CHAPTER 26
Peaceseekers and Warmakers:
Americans in the World, 1920–1941

Learning Objectives

After you have studied Chapter 26 in your textbook and worked through this study guide chapter, you should be able to:

1. Explain the ideas of independent internationalism and isolationism, and discuss how these ideas were manifested in the various attempts by American citizens and the American government to create a stable international order during the interwar years.
2. Examine and discuss the objectives and consequences of the foreign economic policy of the United States from 1918 to 1941.
3. Discuss the impact of the Great Depression on international relations, and explain Secretary of State Cordell Hull’s response to intensified economic nationalism.
4. Examine and evaluate the interests, methods, and results of United States policy toward Latin America during the 1920s and 1930s.
5. Explain Europe’s descent into the Second World War.
6. Explain the nature and growth of isolationist sentiment in the United States, and discuss the Neutrality Acts as an expression of such sentiment.
7. Discuss the foreign-policy ideas and diplomatic leadership of President Franklin Roosevelt from 1933 to United States entry into the Second World War.
8. Examine the erosion of American neutrality toward the war in Europe between September 1939 and December 7, 1941.
9. Examine the deterioration of Japanese-American relations from the 1920s to the Japanese attack against Pearl Harbor, and discuss American entry into the Pacific theater of the Second World War.

Thematic Guide

In this chapter, the authors seek to explain the instability of the world order in the 1920s and the coming of world war in the 1930s. Involvement in disarmament talks and arms limitation treaties, acceptance of the Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war, and international economic expansion by the United States serve as examples of the independent internationalist approach to foreign policy undertaken by the United States during the 1920s. These examples also illustrate the drawbacks of such an approach. United States’ acceptance of arms limitations treaties that did not include some of the most dangerous weapons of the age—submarines, destroyers, and cruisers—meant the continuation of rearmament. Acceptance of a treaty
that outlawed war but had no enforcement provisions served a useful educational purpose but did not prevent war. International economic expansion, high United States tariff rates, United States policies concerning war debts and reparations, and the onset of the Great Depression caused an upsurge of economic nationalism and destabilized the international economy. Although Secretary of State Cordell Hull’s attempts to move in the direction of economic internationalism were positive, they did not have a dramatic short-term impact.

In the 1920s, the United States altered its policy toward Latin America. Blatant military intervention no longer seemed to preserve American interests and maintain the order and stability so important to those interests. A new approach favored support for strong native leaders, training of the national guard in Latin American countries, continued economic expansion, Export-Import Bank loans, and political subversion. The discussion of American policy toward the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Haiti, Cuba, and Puerto Rico during the 1920s and early 1930s provides evidence of this change of approach. The Good Neighbor policy enhanced American power throughout the region but did not bring to Latin America the stable, democratic governments that the United States professed to desire. Mexico was a special case. In response to the expropriation controversy, President Roosevelt decided compromise was the best course of action. The general success of Roosevelt’s policy can be seen in the 1936 Pan American Conference in Buenos Aires and the Declaration of Panama in 1939.

As the depression, economic nationalism, and aggressive fascist states began slowly to carry Europe into the abyss of war, the United States continued to follow the policy of independent internationalism, as evidenced in American economic ties with the Soviet Union and diplomatic recognition of that country in 1933. At the same time, isolationist sentiment (the desire to remain aloof from European power struggles and war) increased. Such sentiment found expression in the investigations of the Nye Committee, which attempted to prove that business interests had selfishly pulled the United States into the First World War. Although it failed to prove this assertion, the Nye Committee did find evidence of discreditable business practices during the 1920s and 1930s designed to increase arms sales. Furthermore, the chapter includes evidence of American business ties to Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. The publicity generated by the Nye Committee was in part responsible for passage of the Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937. Although Roosevelt supported these acts, events in Europe gradually convinced him that they should be revised and finally repealed.

