



SECTION  
1

# Dictators Threaten World Peace

## MAIN IDEA

The rise of rulers with total power in Europe and Asia led to World War II.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Dictators of the 1930s and 1940s changed the course of history, making world leaders especially watchful for the actions of dictators today.

## Terms & Names

- Joseph Stalin
- totalitarian
- Benito Mussolini
- fascism
- Adolf Hitler
- Nazism
- Francisco Franco
- Neutrality Acts

## One American's Story

Martha Gellhorn arrived in Madrid in 1937 to cover the brutal civil war that had broken out in Spain the year before. Hired as a special correspondent for *Collier's Weekly*, she had come with very little money and no special protection. On assignment there, she met the writer Ernest Hemingway, whom she later married. To Gellhorn, a young American writer, the Spanish Civil War was a deadly struggle between tyranny and democracy. For the people of Madrid, it was also a daily struggle for survival.



### A PERSONAL VOICE MARTHA GELLHORN

**"You would be walking down a street, hearing only the city noises of streetcars and automobiles and people calling to one another, and suddenly, crushing it all out, would be the huge stony deep booming of a falling shell, at the corner. There was no place to run, because how did you know that the next shell would not be behind you, or ahead, or to the left or right?"**

—*The Face of War*

▲ Martha Gellhorn, one of the first women war correspondents, began her career during the Spanish Civil War.

Less than two decades after the end of World War I—"the war to end all wars"—fighting erupted again in Europe and in Asia. As Americans read about distant battles, they hoped the conflicts would remain on the other side of the world.

## Nationalism Grips Europe and Asia

The seeds of new conflicts had been sown in World War I. For many nations, peace had brought not prosperity but revolution fueled by economic depression and struggle. The postwar years also brought the rise of powerful dictators driven by the belief in nationalism—loyalty to one's country above all else—and dreams of territorial expansion.



Germany was expected to pay off huge debts while dealing with widespread poverty. By 1923, an inflating economy made a five-million German mark worth less than a penny. Here children build blocks with stacks of useless German marks.



**FAILURES OF THE WORLD WAR I PEACE SETTLEMENT** Instead of securing a “just and secure peace,” the Treaty of Versailles caused anger and resentment. Germans saw nothing fair in a treaty that blamed them for starting the war. Nor did they find security in a settlement that stripped them of their overseas colonies and border territories. These problems overwhelmed the Weimar Republic, the democratic government set up in Germany after World War I. Similarly, the Soviets resented the carving up of parts of Russia. (See map, Chapter 11, p. 400.)

The peace settlement had not fulfilled President Wilson’s hope of a world “safe for democracy.” New democratic governments that emerged in Europe after the war floundered. Without a democratic tradition, people turned to authoritarian leaders to solve their economic and social problems. The new democracies collapsed, and dictators were able to seize power. Some had great ambitions. **A**

**JOSEPH STALIN TRANSFORMS THE SOVIET UNION** In Russia, hopes for democracy gave way to civil war, resulting in the establishment of a communist state, officially called the Soviet Union, in 1922. After V. I. Lenin died in 1924, **Joseph Stalin**, whose last name means “man of steel,” took control of the country. Stalin focused on creating a model communist state. In so doing, he made both agricultural and industrial growth the prime economic goals of the Soviet Union. Stalin abolished all privately owned farms and replaced them with collectives—large government-owned farms, each worked by hundreds of families.

Stalin moved to transform the Soviet Union from a backward rural nation into a great industrial power. In 1928, the Soviet dictator outlined the first of several “five-year plans,” to direct the industrialization. All economic activity was placed under state management. By 1937, the Soviet Union had become the world’s second-largest industrial power, surpassed in overall production only by the United States. The human costs of this transformation, however, were enormous.

In his drive to purge, or eliminate, anyone who threatened his power, Stalin did not spare even his most faithful supporters. While the final toll will never be known, historians estimate that Stalin was responsible for the deaths of 8 million to 13 million people. Millions more died in famines caused by the restructuring of Soviet society.

By 1939, Stalin had firmly established a **totalitarian** government that tried to exert complete control over its citizens. In a totalitarian state, individuals have no rights, and the government suppresses all opposition. **B**

#### MAIN IDEA

##### Identifying Problems

**A** Why did the new democracies set up after World War I fail?

#### MAIN IDEA

##### Summarizing

**B** What are the characteristics of a totalitarian state?

## The Rise of Nationalism, 1922–1941



### GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- 1. Region** In which countries did authoritarian leaders come to power? Who were the leaders?
- 2. Location** What geographic features might have led Japan to expand?

**THE RISE OF FASCISM IN ITALY** While Stalin was consolidating his power in the Soviet Union, **Benito Mussolini** was establishing a totalitarian regime in Italy, where unemployment and inflation produced bitter strikes, some communist-led. Alarmed by these threats, the middle and upper classes demanded stronger leadership. Mussolini took advantage of this situation. A powerful speaker, Mussolini knew how to appeal to Italy's wounded national pride. He played on the fears of economic collapse and communism. In this way, he won the support of many discontented Italians.

*“Italy wants peace, work, and calm. I will give these things with love if possible, with force if necessary.”*

**BENITO MUSSOLINI**

By 1921, Mussolini had established the Fascist Party. **Fascism** (făsh'iz'm) stressed nationalism and placed the interests of the state above those of individuals. To strengthen the nation, Fascists argued, power must rest with a single strong leader and a small group of devoted party members. (The Latin *fascēs*—a bundle of rods tied around an ax handle—had been a symbol of unity and authority in ancient Rome.)



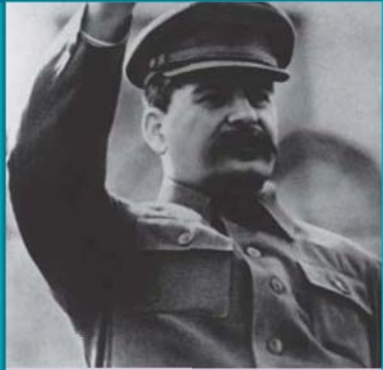
In October 1922, Mussolini marched on Rome with thousands of his followers, whose black uniforms gave them the name “Black Shirts.” When important government officials, the army, and the police sided with the Fascists, the Italian king appointed Mussolini head of the government.

Calling himself *Il Duce*, or “the leader,” Mussolini gradually extended Fascist control to every aspect of Italian life. Tourists marveled that *Il Duce* had even “made the trains run on time.” Mussolini achieved this efficiency, however, by crushing all opposition and by making Italy a totalitarian state. **C**

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

**C** What factors led to the rise of Fascism in Italy?

The Faces of Totalitarianism		
Fascist Italy	Nazi Germany	Communist Soviet Union
		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extreme nationalism</li> <li>• Militaristic expansionism</li> <li>• Charismatic leader</li> <li>• Private property with strong government controls</li> <li>• Anticommunist</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extreme nationalism and racism</li> <li>• Militaristic expansionism</li> <li>• Forceful leader</li> <li>• Private property with strong government controls</li> <li>• Anticommunist</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create a sound communist state and wait for world revolution</li> <li>• Revolution by workers</li> <li>• Eventual rule by working class</li> <li>• State ownership of property</li> </ul>

**THE NAZIS TAKE OVER GERMANY** In Germany, **Adolf Hitler** had followed a path to power similar to Mussolini's. At the end of World War I, Hitler had been a jobless soldier drifting around Germany. In 1919, he joined a struggling group called the National Socialist German Workers' Party, better known as the Nazi Party. Despite its name, this party had no ties to socialism.

Hitler proved to be such a powerful public speaker and organizer that he quickly became the party's leader. Calling himself *Der Führer*—"the Leader"—he promised to bring Germany out of chaos.

