

Part I: After the Great War (1918-1935)

Today, we take for granted that the United States plays a leading role in events on the world stage. So it may be a surprise to learn that in the late 1930s, the United States shunned that leading role. Although most Americans viewed Nazi and Japanese expansion with distaste, they wanted to avoid being drawn into a war.

The story of the American desire to stay out of the looming crises in Asia and Europe has its origins in the earliest days of the republic. The events of World War I, its aftermath, and the Great Depression also played a significant role. In the following pages you will explore that history and why Americans wanted to avoid entangling themselves in another military conflict.

Events in Asia and Europe are in your reading as two separate stories for simplicity's sake. As you read about the events, remember that they happened at the same time and they are very closely related. Try to think about the relationship between the events in both regions and how they might affect the U.S. response.

World War I and the Treaty of Versailles

In March 1920, the U.S. Senate rejected participating in what became known as the League of Nations, the precursor to the United Nations. The devastation of World War I (also known as the Great War) had made the American public wary of any obligations to foreign countries or international organizations. Indeed, the United States had entered World War I hoping that it would be "the war to end all wars,"

but at the end, Americans felt that warfare had not resolved the problems they saw in Europe. Many Americans thought the war had been a mistake.

What were the immediate effects of World War I?

Nine million soldiers and ten million civilians died in Europe during World War I. While the human toll was high, the high financial cost of the war also devastated the economies of all the major European powers. For example, Britain, Germany, and France needed to devote about half of their total economic output to fighting the war. The economies of Austria, Russia, and France shrunk by nearly half as a result of the fighting. Towards the end of the war, food shortages and even hunger and starvation among the civilian populations were common.

The United States experienced little of the

“[P]eace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none...”

—President Thomas Jefferson, March 4, 1801

Selected Military Casualties of World War I

Country	Deaths	Wounded
<i>Entente Powers</i>		
France	1,375,800	4,266,000
Italy	650,000	947,000
Japan	300	907
Great Britain	703,000	1,663,000
Russia	1,700,000	4,950,000
United States	126,000	234,300
<i>Central Powers</i>		
Austria-Hungary	1,200,000	3,620,000
Germany	1,773,000	4,216,000
Ottoman Empire	325,000	400,000

physical hardships that Europe did. The United States declared itself neutral at the war's beginning in 1914. Yet repeated German violations of U.S. neutrality led the United States to enter the war in April 1917 on the side of England and France. Americans suffered far fewer casualties than Europeans. Americans also did not suffer the economic hardships and deprivations that many Europeans did.

In fact, both England and France borrowed heavily from the United States to pay for the war. At the end of the war, European nations owed billions of dollars to the United States. The United States emerged from the war with more economic and political power than ever before. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) was determined to use this power to create an international union that would prevent war.

What were Wilson's Fourteen Points?

During the war, President Wilson wrote a plan for peace that came to be known as the Fourteen Points. His document called for open relationships between countries and an end to secret treaties. It spoke of freedom of the seas, the development of free trade, disarmament, and the principle of self-determination (a people's right to self-rule).

Wilson's most radical point proposed a fundamental change in the international system. In his fourteenth point, Wilson called for a general association of nations which would negotiate problems among countries before they led to war. It also called on member countries to defend one another militarily if one came under attack, an idea called "collective security." In effect, Wilson suggested that countries put aside their own self-interest to assist one another in order to prevent aggression and war.

“The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of

any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.”

—Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations

What was the Treaty of Versailles?

The peace treaty developed by the victorious nations at the end of the war held Germany responsible for the war and set the terms for peace. The treaty, named after the Paris suburb where it was written, included provisions to end the war, and laid out a covenant for Wilson's association of nations, called the League of Nations. Initially, the Covenant of the League of Nations attracted few supporters. Having just fought a devastating war, many European leaders were not interested in collective security or open diplomacy. The European countries put their own security and economic concerns first.

In the United States, many members of the U.S. Senate thought that Article X of the covenant would obligate the United States to intervene overseas when they did not want to. They also believed that the covenant would give Europe greater access to Latin America, considered U.S. domain since the Monroe Doctrine of 1823. Wilson and his supporters lobbied hard.