In “Japan, China, and a New Order in Asia,” the authors discuss American interests in Asia and trace the deterioration of United States–Japanese relations during the 1920s and 1930s. This discussion leads to the final section, “On a Collision Course with Japan and Germany, 1939–1941,” where the authors focus on events in Europe and explain President Roosevelt’s policies, which carried the United States from neutrality to undeclared war. In the end of the chapter, the authors offer answers to questions such as: Could the United States have avoided going to war and why did the United States enter the war?

Building Vocabulary

Listed below are important words and terms that you need to know to get the most out of Chapter 26. They are listed in the order in which they occur in the chapter. After carefully looking through the list, refer to a dictionary and jot down the definition of words that you do not know or of which you are unsure.

eradicate
infrastructure

virulent

fervent

unilateralism

elusive

discreet

aversion

carnage

ape (verb)

magnanimous

cataclysm

indemnity

usurp

blatant

permeate
Identification and Significance

After studying Chapter 26 of *A People and a Nation*, you should be able to identify fully and explain the historical significance of each item listed below.

1. Identify each item in the space provided. Give an explanation or description of the item. Answer the questions *who, what, where, and when.*
2. Explain the historical significance of each item in the space provided. Establish the historical context in which the item exists. Establish the item as the result of or as the cause of other factors existing in the society under study. Answer this question: What were the political, social, economic, and/or cultural consequences of this item?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the Rockefeller Foundation’s anti-mosquito campaign</td>
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<tr>
<td>independent internationalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>the American peace movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>the Washington Conference</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
the Five-Power Treaty, the Nine-Power Treaty, and the Four-Power Treaty

Identification

Significance

the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928

Identification

Significance

American economic and cultural expansion

Identification

Significance

the Webb-Pomerene Act and the Edge Act

Identification

Significance

the war debts and reparations issue

Identification

Significance
the Dawes Plan of 1924

Identification

Significance

the Young Plan of 1929

Identification

Significance

economic nationalism

Identification

Significance

the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

Identification

Significance

the most-favored-nation principle

Identification

Significance
the Export-Import Bank

Identification

Significance

the Good Neighbor policy

Identification

Significance

Rafael Leonidas Trujillo

Identification

Significance

César Augusto Sandino

Identification

Significance

General Anastasio Somoza

Identification

Significance
the occupation of Haiti

Identification

Significance

the Cuban Revolution of 1933

Identification

Significance

Ramón Grau San Martín

Identification

Significance

Fulgencio Batista

Identification

Significance

the Jones Act of 1917

Identification

Significance
Pedro Albizo Campos

Identification

Significance

Luis Muñoz Marín

Identification

Significance

the Mexican expropriation controversy

Identification

Significance

the 1936 Pan American Conference in Buenos Aires

Identification

Significance

the Declaration of Panama

Identification

Significance
fascism

Identification

Significance

the Rome-Berlin Axis and the Anti-Comintern Pact

Identification

Significance

the policy of appeasement

Identification

Significance

the Abraham Lincoln Battalion

Identification

Significance

the Munich Conference

Identification

Significance
the Nazi-Soviet Pact

Identification

Significance

the German invasion of Poland

Identification

Significance

U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union

Identification

Significance

American isolationist sentiment

Identification

Significance

the Nye Committee

Identification

Significance
the Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937

Identification

Significance

Roosevelt’s Chautauqua speech

Identification

Significance

repeal of the arms embargo (the Neutrality Act of 1939)

Identification

Significance

Jiang Jieshi

Identification

Significance

Japanese seizure of Manchuria

Identification

Significance
the Stimson Doctrine

Identification

Significance

the Sino-Japanese War

Identification

Significance

Roosevelt’s quarantine speech

Identification

Significance

Japan’s “New Order”

Identification

Significance

the fall of France

Identification

Significance
the destroyers-for-bases agreement

Identification

Significance

the Selective Training and Service Act

Identification

Significance

the Lend-Lease Act

Identification

Significance

the Atlantic Charter

Identification

Significance

the *Greer* and the *Reuben James*

Identification

Significance
the Tripartite Pact

Identification

Significance

Japanese occupation of French Indochina

Identification

Significance

Operation MAGIC

Identification

Significance

the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor

Identification

Significance
Organizing Information

Using information from Chapters 21, 23, and 26 and your class notes, plan and write the working draft of an essay comparing or contrasting the way Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt led the country into participation in world war and enter it in your Reading Notebook.