In his book *Mein Kampf* [My Struggle], Hitler set forth the basic beliefs of Nazism that became the plan of action for the Nazi Party. **Nazism** (nät's'z'əm), the German brand of fascism, was based on extreme nationalism. Hitler, who had been born in Austria, dreamed of uniting all German-speaking people in a great German empire.

Hitler also wanted to enforce racial "purification" at home. In his view, Germans—especially blue-eyed, blond-haired "Aryans"—formed a "master race" that was destined to rule the world. "Inferior races," such as Jews, Slavs, and all nonwhites, were deemed fit only to serve the Aryans.

A third element of Nazism was national expansion. Hitler believed that for Germany to thrive, it needed more *lebensraum*, or living space. One of the Nazis' aims, as Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*, was "to secure for the German people the land and soil to which they are entitled on this earth," even if this could be accomplished only by "the might of a victorious sword." **D**

The Great Depression helped the Nazis come to power. Because of war debts and dependence on American loans and investments, Germany's economy was hit hard. By 1932, some 6 million Germans were unemployed. Many men who were out of work joined Hitler's private army, the *storm troopers* (or *Brown Shirts*). The German people were desperate and turned to Hitler as their last hope.

By mid 1932, the Nazis had become the strongest political party in Germany. In January 1933, Hitler was appointed chancellor (prime minister). Once in power, Hitler quickly dismantled Germany's democratic Weimar Republic. In its place he established the *Third Reich*, or Third German Empire. According to Hitler, the Third Reich would be a "Thousand-Year Reich"—it would last for a thousand years.

▲ Left to right:  
**Benito Mussolini,**  
**Adolf Hitler,**  
**Joseph Stalin**

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Summarizing

**D** What were the key ideas and goals that Hitler presented in *Mein Kampf*?

#### Background

According to Hitler there were three German empires: the Holy Roman Empire; The German Empire of 1871–1918; and The Third Reich.



## Japan Invades Manchuria, 1931



## Italy Invades Ethiopia, 1935–1936



### GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- 1. Location** What countries were aggressors during this period?
- 2. Movement** Notice the size and location of Italy and of Japan with respect to the country each invaded. What similarities do you see?

**MILITARISTS GAIN CONTROL IN JAPAN** Halfway around the world, nationalistic military leaders were trying to take control of the imperial government of Japan. These leaders shared in common with Hitler a belief in the need for more living space for a growing population. Ignoring the protests of more moderate Japanese officials, the militarists launched a surprise attack and seized control of the Chinese province of Manchuria in 1931. Within several months, Japanese troops controlled the entire province, a large region about twice the size of Texas, that was rich in natural resources. **E**

The watchful League of Nations had been established after World War I to prevent just such aggressive acts. In this greatest test of the League's power, representatives were sent to Manchuria to investigate the situation. Their report condemned Japan, who in turn simply quit the League. Meanwhile, the success of the Manchurian invasion put the militarists firmly in control of Japan's government.

**AGGRESSION IN EUROPE AND AFRICA** The failure of the League of Nations to take action against Japan did not escape the notice of Europe's dictators. In 1933, Hitler pulled Germany out of the League. In 1935, he began a military buildup in violation of the Treaty of Versailles. A year later, he sent troops into the Rhineland, a German region bordering France and Belgium that was demilitarized as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. The League did nothing to stop Hitler.

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Motives

**E** Why did Japan invade Manchuria?

#### Background

Military government had centuries-old roots in Japan. The shogun lords of the Middle Ages had been military leaders.

Meanwhile, Mussolini began building his new Roman Empire. His first target was Ethiopia, one of Africa's few remaining independent countries. By the fall of 1935, tens of thousands of Italian soldiers stood ready to advance on Ethiopia. The League of Nations reacted with brave talk of "collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression."

When the invasion began, however, the League's response was an ineffective economic boycott—little more than a slap on Italy's wrist. By May 1936, Ethiopia had fallen. In desperation, Haile Selassie, the ousted Ethiopian emperor, appealed to the League for assistance. Nothing was done. "It is us today," he told them. "It will be you tomorrow."

**CIVIL WAR BREAKS OUT IN SPAIN** In 1936, a group of Spanish army officers led by General **Francisco Franco**, rebelled against the Spanish republic. Revolts broke out all over Spain, and the Spanish Civil War began. The war aroused passions not only in Spain but throughout the world. About 3,000 Americans formed the Abraham Lincoln Battalion and traveled to Spain to fight against Franco. "We knew, we just knew," recalled Martha Gellhorn, "that Spain was the place to stop fascism." Among the volunteers were African Americans still bitter about Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia the year before.

Such limited aid was not sufficient to stop the spread of fascism, however. The Western democracies remained neutral. Although the Soviet Union sent equipment and advisers, Hitler and Mussolini backed Franco's forces with troops, weapons, tanks, and fighter planes. The war forged a close relationship between the German and Italian dictators, who signed a formal alliance known as the Rome-Berlin Axis. After a loss of almost 500,000 lives, Franco's victory in 1939 established him as Spain's fascist dictator. Once again a totalitarian government ruled in Europe. **F**

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Summarizing

**F** What foreign countries were involved in the Spanish Civil War?



#### HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT



#### AFRICAN AMERICANS STAND BY ETHIOPIANS

When Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, many Europeans and Americans—especially African Americans—were outraged. Almost overnight, African Americans organized to raise money for medical supplies, and a few went to fight in Ethiopia. Years later, the Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie (shown above) said of these efforts,

"We can never forget the help Ethiopia received from Negro Americans during the terrible crisis. . . . It moved me to know that Americans of African descent did not abandon their embattled brothers, but stood by us."

◀ **A French journalist escapes from Spain to France with a child he rescued from a street battle. Fighting would soon engulf not only France but the rest of Europe and parts of Asia.**

## The United States Responds Cautiously

Most Americans were alarmed by the international conflicts of the mid-1930s but believed that the United States should not get involved. In 1928, the United States had signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact. The treaty was signed by 62 countries and declared that war would not be used “as an instrument of national policy.” Yet it did not include a plan to deal with countries that broke their pledge. The Pact was, therefore, only a small step toward peace.

**AMERICANS CLING TO ISOLATIONISM** In the early 1930s, a flood of books argued that the United States had been dragged into World War I by greedy bankers and arms dealers. Public outrage led to the creation of a congressional committee, chaired by North Dakota Senator Gerald Nye, that held hearings on these charges. The Nye committee fueled the controversy by documenting the large profits that banks and manufacturers made during the war. As the furor grew over these “merchants of death,” Americans became more determined than ever to avoid war. Antiwar feeling was so strong that the Girl Scouts of America changed the color of its uniforms from khaki to green to appear less militaristic. **G**

Americans’ growing isolationism eventually had an impact on President Roosevelt’s foreign policy. When he had first taken office in 1933, Roosevelt felt comfortable reaching out to the world in several ways. He officially recognized the Soviet Union in 1933 and agreed to exchange ambassadors with Moscow. He continued the policy of nonintervention in Latin America—begun by Presidents Coolidge and Hoover—with his Good Neighbor Policy and withdrew armed forces stationed there. In 1934, Roosevelt pushed the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act through Congress. This act lowered trade barriers by giving the president the power to make trade agreements with other nations and was aimed at reducing

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

**G** What factors contributed to Americans’ growing isolationism?

### Analyzing Political Cartoons

#### “THE ONLY WAY WE CAN SAVE HER”

During the late 1930s, Americans watched events in Europe with growing alarm. Dictators were destroying democratic systems of government throughout Europe and dragging the continent into war. These political events overseas divided American public opinion. Some Americans felt that the United States should help European democracies. However, isolationists—people who believed that the United States should not interfere in other nations’ affairs—strictly opposed getting involved in the disputes of “war-mad Europe.”