“The isolation of the United States is at an end, not because we chose to go into the politics of the world, but because by the sheer genius of this people and the growth of our power we have become a determining factor in the history of mankind and after you have become a determining factor you cannot remain isolated, whether you want to or not.”

—Woodrow Wilson, 1919

Despite European skepticism about some of Wilson's ideas, the Treaty of Versailles, signed in Paris on June 28, 1919, contained most of Wilson's Fourteen Points, including

the Covenant of the League of Nations. It also established a League of Nations Council that would be responsible for seeking peaceful resolutions to disputes as well as providing assistance to its members in cases of aggression.

What was Europe's reaction to the treaty?

Because the European victors had received what they wanted, they were, in the end, willing to sign the treaty even though they did not wholeheartedly support all of Wilson's ideas. England and France had advocated for and secured heavy punishments for Germany.

Not only was Germany excluded from the League of Nations initially, but the treaty would make it pay a heavy price. The treaty said Germany had to make extensive payments (called reparations) to all the Allied Powers, give up 10 percent of its European territory, give up all of its colonial territory, and disband most of its military. The treaty's demands would make economic recovery in Germany, after years of war, hardship, and hunger for many Germans, very difficult. While the victorious nations of Europe were satisfied with the treaty, Germany saw the treaty as an unnecessarily harsh punishment.

What was Japan's reaction to the treaty?

Japan, which had fought on the side of the Allies, was at a crossroads at the time of the Paris Peace Conference. There were some in Japan who believed that their country should engage the great powers and support the international system as means of obtaining the natural resources and markets its growing economy needed. Others believed that the great powers, particularly Britain, France, and the United States, would never treat Japan fairly or with respect—those countries were also competing for resources and economic markets in Asia. In Japan, some worried that the proposed League of Nations would be used to keep Japan as a second-tier power.

One source of this worry was the racist treatment Japanese people experienced around the world and at the peace conference in Paris. For example, Britain had insisted that Japan have five delegates to the Paris Conference, just as the British did. Nevertheless, the Japanese delegates were treated poorly or ignored. The racism was overt at times. In one example, French Premier Clemenceau spoke publicly about how ugly he thought the Japanese were.

The Japanese also experienced racial

Japan Becomes a Great Power

At the peace conference, Japan's rapidly growing economy and increasing political and military power had put it in line to give the fifth largest financial contribution to the proposed League of Nations.

Japan's emergence as an economic and military power was both recent and rapid. In the late 1860s, Japan, which had been closed to the rest of the world for centuries, decided to open itself to the world. It began a program with the slogan: "Enrich the nation and strengthen the army." Japan modelled its navy on Britain's, its banking system on the United States's, and its army and constitution on Prussia's. Between 1885 and 1920, its gross domestic product, or all of the goods and services produced by Japan, increased threefold. Manufacturing and mining increased sixfold. While some in Japan called for a democratic future and warned against relying too much on the military, others argued that Japan would need to use military force to achieve its goals.

In 1905, Japan defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War and gained access to parts of Manchuria. Japan annexed Korea in 1910. In 1914, Japan had declared war against Germany in order to "...establish its rights and interests in Asia." Japan was interested in expanding into China, but other powers, particularly Britain and the United States, saw Japanese interests in conflict with their own designs. From Japan's perspective, the increasing presence in the Pacific of the United States, which had annexed Hawaii in 1898 and had taken the Philippines and Guam from Spain in 1899, had begun to pose a threat to Japan's own plans for expansion.

discrimination in the British Empire and the United States. In the United States for example, the Japanese, along with other Asians, were barred from becoming naturalized citizens. The Japanese saw the Peace Conference as an opportunity to address the issue of international racial discrimination. Japan proposed an amendment to the League of Nations Covenant that would outlaw racial discrimination.

“The equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations.... The high contracting parties agree to accord, as soon as possible, to all alien nationals of States members of the League equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinction, either in law or in fact, on account of their race or nationality.”

—Proposed Japanese Amendment to the League of Nations Covenant

Acutely aware of racial discrimination against Japanese emigrants, the Japanese public strongly felt that the racial equality amendment needed to be included. But throughout much of the British Empire and in



President Wilson is shown trying to explain his vision to a skeptical Uncle Sam.

the United States there were strong feelings against the amendment. Some politicians on the West Coast of the United States saw it as a threat to the “white race.” Although a majority voted for the amendment at the conference, President Wilson refused to let it carry, citing strong objections. Wilson knew that he would need the support of West Coast politicians to ratify the treaty back home.

