

America Moves Toward War

MAIN IDEA	WHY IT MATTERS NOW	Terms & Names
In response to the fighting in Europe, the United States provided economic and military aid to help the Allies achieve victory.	The military capability of the U. S. became a deciding factor in World War II and in world affairs ever since.	•Axis powers •Lend-Lease Act •Atlantic Charter •Allies •Hideki Tojo

One American's Story

Two days after Hitler invaded Poland, President Roosevelt spoke reassuringly to Americans about the outbreak of war in Europe.

A Personal Voice FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

"This nation will remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well. . . . Even a neutral cannot be asked to close his mind or his conscience. . . . I have said not once, but many times, that I have seen war and I hate war. . . . As long as it is my power to prevent, there will be no blackout of peace in the U.S."

—radio speech, September 3, 1939

Although Roosevelt knew that Americans were still deeply committed to staying out of war, he also believed that there could be no peace in a world controlled by dictators.



▲ Franklin D. Roosevelt

The United States Musters Its Forces

As German tanks thundered across Poland, Roosevelt revised the Neutrality Act of 1935. At the same time, he began to prepare the nation for the struggle he feared lay just ahead.

MOVING CAUTIOUSLY AWAY FROM NEUTRALITY In September of 1939, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to pass a "cash-and-carry" provision that allowed warring nations to buy U.S. arms as long as they paid cash and transported them in their own ships. Providing the arms, Roosevelt argued, would help France and Britain defeat Hitler and keep the United States out of the war. Isolationists attacked Roosevelt for his actions. However, after six weeks of heated debate, Congress passed the Neutrality Act of 1939, and a cash-and-carry policy went into effect.

Analyzing Political Cartoons

CARVING IT UP

The three Axis nations—Germany, Italy, and Japan—were a threat to the entire world. They believed they were superior and more powerful than other nations, especially democracies. By signing a mutual defense pact, the Axis powers believed the United States would never risk involvement in a two-ocean war. This cartoon shows the Axis powers' obsession with global domination.

SKILLBUILDER **Analyzing Political Cartoons**

1. What are the Axis leaders—Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo—greedily carving up?
2. What do you think the artist means by showing Hitler doing the carving?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.



THE AXIS THREAT The United States cash-and-carry policy began to look like too little, too late. By summer 1940, France had fallen and Britain was under siege. In September 1940, Americans were jolted by the news that Germany, Italy, and Japan had signed a mutual defense treaty, the Tripartite Pact. The three nations became known as the **Axis powers.**

The Tripartite Pact was aimed at keeping the United States out of the war. Under the treaty, each Axis nation agreed to come to the defense of the others in case of attack. This meant that if the United States were to declare war on any one of the Axis powers, it would face its worst military nightmare—a two-ocean war, with fighting in both the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Hoping to avoid this situation, Roosevelt scrambled to provide the British with "all aid short of war." By June 1940, he had sent Britain 500,000 rifles and 80,000 machine guns. In September, after the Tripartite Pact was signed, the United States traded 50 old destroyers for leases on British military bases in the Caribbean and Newfoundland. British prime minister Winston Churchill would later recall this move with affection as "a decidedly unneutral act."

BUILDING U.S DEFENSES Meanwhile, Roosevelt asked Congress to increase spending for national defense. In spite of years of isolationism, Nazi victories in 1940 changed U.S. thinking, and Congress boosted defense spending. Congress also passed the nation's first peacetime military draft—the Selective Training and Service Act. Under this law 16 million men between the ages of 21 and 35 were registered. Of these, 1 million were to be drafted for one year but were only allowed to serve in the Western Hemisphere. Roosevelt himself drew the first draft numbers as he told a national radio audience, "This is a most solemn ceremony." A

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

A What impact did the outbreak of war in Europe have on U.S. foreign and defense policy?

ROOSEVELT RUNS FOR A THIRD TERM That same year, Roosevelt decided to break the tradition of a two-term presidency, begun by George Washington, and run for reelection. To the great disappointment of isolationists, Roosevelt's Republican opponent, a public utilities executive named Wendell Willkie, supported Roosevelt's policy of aiding Britain. At the same time, both Willkie and Roosevelt promised to keep the nation out of war. Because there was so little difference between the candidates, the majority of voters chose the one they knew best. Roosevelt was reelected with nearly 55 percent of the votes cast.

"The Great Arsenal of Democracy"

Not long after the election, President Roosevelt told his radio audience during a fireside chat that it would be impossible to negotiate a peace with Hitler. "No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it." He warned that if Britain fell, the Axis powers would be left unchallenged to conquer the world, at which point, he said, "all of us in all the Americas would be living at the point of a gun." To prevent such a situation, the United States had to help defeat the Axis threat by turning itself into what Roosevelt called "the great arsenal of democracy."