#### SKILLBUILDER

##### Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. Why is America labeled “The last refuge of democracy”?
2. What does the kneeling figure fear will happen to America if Uncle Sam gets involved?
3. What U.S. policy does the cartoon support?

 **SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.**



tariffs by as much as 50 percent. In an effort to keep the United States out of future wars, beginning in 1935, Congress passed a series of **Neutrality Acts**. The first two acts outlawed arms sales or loans to nations at war. The third act was passed in response to the fighting in Spain. This act extended the ban on arms sales and loans to nations engaged in civil wars.

**NEUTRALITY BREAKS DOWN** Despite congressional efforts to legislate neutrality, Roosevelt found it impossible to remain neutral. When Japan launched a new attack on China in July 1937, Roosevelt found a way around the Neutrality Acts. Because Japan had not formally declared war against China, the president claimed there was no need to enforce the Neutrality Acts. The United States continued sending arms and supplies to China. A few months later, Roosevelt spoke out strongly against isolationism in a speech delivered in Chicago. He called on peace-loving nations to “quarantine,” or isolate, aggressor nations in order to stop the spread of war.

### A PERSONAL VOICE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

“The peace, the freedom, and the security of 90 percent of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining 10 percent who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the 90 percent who want to live in peace under law and in accordance with moral standards that have received almost universal acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way . . . to preserve peace.”

—“Quarantine Speech,” October 5, 1937

At last Roosevelt seemed ready to take a stand against aggression—that is, until isolationist newspapers exploded in protest, accusing the president of leading the nation into war. Roosevelt backed off in the face of criticism, but his speech did begin to shift the debate. For the moment the conflicts remained “over there.”



## ASSESSMENT

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

• Joseph Stalin  
• totalitarian

• Benito Mussolini  
• fascism

• Adolf Hitler  
• Nazism

• Francisco Franco  
• Neutrality Acts

## MAIN IDEA

### 2. TAKING NOTES

Using a web diagram like the one below, fill it in with the main ambition of each dictator.



What ambitions did the dictators have in common?

## CRITICAL THINKING

### 3. ANALYZING CAUSES

How did the Treaty of Versailles sow the seeds of instability in Europe?

**Think About:**

- effects of the treaty on Germany and the Soviet Union
- effects of the treaty on national pride
- the economic legacy of the war

### 4. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

Why do you think Hitler found widespread support among the German people? Support your answer with details from the text.

### 5. FORMING GENERALIZATIONS

Would powerful nations or weak nations be more likely to follow an isolationist policy? Explain.



SECTION  
2

# War in Europe

## MAIN IDEA

Using the sudden mass attack called *blitzkrieg*, Germany invaded and quickly conquered many European countries.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Hitler's actions started World War II and still serve as a warning to be vigilant about totalitarian government.

## Terms & Names

- Neville Chamberlain
- Winston Churchill
- appeasement
- nonaggression pact
- *blitzkrieg*
- Charles de Gaulle

## One American's Story

In 1940, CBS correspondent William Shirer stood in the forest near Compiègne, where 22 years earlier defeated German generals had signed the armistice ending World War I. Shirer was now waiting for Adolf Hitler to deliver his armistice terms to a defeated France. He watched as Hitler walked up to the monument and slowly read the inscription: "Here on the eleventh of November 1918 succumbed the criminal pride of the German empire . . . vanquished by the free peoples which it tried to enslave." Later that day, Shirer wrote a diary entry describing the führer's reaction.



### A PERSONAL VOICE WILLIAM SHIRER

"I have seen that face many times at the great moments of his life. But today! It is afire with scorn, anger, hate, revenge, triumph. He steps off the monument and contrives to make even this gesture a masterpiece of contempt. . . . He glances slowly around the clearing, and now, as his eyes meet ours, you grasp the depth of his hatred. But there is triumph there too—revengeful, triumphant hate."

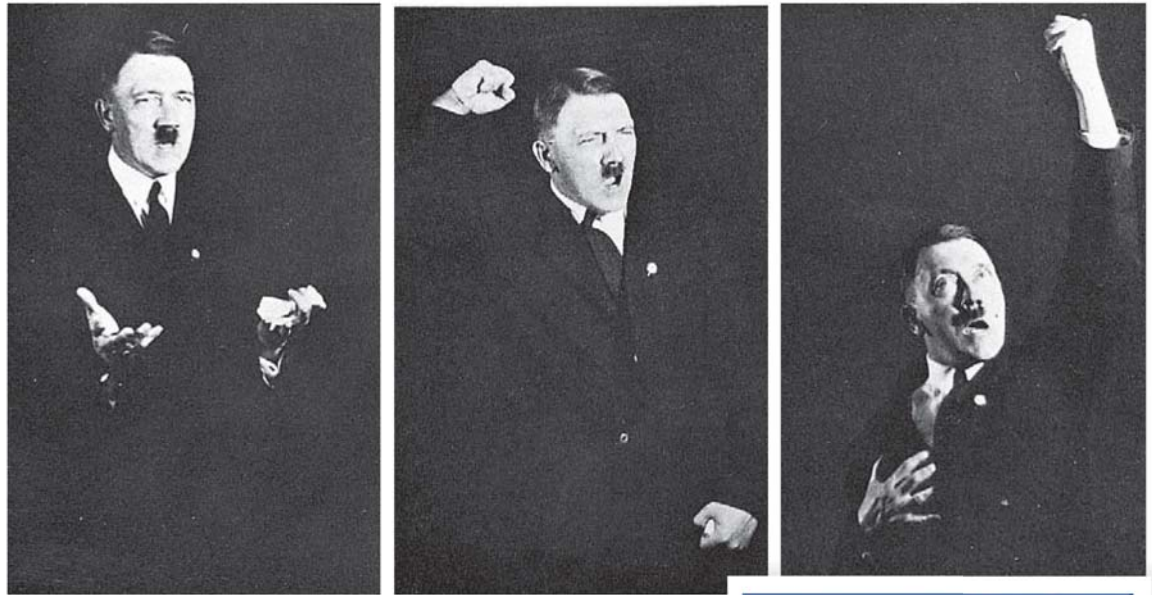
—Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent, 1934–1941

Again and again Shirer had heard Hitler proclaim that "Germany needs peace. . . . Germany wants peace." The hatred and vengefulness that drove the dictator's every action, however, drew Germany ever closer to war.

▲ William Shirer, a journalist and historian, became well known for his radio broadcasts from Berlin at the beginning of World War II.

## Austria and Czechoslovakia Fall

On November 5, 1937, Hitler met secretly with his top military advisers. He boldly declared that to grow and prosper Germany needed the land of its neighbors. His plan was to absorb Austria and Czechoslovakia into the Third Reich. When one of his advisors protested that annexing those countries could provoke war, Hitler replied, "'The German Question' can be solved only by means of force, and this is never without risk."



## KEY PLAYER

**ADOLF HITLER**  
1889–1945

“All great world-shaking events have been brought about not by written matter, but by the spoken word!” declared Adolf Hitler. A shy and awkward speaker at first, Hitler rehearsed carefully. He even had photographs (shown above) taken of his favorite gestures so he could study them and make changes to produce exactly the desired effect.

Hitler’s extraordinary power as a speaker, wrote Otto Strasser, stemmed from an intuitive ability to sense “the vibration of the human heart . . . telling it what it most wants to hear.”

**UNION WITH AUSTRIA** Austria was Hitler’s first target. The Paris Peace Conference following World War I had created the relatively small nation of Austria out of what was left of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The majority of Austria’s 6 million people were Germans who favored unification with Germany. On March 12, 1938, German troops marched into Austria unopposed. A day later, Germany announced that its *Anschluss*, or “union,” with Austria was complete. The United States and the rest of the world did nothing.

