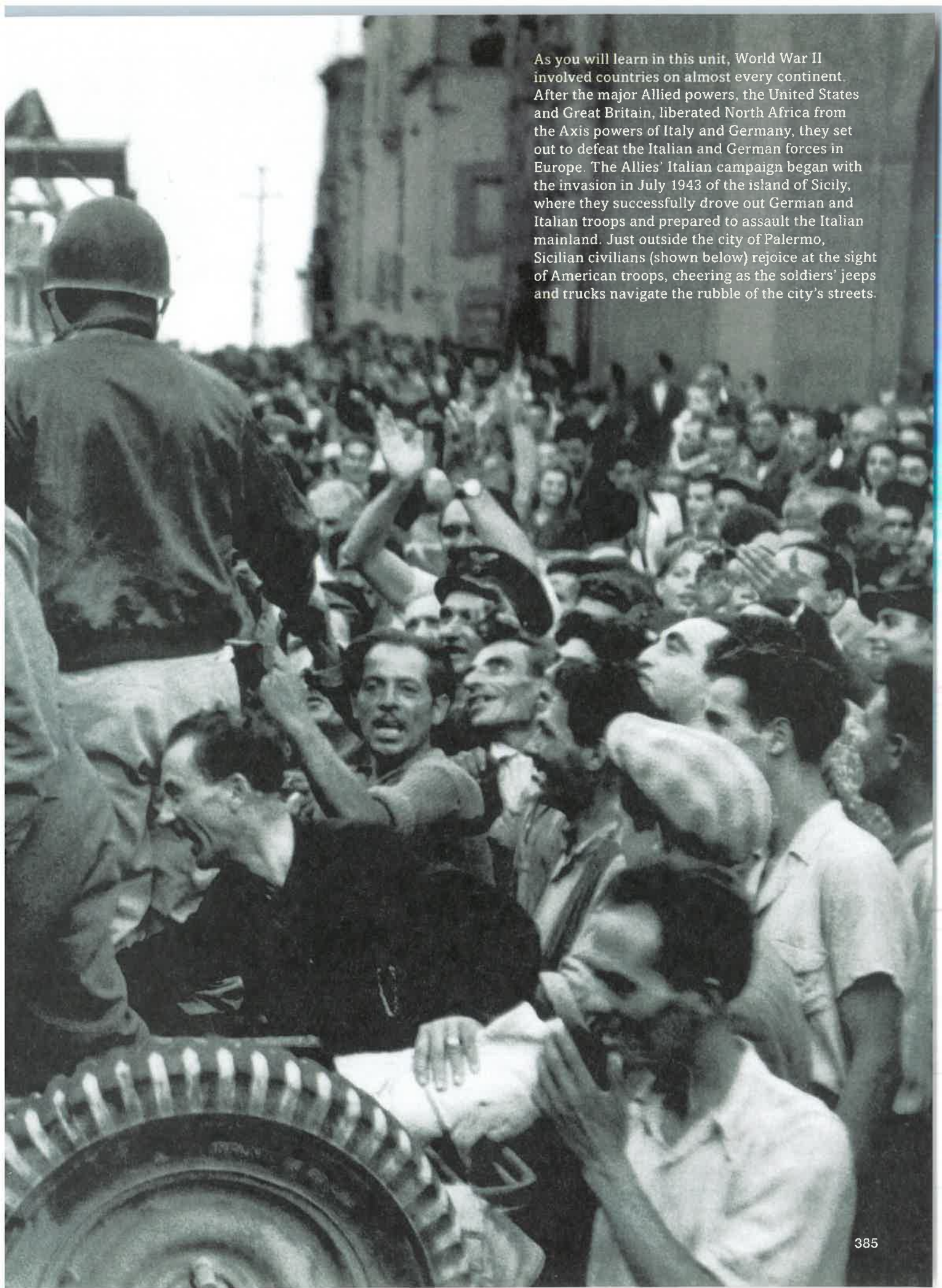


# Chapter 12

As you will learn in this unit, World War II involved countries on almost every continent. After the major Allied powers, the United States and Great Britain, liberated North Africa from the Axis powers of Italy and Germany, they set out to defeat the Italian and German forces in Europe. The Allies' Italian campaign began with the invasion in July 1943 of the island of Sicily, where they successfully drove out German and Italian troops and prepared to assault the Italian mainland. Just outside the city of Palermo, Sicilian civilians (shown below) rejoice at the sight of American troops, cheering as the soldiers' jeeps and trucks navigate the rubble of the city's streets.





THE  
UNITED  
STATES**1941**

Japan attacks the naval base at Hawaii's Pearl Harbor, and the United States enters World War II. (newspaper announcing the attack)

**1932**

Franklin D. Roosevelt is elected to the first of his four terms as president.

**1930**THE  
WORLD**1931 ASIA**

Japan invades and conquers Manchuria, a northern province of China. (Japanese naval flag)

**1945**

The United States drops two atomic bombs on Japan; Japan and Germany surrender, ending World War II. (an atomic bomb similar to those dropped on Japan)

**1942**

Roosevelt issues Executive Order 9066, authorizing the internment of Japanese Americans in relocation centers.

**1947**

President Harry Truman signs a bill that would give rise to the Truman Doctrine, pledging support to democratic countries threatened by communist aggression.

**1935**

Roosevelt signs the first Neutrality Act in an effort to avoid involvement in future wars.

**1940****1944 EUROPE**

Allied forces invade Normandy, a region in France, and liberate western Europe from German control.

**1933 EUROPE**

Adolf Hitler is appointed chancellor of Germany.

**1949 ASIA**

Communists defeat nationalist forces in China, and Mao Zedong becomes the leader of the new communist nation. (poster featuring Mao Zedong)



## HISTORICAL THINKING

**DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY** What world events might have prompted the passage of the Neutrality Act in 1935?

**1956**

Congress passes the Interstate Highway Act, which calls for the construction of an extensive interstate highway system.  
(car from the 1950s)



**1960**

John F. Kennedy becomes the youngest man ever elected president.  
(profile of Kennedy on a half-dollar coin)



**1960**

**1953**

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are executed after being convicted of spying for the Soviet Union.

**1954**

Wisconsin senator Joseph McCarthy's campaign to expose communist subversion in government comes to an end when he accuses U.S. Army personnel.

**1952**

Dwight D. Eisenhower is elected president.

**1950**

**1957 EUROPE**

The Soviets launch *Sputnik 1*, the first artificial satellite to orbit Earth, and trigger the space race between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

**1952 AFRICA**

The Mau Mau, a militant nationalist group in Kenya, revolts against British rule.

**1950 ASIA**

The Korean War begins.

**1959 AMERICAS**

Fidel Castro leads a band of revolutionaries in Cuba and overthrows military dictator Fulgencio Batista.  
(Castro and his fellow revolutionaries celebrate their victory.)