Reaction in Japan was one of outrage against the “so-called civilized world.” A Japanese delegate to the conference warned that, in the future, Japan might be less inclined to put its faith in the principles of international cooperation espoused by Wilson and the League. Indeed, because the amendment did not pass, many Japanese turned away from the West and toward a more nationalist stance in the coming years.

What was the U.S. reaction to the treaty?

While President Wilson was in Europe negotiating the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, it had become increasingly clear to the American public that the triumphant Europeans were bent on revenge: they would not compromise on borders and settlements, and they wanted excessive reparations from Germany. For many Americans, this confirmed their belief in Europe as place of never-ending conflict.

For Americans, World War I had not been the war to end all wars—it had been simply an opportunity for Europe to move its borders around once again. The war and its aftermath confirmed for most Americans the view that Thomas Paine had when he was writing in 1776: “Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace.” Many assumed that instead of healing the wounds of war, the treaty would only anger the Germans and sow the seeds of the next crisis.

“I can predict with absolute certainty that, within another generation, there will be another world war if the nations of the world...if the League of Nations...does not prevent it by

concerted action.”

—Woodrow Wilson, September 1919

Unlike their counterparts in Europe, policy-makers in the United States were not willing to accept the terms of the Versailles Treaty. Although Wilson had total faith in the League, the Senate did not. A heated and lengthy debate occurred. In the end, the treaty did not gain the required two-thirds majority necessary for ratification, and the United States never joined the League of Nations.

The United States in the 1920s

The 1920s began as an economically prosperous decade for the United States. The wealth of the country and of the average American increased significantly. At this time, Americans held approximately 40 percent of the world's wealth. U.S. exports and investments overseas grew exponentially. At home, the number of millionaires multiplied from several hundred in 1914 to eleven thousand in 1926. Hundreds of new businesses were created. Construction of homes, hotels, and factories boomed. Many private U.S. banks financed Europe's debt from World War I.

New technological developments boosted the economy and changed the daily lives of Americans. For example, electricity could now reach almost every home; people bought vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, and telephones. The automobile industry grew in leaps and bounds and contributed to metropolitan and suburban development. Another innovation, radio, became widely available and made its way into American homes. Hundreds of correspondents were stationed overseas, and Americans could hear the results of their reporting on their radios and read them in newspapers. Hundreds of thousands of Americans who had served overseas in World War I added to a population with an interest in following events around the world.

What principles guided U.S. foreign policy during the 1920s?

During the 1920s, Americans hoped for a

long period of peace and prosperity, but they disagreed about the best means to achieve those ends. Like their representatives in Congress, some Americans wanted to protect themselves from the troubles of the world.

In one example of this desire to protect the United States, Congress enacted legislation to limit immigration into the country. The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924 set limits on the number of Europeans who were eligible to immigrate and declared that Japanese immigrants were “aliens ineligible for citizenship.”

Although large parts of the American public remained determined to keep a distance from the problems of the world, this did not mean that the U.S. government was inactive on the international stage; in fact, it continued to sign treaties and converse with allies to protect its own security and economic interests. Two examples of this involvement are the Washington Naval Conference and the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

What was the Washington Naval Conference?

The United States invited nine countries to the Washington Naval Conference of 1921-1922. The United States called the conference because Japan's growth as a naval power in the Pacific threatened U.S. interests. Participants at the conference sought to limit a naval arms race and to discuss issues related to nations of the Pacific Ocean and the Far East.

During the conference, the parties agreed to limit the size of naval ships, placed a moratorium on building new battleships, outlawed the use of poison gases, and limited the role of submarines in future wars. All nine nations also signed an agreement affirming China's sovereignty and establishing a policy of open trade with China. The nations also agreed to address disputes over issues in the Pacific by submitting them to a committee for resolution.

What was the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1929?

Named for United States Secretary of State

Frank B. Kellogg and French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand, the Kellogg-Briand Pact was originally a bilateral treaty between the U.S. and France that made war between the two countries illegal. The treaty also required signers to resolve disputes peacefully. It later became a multilateral treaty when sixty-two nations signed it; the pact went into effect on July 24, 1929.