**BARGAINING FOR THE SUDETENLAND** Hitler then turned to Czechoslovakia. About 3 million German-speaking people lived in the western border regions of Czechoslovakia called the Sudetenland. The mountainous region formed Czechoslovakia’s main defense against German attack. (See map, p. 538.) Hitler wanted to annex Czechoslovakia in order to provide more living space for Germany as well as to control its important natural resources.

Hitler charged that the Czechs were abusing the Sudeten Germans, and he began massing troops on the Czech border. The U.S. correspondent William Shirer, then stationed in Berlin, wrote in his diary: “The Nazi press [is] full of hysterical headlines. All lies. Some examples: ‘Women and Children Mowed Down by Czech Armored Cars,’ or ‘Bloody Regime—New Czech Murders of Germans.’”

Early in the crisis, both France and Great Britain promised to protect Czechoslovakia. Then, just when war seemed inevitable, Hitler invited French premier Édouard Daladier and British prime minister **Neville Chamberlain** to meet with him in Munich. When they arrived, the führer declared that the annexation of the Sudetenland would be his “last territorial demand.” In their eagerness to avoid war, Daladier and Chamberlain chose to believe him. On September 30, 1938, they signed the Munich Agreement, which turned the Sudetenland over to Germany without a single shot being fired. **A**

Chamberlain returned home and proclaimed: “My friends, there has come back from Germany peace with honor. I believe it is peace in our time.”

### MAIN IDEA

#### Summarizing

**A** What moves did Germany make in its quest for *lebensraum*?



### GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- Region** Which European countries did Germany invade?
- Location** How was Germany's geographic location an advantage?

Chamberlain's satisfaction was not shared by **Winston Churchill**, Chamberlain's political rival in Great Britain. In Churchill's view, by signing the Munich Agreement, Daladier and Chamberlain had adopted a shameful policy of **appeasement**—or giving up principles to pacify an aggressor. As Churchill bluntly put it, "Britain and France had to choose between war and dishonor. They chose dishonor. They will have war." Nonetheless, the House of Commons approved Chamberlain's policy toward Germany and Churchill responded with a warning.

### A PERSONAL VOICE WINSTON CHURCHILL

"[W]e have passed an awful milestone in our history. . . . And do not suppose that this is the end. . . . This is only the first sip, the first foretaste of a bitter cup which will be proffered to us year by year unless, by a supreme recovery of moral health and martial vigor, we arise again and take our stand for freedom as in the olden time." **B**

—speech to the House of Commons, quoted in *The Gathering Storm*

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Motives

**B** What was appeasement, and why did Churchill oppose it so strongly?

## The German Offensive Begins

As Churchill had warned, Hitler was not finished expanding the Third Reich. As dawn broke on March 15, 1939, German troops poured into what remained of Czechoslovakia. At nightfall Hitler gloated, "Czechoslovakia has ceased to exist." After that, the German dictator turned his land-hungry gaze toward Germany's eastern neighbor, Poland.

**THE SOVIET UNION DECLARES NEUTRALITY** Like Czechoslovakia, Poland had a sizable German-speaking population. In the spring of 1939, Hitler began his familiar routine, charging that Germans in Poland were mistreated by the Poles and needed his protection. Some people thought that this time Hitler must be bluffing. After all, an attack on Poland might bring Germany into conflict with the Soviet Union, Poland's eastern neighbor. At the same time, such an attack would most likely provoke a declaration of war from France and Britain—both of whom had promised military aid to Poland. The result would be a two-front war. Fighting on two fronts had exhausted Germany in World War I. Surely, many thought, Hitler would not be foolish enough to repeat that mistake.

As tensions rose over Poland, Stalin surprised everyone by signing a **nonaggression pact** with Hitler. Once bitter enemies, on August 23, 1939 fascist Germany and communist Russia now committed never to attack each other. Germany and the Soviet Union also signed a second, secret pact, agreeing to divide Poland between them. With the danger of a two-front war eliminated, the fate of Poland was sealed.

**BLITZKRIEG IN POLAND** As day broke on September 1, 1939, the German *Luftwaffe*, or German air force, roared over Poland, raining bombs on military bases, airfields, railroads, and cities. At the same time, German tanks raced across the Polish countryside, spreading terror and confusion. This invasion was the first test of Germany's newest military strategy, the **blitzkrieg**, or lightning war. Blitzkrieg made use of advances in military technology—such as fast tanks and more powerful aircraft—to take the enemy by surprise and then quickly crush all opposition with overwhelming force. On September 3, two days following the terror in Poland, Britain and France declared war on Germany. 🕒

The blitzkrieg tactics worked perfectly. Major fighting was over in three weeks, long before France, Britain, and their allies could mount a defense. In the last week of fighting, the Soviet Union attacked Poland from the east, grabbing some of its territory. The portion Germany annexed in western Poland contained almost two-thirds of Poland's population. By the end of the month, Poland had ceased to exist—and World War II had begun.

#### Background

*Luftwaffe* in German means "air weapon."

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Evaluating

🕒 How did German blitzkrieg tactics rely on new military technology?



▲ German Junkers JU-87 dive-bombers, commonly known as Stukas, were a mainstay of Germany's blitzkrieg style of attack.

▶ A German tank unit in Western Poland in 1939.



▲ For months there was nothing much to defend against, as the war turned into a *sitzkrieg* endured by soldiers such as this French one on the Maginot Line.

**THE PHONY WAR** For the next several months after the fall of Poland, French and British troops on the Maginot Line, a system of fortifications built along France's eastern border (see map on p. 538), sat staring into Germany, waiting for something to happen. On the Siegfried Line a few miles away German troops stared back. The blitzkrieg had given way to what the Germans called the *sitzkrieg* ("sitting war"), and what some newspapers referred to as the phony war.

After occupying eastern Poland, Stalin began annexing the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Late in 1939, Stalin sent his Soviet army into Finland. After three months of fighting, the outnumbered Finns surrendered.

Suddenly, on April 9, 1940, Hitler launched a surprise invasion of Denmark and Norway in order "to protect [those countries'] freedom and independence." But in truth, Hitler planned to build bases along the coasts to strike at Great Britain. Next, Hitler turned against the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, which were overrun by the end of May. The phony war had ended. **D**

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Motives

**D** How did Hitler rationalize the German invasion of Denmark and Norway?

## France and Britain Fight On

France's Maginot Line proved to be ineffective; the German army threatened to bypass the line during its invasion of Belgium. Hitler's generals sent their tanks through the Ardennes, a region of wooded ravines in northeast France, thereby avoiding British and French troops who thought the Ardennes were impassable. The Germans continued to march toward Paris.

**THE FALL OF FRANCE** The German offensive trapped almost 400,000 British and French soldiers as they fled to the beaches of Dunkirk on the French side of the English Channel. In less than a week, a makeshift fleet of fishing trawlers, tugboats, river barges, pleasure craft—more than 800 vessels in all—ferried about 330,000 British, French, and Belgian troops to safety across the Channel.

A few days later, Italy entered the war on the side of Germany and invaded France from the south as the Germans closed in on Paris from the north. On June 22, 1940, at Compiègne, as William Shirer and the rest of the world watched, Hitler handed French officers his terms of surrender. Germans would occupy the northern part of France, and a Nazi-controlled puppet government, headed by Marshal Philippe Pétain, would be set up at Vichy, in southern France.

After France fell, a French general named **Charles de Gaulle** fled to England, where he set up a government-in-exile. De Gaulle proclaimed defiantly, "France has lost a battle, but France has not lost the war."

**THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN** In the summer of 1940, the Germans began to assemble an invasion fleet along the French coast. Because its naval power could not compete with that of Britain, Germany also launched an air war at the same time. The Luftwaffe began making bombing



◀ Children watch with wonder and fear as the battling British and German air forces set the skies of London aflame.