**HISTORICAL THINKING** What ideas and events brought about World War II?

AMERICAN  
STORIES  
ONLINE

Combat Artists of World War II

SECTION 1 Dictators Expand Power

SECTION 2 War in Europe and the Pacific

SECTION 3 America's Balancing Act

AMERICAN GALLERY  
ONLINE

The Battle of Britain

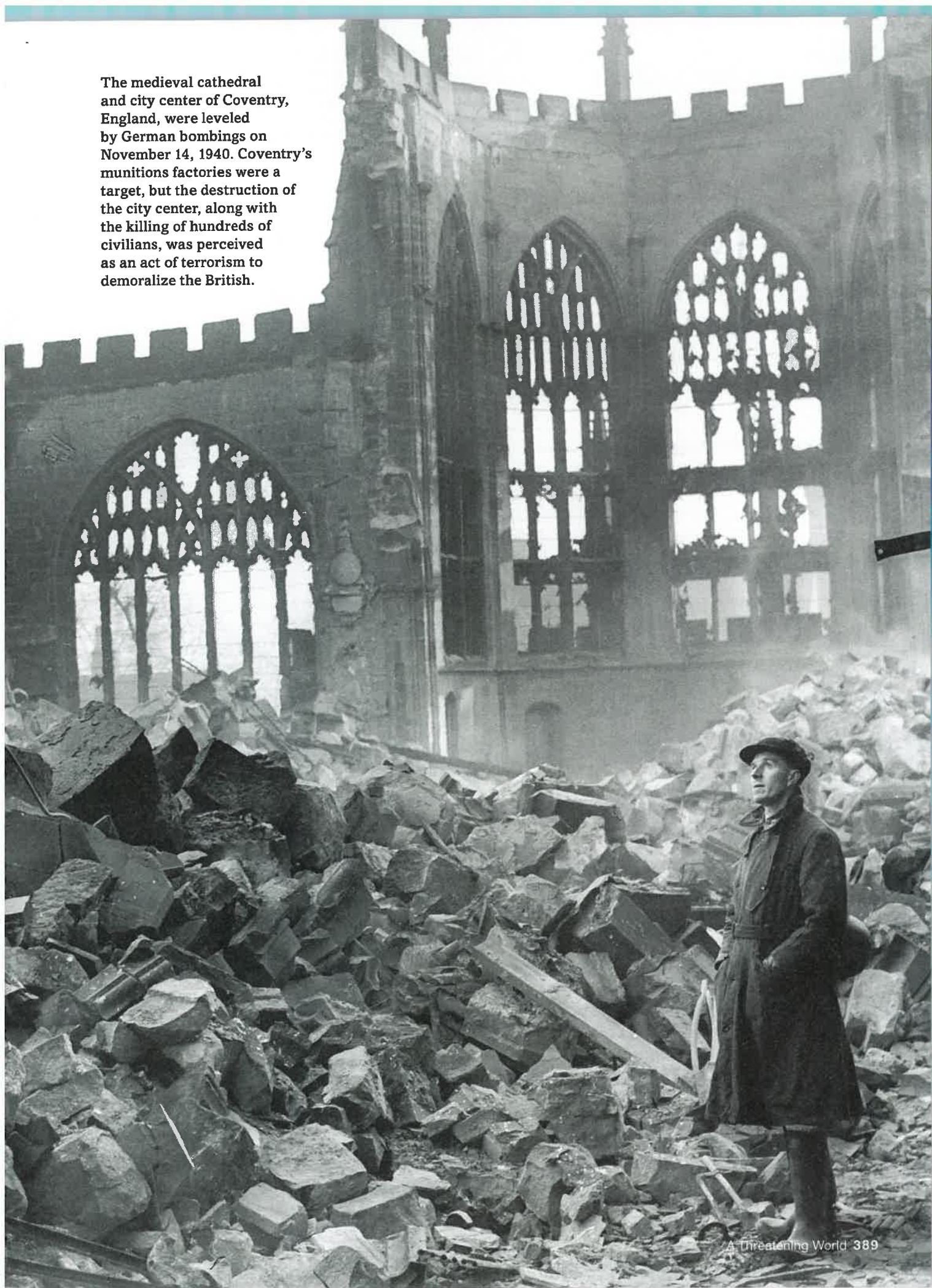


**“We shall never  
surrender.”**

—Winston Churchill



The medieval cathedral and city center of Coventry, England, were leveled by German bombings on November 14, 1940. Coventry's munitions factories were a target, but the destruction of the city center, along with the killing of hundreds of civilians, was perceived as an act of terrorism to demoralize the British.



## FASCISM SPREADS IN EUROPE

Would you give up any of your personal freedoms to be more economically secure or more physically safe? Some people might say they would protect freedom at all costs, but history proves that security often comes first. That was certainly true in Europe in the 1930s.

### TOTALITARIANISM TIGHTENS ITS GRIP

As the United States worked to pull itself out of the Great Depression, the nations of Europe were undergoing dramatic political change. With many European economies also suffering during the 1930s, great anxiety and unrest spread across the continent. Authoritarian leaders took advantage of the turmoil and uncertainty to seize power in several countries. They took control of government, built powerful armies, and looked to expand their territory.

As you have read, Adolf Hitler and his Nazi Party seized control in Germany. Hitler had risen to power as the German economy collapsed under the weight of the global depression. Millions listened as Hitler promised to create jobs, restore what he perceived as Germany's past glory, and avenge the "humiliation" of the Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I. Nazi representation in the Reichstag, the German parliament, rose from 12 members in 1928 to 230 by 1932. A year later, Hitler became Germany's chancellor, or the head of its government.

Hitler's regime, which the Nazi Party dubbed the **Third Reich**, suspended constitutional rights and banned all competing political parties. *Reich* means "empire," and the term Third Reich acknowledged two powerful German states of the past while envisioning a strong, prosperous state that would endure into the future. The Nazis transformed German police departments into the **Gestapo**, a brutal secret police force that went after Hitler's political opponents and anyone else whom the Nazis deemed an enemy of the Reich.

Hitler began a massive **rearmament**, a rebuilding of Germany's stockpile of weapons. By 1934, German

### THE CROOKED CROSS

Before it became associated with the Nazis, the swastika (pictured on the flags in the photo on the next page) was known as an ancient symbol of good fortune. In the ancient Asian language of Sanskrit, the word *swastika* means "well-being." At the beginning of the 20th century, many in the West saw it as a good luck symbol. The Boy Scouts adopted it, and the Girls' Club of America called their official magazine *Swastika*. The Nazis interpreted the cross as a symbol of racial superiority and adopted it as their party logo. After World War II, the swastika was banned in Germany and today is almost universally seen as a symbol of hate.

factories were churning out tanks and military aircraft at an ever-increasing rate. Hitler then began building an army by instituting a draft that forced men 20 or older to join the military. In 1936, in clear violation of the Treaty of Versailles, Nazi forces marched into the Rhineland, a region of Germany that had been occupied by the French after World War I. German soldiers conquered it without firing a shot.

Meanwhile, Benito Mussolini—the fascist dictator who had risen to power in Italy in the early 1920s—had dreams of recreating the Roman Empire by conquering territory in Africa. In October 1935, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, a nation in east-central Africa. The League of Nations condemned the act, but that did little to stop Mussolini. Italian forces took the capital, Addis Ababa, in May 1936 and annexed Ethiopia to Italy. Several months later, in October, Mussolini signed a pact of friendship with Hitler,





In 1934, Hitler walks up the steps to the speaker's platform at a harvest festival staged by the Nazis. A crowd of 700,000 attended this rally on Bückeberg, a hill in the farmland of northern Germany.

known as the **Rome-Berlin Axis**. Germany, Italy, and later Japan, would become known as the **Axis Powers**. The countries eventually opposing them would be referred to as the **Allied Powers**.

While Italy and Germany were hardening into dictatorships, **Joseph Stalin** was tightening his totalitarian grip on the Soviet Union. Stalin had come to power in 1924, and he steadily transformed his country from a peasant society into an industrial and military superpower. He ruled by terror during his brutal reign. Stalin expanded the powers of his secret police force, encouraged citizens to spy on one another, and had millions of people executed or sent to labor camps.

## THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

In 1936, civil war broke out in Spain, and Europe's dictators were eager to get involved. Spanish military officers led by **General Francisco Franco** attempted to overthrow the recently elected Spanish government, called the Republicans. Franco represented the Nationalists, a fascist group, and Hitler and Mussolini provided him with military aid, such as tanks, planes, and other weapons. Mussolini also sent 70,000 troops. Meanwhile, Stalin aided the Republicans, who represented a coalition of left wing groups, including communists, socialists, and liberal democrats, by sending weapons and money to help the government in its fight against Franco and the Nationalists.



**CRITICAL VIEWING** Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), born in Spain, was one of the best-known artists of the 20th century. The large painting *Guernica*, completed in 1937—two years before Franco's victory—was the artist's reaction to the bombing of a northern Spanish coastal village by the German and Italian air forces in support of Franco's Nationalists. The title of the painting is the name of the village they destroyed, including its homes and shops, killing an estimated 1,650 people. Perhaps most disturbing, the attack was a terrorist bombing whose primary target was the civilians of the town. The first bomb fell on the center of the town on a market day.

Picasso used black, white, and gray shades of paint, depicting distorted human and animal forms and anguished facial expressions. Also shown are symbols of transition from a traditional to a modern world—a light bulb inside the sun and shapes filled with newspaper. According to Picasso's wishes, the painting was kept in New York's Museum of Modern Art until Spain restored its democracy. In 1981, the painting returned to Spain. At about 11 feet high by 25 feet wide, the painting occupies an entire wall in Madrid's Reina Sofia Museum. In applying the techniques he used, what do you think Picasso wanted visitors to feel as they viewed the painting?



