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**Franklin D. Roosevelt
and the Shadow of War,
1933–1941****PART I: Reviewing the Chapter****A. Checklist of Learning Objectives**

After mastering this chapter, you should be able to

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

B. Glossary

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

1. **Exchange rate** The monetary ratio according to which one currency is convertible into another, e.g., American dollars vis-à-vis German deutschmarks, which determines their value relative to one another. "Exchange-rate stabilization was essential to revival of world trade . . ." (p. 806)
2. **militarist** Someone who glorifies military values or institutions and extends them into the political and social spheres. "Yet in Tokyo, Japanese militarists were calculating that they had little to fear. . . ." (p. 807)
3. **totalitarianism** A political system of absolute control, in which all social, moral, and religious values and institutions are put in direct service of the state. "Post-1918 chaos in Europe, followed by the Great Depression, fostered the ominous spread of totalitarianism." (p. 809)
4. **quarantine** In politics, isolating a nation by refusing to have economic or diplomatic dealings with it. ". . . they feared that a moral quarantine would lead to a shooting quarantine." (p. 812)
5. **division** The major unit of military organization, usually about 3,000 to 10,000 strong, into which most modern armies are organized. ". . . he sent his mechanized divisions crashing into Poland at dawn on September 1, 1939." (p. 813)
6. **unilateral** In politics, concerning a policy or action undertaken by only one nation. "This ancient dictum [was] hitherto unilateral. . . ." (p. 815)
7. **multilateral** In politics, referring to a policy or action undertaken by more than one nation. "Now multilateral, [the Monroe Doctrine bludgeon] was to be wielded by twenty-one pairs of American hands. . . ." (p. 815)
8. **steppes** The great plains of southeastern Europe and Asia. "The two fiends could now slit each other's throats on the icy steppes of Russia." (p. 822)

9. **convoy (v.)** To escort militarily, for purposes of protection. (The escorting ships or troops is called a convoy.) "Roosevelt made the fateful decision to convoy in July 1941." (p. 823)
10. **warlord** A leader or ruler who maintains power by continually waging war, often against other similar rulers or local military leaders. ". . . Roosevelt had resolutely held off an embargo, lest he goad the Tokyo warlords. . . ." (p. 824)
11. **hara-kiri** Traditional Japanese ritual suicide. "Japan's *hara-kiri* gamble in Hawaii paid off only in the short run." (p. 825)

PART II: Checking Your Progress

A. True-False

Where the statement is true, mark T. Where it is false, mark F, and correct it in the space immediately below.

- ___ 1. Roosevelt's policy toward the 1933 London Economic Conference showed his concern for establishing a stable international economic order.
- ___ 2. Roosevelt adhered to his Good Neighbor principle of nonintervention in Latin America even when Mexico seized American oil companies in 1938.
- ___ 3. American isolationism was caused partly by deep disillusionment with U.S. participation in World War I.
- ___ 4. The Neutrality Acts of the mid-1930s prevented Americans from lending money or selling weapons to warring nations and from sailing on belligerent ships.
- ___ 5. Despite the neutrality laws, the United States provided some assistance to the Spanish Loyalist government in its Civil War with the Fascistic General Franco.
- ___ 6. The United States reacted strongly when Japan sank the American gunboat *Panay* in Chinese waters.
- ___ 7. The United States attempted to dissuade the Western democracies from pursuing their policy of appeasing Hitler's aggressive demands.
- ___ 8. The "cash-and-carry" Neutrality Act of 1939 allowed America to aid the Allies without making loans or transporting weapons on U.S. ships.
- ___ 9. The fall of France to Hitler in 1940 strengthened U.S. determination to stay neutral.
- ___ 10. Isolationists argued that economic and military aid to Britain would inevitably lead to U.S. involvement in the European war.
- ___ 11. Republican presidential nominee Willkie joined the isolationist attack on Roosevelt's pro-Britain policy in the 1940 campaign.
- ___ 12. The 1941 Lend-Lease Act marked the effective abandonment of U.S. neutrality and the beginning of naval clashes with Germany.
- ___ 13. The Atlantic Charter was an agreement on future war aims signed by Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

- ___ 14. U.S. warships were already being damaged and sunk in clashes with the German navy before Pearl Harbor.
- ___ 15. The focal point of conflict between the United States and Japan in the pre-Pearl Harbor negotiations was Japan's refusal to withdraw from the Dutch East Indies.

B. Multiple Choice

Select the best answer and write the proper letter in the space provided.