#### Background

Hitler demanded that the surrender take place in the same railroad car where the French had dictated terms to the Germans in World War I.

runs over Britain. Its goal was to gain total control of the skies by destroying Britain's Royal Air Force (RAF). Hitler had 2,600 planes at his disposal. On a single day—August 15—approximately 2,000 German planes ranged over Britain. Every night for two solid months, bombers pounded London.

The Battle of Britain raged on through the summer and fall. Night after night, German planes pounded British targets. At first the Luftwaffe concentrated on airfields and aircraft. Next it targeted cities. Londoner Len Jones was just 18 years old when bombs fell on his East End neighborhood.

### A PERSONAL VOICE LEN JONES

**“After an explosion of a nearby bomb, you could actually feel your eyeballs being sucked out. I was holding my eyes to try and stop them going. And the suction was so vast, it ripped my shirt away, and ripped my trousers. Then I couldn’t get my breath, the smoke was like acid and everything round me was black and yellow.”**

—quoted in *London at War*

The RAF fought back brilliantly. With the help of a new technological device called radar, British pilots accurately plotted the flight paths of German planes, even in darkness. On September 15, 1940 the RAF shot down over 185 German planes; at the same time, they lost only 26 aircraft. Six weeks later, Hitler called off the invasion of Britain indefinitely. “Never in the field of human conflict,” said Churchill in praise of the RAF pilots, “was so much owed by so many to so few.”

Still, German bombers continued to pound Britain's cities trying to disrupt production and break civilian morale. British pilots also bombed German cities. Civilians in both countries unrelentingly carried on.

## KEY PLAYER



**WINSTON CHURCHILL**  
1874–1965

Churchill was possibly Britain's greatest weapon as that nation faced the Nazis. A born fighter, Churchill became prime minister in May 1940 and used his gift as a speaker to arouse Britons and unite them:

“[W]e shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing-grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.”

## SECTION 2

### ASSESSMENT

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

•Neville Chamberlain  
•Winston Churchill

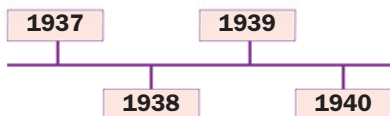
•appeasement  
•nonaggression pact

•blitzkrieg  
•Charles de Gaulle

#### MAIN IDEA

##### 2. TAKING NOTES

Trace the movement of German expansion from 1937 to the end of 1940 by supplying events to follow the dates shown on the time line.



What event was the most significant? Why?

#### CRITICAL THINKING

##### 3. ANALYZING MOTIVES

To what extent do you think lies and deception played a role in Hitler's tactics? Support your answer with examples. **Think About:**

- William Shirer's diary entry about headlines in the Nazi newspapers
- Soviet-German relations
- Hitler's justifications for military aggression

##### 4. EVALUATING DECISIONS

If you had been a member of the British House of Commons in 1938, would you have voted for or against the Munich Agreement? Support your decision.

##### 5. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

Review Germany's aggressive actions between 1938 and 1945. At what point do you think Hitler concluded that he could take any territory without being stopped? Why?



# The Holocaust

## MAIN IDEA

During the Holocaust, the Nazis systematically executed 6 million Jews and 5 million other “non-Aryans.”

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

After the atrocities of the Holocaust, agencies formed to publicize human rights. These agencies have remained a force in today’s world.

## Terms & Names

- Holocaust
- *Kristallnacht*
- genocide
- ghetto
- concentration camp

## One American’s Story

Gerda Weissmann was a carefree girl of 15 when, in September 1939, invading German troops shattered her world. Because the Weissmanns were Jews, they were forced to give up their home to a German family. In 1942, Gerda, her parents, and most of Poland’s 3,000,000 Jews were sent to labor camps. Gerda recalls when members of Hitler’s elite *Schutzstaffel*, or “security squadron” (SS), came to round up the Jews.

### A PERSONAL VOICE GERDA WEISSMANN KLEIN

“We had to form a line and an SS man stood there with a little stick. I was holding hands with my mother and . . . he looked at me and said, ‘How old?’ And I said, ‘eighteen,’ and he sort of pushed me to one side and my mother to the other side. . . . And shortly thereafter, some trucks arrived . . . and we were loaded onto the trucks. I heard my mother’s voice from very far off ask, ‘Where to?’ and I shouted back, ‘I don’t know.’”

—quoted in the film *One Survivor Remembers*

When the American lieutenant Kurt Klein, who would later become Gerda’s husband, liberated her from the Nazis in 1945—just one day before her 21st birthday—she weighed 68 pounds and her hair had turned white. Even so, of all her family and friends, she alone had survived the Nazis’ campaign to exterminate Europe’s Jews.



### VIDEO

**ESCAPING THE  
FINAL SOLUTION**  
Kurt Klein  
and Gerda  
Weissmann Klein  
Remember the  
Holocaust

## The Persecution Begins

On April 7, 1933, shortly after Hitler took power in Germany, he ordered all “non-Aryans” to be removed from government jobs. This order was one of the first moves in a campaign for racial purity that eventually led to the **Holocaust**—the systematic murder of 11 million people across Europe, more than half of whom were Jews.



◀ On November 17, 1938, two passersby examine the shattered window of a Jewish-owned store in the aftermath of *Kristallnacht*.

Jewish men holding a “star of David” ▶ are rounded up and marched through the streets on their way to a concentration camp.



### Vocabulary

#### scapegoat:

someone who is made to bear the blame of others

**JEWS TARGETED** Although Jews were not the only victims of the Holocaust, they were the center of the Nazis’ targets. Anti-Semitism, or hatred of the Jews, had a long history in many European countries. For decades many Germans looking for a scapegoat had blamed the Jews as the cause of their failures. Hitler found that a majority of Germans were willing to support his belief that Jews were responsible for Germany’s economic problems and defeat in World War I.

As the Nazis tightened their hold on Germany, their persecution of the Jews increased. In 1935, the Nuremberg Laws stripped Jews of their German citizenship, jobs, and property. To make it easier for the Nazis to identify them, Jews had to wear a bright yellow Star of David attached to their clothing. Worse was yet to come.

**KRISTALLNACHT** November 9–10, 1938, became known as *Kristallnacht* (krɪs’täl’nächt’), or “Night of Broken Glass.” Nazi storm troopers attacked Jewish homes, businesses, and synagogues across Germany. An American who witnessed the violence wrote, “Jewish shop windows by the hundreds were systematically and wantonly smashed. . . . The main streets of the city were a positive litter of shattered plate glass.” Around 100 Jews were killed, and hundreds more were injured. Some 30,000 Jews were arrested and hundreds of synagogues were burned. Afterward, the Nazis blamed the Jews for the destruction. A