Pablo Picasso, "Guernica", credit: © 2017 Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Many international volunteers joined the war, including some from the United States. Some Americans praised Franco as an enemy of communism. However, many viewed him as a fascist thug trying to overthrow an elected government.

A group of several thousand Americans known as the **Abraham Lincoln Brigade** fought alongside the Spanish government. The famous American writer Ernest Hemingway, who covered the war as a reporter, summed up the anti-Franco view: "There is only one way to quell a bully and that is to thrash him." The fighting was widespread and brutal, with more than 500,000 killed. The war ended in 1939 with a complete victory for General Franco and his forces. Another dictator had taken power in Europe.

## PERSECUTION OF JEWS

As Europe's dictators engaged in military actions outside their borders, they also tightened their grip on the home front. Their regimes silenced critics and oppressed people whom they deemed "undesirable." In Germany, the Nazis sought to reshape society according to their vision of a pure German "master race." The Nazis believed all other races and ethnicities to be inferior, and they targeted one group in particular: Jews.

In Europe, anti-Semitism, or hostility toward and discrimination against Jewish people, had deep historical roots. Many Europeans accused Jews of working to remain a separate social and religious group that refused to adopt the values of the countries in which they lived. After Germany's defeat in World War I, many Germans believed the German Army was betrayed by politicians, especially Jewish politicians. In addition, a number of Jews worked in the banking and money-lending industries, making them easy scapegoats for Germany's financial problems.

When the Nazis gained power, the persecution of Jews became government policy. Nazis began to exclude Jews from public life. At the annual Nazi rally in 1935, Hitler announced laws denying Jewish people citizenship and prohibiting marriage between Jews and people of "German or related blood." Three years later, under Hitler's personal orders, the Nazis destroyed the Great Synagogue in Munich.

On November 7, 1938, a 17-year-old Polish Jew, Hershel Grynszpan (GRIHNZ-pan), shot and killed



The riots of Kristallnacht, ordered indirectly by Goebbels and intended to appear as spontaneous expressions of rage, took place throughout Germany. This Jewish-owned shop in Berlin was one of more than 7,000 businesses destroyed during the two days.

Ernst vom Rath, a German diplomat in France. Joseph Goebbels (GEH-buhlz), the Nazi propaganda minister, immediately seized on the assassination to whip up rage against Jews. What followed became known as the **Kristallnacht**—the Night of Broken Glass. Between November 9 and November 10, 1938, Nazis destroyed Jewish homes, schools, and businesses, burned synagogues, and killed nearly 100 Jews. Officials arrested 30,000 Jewish men and sent them to concentration camps. Shortly after the attacks, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt denounced the rising tide of anti-Semitism and violence in Germany. He also recalled Hugh Wilson, the U.S. ambassador to Germany. Nonetheless, the persecution of Jews in Germany continued.

## HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** What measures did Hitler take against Germany's Jews?
2. **ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT** Why is it difficult to determine a single cause for four dictators all coming to power at about the same time in Europe?
3. **FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS** Do you think dictators and fascist regimes would have risen to power if Europe hadn't been so economically depressed after World War I? Explain your answer.
4. **MAKE CONNECTIONS** What similarities do you see among Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin and one of today's world leaders?



# ISOLATIONISM AND NEUTRALITY

Maybe you have been in situations where you had your own conflicting opinions about an issue. In the 1930s, many Americans did not like what was happening in Europe, but they had concerns about the United States getting involved.

## AVOIDING INVOLVEMENT IN EUROPE

As authoritarian leaders rose to power in Europe, U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt watched with increasing alarm. Roosevelt felt very early on that Hitler posed a threat to the world unlike any other. However, a majority of Americans did not feel the same way. Many had no wish to get involved in the turmoil they saw threatening Europe.

Americans voiced many reasons for wanting to stay out of the growing conflict. In the Great Plains and Upper Midwest, some were suspicious of international bankers and arms manufacturers, believing such businesspeople were responsible for pushing the United States into World War I for their own financial gain. Americans of German descent supported isolationism because they remembered how badly German Americans were treated during World War I. Americans of Irish descent opposed any kind of aid to Great Britain because of conflicts between Ireland and Great Britain, while many Americans of Italian descent admired Mussolini, due to a propaganda campaign by the dictator meant to win over Italian Americans. Furthermore, **pacifism**, the belief that war is morally wrong, appealed to clergy, peace groups, and many college students.

Following the will of the American public, the U.S. Congress passed a series of Neutrality Acts. The first act, passed in 1935, banned the export of “arms, ammunition, and implements of war” from the United States to any foreign nation at war. President Roosevelt opposed the act, but bowed to pressure from Congress and the public to maintain neutrality. Congress renewed the act in 1936 and 1937, and expanded it. U.S. citizens were now forbidden from traveling on ships owned by nations at war, and the United States could bar any warring ships from entering U.S. waters.

In a compromise with Roosevelt, the act did allow the United States to sell European nations materials and supplies—just not ammunition and arms. This enabled America to provide its allies with critical resources, such as oil. In an effort to limit the interaction, European nations had to arrange to pick up the materials and pay immediately in cash. The provision thus became known as “cash-and-carry.”

## ROOSEVELT CHALLENGES THE NATION

Standing in direct opposition to the American people and Congress, President Roosevelt continued to push for greater American involvement in Europe. He felt the United States could not remain strictly neutral, and the time would come when the democratic countries of Europe, especially Great

### PRIMARY SOURCE

On October 5, 1937, President Roosevelt traveled to Chicago to speak at the dedication of a bridge completed under a New Deal program. Expected to praise the accomplishment of the bridge's construction, Roosevelt instead used the occasion to make his case for opposing tyranny in Europe. His speech at the bridge dedication became known as the **Quarantine Speech**.

*The political situation in the world, which of late has been growing progressively worse, is such as to cause grave concern and anxiety to all the peoples and nations. Innocent peoples, innocent nations, are being cruelly sacrificed to a greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane considerations. If those things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape.*

—from the Quarantine Speech, by Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1937

**A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE** Refugees still flee dangerous situations and oppressive regimes to this day. In 2016, millions of men, women, and children fled a brutal civil war in the country of Syria. Hoping to find a better life in Europe, large numbers of these refugees packed into overcrowded boats and made a dangerous voyage across the Mediterranean Sea. Many died along the way. Those who made it struggled to fit in across Europe, as many nations opposed the influx of so many immigrants. For a single day in September 2016, at Parliament Square in London, international aid organizations displayed 2,500 life jackets worn by the refugees to help bring attention to their plight.



Britain, would need help from the United States. Roosevelt gave a speech in which he compared war with a disease, saying it was the responsibility of peace-loving nations to “quarantine” countries that threatened world peace.

In that speech, Roosevelt mentioned people and nations who were being “cruelly sacrificed,” referring partly to the Jews suffering under the Nazi regime. But Roosevelt’s speech did not go over well with the public, and the United States refused to ease the immigration restrictions that kept large numbers of German Jews from the safety of American shores. Each year between 1935 and 1941, the United States took in an average of 8,500 Jewish **refugees**, or people seeking shelter and protection from persecution. This was far below the annual quota of 30,000 for German immigrants set by the National Origins Act of 1924. Most Americans were still feeling the sting of the Depression and did not want foreigners competing with them for jobs and resources. A combination of economics, anti-

Semitism, and isolationism in the United States kept the “golden door” shut to most Jewish refugees.

Isolationists strongly criticized the president for trying to violate neutrality, while many average Americans remained opposed to deeper U.S. involvement in Europe’s troubles. As Europe moved closer to war, the United States remained neutral.

### HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK** Why did many Americans wish to remain neutral and not take sides in the growing conflicts in Europe?
- 2. COMPARE AND CONTRAST** Compare the refugee crisis described in the lesson with what you know about the status of refugees today.
- 3. MAKE INFERENCES** How do you think the American experience in World War I affected the country’s attitude toward international events in the 1930s?