Use the information already entered in the chart “Going To War—World War I and World War II” as a guide in collecting and organizing the information your essay should include. In the second column, list Roosevelt’s responses to developments leading to war that offer striking parallels or contrasts to Wilson’s responses to developments leading to war. Add any other parallels or differences you think are significant in the three blank rows.
### Going to War—World War I and World War II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wilson</th>
<th>Roosevelt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wilson kept America out of war for three years. During that time he</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tried to protect American trading interests, tried to improve the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>country’s military posture, and lectured the belligerents.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson and his administration clearly had pro-Allied sympathies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Despite those sympathies and in an attempt to keep America</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distanced from the war, Wilson at first issued a proclamation of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutrality and asked Americans to refrain from taking sides.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privately, also, he said that the nation definitely had to remain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As early as 1915, Wilson began planning a military build-up, and then</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 1916 he got the legislation passed to launch and pay for it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson’s campaign slogan for the 1916 election was “He kept us out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of war.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When 128 Americans lost their lives in the sinking of the Lusitania</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by a German U-boat and when the Germans attacked other Allied ships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with Americans aboard, Wilson ruled out a military response and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refused to ban American travel on belligerent ships.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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## Going to War—World War I and World War II (concluded)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wilson</th>
<th>Roosevelt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wilson responded to the direct threat to U.S. security posed by Germany’s seeking an alliance with Mexico against the United States (the Zimmermann telegram) by asking Congress for “armed neutrality” to defend American lives and commerce.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Wilson, the military draft came only after the United States declared war.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interpreting Information

Using the entries you made in the Organizing Information chart “Presidents Moving Toward War—World War I and World War II” as your guide, compose the working draft of an essay in direct response to the following question:

How was President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s approach to American entry into World War II different from President Woodrow Wilson’s approach to American entry into World War I? What factors account for the differences?

You may want to review the hints about composing comparison and contrast essays in Chapter 5 of this study guide.

Ideas and Details

Objective 1

1. As a result of the Five-Power Treaty,
   a. Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy agreed to limits on the number of submarines that each nation could build.
   b. Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy agreed to a ten-year moratorium on the construction of battleships and aircraft carriers.
   c. provisions for the enforcement of the Open Door policy were accepted by Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy.
   d. Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and the Soviet Union agreed to impose economic sanctions against Nazi Germany.

Objective 1

2. The Kellogg-Briand Pact
   a. placed limits on the number of submarines and destroyers to be built by the world’s five major powers.
   b. called for an end to international arms sales.
   c. made the United States an official observer at the League of Nations.
   d. renounced war as an instrument of national policy.
Objective 2

3. Secretary of State Cordell Hull encouraged United States economic expansion abroad because he believed such expansion
   a. would promote world stability.
   b. would foster healthy competition and rivalry.
   c. would bring power and glory to the United States at the expense of the less-virtuous European nations.
   d. would promote economic nationalism.

Objective 2

4. Which of the following conclusions may be drawn from an examination of the war debts and reparations issue?
   a. The United States handled the issue in a selfless manner.
   b. The triangular arrangement that emerged was economically destabilizing in the long run.
   c. The European nations demonstrated a willingness to forgive Germany in the aftermath of the First World War.
   d. The German government used the issue to create tensions between the United States and Great Britain.

Objectives 2 and 3

5. In response to the Hawley-Smoot Tariff,
   a. European states raised tariffs against American imports, causing economic nationalism to gain momentum.
   b. European nations exported inexpensive goods to the United States in record numbers.
   c. European states pledged to support the Open Door policy.
   d. Japan imposed an embargo against all American-made goods.

Objectives 2 and 3

6. The central feature of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 was
   a. the adoption of free trade by the United States.
   b. low-interest loans to foreign countries agreeing to buy American goods.
   c. the most-favored-nation principle.
   d. the establishment of a free trade zone in the Western Hemisphere.