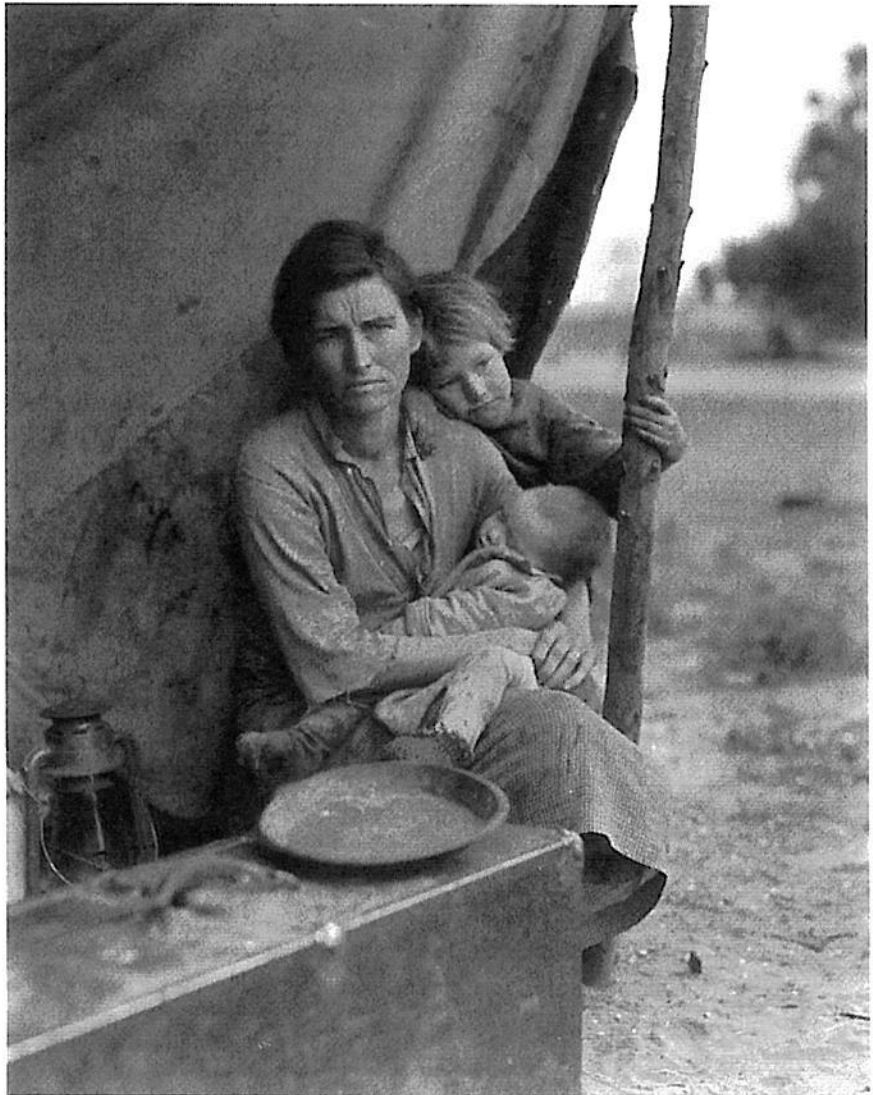
Although Secretary of State Kellogg was initially unenthusiastic about the treaty, public opinion so strongly favored it that he pushed to make it the multilateral treaty it became. The U.S. Senate ratified the Kellogg-Briand Pact, but added two specific conditions. First, the U.S. was entitled to act in self-defense militarily, and second, that it was not required to enforce the treaty by taking military action against those who violated it.

The Senate's willingness to ratify the Kellogg-Briand Pact reflected two strong and widely held sentiments. Americans remembered the carnage of World War I and wanted strongly to avoid being dragged into another European war. In addition, policy-makers continued to resist the obligations of permanent alliances and wished to preserve the ability to act when and where they wanted.