- ___ 1. Roosevelt torpedoed the London Economic Conference of 1933 because
- he wanted to concentrate primarily on the recovery of the American domestic economy.
 - he saw the hand of Hitler and Mussolini behind the conference's proposals.
 - he was firmly committed to the gold standard.
 - he wanted economic cooperation only between the United States and Britain, not the rest of Europe.
- ___ 2. Seeking to withdraw from overseas commitments and colonial expense, the United States in 1934 promised future independence to
- Puerto Rico.
 - the Virgin Islands.
 - the Philippines.
 - Cuba.
- ___ 3. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America included
- a substantial program of American economic aid for Latin American countries.
 - a renunciation of American intervention in Mexico or elsewhere in the region.
 - an American military presence to block German influence in Argentina and Brazil.
 - an American pledge to transfer the Panama Canal to Panama by the year 2000.
- ___ 4. The immediate response of most Americans to the rise of the Fascist dictators Mussolini and Hitler was
- a call for a new military alliance to contain aggression.
 - a focus on political cooperation with Britain and the Soviet Union.
 - support for the Spanish government against Fascist rebels.
 - a deeper commitment to remain isolated from European problems.
- ___ 5. The Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937 provided that
- the United States would remain neutral in any war between Britain and Germany.
 - Americans could not sail on belligerent ships, sell munitions, or make loans to nations at war.
 - no belligerent could conduct propaganda campaigns, sell goods, or make loans within the United States.
 - the United States would take the lead in neutral efforts to end the wars in China and Ethiopia.

- ___ 6. The effect of the strict American arms embargo during the civil war between the Loyalist Spanish government and Franco's Fascist rebels was
- to encourage a negotiated political settlement between the warring parties.
 - to strengthen the Spanish government's ability to resist Franco.
 - to push Britain and the Soviet Union to intervene in the Spanish Civil War.
 - to cripple the Loyalist government while the Italians and Germans armed Franco.
- ___ 7. The policy of appeasing the Fascist dictators reached its low point in 1938 when Britain and France sold out Czechoslovakia to Hitler in the conference at
- Geneva.
 - Versailles.
 - Munich.
 - Prague.
- ___ 8. The "cash-and-carry" Neutrality Act of 1939 was cleverly designed to
- guarantee that American policy would not benefit either side in World War II.
 - enable American merchants to provide loans and ships to the Allies.
 - prepare America for involvement in the war.
 - help Britain and France by letting them buy supplies and munitions in the United States.
- ___ 9. The "destroyers-for-bases" deal of 1940 provided that
- the United States would give Britain fifty American destroyers in exchange for eight British bases in North America.
 - the United States would give Britain new bases in North America in exchange for fifty British destroyers.
 - if America entered the war it would receive eight bases in Britain in exchange for American destroyers.
 - the British would transfer captured French destroyers to the United States in exchange for the use of American bases in East Asia.
- ___ 10. The twin events that precipitated the reversal of American policy from neutrality to active, though nonbelligerent, support of the Allied cause were
- the Munich Conference and the invasion of Poland.
 - the fall of France and the Battle of Britain.
 - the fall of Poland and the invasion of Norway.
 - the invasion of the Soviet Union and the German submarine attacks on American shipping.
- ___ 11. In the campaign of 1940, the Republican nominee Willkie essentially agreed with Roosevelt on the issue of
- the New Deal.
 - the third term.
 - Roosevelt's use of power in office.
 - foreign policy.

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

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

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

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

C. Identification

Supply the correct identification for each numbered description.

- _____ 1. International economic conference on stabilizing currency that was sabotaged by FDR
- _____ 2. Nation to which the U.S. promised independence in the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934
- _____ 3. FDR's repudiation of Theodore Roosevelt's corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, stating his intention to work cooperatively with Latin American nations
- _____ 4. A series of laws enacted by Congress in the mid-1930s that attempted to prevent any American involvement in future overseas wars
- _____ 5. Conflict between the rebel Fascist forces of General Francisco Franco and the Loyalist government that severely tested U.S. neutrality legislation
- _____ 6. Roosevelt's 1937 speech that proposed strong U.S. measures against overseas aggressors
- _____ 7. European diplomatic conference in 1938 where Britain and France conceded to Hitler's demands for Czechoslovakia
- _____ 8. Term for the British-French policy of attempting to prevent war by granting German demands