Objective 4

7. The Good Neighbor policy meant that
   a. the United States would strictly adhere to the doctrine of nonintervention in Latin America.
   b. the United States would be less blatant in dominating Latin America.
   c. American businesses in Latin America would invest their profits there rather than in the United States.
   d. the United States would practice isolationism in Latin America.
Objective 4

8. Both the Trujillo regime in the Dominican Republic and the Somoza regime in Nicaragua are evidence that
   a. American concepts of government were planted in fertile soil in Latin America.
   b. the United States was careful to support Latin American rulers who were strongly supported by the masses.
   c. Latin American dictators often rose through the ranks of a United States-trained national guard.
   d. the United States continued to live up to its own revolutionary tradition by supporting liberation movements in Latin America.

Objective 5

9. As a result of the Munich Conference,
   a. Britain and France accepted Hitler’s seizure of the Sudeten region of Czechoslovakia.
   b. Britain agreed to extend financial and military aid to France in the event of German aggression.
   c. Britain, France, and the Soviet Union entered into a defensive alliance against Nazi Germany.
   d. Germany and France agreed to withdraw their troops from Austria and the Rhineland, respectively.

Objectives 2 and 6

10. Records from the 1920s and 1930s concerning American business practices abroad indicate that
   a. all major American corporations strongly supported arms control in the belief that fewer armaments would generate peace and prosperity.
   b. some American corporations signed contracts with companies in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy.
   c. all major American corporations severed their business ties with Germany when the Nazis gained power.
   d. all American firms severed economic ties with Germany after learning about the persecution of Jews.

Objective 6

   a. were attempts to provide aid to the Allies while avoiding war with Hitler.
   b. imposed a unilateral freeze on further deployment of destroyer-class vessels.
   c. allowed the president to intervene in the Spanish Civil War.
   d. prohibited arms shipments and loans to nations declared by the president to be in a state of war.

Objective 8

12. As a result of the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939,
   a. Roosevelt promised that the United States would involve itself in the conflict if British defeat seemed imminent.
   b. Congress, at Roosevelt’s urging, approved arms exports on a cash-and-carry basis.
   c. the United States broke diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.
   d. Roosevelt asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany.
Objective 9

13. In response to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, the United States
   a. issued the Stimson Doctrine by which it refused to recognize any impairment of
      Chinese sovereignty.
   b. froze Japanese assets in this country.
   c. called for economic sanctions against Japan through the League of Nations.
   d. signed a defensive treaty of alliance with China.

Objective 8

14. By the Lend-Lease Act,
   a. the United States traded fifty old destroyers to the British for leases to four British
      bases.
   b. the provisions of the Neutrality Acts were revoked.
   c. Roosevelt was authorized to ship war materiel to the British.
   d. the United States canceled Allied debts from the First World War.

Objective 9

15. The Roosevelt administration
   a. plotted to start a war with Japan.
   b. was completely surprised by the Japanese decision in favor of war.
   c. was aware of Japanese war plans but did not conspire to leave Pearl Harbor
      vulnerable.
   d. expected a Japanese attack against the American mainland.

Essay Questions

Objective 1
1. Discuss the Washington Conference’s treaty agreements and the Kellogg-Briand Pact as examples
   of the United States independent-internationalist approach to foreign policy during the 1920s, and
   explain the strengths and weaknesses of that approach.

Objectives 1 and 2
2. Explain and evaluate American handling of the war debts and reparations issue.

Objective 4
3. Discuss the dominant themes suggested by American policy toward the Dominican Republic,
   Nicaragua, Haiti, Cuba, and Puerto Rico during the 1920s and 1930s.

Objective 6
4. Explain the sources of isolationist thought in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, and discuss
   the actions taken by Congress to prevent United States involvement in European power struggles.
Objective 8
5. Explain the process by which the United States moved from neutrality in 1939 to undeclared war with Germany in 1941.

Objective 9
6. Trace relations between the United States and Japan during the 1920s and 1930s, and explain the Japanese decision to bomb Pearl Harbor.