Depression Shakes America

Towards the end of the 1920s, troubling signs emerged about the health of the U.S. economy. On October 29, 1929, also known as "Black Tuesday,"

the stock market collapsed. Because more people wanted to sell their stocks than there were buyers to purchase them, the value of stocks plummeted. Companies, banks, and individuals lost over \$30 billion in less than a month. Businesses went bankrupt and closed, and families in the United States lost entire life savings. The U.S. banks that had been helping Europe repay its debts collapsed. Countries around the world were affected. The Great Depression had begun.



Dorothea Lange captured the desperation of the Depression in a series of photographs. Her caption read, "Migrant agricultural worker's family. Seven children without food. Mother aged 32, father is a native Californian."

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection v LC-USF34-9095.

How did the Great Depression affect Americans?

Americans lost their jobs and banks repossessed their homes because they could no longer pay mortgage or rent. Unemployment rates rocketed from 1929 to 1932, such that close to one-third of the labor force was unemployed.

At this time, there were no social security benefits for the elderly or disabled, no federal public welfare programs, and no unemployment insurance. People found themselves without shelter and without food. Republican president Herbert Hoover—who had been popularly elected in 1928, less than a year before Black Tuesday—struggled to correct the country's economic woes, but lost support

quickly as the situation got worse. His political beliefs made him reluctant to use the federal government to intervene in the economy.

How did the Great Depression affect U.S. views of Europe?

Many Americans were aware that the economic despair they faced was in large part due to the mismanagement of the economic boom in their own country and the lack of public support systems, but they also believed problems in Europe affected the United States. In 1930, in an effort to protect the American economy from foreign competition, Congress passed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, which taxed goods imported into the United States

Competing Ideologies: Fascism, Liberal Democracy, Socialism

In general, conditions in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s continued to reflect the upheaval that followed World War I. Americans watched as new political ideologies emerged to challenge international ideas about how societies should be governed. The primary emerging ideologies were fascism and socialism.

Both socialist and fascist leaders saw their systems as the wave of the future and therefore as a challenge to liberal democracies of Europe and the United States. Liberal democracies have a constitution, with elected representatives whose decision-making is regulated by a rule of law that emphasizes the rights and freedoms of individuals.

Fascism is an authoritarian form of government that emerged in Italy and then was adopted by the Nazi Party in Germany. Fascism puts the economy under government control, and emphasizes the control of the state over the individual. Most Americans found the authoritarian nature of fascist regimes in Italy, Germany, and Spain to be brutally repressive and morally repugnant. For example, Germany's fascism was rooted in racism and anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, a few saw fascism as promising order in a chaotic world.

Socialism hoped to create a classless society that would end the exploitation of the workers. This included dismantling the capitalist economic system by taking the "means of production" (land, factories, etc.) from the owners and placing them in the hands of the state. In late 1917, a small group of socialists known as the Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, had seized power in Russia and formed the Soviet Union. People all over the world, including Americans, watched to see if Russia's problems could be solved.

For a few Americans, socialism seemed to offer solutions to persistent social problems of the Great Depression. Norman Thomas was the perennial Socialist candidate for president; in 1932 he gathered some 870,000 votes, compared to Roosevelt's 28,000,000.

The Soviet brand of socialism, known as Marxism-Leninism, created a police state that relied on terror to enforce its ideology. Millions of Russians lost their lives. As word of the abuses in the Soviet Union trickled out in the 1930s, socialism lost much of its appeal in the United States. Norman Thomas ran for president again in 1936 but received only 170,000 votes.

at a rate of 60 percent. Rather than helping the economy, the act deepened the depression in both the United States and overseas. For many Americans, the negative impact of the Great Depression reinforced their desire to insulate the United States from the problems of the world.

How did the election of Roosevelt change the public outlook?

In the presidential election of 1932, the governor of New York, Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt, won with almost 60 percent of the popular vote. Roosevelt ran with the promise of a “new deal” for Americans.

“I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people.”

—FDR on the campaign trail

Upon entering office, Roosevelt rolled out the New Deal, his plan for rejuvenating the economy. Unlike Hoover, Roosevelt thought that the federal government should intervene to help the economy and cushion the impact of the Great Depression on citizens. Through a series of federal acts, the establishment of various welfare and work-relief programs, and weekly radio addresses to the American public, Roosevelt slowly began to restore confidence in the American economy. Historians debate how much the New Deal helped the U.S. economy, but it inarguably boosted public morale. Roosevelt’s leadership, and in particular his ability to read and respond to the mood of the public, was an important factor in later years. You will read more about his presidency in Part II.