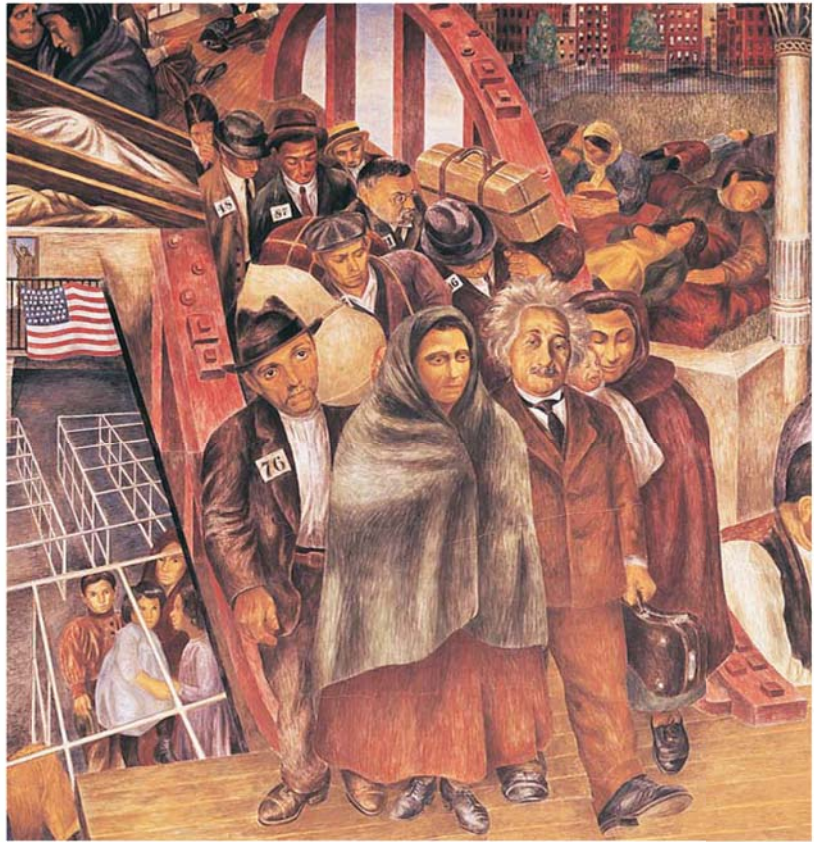
### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Issues

A What problems did German Jews face in Nazi Germany from 1935 to 1938?

**A FLOOD OF JEWISH REFUGEES** Kristallnacht marked a step-up in the Nazi policy of Jewish persecution. Nazis tried to speed Jewish emigration but encountered difficulty. Jews fleeing Germany had trouble finding nations that would accept them. France already had 40,000 Jewish refugees and did not want more. The British worried about fueling anti-Semitism and refused to admit more than 80,000 Jewish refugees. They also controlled Palestine (later Israel) and allowed 30,000 refugees to settle there. Late in 1938, Germany’s foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, observed, “We all want to get rid of our Jews. The difficulty is that no country wishes to receive them.”

**Muralist Ben Shahn** ▶ depicts the 1933 emigration of Albert Einstein and thousands of other Jews to America to escape Nazi terrorism.



Although the average Jew had little chance of reaching the United States, “persons of exceptional merit,” including physicist Albert Einstein, author Thomas Mann, architect Walter Gropius, and theologian Paul Tillich were among 100,000 refugees the United States accepted. Many Americans wanted the door closed. Americans were concerned that letting in more refugees during the Great Depression

would deny U.S. citizens jobs and threaten economic recovery. Among Americans, there was widespread anti-Semitism and fear that “enemy agents” would be allowed to enter the country. President Roosevelt said that while he sympathized with the Jews, he would not “do anything which would conceivably hurt the future of present American citizens.” **B**

**THE PLIGHT OF THE ST. LOUIS** Official indifference to the plight of Germany’s Jews was in evidence in the case of the ship *St. Louis*. This German ocean liner passed Miami in 1939. Although 740 of the liner’s 943 passengers had U.S. immigration papers, the Coast Guard followed the ship to prevent anyone from disembarking in America. The ship was forced to return to Europe. “The cruise of the *St. Louis*,” wrote the *New York Times*, “cries to high heaven of man’s inhumanity to man.” Passenger Liane Reif-Lehrer recalls her childhood experiences.

#### **A PERSONAL VOICE** LIANE REIF-LEHRER

“My mother and brother and I were among the passengers who survived. . . . We were sent back to Europe and given haven in France, only to find the Nazis on our doorstep again a few months later.”

—Liane Reif-Lehrer

#### **MAIN IDEA**

#### **Analyzing Effects**

**B** How did the United States respond to Jewish refugees?

More than half of the passengers were later killed in the Holocaust.

## **Hitler’s “Final Solution”**

By 1939 only about a quarter million Jews remained in Germany. But other nations that Hitler occupied had millions more. Obsessed with a desire to rid Europe of its Jews, Hitler imposed what he called the “Final Solution”—a policy of **genocide**, the deliberate and systematic killing of an entire population.

### Background

The first person to use the term Final Solution was General George Custer. He was referring to the execution of Native Americans.

**THE CONDEMNED** Hitler's Final Solution rested on the belief that Aryans were a superior people and that the strength and purity of this "master race" must be preserved. To accomplish this, the Nazis condemned to slavery and death not only the Jews but other groups that they viewed as inferior or unworthy or as "enemies of the state."

After taking power in 1933, the Nazis had concentrated on silencing their political opponents—communists, socialists, liberals, and anyone else who spoke out against the government. Once the Nazis had eliminated these enemies, they turned against other groups in Germany. In addition to Jews, these groups included the following:

- *Gypsies*—whom the Nazis believed to be an "inferior race"
- *Freemasons*—whom the Nazis charged as supporters of the "Jewish conspiracy" to rule the world
- *Jehovah's Witnesses*—who refused to join the army or salute Hitler

The Nazis also targeted other Germans whom they found unfit to be part of the "master race." Such victims included homosexuals, the mentally deficient, the mentally ill, the physically disabled, and the incurably ill.

Hitler began implementing his Final Solution in Poland with special Nazi death squads. Hitler's elite Nazi "security squadrons" (or SS), rounded up Jews—men, women, children, and babies—and shot them on the spot.

**FORCED RELOCATION** Jews also were ordered into dismal, overcrowded **ghettos**, segregated Jewish areas in certain Polish cities. The Nazis sealed off the ghettos with barbed wire and stone walls.

Life inside the ghetto was miserable. The bodies of victims piled up in the streets faster than they could be removed. Factories were built alongside ghettos where people were forced to work for German industry. In spite of the impossible living conditions, the Jews hung on. While some formed resistance movements inside the ghettos, others resisted by other means. They published and distributed underground newspapers. Secret schools were set up to educate Jewish children. Even theater and music groups continued to operate.

### ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

#### DENMARK'S RESISTANCE

King Christian X became an important symbol of Danish resistance in World War II. In 1942, he rejected the Nazis' demand to enforce the Nuremberg Laws against the Jews in occupied Denmark. In August 1943, the king spoke out against the German occupying forces, an act that led to his imprisonment for the remainder of the war.

#### Estimated Jewish Losses

	Pre-Holocaust Population	Number Killed	
		Low Estimate	High Estimate
Austria	191,000	50,000	65,500
Belgium	60,000	25,000	29,000
Bohemia/Moravia	92,000	77,000	78,300
Denmark	8,000	60	116
Estonia	4,600	1,500	2,000
France	260,000	75,000	77,000
Germany	566,000	135,000	142,000
Greece	73,000	59,000	67,000
Hungary	725,000	502,000	569,000
Italy	48,000	6,500	9,000
Latvia	95,000	70,000	72,000
Lithuania	155,000	130,000	143,000
Luxembourg	3,500	1,000	2,000
Netherlands	112,000	100,000	105,000
Norway	1,700	800	800
Poland	3,250,000	2,700,000	3,000,000
Romania	441,000	121,000	287,000
Slovakia	89,000	60,000	71,000
USSR	2,825,000	700,000	1,100,000
Yugoslavia	68,000	56,000	65,000
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>9,067,800</b>	<b>4,869,860</b>	<b>5,894,716</b>

Source: Columbia Guide to the Holocaust

#### SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

Approximately what percentage of the total Jewish population in Europe was killed during the Holocaust?



▲ On May 9, 1945, inmates at the Ebensee concentration camp in Austria were liberated by U.S. soldiers.

**CONCENTRATION CAMPS** Finally, Jews in communities not reached by the killing squads were dragged from their homes and herded onto trains or trucks for shipment to **concentration camps**, or labor camps. Families were often separated, sometimes—like the Weissmanns—forever.