# WAR ENGULFS EUROPE

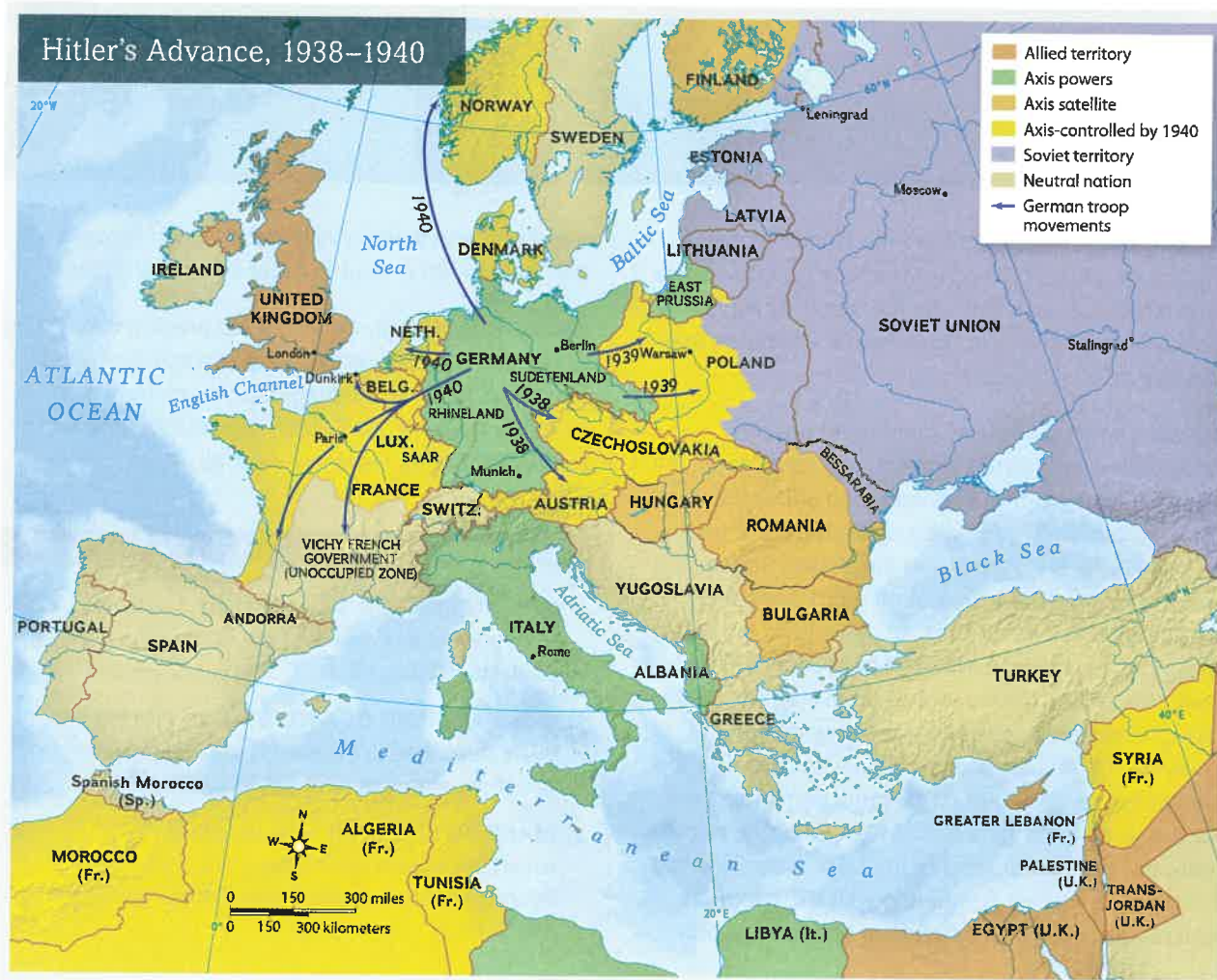
Is it better to reason with a bully to achieve a compromise, or let the fight begin? The nations of Europe tried to compromise with Hitler as he rose to power and looked to conquer his neighbors. But in the end, they decided they had to fight.

## THE MUNICH AGREEMENT

One of Adolf Hitler's main goals was to unite all German-speaking people into a "Greater Germany," or "Grossdeutschland." As you have read, Germany took its first steps toward this goal in 1936, when it reoccupied the Rhineland. In 1938, German troops marched into neighboring Austria. Hitler announced

the "Anschluss" (AHN-shloos), or union, of Germany and Austria, adding six million German speakers to greater Germany.

With each aggressive step Hitler took, the nations of Western Europe made little attempt to confront him. Instead, Great Britain and France took an approach



## BLITZKRIEG

In invading Poland, the Germans demonstrated for the first time a new and seemingly unstoppable type of warfare—blitzkrieg (BLIHTS-kreeg), or “lightning war.” Blitzkrieg was characterized first by bombing—to cripple the target’s air capacity, railroads, and communication lines—followed by fast moving tanks, artillery, and waves of troops.

Using this new tactic of speed and overwhelming force, the Germans conquered Poland in a matter of weeks. In this photo, a German gunner fires from a plane attacking a Polish town.



known as **appeasement**—a policy of making political compromises in order to avoid conflict. Neither country had forgotten the horrors of World War I, and they sought to maintain peace at any price. In addition, many British politicians believed that Germany had genuine grievances, as the Treaty of Versailles had left hundreds of thousands of German-speaking people under the control of other countries in Europe. What’s more, a number of Western leaders viewed communism, not fascism, as the greatest threat to Europe. Thus, they saw Hitler as a potential safeguard against Soviet expansion.

Facing little resistance, Hitler continued to invade and annex. After absorbing Austria, the German leader turned his attention to Czechoslovakia. He insisted that the Czechs surrender the Sudetenland (soo-DAY-tehn-land), a region of western Czechoslovakia where three million ethnic Germans lived. In September 1938, Hitler met with British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, French Premier Edouard Daladier, and Italian dictator Benito Mussolini in Munich. Under the **Munich Agreement**, the leaders agreed to Hitler’s demand for the Sudetenland. In return, Hitler promised he would not occupy any more territory in Czechoslovakia. Daladier pressured the Czechs to accept the agreement and give the Sudetenland to Germany. Meanwhile, Chamberlain claimed the agreement had brought “peace in our time.” Less than a year later, on March 15, 1939, Hitler violated the pact and sent German troops to seize the rest of Czechoslovakia.

## GERMANY ATTACKS POLAND

In August 1939, the world was shocked to learn that two sworn enemies, fascist Nazi Germany and the communist Soviet Union, had signed a **nonaggression pact**. Under the pact, the two countries agreed to take no military action against each other for 10 years. The agreement also contained a secret section that detailed how the Soviets and Germans planned to divide up Eastern Europe. The first country targeted under their plan: Poland.

On September 1, 1939, Hitler sent the Wehrmacht—the German Army—across the German border into Poland. (The Soviets would invade weeks later and claim their share of Polish territory.) Hitler, it appeared, had finally gone too far. Two days after the German attack, Britain and France declared war on Germany. **World War II** had begun. What followed were months of quiet, known as the “phony war.” During this time, the French and British hunkered down on one side of the French-German border, behind a series of fortifications known as the **Maginot (MAJ-ih-noh) Line**, and the Germans settled in on the other side.

## GERMANY INVADES FRANCE

In April 1940, the calm came to an explosive end when German forces invaded Denmark and Norway, quickly conquering both nations and defeating British forces stationed in Norway. The defeat brought down Chamberlain’s government, and he was replaced as prime minister by British statesman



**Winston Churchill.** Meanwhile, German forces rolled on, pushing into Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg.

Next, Germany invaded France, and German forces seized Paris in June 1940. The French signed an armistice that divided France into two regions, one under German occupation and one under French authority, with the town of Vichy (VISH-ee) as its capital. Although French leaders oversaw Vichy, the Germans controlled the region—one of the most significant strategic outcomes of the war.

Despite the German victory, some of the French decided to fight on. The French general **Charles de Gaulle** set up headquarters in Britain to allow “Free French” forces to continue fighting as a resistance force. In the autumn of 1940, a number of French colonies in Africa declared their loyalty to de Gaulle, but they were a small force compared to the German enemy. The French resistance fighters did what they could to thwart the Nazis as the war progressed.

### THE NAZIS TARGET GREAT BRITAIN

The Nazis had conquered most of Western Europe in less than two months. Now they targeted Britain. Winston Churchill rallied the British to fight on against Germany’s overwhelming power, despite some calls for Britain to negotiate peace with Hitler. “We shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be,” Churchill declared. “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.”