Europe: Hitler’s Rise to Power

Europe had a difficult recovery after World War I. The war had destroyed much of the French and German countryside, and millions of lives were lost. All nations struggled to rebuild their war-torn economies, but Germany was in the most difficult position. Germany’s reparations payments made rebuilding its own country difficult.

The depression hurt Europe’s ability to repay the money it had borrowed from the United States to finance World War I. England and France used money from Germany’s reparations payments to pay the United States, but the world-wide depression prevented Germany from making many of these payments.

The depression pushed the fragile German economy further into a tailspin. Just as in the United States, families’ life savings disappeared and people lost their jobs. Germans became more disgruntled with a government that seemed unable to alleviate the economic crisis. In the parliamentary elections of 1932, a political party called the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP), commonly known as the Nazi party, ran on a platform that acknowledged German resentment about the harsh conditions of the Treaty of Versailles, called for “German” lands to be returned to Germany, and promised economic recovery. The Nazi Party, led by Adolf Hitler, received the largest percentage of votes in that election.

How did Hitler gain popular support in Germany?

Soon after the election, there was a fire in the Reichstag, the German parliamentary building. Hitler blamed the fire on German communists, whom he claimed were attempting to overthrow the government and incite civil war. Today historians are not sure who started the fire, but many believe that the Nazis themselves did. Hitler used the fire as an excuse to suspend the freedoms guaranteed by the German constitution, including freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly.

In the parliamentary election of 1933, the Nazi party gained an even larger percentage of the vote, giving Hitler more power. He used this success to pass legislation that enabled him to enact new laws without approval of the president or parliament. Hitler now had free reign. He quickly put the Nazi government in control of all aspects of German society, including businesses, schools, churches, and the military. When President Paul von Hindenberg died in 1934, Hitler claimed the title of

President, calling himself the Führer (leader) of Germany.

Hitler targeted ethnic minorities, including Jews, blacks, Slavs, Sinti and Roma (gypsies), whom he thought were weak, evil, and capable of diluting the strength and superiority of the “true,” white German race. Within months of becoming the Führer, he enacted laws that began a systematic effort to rid Germany of these groups through imprisonment, slave labor, and extermination.

Hitler enjoyed popular support among most Germans for much of the 1930s. He improved the economic situation and reduced unemployment. He also restored national pride for Germans still humiliated by the defeat in World War I and by how poor they had become.

Hitler rejected all aspects of the Treaty of Versailles—he refused to pay reparations, he rebuilt the military, and he sent German troops into the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland (a region of Germany), which the treaty prohibited. By 1936, Germany was well on its way to becoming a formidable European military power. Nazi Germany’s growing military and its increasingly assertive nationalist ideology began to worry other nations in Europe. Germany began to look as if it was preparing for another war.

Asia: Japanese Militarism Grows

Germany was not the only country that world leaders saw as a threat to peace. Japan, like Germany, had begun to strengthen its military and assert itself more aggressively with its neighbors. During the 1920s and 1930s, Japan experienced surging nationalism, the rise of a totalitarian government, and a widespread belief that military power would lead Japan to achieve its rightful place as the leading power in Asia. Like Germany, Japan had felt slighted by the Western powers after World War I.

Why did Japan want to expand into China?

Because it is an island nation, Japan had come to depend heavily on foreign trade for

raw materials and other supplies for its rapidly growing population and industrial economy. The Great Depression had reduced foreign trade around the world, which crippled Japan’s growing economy. Due to the economic stagnation and continuing feelings of racial discrimination against Japanese all over the world, Japan was increasingly interested in becoming an economically self-sufficient nation. Japanese military leaders voiced intentions to invade China as a means of obtaining raw materials and increasing Japan’s power.

In September 1931, in the Chinese province of Manchuria, someone blew up a section of railroad owned by Japan’s South Manchuria Railway. Japan blamed the event on Chinese dissidents, and the Japanese military invaded. Much like the explosion in the Reichstag in Germany, some historians argue that the Japanese bombed their own railway so they could blame it on the Chinese and use it as an excuse to invade. Japan’s leaders considered the coal and iron ore reserves of Manchuria vital to their country’s industrialized economy. By 1932, the Japanese had set up a puppet government in Manchuria, renaming the region “Manchukuo.”

