forced to the conclusion that we cannot win this war for England, regardless of how much assistance we send.

I ask you to look at the map of Europe today and see if you can suggest any way in which we could win this war if we entered it. Suppose we had a large army in America, trained and equipped. Where would we send it to fight? The campaigns of the war show only too clearly how difficult it is to force a landing, or to maintain an army, on a hostile coast. . . .

The United States is better situated from a military standpoint than any other nation in the world. Even in our present condition of unpreparedness no foreign power is in a position to invade us today. If we concentrate on our own defenses and build the strength that



▲ *Charles Lindbergh at an America First Committee rally*

this nation should maintain, no foreign army will ever attempt to land on American shores.

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. . . .

The time has come when those of us who believe in an independent American destiny must band together and organize for strength. We have been led toward war by a minority of our people. This minority has power. It has influence. It has a loud voice. But it does not represent the American people.

DBQ Document-Based Questions

Historical Analysis

CA HR4; HI3

Source 1: Why does Conant believe that the United States should join the war?

Source 2: According to America First, what are the obligations of the United States?

Source 3: Why does Lindbergh believe that the United States can avoid the war?

Comparing and Contrasting Sources

How do Conant, Lindbergh, and America First Committee differ in their views about the best way to protect the United States?

Reviewing Content Vocabulary

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

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

Reviewing Academic Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence that reflects the term's meaning in the chapter.

- | | | |
|------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 10. impose | 13. furthermore | 16. prohibit |
| 11. civil | 14. anticipate | 17. policy |
| 12. regime | 15. implement | 18. primary |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

Section 1

19. Who was the leader of Fascist Italy?

Section 2

20. Why was Austria easier for Hitler to annex than Czechoslovakia?

Section 3

21. What were four ways that Nazis persecuted Jews?

Section 4

22. In what three ways did Roosevelt help Britain during the early years of World War II while maintaining an American policy of neutrality?

Critical Thinking

23. **Reading Skill** **Making Inferences** Review the text "Jewish Refugees Try to Flee" on pages 552–553. Explain what factors limited Jewish immigration to the United States. Why did other countries not allow entrance for the refugees? Discuss your answers with a partner. How do your answers differ from those of your partner?
24. **Analyze** How did the rise of dictatorships and the attack on Pearl Harbor cause the United States to become involved in World War II?
25. **Civics** How did President Roosevelt use the power of the executive office to support the British and circumvent the Neutrality Acts?

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

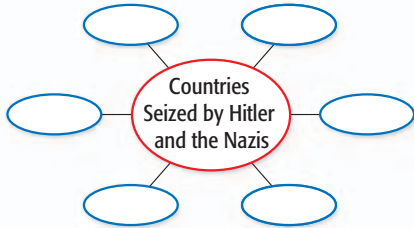
- Along with Great Britain, tried to appease Hitler
- Declared war on Germany in 1939 after Poland was invaded
- Occupied by Nazis in 1940



Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 11** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

26. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list countries that Hitler and the Nazis seized between 1936 and 1940.



Writing About History

27. **Historical Analysis** **Understanding Change** Explain why some individuals believe the policy of appeasement was a cause for World War II. Do you think the war may have causes other than appeasement? Explain your answer.
CA HI.2
28. **Big Idea** Research and write a report explaining at least three possible reasons why the Japanese attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor.

DBQ Document-Based Questions

29. **Interpreting Primary Sources** The America First Committee organized to prevent American involvement in the war. On April 24, 1941, aviator Charles Lindbergh, a leading spokesperson for this committee, delivered a speech in New York. 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.”

- a. Why did Lindbergh favor isolationism?
b. How do you think Lindbergh might have felt about isolationism after the attack on Pearl Harbor? **CA 11RL3.8**



Geography and History

30. The map above shows Nazi concentration and extermination camps. Study it and answer these questions.
- a. **Interpreting Maps** In which two countries were most of the concentration and extermination camps located? Why were they located there?
b. **Applying Geography Skills** What can you conclude about the extent of the Nazis’ “final solution”?

Standards Practice



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

31. When Roosevelt signed the Lend-Lease Act in 1941, he said that the United States must become the “arsenal of democracy” in order to
- A end the Depression.
B help the Axis powers.
C remain neutral.
D help Great Britain.

Standard 11.7.1: Examine the origins of American involvement in the war, with an emphasis on the events that precipitated the attack on Pearl Harbor.