THE LEND-LEASE PLAN By late 1940, however, Britain had no more cash to spend in the arsenal of democracy. Roosevelt tried to help by suggesting a new plan that he called a lend-lease policy. Under this plan, the president would lend or lease arms and other supplies to "any country whose defense was vital to the United States."

Vocabulary
lease: to grant use or occupation of under the terms of a contract

Roosevelt compared his plan to lending a garden hose to a neighbor whose house was on fire. He asserted that this was the only sensible thing to do to prevent the fire from spreading to your own property. Isolationists argued bitterly against the plan, but most Americans favored it, and Congress passed the **Lend-Lease Act** in March 1941.

POINT

"The United States should not become involved in European wars."

Still recovering from World War I and struggling with the Great Depression, many Americans believed their country should remain strictly neutral in the war in Europe.

Representative James F. O'Connor voiced the country's reservations when he asked, "Dare we set America up and commit her as the financial and military blood bank of the rest of the world?" O'Connor maintained that the United States could not "right every wrong" or "police [the] world."

The widely admired aviator Charles Lindbergh risked his reputation by stating his hope that "the future of America . . . not be tied to these eternal wars in Europe." Lindbergh asserted that "Americans [should] fight anybody and everybody who attempts to interfere with our hemisphere." However, he went on to say, "Our safety does not lie in fighting European wars. It lies in our own internal strength, in the character of the American people and American institutions." Like many isolationists, Lindbergh believed that democracy would not be saved "by the forceful imposition of our ideals abroad, but by example of their successful operation at home."

COUNTERPOINT

"The United States must protect democracies throughout the world."

As the conflict in Europe deepened, interventionists embraced President Franklin D. Roosevelt's declaration that "when peace has been broken anywhere, peace of all countries everywhere is in danger." Roosevelt emphasized the global character of 20th-century commerce and communication by noting, "Every word that comes through the air, every ship that sails the sea, every battle that is fought does affect the American future."

Roosevelt and other political leaders also appealed to the nation's conscience. Secretary of State Cordell Hull noted that the world was "face to face . . . with an organized, ruthless, and implacable movement of steadily expanding conquest." In the same vein, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles called Hitler "a sinister and pitiless conqueror [who] has reduced more than half of Europe to abject serfdom."

After the war expanded into the Atlantic, Roosevelt declared, "It is time for all Americans . . . to stop being deluded by the romantic notion that the Americas can go on living happily and peacefully in a Nazi-dominated world." He added, "Let us not ask ourselves whether the Americas should begin to defend themselves after the first attack . . . or the twentieth attack. The time for active defense is now."

THINKING CRITICALLY

1. **CONNECT TO TODAY** **Making Inferences** After World War I, many Americans became isolationists. Do you recommend that the United States practice isolationism today? Why or why not?
2. **CONNECT TO HISTORY** **Researching and Reporting** Do research to find out more about Charles Lindbergh's antiwar activities. Present yor findings in an editorial.

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R34.

MAIN IDEA

Drawing Conclusions

B Why did Roosevelt take one "unneutral" step after another to assist Britain and the Soviet Union in 1941?

SUPPORTING STALIN Britain was not the only nation to receive lend-lease aid. In June 1941, Hitler broke the agreement he had made in 1939 with Stalin not to go to war and invaded the Soviet Union. Acting on the principle that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," Roosevelt began sending lend-lease supplies to the Soviet Union. Some Americans opposed providing aid to Stalin; Roosevelt, however, agreed with Winston Churchill, who had said "if Hitler invaded Hell," the British would be prepared to work with the devil himself. B

GERMAN WOLF PACKS Providing lend-lease aid was one thing, but to ensure the safe delivery of goods to Britain and to the Soviet Union, supply lines had to be kept open across the Atlantic Ocean. To prevent delivery of lend-lease shipments, Hitler deployed hundreds of German submarines—U-boats—to attack supply ships.

From the spring through the fall of 1941, individual surface attacks by individual U-boats gave way to what became known as the wolf pack attack. At night groups of up to 40 submarines patrolled areas in the North Atlantic where convoys could be expected. Wolf packs were successful in sinking as much as 350,000 tons of shipments in a single month. In June 1941, President Roosevelt granted the navy permission for U.S. warships to attack German U-boats in self-defense. By late 1943, the submarine menace was contained by electronic detection techniques (especially radar), and by airborne antisubmarine patrols operating from small escort aircraft carriers.