How did Japan change during the 1930s?

Many in Japan saw the creation of Manchukuo as the first step in the creation of a Japanese empire throughout Asia. Events both inside and outside of Japan contributed to this growing sentiment. The international depression and the rise of European fascist nations undermined Japanese affinity for liberal Western democratic institutions. In addition, Japanese interests and Western interests seemed less and less compatible. For example, in 1933, Japan walked out of the League of Nations after the League condemned the Japanese invasion of Manchuria.

These external events had a profound effect inside Japan: Japanese society underwent a transformation in the 1930s. Western ideas of democracy and individualism, which did not have deep roots in Japanese society, were replaced by a belief in the virtue of an imperial Japan and a strong need for social harmony

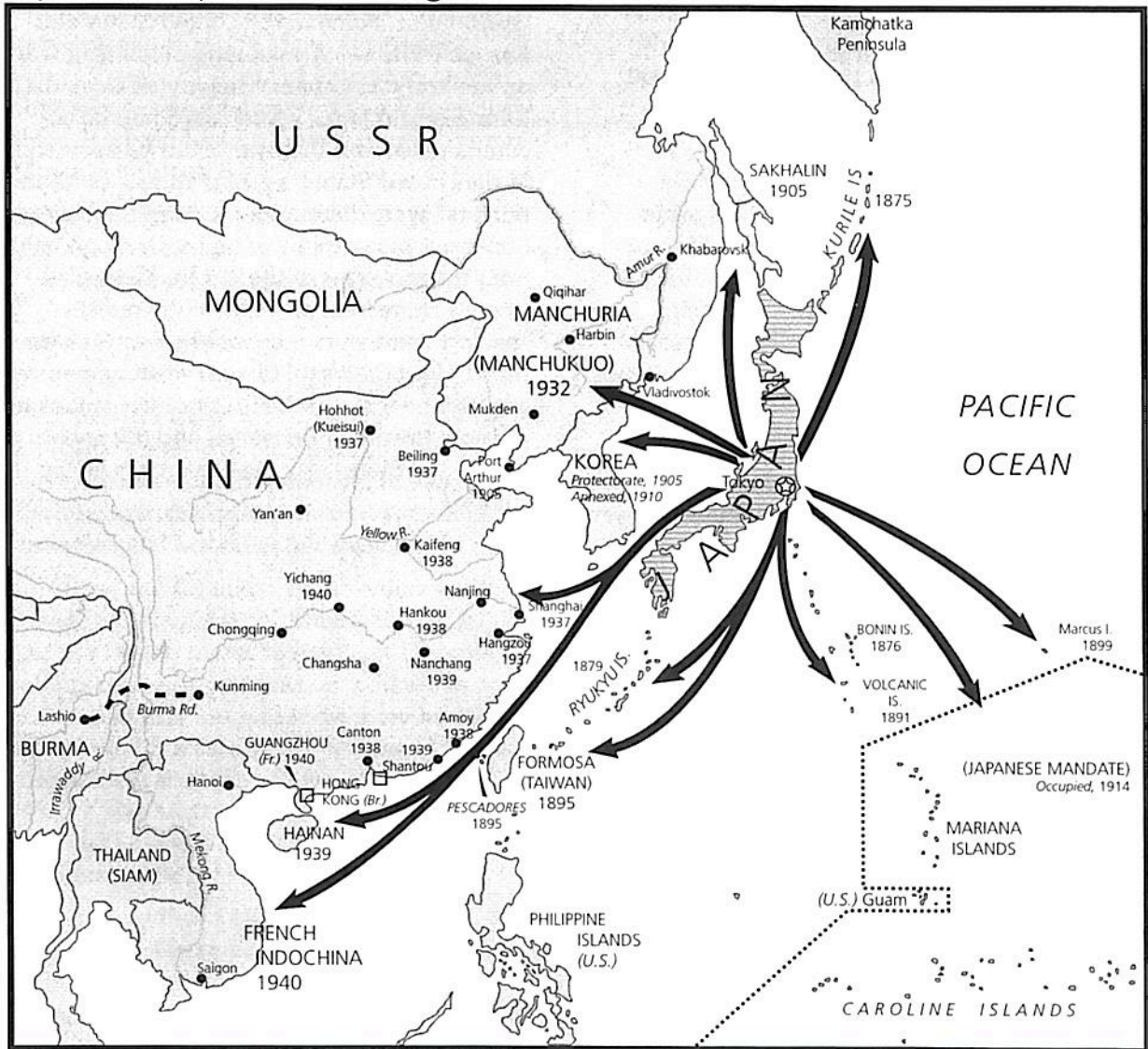
and agreement. Political parties began to play less of a role in the government. Power shifted to the bureaucracy in government. The army became the most powerful bureaucratic institution in the government and became more influential in the decision-making. Highly ideological army and navy officers intimidated more moderate politicians into silence. By the late 1930s, Japan had become a militarized state intent on expanding into China and beyond.