From June through October 1940, British and German forces fought the **Battle of Britain**. It was primarily an air war, as Britain’s Royal Air Force (RAF) and Germany’s air force, the Luftwaffe (LOOFT-vahf-uh), clashed over the skies of Great Britain. Germany’s attempts to bomb Britain into surrender met with stiff resistance. While German attacks inflicted heavy damage on British cities, the RAF continued fighting back and eventually forced Germany’s air force to retreat. Unable to achieve victory, Hitler suspended further attacks on Britain and moved on. Referring to the RAF fighters who turned back the Germans, Churchill said, “Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.”

The British people suffered greatly during the Battle of Britain. Families were split up, as Londoners put their children on trains for the countryside, sending them as refugees to willing rural homes in hopes of keeping them safe from the nightly bombing. All too many children never saw their parents again, as the bombing campaign known as the London Blitz claimed the

### PRIMARY SOURCE

*Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States . . . will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, ‘This was their finest hour.’*

—from a speech before the House of Commons (British legislature), by Winston Churchill, 1940

lives of nearly 17,500 civilians in London. Thousands more were killed nationwide. Relentless German raids destroyed whole neighborhoods of London and other cities as the British took cover deep beneath ground in London’s Tube—or subway system—or in designated bunkers and shelters. One of the more deadly attacks toward the end of the campaign killed nearly 1,500 civilians in a single night of bombing.

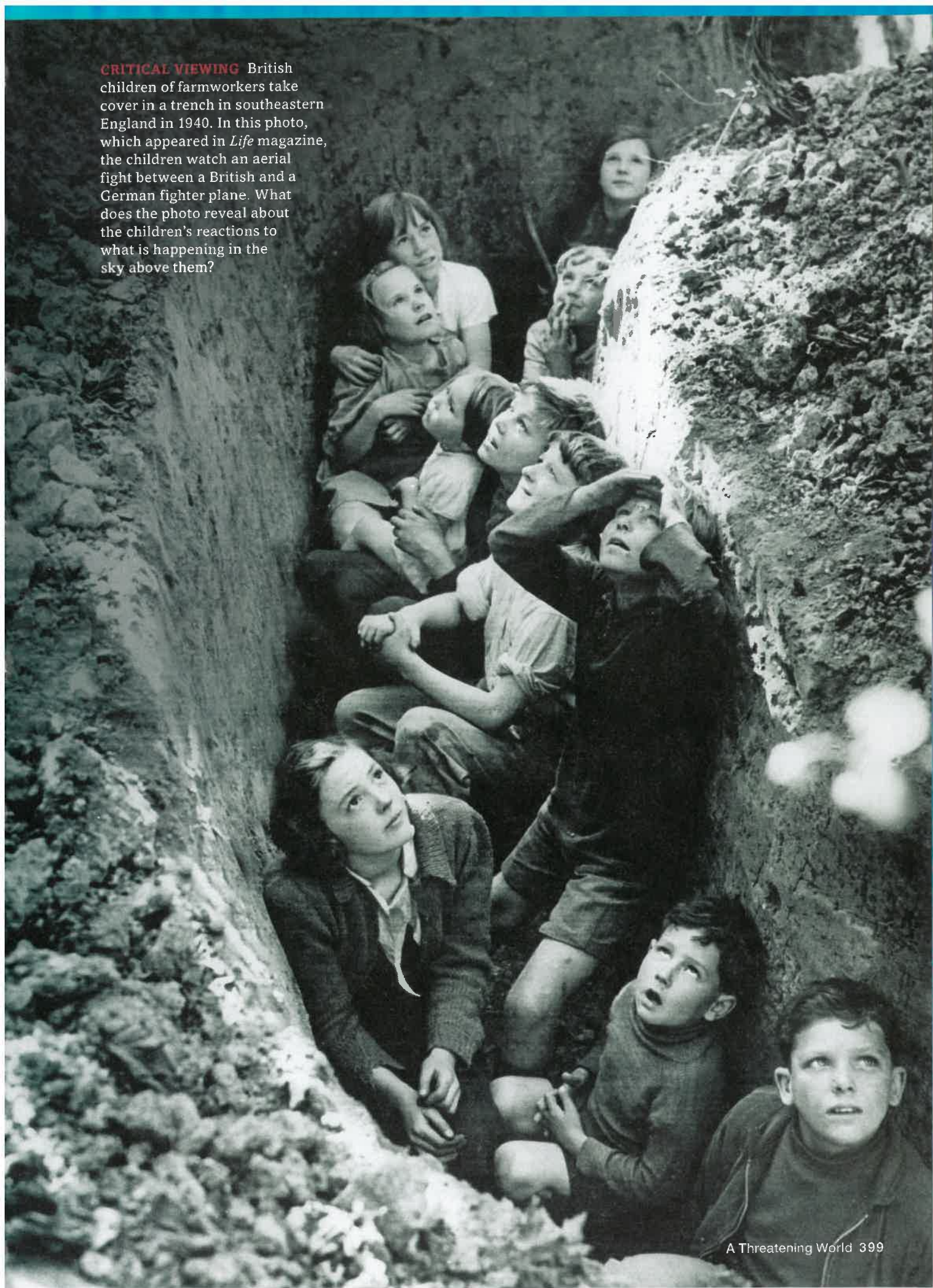
Across the Atlantic Ocean, Americans watched the onset of World War II with interest and alarm. Isolationists continued to argue that the country should stay out of the conflict. Interventionists insisted the United States must enter the fight to halt Hitler’s march of conquest. President Roosevelt, in particular, felt that the United States should do more to help Britain. On September 21, 1939, soon after the war had begun, Roosevelt called Congress into special session. He pressed lawmakers to amend the Neutrality Act to lift the ban on arms sales and allow the United States to provide weapons to the nations threatened by Germany, specifically Great Britain. After much debate, Congress approved the amendment. The United States was slowly moving toward greater involvement in the war.

### HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK** Explain the theory of appeasement. Why do you think it led to war in Europe?
- 2. INTERPRET MAPS** From a geographical standpoint, why was it important that Germany capture France before battling with Britain?
- 3. ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT** How might events have taken a different turn if the world had not underestimated Hitler’s intentions?



**CRITICAL VIEWING** British children of farmworkers take cover in a trench in southeastern England in 1940. In this photo, which appeared in *Life* magazine, the children watch an aerial fight between a British and a German fighter plane. What does the photo reveal about the children's reactions to what is happening in the sky above them?





## JAPAN INVADES CHINA

By the time the nations of Europe went to war in the fall of 1939, another military power had risen on the other side of the globe. Japan was carving out an empire of its own, giving the world—and the United States—another serious threat to confront.

### CHINA IN TURMOIL

China had been ruled as an empire for 2,000 years, and at the turn of the 20th century, it was poverty-stricken and underdeveloped. In 1911, a group of revolutionaries led by **Sun Yat-sen** overthrew the ruling Qing (CHING) Dynasty and established the Republic of China. Sun was elected China's first president, but he struggled to maintain control of the country—in reality ruled by a number of warlords, or local military leaders. After Sun's death in 1925,

power passed to **Chiang Kai-shek** (jee-AHNG ky-SHEHK). Chiang soon faced an armed resistance from the growing **Chinese Communist Party (CCP)**, led by **Mao Zedong** (MOW dzuh-DUNG).

In 1927, fearful of the CCP's increasing power, Chiang ordered a **purge**, or elimination, of CCP members in Shanghai and other Chinese cities. Chiang's troops, known as the Kuomintang, or KMT, killed tens of thousands of communists. By 1931, the KMT had

**Mao Zedong arrives in Shaanxi Province in northern China in 1935, near the end of the Long March. Most officers rode horses, but all others walked on foot.**



almost completely defeated Mao's forces. Some 700,000 KMT troops encircled communist positions in southeast China, preventing supplies from entering their territory. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers and peasants loyal to Mao were killed or died of starvation.

Facing almost certain defeat, the remaining Chinese communists decided to retreat to a more remote part of China. There, Mao hoped, the CCP could regroup and build its military power. In October 1934, at the beginning of what became known as the **Long March**, 86,000 communist troops and around 15,000 civilians marched out of southeast China, attempting to escape Chiang's KMT forces. They faced almost daily battles and skirmishes with KMT troops and local warlords, and they even were the targets of aerial bombardment. Many were killed in the fighting, and others died of starvation and exposure. Only 7,000 of the approximately 100,000 who had begun

the Long March the year before survived the journey. After the Long March, Chiang Kai-shek planned to wipe out the remaining communist forces, but by then a more serious threat had emerged from the neighboring nation of Japan.