Click to Activate

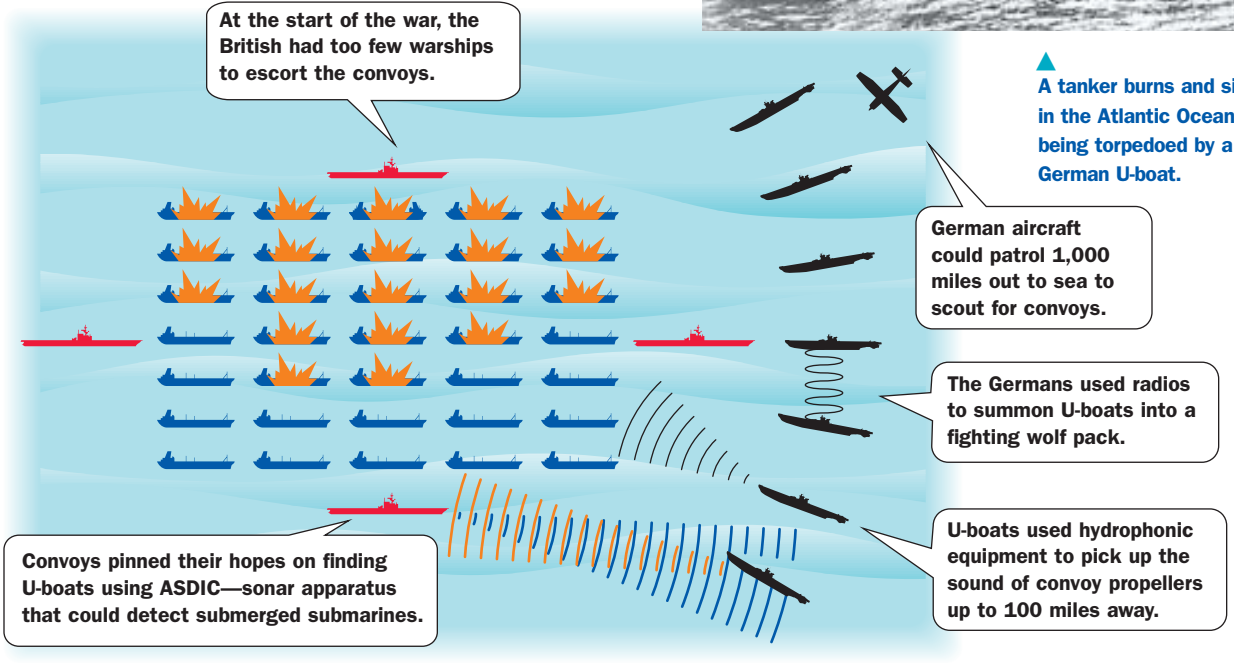
Science & Technology

GERMAN WOLF PACKS

On October 17, 1940, near Rockall, west of Ireland, a British Convoy, SC-7 (shown below), was attacked by a German wolf pack. The convoy was outlined clearly against a moonlit sky, making the merchant ships easy prey.



▲ A tanker burns and sinks in the Atlantic Ocean after being torpedoed by a German U-boat.



FDR Plans for War

Although Roosevelt was popular, his foreign policy was under constant attack. American forces were seriously underarmed. Roosevelt's August 1941 proposal to extend the term of draftees passed in the House of Representatives by only one vote. With the army provided for, Roosevelt began planning for the war he was certain would come.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER While Congress voted on the extension of the draft, Roosevelt and Churchill met secretly at a summit aboard the battleship USS *Augusta*. Although Churchill hoped for a military commitment, he settled for a joint declaration of war aims, called the **Atlantic Charter.** Both countries pledged the following: collective security, disarmament, self-determination, economic cooperation, and freedom of the seas. Roosevelt disclosed to Churchill that he couldn't ask Congress for a declaration of war against Germany, but "he would wage war" and do "everything" to "force an incident."

The Atlantic Charter became the basis of a new document called "A Declaration of the United Nations." The term *United Nations* was suggested by Roosevelt to express the common purpose of the **Allies**, those nations that had fought the Axis powers. The declaration was signed by 26 nations, "four-fifths of the human race" observed Churchill. C

MAIN IDEA
Summarizing
C Why was the Atlantic Charter important?

SHOOT ON SIGHT After a German submarine fired on the U.S. destroyer *Greer* in the Atlantic on September 4, 1941, Roosevelt ordered navy commanders to respond. "When you see a rattlesnake poised to strike," the president explained, "you crush him." Roosevelt ordered the navy to shoot the German submarines on sight.