How did the United States respond to Japan's aggression in China?

Since it had proposed the Open Door policy in 1899, the United States had been active in China. By the 1930s, American influence in China was significant. For example, U.S. companies played a leading role in developing China's transportation and communications systems. Trade with China represented about 1 percent of U.S. foreign trade.

When the Japanese attacked China in 1931, the world was not prepared to stand up to Japanese aggression. Neither was the United States.

Japanese Expansion through 1940



The Open Door Policy: The United States in China

In 1899, U.S. Secretary of State John Hay sent a note to the foreign powers in China requesting that they maintain an “open door” in their regions of influence in China. The Open Door policy held that all countries doing business in China should compete and trade on equal terms. Although no treaties were actually signed, the United States upheld the Open Door as the foundation of U.S. policy toward China for the next half century. The declaration of the Open Door policy signaled an increase in the U.S. role in China and coincided with U.S. expansion into the Pacific. Americans had sought access to China’s market since the late eighteenth century; the policy was a clear assertion of U.S. economic interests.

U.S. diplomatic efforts to stop the Japanese attack failed. Although President Herbert Hoover was able to send a few U.S. warships and troops to China in 1932, the United States was unable to oppose Japan with a significant military force. The United States had drastically reduced the size of its military since World War I. In 1918 the United States had 2,897,000 military personnel, but by 1932 it had only 244,900 troops.

Other world leaders expressed their outrage while also avoiding conflict. The League of Nations that Wilson hoped would stand up to aggression turned away from this crucial challenge. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, facing the domestic political challenges posed by the Great Depression, was even less inclined to defend China than Hoover.

In addition, Japan, like Germany, began to violate the treaties it had signed. In 1932, a year after the invasion of Manchuria, Japan

dropped out of the Washington Naval Treaties and began to build up its navy.

By the mid-1930s, Germany and Japan’s assertive nationalist policies and growing militaries clearly posed a challenge to the world order. Some in the United States and Europe could see the gathering clouds of war on the horizon. Others clung to the hope that Germany and Japan’s interests could be accommodated and that war could be avoided. In the United States, a group known as “isolationists” were determined to keep the United States out of another war and well-insulated from the problems of the world. The isolationists came from all parts of the political spectrum and were motivated by various political ideas. In Part II of your reading, you will explore the ideas of the isolationists and examine how President Roosevelt and the people of the United States saw the challenges facing the country.

Name: _____

Study Guide—Part I

1. In 1940 and 1941 a _____ took place in the _____ about America's role in the world and what to do about events in _____ and _____.
2. Give two reasons why the United States entered World War I.
 - a.
 - b.
3. What was Wilson's fourteenth point?
4. The Senate's willingness to ratify the Kellogg-Briand Pact reflected two strong and widely held sentiments. What were they?
 - a.
 - b.
5. List two ways the Great Depression affected Americans.
 - a.
 - b.
6. What was the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930?

Name: _____

7. What was the New Deal?

8. List three ways that President Roosevelt began to restore confidence in the economy.

a.

b.

c.

9. Why did Hitler enjoy popular support in Germany for most of the 1930's? Give three reasons.

a.

b.

c.

10. Japan voiced its intentions to invade China for what two reasons?

a.

b.

11. How did the United States respond to Japan's attack of China in 1931?

12. Why was the United States unable to oppose Japan in the early 1930s with a significant military force?