### JAPAN TAKES ACTION

By the early 20th century, Japan was a strong country with developed industries and a powerful military. In 1904, its forces had soundly defeated Russia in a war over several disputed territories in Asia. The easy victory had surprised observers and signaled that Japan was a rising world power. But as an island nation, it lacked the land and natural resources necessary for economic growth. Ambitious military leaders such as **Tojo Hideki** urged the young Japanese emperor **Hirohito** to seek out and conquer new land and build an empire. To achieve this goal, the Japanese turned their attention to China, their large neighbor to the west.





**CRITICAL VIEWING** The Memorial Hall of the Victims in the Nanjing Massacre was built in 1985 in Nanjing, China. In 2015, students from the Nanjing University for the Arts painted huge Chinese violet cress flowers on the walkway before a Chinese holiday called “Tomb-Sweeping Day,” when people honor their ancestors. How do the flowers contrast with other aspects of the Memorial?



China's land and resources—and its political instability—made it an attractive target to the Japanese. In 1931, as China was troubled with internal fighting, Japan invaded the Chinese province of Manchuria and made it an independent Japanese state, which it controlled completely. China turned to the League of Nations for help, and the League demanded that Japan withdraw its troops. Japan refused and withdrew from the League. By 1936, the Japanese military was in full control of Japan's government and intent on conquering new territory.

In 1937, Japan renewed its attack on China. Japanese Ambassador Hiroshi Saito defended the assault as an attempt to bring political and social order to the region. “If China's house were in order there would be no need for the presence of these foreign forces,” he declared. “What our government and people want is peace and security in the Far East.” Chiang reluctantly agreed to form a united front with Mao to fight the new threat, but just six

months later, Japanese forces controlled all of northern China, including Beijing, Shanghai, and the Chinese capital of Nanjing. In Nanjing, Japanese forces committed horrific war crimes, actions that violate accepted international rules of war, when they killed as many as 300,000 Chinese civilians.

In November 1937, leaders of 18 nations met in the European city of Brussels to discuss ways of ending the conflict between Japan and China. The **Brussels Conference**, as it was known, ended with a call for Japan to cease all hostilities against its neighbor. The decree had little effect, however, as Japan had refused to attend the conference and claimed that western nations had no business meddling in its affairs.

## TENSIONS RISE

At first, the United States did little to contest Japan's aggression. U.S. leaders were more concerned about the rise of Nazi Germany, and they hoped to avoid



a crisis with Japan. In December 1937, Japanese warplanes sank the U.S. gunboat *Panay* on China's Yangtze (yang-tsee) River, killing 3 Americans and wounding nearly 30. President Roosevelt condemned the attack, but Japan apologized and the two nations settled the matter peacefully.

Japan, however, continued to expand its empire. In 1938, Japanese forces annexed European colonies in Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific. U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull warned that "Japan definitely contemplates securing domination over as many hundreds of millions of people as possible in eastern Asia." The United States responded to Japan's continued conquests by pulling back on trade. Japan purchased the bulk of its oil, steel, and machinery from America. In an effort to slow Japanese expansion, President Roosevelt declared an **embargo**, barring U.S. companies from selling a number of strategic industrial goods, such as oil and copper, to Japan. In May 1940, the president moved

## PRIMARY SOURCE

Captain Frank Roberts was aboard the *Panay* during the attack. He recalled how he narrowly escaped death.

*I had only taken a couple of steps when a shower of fragments [bomb pieces] hit me in the back and knocked me to my hands and knees. At the same time, I heard the sound of a machine gun and the splatter of bullets against the ship's side. Almost simultaneously, another bomb exploded to port, knocking down some of the bunks and breaking more glass. Being dazed and dizzy, I remained on the floor for some moments while two other bombs exploded somewhere near. Later I discovered that a bullet or a metal fragment had torn a three-inch rip in my left trouser leg at the top of the pocket. Still later, I found holes in my coat, the largest at the left shoulder, and there was a severe bruise, although the bullet or fragment did not penetrate.*

—from *The Panay Incident*,  
by Hamilton Darby Perry, 1969

the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Fleet from San Diego, California, to Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The move was intended to enable the U.S. Navy to keep a closer watch on Japan. The United States had a base in the Philippines, but it was not prepared for war.

Relations grew more strained in September 1940, when Japan signed a war agreement with Germany and Italy, forming the Axis powers. They agreed to assist one another if any one of them were attacked by a nation not already involved in the war. Roosevelt retaliated by freezing all Japanese assets in the United States and blocking shipments of scrap iron and aviation fuel to Japan. Japanese Foreign Minister Teijiro Toyoda declared, "Commercial and economic relations between Japan and third countries, led by England and the United States, are gradually becoming so horribly strained that we cannot endure it much longer." The United States and Japan were now openly at odds, and tensions were mounting.

## HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** Who were the opposing sides in China's civil war?
2. **INTERPRET MAPS** Based on the information on the map, why was conquering China so appealing to Japan?
3. **EVALUATE** What led to the growing tensions between Japan and the United States?



## SUPPORTING THE ALLIES

The question on every American's mind was, "Should the United States go to war, or should it stay neutral?" Even as Americans continued to debate this issue, the nation took greater steps to support the Allies.

### A THIRD TERM FOR FDR

As the 1940 presidential election approached, the leading campaign issue was the war raging in Europe. France had fallen, and Great Britain was fighting alone against the Axis Powers. In this atmosphere of turmoil, President Roosevelt took the unprecedented step of running for a third term in the White House. No American president had ever served a third term. Roosevelt felt it was his duty to continue to lead the United States through the current world crisis, so he allowed himself to be drafted by the Democratic National Convention in 1940 as their candidate. Meanwhile, the Republicans nominated lawyer and businessman Wendell Willkie of Indiana as their presidential candidate.

The 1940 presidential campaign intensified the debate over U.S. neutrality. Roosevelt favored greater intervention, while Willkie took a more isolationist stance. "The President's attacks on foreign powers have been useless and dangerous," Willkie declared. "He has courted a war for which the country is hopelessly unprepared—and which it emphatically does not want."

As you have read, Roosevelt had persuaded Congress to amend the Neutrality Act in 1939 to lift the ban on arms sales to U.S. allies and continue cash-and-carry. American ships, however, were still barred from transporting goods to ports of **belligerents**, or the countries already fighting in the war. In September 1940, at Britain's request, and without informing Congress, Roosevelt took the step of supplying the British with 50 old but usable destroyers. In return, the United States obtained the rights to establish naval bases in various British territories. The agreement outraged isolationists, who viewed it as a clear violation of American neutrality.