- _____ 9. Leading U.S. group advocating American support for Britain in the fight against Hitler
- _____ 10. Leading isolationist group advocating that America focus on continental defense and non-involvement with the European war
- _____ 11. Controversial 1941 law that made America the “arsenal of democracy” by providing supposedly temporary military material assistance to Britain
- _____ 12. Communist nation invaded by Hitler in June 1941 that was also aided by American lend-lease
- _____ 13. U.S.–British agreement of August 1941 to promote democracy and establish a new international organization for peace
- _____ 14. U.S. destroyer sunk by German submarines off the coast of Iceland in October 1941, with the loss of over a hundred men
- _____ 15. Major American Pacific naval base devastated in a surprise attack in December 1941

D. Matching People, Places, and Events

Match the person, place, or event in the left column with the proper description in the right column by inserting the correct letter on the blank line.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| ___ 1. Cordell Hull | A. Courageous prime minister who led Britain’s lonely resistance to Hitler |
| ___ 2. Adolf Hitler | B. Leader of the “America First” organization and chief spokesman for U.S. isolationism |
| ___ 3. Benito Mussolini | C. African nation invaded by an Italian dictator in 1935 |
| ___ 4. Gerald Nye | D. Dynamic dark horse Republican presidential nominee who attacked FDR only on domestic policy |
| ___ 5. Francisco Franco | E. Fanatical Fascist leader of Germany whose aggressions forced the United States to abandon its neutrality |
| ___ 6. Ethiopia | F. Instigator of 1934 Senate hearings that castigated World War I munitions manufacturers as “merchants of death” |
| ___ 7. Czechoslovakia | G. Nation whose sudden fall to Hitler in 1940 pushed the United States closer to direct aid to Britain |
| ___ 8. Poland | H. Site of a naval base where Japan launched a devastating surprise attack on the United States |
| ___ 9. France | I. North Atlantic nation near whose waters U.S. destroyers came under Nazi submarine attack |
| ___ 10. Charles A. Lindbergh | J. Small East European democracy betrayed into Hitler’s hands at Munich |
| ___ 11. Wendell Willkie | K. The lesser partner of the Rome-Berlin Axis who invaded Ethiopia and joined the war against France and Britain |
| ___ 12. Winston Churchill | L. FDR’s secretary of state, who promoted reciprocal trade agreements, especially with Latin America |
| ___ 13. Joseph Stalin | M. Russian dictator who first helped Hitler destroy Poland before becoming a victim of Nazi aggression in 1941 |
| ___ 14. Iceland | N. East European nation whose September 1939 invasion by Hitler set off World War II in Europe |
| ___ 15. Hawaii | O. Fascist rebel against the Spanish Loyalist government |

E. Putting Things in Order

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

- ___ FDR puts domestic recovery ahead of international economics, torpedoing a major monetary conference.
- ___ Western democracies try to appease Hitler by sacrificing Czechoslovakia, but his appetite for conquest remains undiminished.
- ___ Already engaged against Hitler in the Atlantic, the United States is plunged into World War II by a surprise attack in the Pacific.
- ___ The fall of France pushes FDR into providing increasingly open aid to Britain.
- ___ Japan invades China and attacks an American vessel, but the United States sticks to its neutrality principles.

F. Matching Cause and Effect

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

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

G. Developing Historical Skills

Reading Text for Sequence and Context

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

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

Order	Event	Context
_____	Destroyer-for-bases deal	_____
_____	Atlantic Charter	_____
_____	Good Neighbor policy	_____
_____	U.S. Neutrality Acts of 1935–1936	_____
_____	Pearl Harbor	_____
_____	Lend-lease	_____
_____	Munich Conference	_____

Context

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

H. Map Mastery

Map Discrimination

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

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

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

3. *Main Flow of Lend-Lease Aid:* Which *continent* received the most U.S. lend-lease aid?

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

PART III: Applying What You Have Learned

1. How and why did the United States attempt to isolate itself from foreign troubles in the early and mid-1930s?
2. Discuss the effects of the U.S. neutrality laws of the 1930s on both American foreign policy and the international situation in Europe and East Asia.
3. How did the Fascist dictators' continually expanding aggression gradually erode the U.S. commitment to neutrality and isolationism?
4. How did Roosevelt manage to move the United States toward providing effective aid to Britain while slowly undercutting isolationist opposition?
5. Was American entry into World War II inevitable? Is it possible the U.S. might have been able to fight *either* Germany *or* Japan, while avoiding armed conflict with the other?
6. How did the process of American entry into World War II compare with the way the country got into World War I? (See Chapter 31.) How were the Neutrality Acts aimed at the conditions of 1914–1917, and why did they prove ineffective in the conditions of the 1930s?