Two weeks later, the *Pink Star*, an American merchant ship, was sunk off Greenland. In mid-October, a U-boat torpedoed the U.S. destroyer *Kearny*, and 11 lives were lost.

Days later, German U-boats sank the U.S. destroyer *Reuben James*, killing more than 100 sailors. "America has been attacked," Roosevelt announced grimly. "The shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot." As the death toll mounted, the Senate finally repealed the ban against arming merchant ships. A formal declaration of a full-scale war seemed inevitable. D

MAIN IDEA
Analyzing Causes
D Why did the United States enter into an undeclared shooting war with Germany in fall 1941?

KEY PLAYER



HIDEKI TOJO
1884–1948

U.S. newspapers described Hideki Tojo as "smart, hard-boiled, resourceful, [and] contemptuous of theories, sentiments, and negotiations."

The Nazi press in Germany praised Tojo as "a man charged with energy, thinking clearly and with a single purpose." To a British paper, Tojo was "the son of Satan" whose single purpose was "unleashing all hell on the Far East." In Japan, however, Tojo was looked up to as a man whose "decisive leadership was a signal for the nation to rise and administer a great shock to the anti-Axis powers."

Japan Attacks the United States

The United States was now involved in an undeclared naval war with Hitler. However, the attack that brought the United States into the war came from Japan.

JAPAN'S AMBITIONS IN THE PACIFIC Germany's European victories created new opportunities for Japanese expansionists. Japan was already in control of Manchuria. In July 1937, **Hideki Tojo** (hē′d-kē tō′jō′), chief of staff of Japan's Kwantung Army, launched the invasion into China. As French, Dutch, and British colonies lay unprotected in Asia, Japanese leaders leaped at the opportunity to unite East Asia under Japanese control by seizing the colonial lands. By 1941, the British were too busy fighting Hitler to block Japanese expansion. Only the U.S. and its Pacific islands remained in Japan's way.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

E How was oil a source of conflict between Japan and the United States?

The Japanese began their southward push in July 1941 by taking over French military bases in Indochina (now Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos). The United States protested this new act of aggression by cutting off trade with Japan. The embargoed goods included one Japan could not live without—oil to fuel its war machine. Japanese military leaders warned that without oil, Japan could be defeated without its enemies ever striking a blow. The leaders declared that Japan must either persuade the United States to end its oil embargo or seize the oil fields in the Dutch East Indies. This would mean war. E

PEACE TALKS ARE QUESTIONED Shortly after becoming the prime minister of Japan, Hideki Tojo met with emperor Hirohito. Tojo promised the emperor that the Japanese government would attempt to preserve peace with the Americans. But on November 5, 1941, Tojo ordered the Japanese navy to prepare for an attack on the United States.

The U.S. military had broken Japan's secret communication codes and learned that Japan was preparing for a strike. What it didn't know was where the attack would come. Late in November, Roosevelt sent out a "war warning" to military commanders in Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines. If war could not be avoided, the warning said, "the United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act." And the nation waited.

The peace talks went on for a month. Then on December 6, 1941, Roosevelt received a decoded message that instructed Japan's peace envoy to reject all American peace proposals. "This means war," Roosevelt declared.

THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR Early the next morning, a Japanese dive-bomber swooped low over Pearl Harbor—the largest U.S. naval base in the Pacific. The bomber was followed by more than 180 Japanese warplanes launched from six aircraft carriers. As the first Japanese bombs found their targets, a radio operator flashed this message: "Air raid on Pearl Harbor. This is not a drill."

For an hour and a half, the Japanese planes were barely disturbed by U.S. antiaircraft guns and blasted target after target. By the time the last plane soared off around 9:30 A.M., the devastation was appalling. John Garcia, a pipe fitter's apprentice, was there.



▲ Newspaper headlines announce the surprise Japanese attack.

A PERSONAL VOICE JOHN GARCIA

"It was a mess. I was working on the U.S.S. *Shaw.* It was on a floating dry dock. It was in flames. I started to go down into the pipe fitter's shop to get my toolbox when another wave of Japanese came in. I got under a set of concrete steps at the dry dock where the battleship *Pennsylvania* was. An officer came by and asked me to go into the *Pennsylvania* and try to get the fires out. A bomb had penetrated the marine deck, and . . . three decks below. Under that was the magazines: ammunition, powder, shells. I said "There ain't no way I'm gonna go down there." It could blow up any minute. I was young and 16, not stupid."