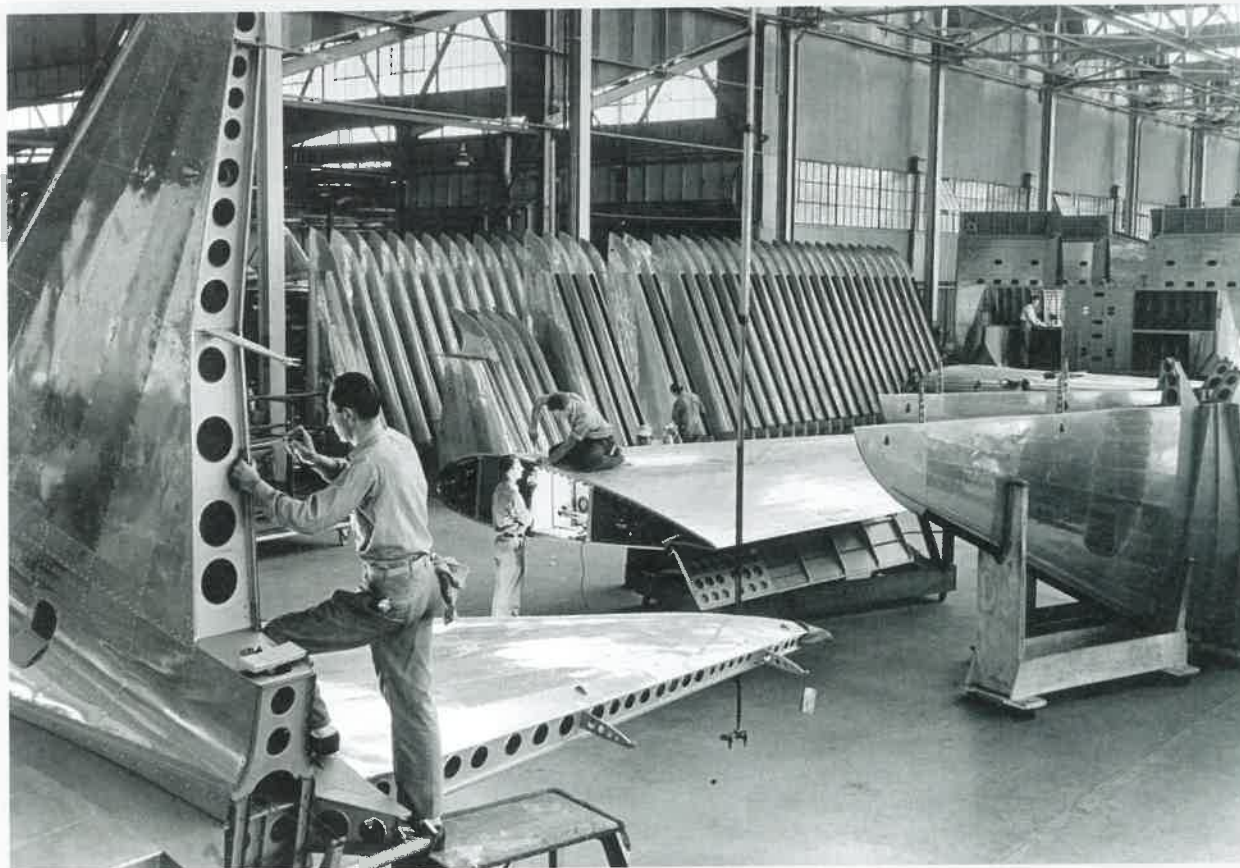
Nonetheless, Roosevelt easily defeated Willkie in the November election, with about 27 million votes to 22 million votes (449 electoral votes to 82 electoral votes). Although many Americans were opposed to involvement in the war, most were rooting against Germany. A national poll in 1940 found that 83 percent of U.S. citizens favored a British victory. Many Americans believed that if Britain fell to the Nazis, the United States would be on its own and potentially Germany's next target.

### AN "ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY"

After his re-election, Roosevelt continued nudging the United States toward greater involvement in the war. In December 1940, the president declared the nation must devote its industrial might to helping Britain. "We must be the great **arsenal** of democracy," Roosevelt proclaimed. "For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself." An arsenal is a place where weapons are stored. In his declaration, Roosevelt indicated he envisioned the United States as the major supplier of arms for its allies. He went on to say, "No dictator . . . will weaken [our] determination."

Even before Roosevelt's declaration, the nation had begun ramping up its war effort. In August 1940, Congress passed the first peacetime draft in U.S. history. Like the original Selective Service Act from World War I, the **Selective Service and Training Act** again required able-bodied young men to register for potential military service. Congress also allocated \$10.5 billion for defense spending. American factories began working around the clock to build weaponry, including tanks, warplanes, and warships. Unemployment virtually disappeared. The United States' urgent push to build up its arsenal had finally ended the Great Depression.

The “arsenal of democracy” included U.S.-made aircraft. In this 1940 photograph, a worker in a Los Angeles aircraft plant completes tail-fin assemblies for warplanes built for the Allies.



### THE LEND-LEASE ACT

As the United States increased its military production, Winston Churchill sent a plea for help to Roosevelt. Churchill told the president that Great Britain was in deep financial trouble and unable to pay for arms from the United States. Roosevelt responded by crafting the **Lend-Lease Act**, which enabled countries to receive American military aid without immediately paying for it.

Proposed in late 1940 and passed on March 11, 1941, the Lend-Lease Act allowed the president to deliver arms and other defense materials to “the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States.” The act enabled the United States to more directly aid nations at war against the Axis powers, while technically remaining neutral. Isolationists, such as Republican senator Robert Taft from Ohio, strongly opposed Lend-Lease as a violation of neutrality. FDR’s isolationist opponents also included Henry Ford and Charles Lindbergh, who organized the America First Committee (AFC). The AFC opposed every effort by the president to move away from neutrality, and it strongly contested Lend-Lease.

Despite Taft’s and the AFC’s opposition, Lend-Lease proceeded, allowing the United States to supply weapons to the Allied powers.

Lindbergh argued that by supporting one side or another, the United States was being used to aid in that country’s domination of the continent. He did not evaluate the countries of Europe in terms of their ideology or aggressiveness, but viewed them all as equally seeking advantage over the others. In his mind, there was no justification for sending Americans to further those causes. Some perceived Lindbergh’s position as support for the Nazis.

### HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** Why did Franklin Roosevelt want to run for a third term as president?
2. **COMPARE AND CONTRAST** How did cash-and-carry and Lend-Lease differ, and which was more beneficial to the Allies?
3. **ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT** How did Roosevelt’s push to be an “arsenal of democracy” affect technology, the U.S. economy, and people’s values and beliefs?



## A NEW ALLIANCE

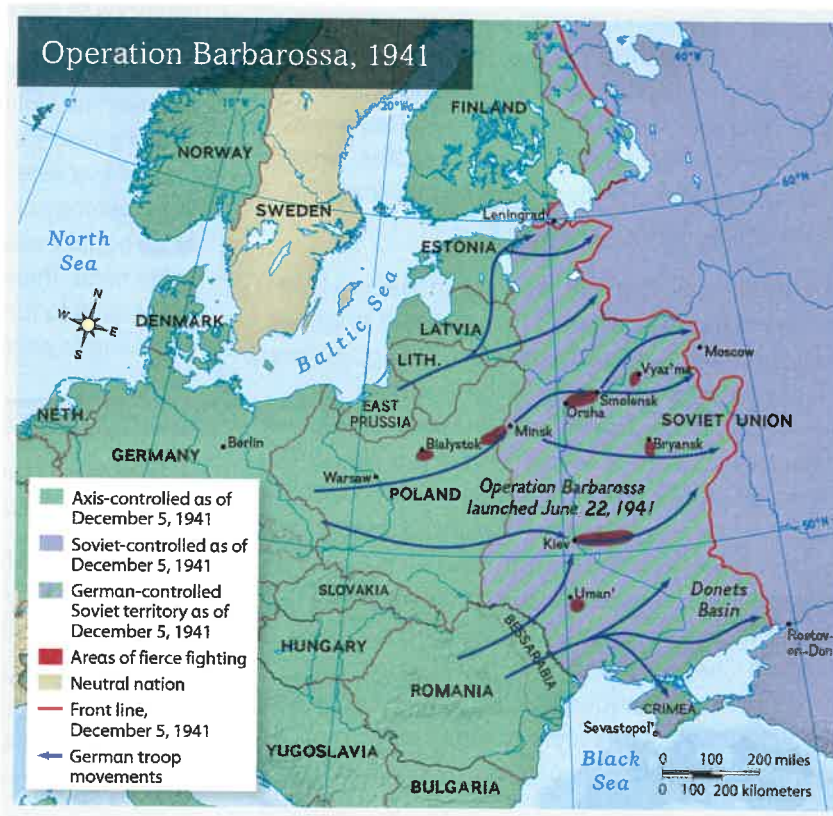
Sometimes no matter how much you try to stay out of a fight, circumstances force you to take action. When German warships began patrolling the Atlantic Ocean in order to stop supplies from reaching Great Britain, they targeted and tried to sink American ships. This brought the United States to the brink of battle.

### THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

In the summer of 1941, the war in Europe took a dramatic turn. On June 22, Hitler pointed his army to the east and invaded the Soviet Union. The invasion was named Operation Barbarossa after the 12th-century Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, and it ended the nonaggression pact between the two nations. Hitler had two objectives in mind: he wanted control of the oil supply in the Caucasus Mountains between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, and he wanted to conquer more territory for the expansion of Germany's population. More than 3 million German soldiers and 3,000 tanks plunged deep into Soviet territory. The German army defeated Soviet forces, captured more than 1 million prisoners, and moved toward Moscow and Leningrad.