Nazi concentration camps were originally set up to imprison political opponents and protesters. The camps were later turned over to the SS, who expanded the concentration camp and used it to warehouse other “undesirables.” Life in the camps was a cycle of hunger, humiliation, and work that almost always ended in death.

The prisoners were crammed into crude wooden barracks that held up to a thousand people each. They shared their crowded quarters, as well as their meager meals, with hordes of rats and fleas. Hunger was so intense, recalled one survivor, “that if a bit of soup spilled over, prisoners would converge on the spot, dig their spoons into the mud and stuff the mess into their mouths.”

Inmates in the camps worked from dawn to dusk, seven days a week, until they collapsed. Those too weak to work were killed. Some, like Rudolf Reder, endured. He was one of only two Jews to survive the camp at Belzec, Poland.



▲ After stripping their victims of life and dignity, the Nazis hoarded whatever articles of value the victims had possessed, such as wedding rings and gold fillings from teeth.

#### ★ A PERSONAL VOICE RUDOLF REDER

“The brute Schmidt was our guard; he beat and kicked us if he thought we were not working fast enough. He ordered his victims to lie down and gave them 25 lashes with a whip, ordering them to count out loud. If the victim made a mistake, he was given 50 lashes. . . . Thirty or 40 of us were shot every day. A doctor usually prepared a daily list of the weakest men. During the lunch break they were taken to a nearby grave and shot. They were replaced the following morning by new arrivals from the transport of the day. . . . It was a miracle if anyone survived for five or six months in Belzec.”

—quoted in *The Holocaust*



## The Final Stage

The Final Solution reached its final stage in early 1942. At a meeting held in Wannsee, a lakeside suburb near Berlin, Hitler's top officials agreed to begin a new phase of the mass murder of Jews. To mass slaughter and starvation they would add a third method of killing—murder by poison gas. **C**

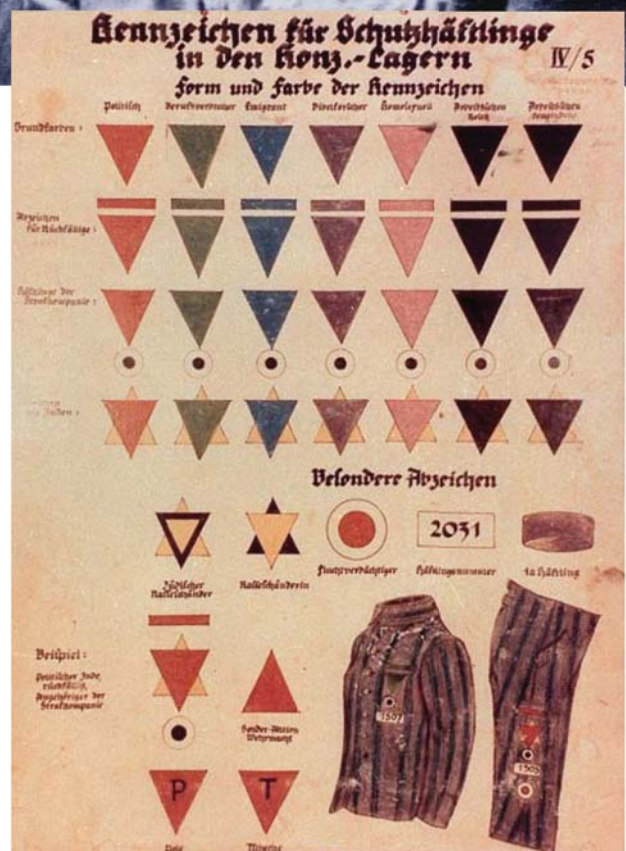
### MAIN IDEA

#### Summarizing

**C** What was the goal of the Nazis' Final Solution, and how was that goal nearly achieved?

**MASS EXTERMINATIONS** As deadly as overwork, starvation, beatings, and bullets were, they did not kill fast enough to satisfy the Nazis. The Germans built six death camps in Poland. The first, Chelmno, began operating in 1941—before the meeting at Wannsee. Each camp had several huge gas chambers in which as many as 12,000 people could be killed a day.

When prisoners arrived at Auschwitz, the largest of the death camps, they had to parade by several SS doctors. With a wave of the hand, the doctors separated those strong enough to work from those who would die that day. Both groups were told to leave all their belongings behind, with a promise that they would be returned later. Those destined to die were then led into a room outside the gas chamber and were told to undress for a shower. To complete the deception, the prisoners were even



Prisoners were required to wear color-coded triangles on their uniforms. The categories of prisoners include communists, socialists, criminals, emigrants, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, Germans "shy of work," and other nationalities "shy of work." The vertical categories show a variation. One for repeat offenders, one for prisoners assigned to punish other prisoners, and double triangles for Jews. Letters on top of a patch indicate nationality.

Children taken from Eastern Europe and imprisoned in Auschwitz look out from behind the barbed-wire fence in July 1944.



## WORLD STAGE

### RIGHTEOUS PERSONS OF WORLD WAR II

In the midst of the world's overall indifference to the plight of Jewish refugees, thousands of non-Jews risked—and in many cases lost—their own lives to save Jews from the Nazis. In recognition of such heroic efforts, the Israeli Parliament, the Knesset, bestowed on these individuals the title of Righteous Gentiles (or Righteous Persons). As of the year 2001 more than 18,269 individuals were recognized for their courage and morality.

Aristides de Sousa Mendes, a Portuguese diplomat stationed in France, defied his government's orders and issued some 10,000 visas to Jews seeking entry to his country. The Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg issued "protective passports" that allowed thousands of Hungarian Jews to escape the Nazi death camps. Even citizens of Germany lent a hand. And Sempo Sugihara, Japanese consul in Lithuania, helped over 6,000 Jews to escape the Nazis' clutches, an act that cost him his career.

given pieces of soap. Finally, they were led into the chamber and poisoned with cyanide gas that spewed from vents in the walls. This orderly mass extermination was sometimes carried out to the accompaniment of cheerful music played by an orchestra of camp inmates who had temporarily been spared execution.

At first the bodies were buried in huge pits. At Belzec, Rudolf Reder was part of a 500-man death brigade that labored all day, he said, "either at grave digging or emptying the gas chambers." But the decaying corpses gave off a stench that could be smelled for miles around. Worse yet, mass graves left evidence of the mass murder. Lilli Kopecky recalls her arrival at Auschwitz.

### A PERSONAL VOICE LILLI KOPECKY

**"When we came to Auschwitz, we smelt the sweet smell. They said to us: 'There the people are gassed, three kilometers over there.' We didn't believe it."**

—quoted in *Never Again*

At some camps, to try to cover up the evidence of their slaughter, the Nazis installed huge crematoriums, or ovens, in which to burn the dead. At other camps, the bodies were simply thrown into a pit and set on fire.

Gassing was not the only method of extermination used in the camps. Prisoners were also shot, hanged, or injected with poison.

Still others died as a result of horrible medical experiments carried out by camp doctors. Some of these victims were injected with deadly germs in order to study the effect of disease on different groups of people. Many more were used to test methods of sterilization, a subject of great interest to some Nazi doctors in their search for ways to improve the "master race."

**THE SURVIVORS** An estimated six million Jews died in the death camps and in the Nazi massacres. But some miraculously escaped the worst of the Holocaust. Many had help from ordinary people who were appalled by the Nazis' treatment of Jews. Some Jews even survived the horrors of the concentration camps.

In Gerda Weissmann Klein's view, survival depended as much on one's spirit as on getting enough to eat. "I do believe that if you were blessed with imagination, you could work through it," she wrote. "If, unfortunately, you were a person that faced reality, I think you didn't have much of a chance." Those who did come out of the camps alive were forever changed by what they had witnessed. For survivor Elie Wiesel, who entered Auschwitz in 1944 at the age of 14, the sun had set forever.