—quoted in *The Good War*

Click to Activate

Japanese Aggression, 1931–1941

N
W
E
S

SOVIET UNION
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
Peking
Yellow R.
KOREA
JAPAN
CHINA
Shanghai
Yangtze R.
Ryukyu Islands
Formosa
Hong Kong
BURMA
THAILAND
FRENCH INDOCHINA
PHILIPPINES
MALAYA
Singapore
DUTCH EAST INDIES
AUSTRALIA
INDIAN OCEAN
Sakhalin
Kamchatka
Kurile Islands
150°E
165°E
PACIFIC OCEAN
Midway Islands
Tropic of Cancer
Mariana Islands
Wake Island
Guam
Caroline Islands
Marshall Islands
New Guinea
Solomon Islands
15°S
0°
Hawaiian Islands (U.S.)

Pearl Harbor Invasion, Dec. 7, 1941

Pearl Harbor Invasion



U.S. Ships at Pearl Harbor



Japanese Empire in 1931
Areas under Japanese control, 1941
Extent of Japanese control, 1941
0 600 1,200 miles
0 600 1,200 kilometers



At Pearl Harbor, American sailors are rescued by motorboat after their battleships, the USS *West Virginia* and the USS *Tennessee*, were bombed.

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

1. **Region** Which countries had Japan invaded by 1941?
2. **Movement** Notice the placement of the U.S. ships in Pearl Harbor—on the lower inset map. What might the navy have done differently to minimize damage from a surprise attack?

In less than two hours, the Japanese had killed 2,403 Americans and wounded 1,178 more. The surprise raid had sunk or damaged 21 ships, including 8 battleships—nearly the whole U.S. Pacific fleet. More than 300 aircraft were severely damaged or destroyed. These losses constituted greater damage than the U.S. Navy had suffered in all of World War I. By chance, three aircraft carriers at sea escaped the disaster. Their survival would prove crucial to the war's outcome.

REACTION TO PEARL HARBOR In Washington, the mood ranged from outrage to panic. At the White House, Eleanor Roosevelt watched closely as her husband absorbed the news from Hawaii, "each report more terrible than the last." Beneath the president's calm, Eleanor could see how worried he was. "I never wanted to have to fight this war on two fronts," Roosevelt told his wife. "We haven't the Navy to fight in both the Atlantic and the Pacific . . . so we will have to build up the Navy and the Air Force and that will mean that we will have to take a good many defeats before we can have a victory."

The next day, President Roosevelt addressed Congress. "Yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy," he said, "[the Japanese launched] an unprovoked and dastardly attack." Congress quickly approved Roosevelt's request for a declaration of war against Japan. Three days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.

Vocabulary
infamy: evil fame or reputation

For all the damage done at Pearl Harbor, perhaps the greatest was to the cause of isolationism. Many who had been former isolationists now supported an all-out American effort. After the surprise attack, isolationist senator Burton Wheeler proclaimed, "The only thing now to do is to lick the hell out of them."

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

WAR AND THE DEPRESSION

The approach of war did what all the programs of the New Deal could not do—end the Great Depression. As defense spending skyrocketed in 1940, long-idle factories came back to life. A merry-go-round company began producing gun mounts; a stove factory made lifeboats; a famous New York toy maker made compasses; a pinball-machine company made armor-piercing shells.

With factories hiring again, the nation's unemployment rolls began shrinking rapidly—by 400,000 in August 1940 and by another 500,000 in September. By the time the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, America was heading back to work. (See *Keynesian Economics* on page R42 in the Economics Handbook.)

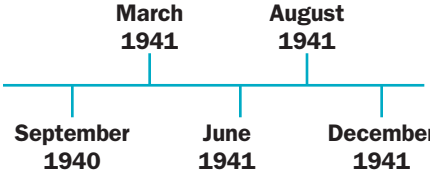
SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- **Axis powers**
- **Lend-Lease Act**
- **Atlantic Charter**
- **Allies**
- **Hideki Tojo**

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES
Create a time line of key events leading to America's entry into World War II. Use the dates below as a guide.



Which of the events that you listed was most influential in bringing the United States into the war? Why?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING DECISIONS
Do you think that the United States should have waited to be attacked before declaring war? **Think About:**

- the reputation of the United States
- the influence of isolationists
- the events at Pearl Harbor

4. PREDICTING EFFECTS
What problem would the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor solve for Roosevelt? What new problems would it create?

5. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES
Although the U.S. Congress was still unwilling to declare war early in 1941, Churchill told his war cabinet,

> **"We must have patience and trust to the tide which is flowing our way, and to events."**

What do you think Churchill meant by this remark? Support your answer.