Operation Barbarossa prompted many Americans to rethink their isolationist stance. The Nazis were becoming a true global threat. Following the German invasion, President Roosevelt offered Lend-Lease support to Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. While many Americans did not favor aiding a communist dictator, Roosevelt believed Hitler must be stopped at all costs. Over the next four years, Stalin received more than \$11 billion in Lend-Lease aid from the United States to fight the Nazis.

In August 1941, two months after Germany marched on the Soviets, President Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill met aboard naval ships in Placentia Bay off the coast of Newfoundland in Canada. Even though the United States had not yet entered the war, the two leaders discussed their mutual aims and principles around fighting and winning the war. They drafted what became known as the **Atlantic Charter**. Under the eight-point charter, the two leaders agreed to such principles as freedom of the seas, greater trade among nations, and the right of people to choose the kind of government they



desire. The charter stated the two countries would not wage war to gain territory, and they would oppose all changes in territory brought about by any war the people who lived there opposed. They would restore self-government to any nation that had lost it in the war, they would work together with other nations to improve living and working conditions throughout the world, and—perhaps most importantly—they stated that all countries should give up the use of force against one another.

By January 1942, 26 nations of North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa, along with Australia and New Zealand, had allied against the Axis Powers and pledged their support to the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

### HOSTILITIES INCREASE

In the fall of 1941, tensions flared between the United States and Germany over activities in the Atlantic Ocean. German U-boats, or submarines, were targeting ships on the Atlantic sea-lanes. Roosevelt responded by authorizing U.S. destroyers—a type of warship—to hunt down the German subs. This policy was called **active defense**. On September 4, 1941, Germany fired on the U.S. destroyer *Greer*. The Germans claimed it was a case of mistaken identity, as they believed the ship to be a British vessel.

President Roosevelt warned that any Axis ships that attacked American vessels in the North Atlantic would “do so at their own peril.”

By October, U.S. Navy ships were providing escorts for civilian cargo vessels carrying war materials to Great Britain. This angered the Germans, who clearly saw the United States as aiding and supporting their enemy. In the early morning of October 31, a German U-boat sank the U.S.S. *Reuben James*, killing 115 crewmen. Americans were outraged. The United States appeared to be on the brink of entering the war. However, it would take a shocking attack from the other side of the world to ultimately push the United States into battle.



### A FRIENDSHIP THAT CHANGED HISTORY

As the world plunged into war, the personal friendship between Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt helped cement the historically strong bonds between the United States and Great Britain. The friendship helped lead to the Lend-Lease Act and the Atlantic Charter. In all, the two leaders met nine times. After one of these meetings, Roosevelt wrote to Churchill, saying, “It is fun to be in the same decade with you.” After Roosevelt’s death, Churchill wrote, “I felt I was in contact with a very great man, who was a warm-hearted friend, and the foremost champion of the high causes which we served.”

### HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK** How did Germany’s attack on the Soviet Union affect Roosevelt’s foreign policy and American public opinion about the war?
- 2. INTERPRET MAPS** Along which German troop path were frictions and fighting the fiercest? Why do you think this was the case?
- 3. EVALUATE** How did the Atlantic Charter seek to promote global peace?
- 4. DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY** What events on the Atlantic Ocean heightened U.S.-German tensions to near-conflict?



# 12 REVIEW

## VOCABULARY

For each pair of vocabulary words, write a sentence that explains the connection between the words.

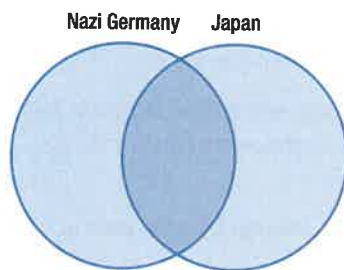
1. rearmament; pacifism  
*Germany moved toward rearmament, while pacifism was strong in the United States.*
2. Third Reich; Gestapo
3. Munich Agreement; appeasement
4. nonaggression pact; belligerent
5. embargo; arsenal
6. purge; Long March

## READING STRATEGY

### COMPARE AND CONTRAST

Comparing and contrasting can help readers form a deeper understanding of concepts and events. Both Nazi Germany and Japan disrupted world peace in the 1930s and 1940s. Complete a Venn diagram to compare and contrast Nazi Germany and Japan. Include the following features:

single charismatic leader  
desire for territorial conquest  
disregard for established international laws  
resentment over the outcome of World War I  
lack of natural resources  
policy of anti-Semitism  
buildup of armed forces



7. In what way do you think Nazi Germany and Japan were most alike? Support your opinion with details.

## MAIN IDEAS

Answer the following questions. Support your answers with evidence from the chapter.

8. What complex historical causes led to the rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany during the 1930s?  
**LESSON 1.1**
9. How did the views of President Roosevelt and a majority of Americans differ regarding involvement in the war? **LESSON 1.2**
10. How did the German-Soviet nonaggression pact contribute to the outbreak of World War II? **LESSON 2.1**
11. Why did Japan look upon China as a desirable target for invasion? **LESSON 2.2**
12. How did President Roosevelt intend to make America an “arsenal of democracy”?  
**LESSON 3.1**
13. How did the breaking of the German-Soviet nonaggression pact impact the debate between isolationists and interventionists in the United States? **LESSON 3.2**

## HISTORICAL THINKING

Answer the following questions. Support your answers with evidence from the chapter.

14. **DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY** What 1940 military events preceded the Battle of Britain?
15. **EVALUATE** How did changes to the Neutrality Act over the years lead to greater U.S. involvement in the war effort?
16. **SYNTHESIZE** How did the onset of World War II help bring about the Atlantic Charter?
17. **DRAW CONCLUSIONS** Why do you think so many dictators were able to rise to power during the years before World War II?
18. **FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS** What events helped President Roosevelt build his case that Hitler posed a threat to the world unlike any other? Support your opinion.

### INTERPRET VISUALS

During the Battle of Britain, many Londoners took shelter in the subway stations of the London Underground as Nazi bombs rained from the sky over their city. Study this photograph and then answer the questions.

19. A slogan during the bombing of London was “Your courage, your cheerfulness . . . will bring us victory.” How does this photo reflect that philosophy?
20. What potential challenges do you see in living in these conditions for an extended period?



### ANALYZE SOURCES

The Atlantic Charter, drafted in 1941 by Roosevelt and Churchill, consisted of eight general principles. Read the text of the eighth principle below. Then answer the questions that follow.

Eighth, they [President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill] believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

21. What does the charter argue is “essential” to helping secure world peace?
22. Describe the complex cause and effect relationships between disarmament and peace. Support your answer with evidence from the text.

### CONNECT TO YOUR LIFE

**23. NARRATIVE** Reread the summary of the Atlantic Charter from the chapter. Sum up the ideals Churchill and Roosevelt expressed to the world. To what extent have those ideals become reality since the charter was written? Think of what you know about the world today. Choose one or more of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and describe the state of that principle in the world today.

#### TIPS

- Read the summary of the charter’s principles, and state in your own words the principles and ideals expressed there.
- State the principle or principles you will compare with today’s world—for example, the principle of not expanding territory, or of open trade among nations.
- Describe some aspect of the state of the world in terms of that principle.
- Use two or three vocabulary terms from the chapter in your narrative, if possible.
- Conclude your narrative with a summary of what exists now and how it could be changed to achieve the principle or principles you named.



AMERICA IN  
WORLD WAR II

1941–1945

**HISTORICAL THINKING** How did World War II and the Holocaust impact Americans and the world?

**AMERICAN  
STORIES****The Code Talkers of World War II**

**SECTION 1** Pearl Harbor and Mobilization

**SECTION 2** Island Hopping in the Pacific

**SECTION 3** Marching Toward Victory

**SECTION 4** Facing the Holocaust

**AMERICAN GALLERY  
ONLINE****The Tuskegee Airmen**

**CRITICAL VIEWING** During the Battle of Iwo Jima, an island near the Japanese coast, U.S. Marines took control of Mount Suribachi, the highest point of the island. In celebration, soldiers raised the U.S. flag at the top of the peak—twice. The second time, Joseph Rosenthal captured this image of the flag-raising, which won him a Pulitzer Prize and became one of the most iconic photos of World War II. What do you think the photo symbolized to Americans on the home front?