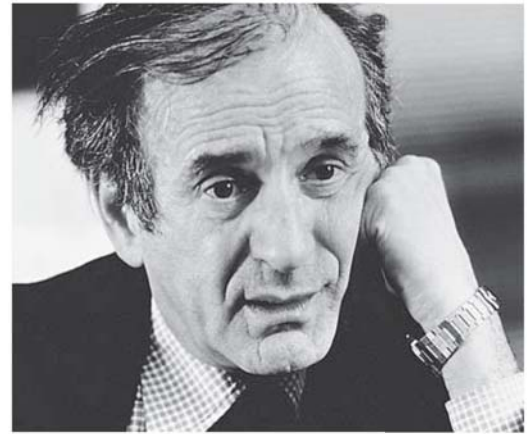
*"Survival is both an exalted privilege and a painful burden."*

GERDA WEISSMANN KLEIN

### A PERSONAL VOICE ELIE WIESEL

"Never shall I forget that night, the first night in the camp, which has turned my life into one long night. . . . Never shall I forget the little faces of the children, whose bodies I saw turned into wreaths of smoke beneath a silent blue sky. Never shall I forget those flames which consumed my faith forever. Never shall I forget that nocturnal silence which deprived me, for all eternity, of the desire to live. Never shall I forget those moments which murdered my God and my soul and turned my dreams to dust. Never shall I forget these things, even if I am condemned to live as long as God Himself. Never."

—Night



▲ Elie Wiesel, 1986

## SECTION 3

### ASSESSMENT

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

- Holocaust
- Kristallnacht

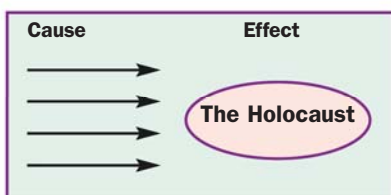
- genocide
- ghetto

- concentration camp

### MAIN IDEA

#### 2. TAKING NOTES

List at least four events that led to the Holocaust.



Write a paragraph summarizing one of the events that you listed.

### CRITICAL THINKING

#### 3. EVALUATING DECISIONS

Do you think that the United States was justified in not allowing more Jewish refugees to emigrate? Why or why not? **Think About:**

- the views of isolationists in the United States
- some Americans' prejudices and fears
- the incident on the German luxury liner *St. Louis*

#### 4. DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Why do you think the Nazi system of systematic genocide was so brutally effective? Support your answer with details from the text.

#### 5. ANALYZING MOTIVES

How might concentration camp doctors and guards have justified to themselves the death and suffering they caused other human beings?

## SECTION 4

# America Moves Toward War

### MAIN IDEA

In response to the fighting in Europe, the United States provided economic and military aid to help the Allies achieve victory.

### WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The military capability of the U. S. became a deciding factor in World War II and in world affairs ever since.

### Terms & Names

- 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.

**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. Roosevelt scrambled to provide the British with “all aid short of war.” By June he had sent Britain 500,000 rifles and 80,000 machine guns, and in early September 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.”

On September 27 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.

**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.”

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.

### Vocabulary

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

### 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 aviator Charles Lindbergh stated 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 your 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.

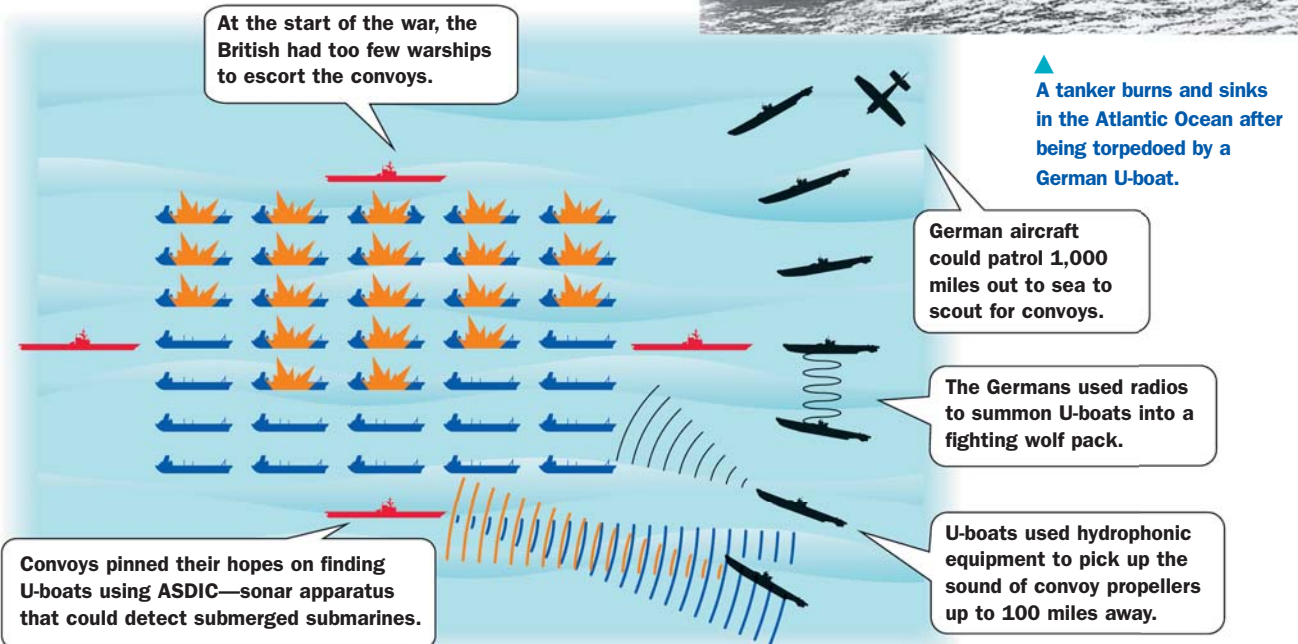
From the spring through the fall of 1941, individual surface attacks by individual U-boats gave way to what became known as the wolf pack attack. At night groups of up to 40 submarines patrolled areas in the North Atlantic where convoys could be expected. Wolf packs were successful in sinking as much as 350,000 tons of shipments in a single month. In September 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.

## Science & Technology

### INTERACTIVE

#### 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.



## 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.

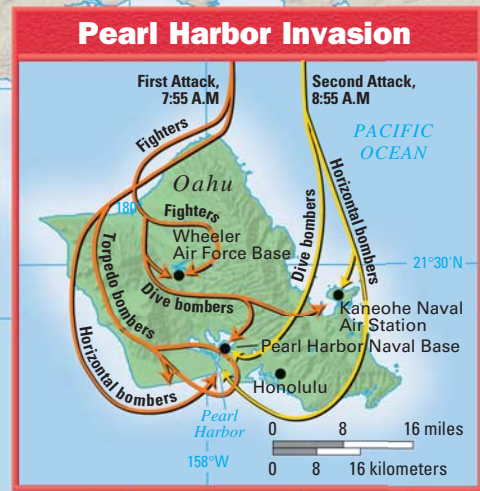
### A PERSONAL VOICE JOHN GARCIA

"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, and 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*

# Japanese Aggression, 1931–1941

INTERACTIVE



Pearl Harbor Invasion,  
Dec. 7, 1941

Hawaiian Islands  
(U.S.)

## U.S. Ships at Pearl Harbor



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

## GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- Region** Which countries had Japan invaded by 1941?
- 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.

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.”

#### Vocabulary

**infamy:** evil fame or reputation

## 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

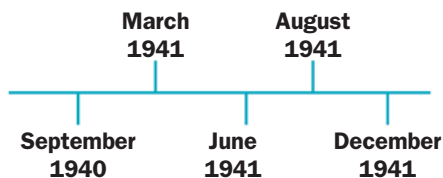
**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

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

### 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.