

World War II and the Beginning of the Cold War

- With a couple of very significant exceptions, this section deals with secular history
- The events of this era, however, had an impact of the American “Self-image” that can hardly be overstated and extended deeply into the church in America

Japan & Indochina

- Upon first encountering US naval power in the 1850's Japan westernized rapidly
 - They learned from what happened to China and didn't want to repeat it
 - They adopted western ways including the creation of a military-industrial complex
 - They sent their most talented young men to America for higher education
 - One commentator observed it was as if we had *"unmoored Japan from the coast of Asia, and towed it across the Pacific, to place it alongside of the New World, to have the same course of life and progress."*
 - Theodore Roosevelt saw the Japanese as being culturally and ethnically superior to both the Chinese and the Slavs (Russia) along with the rest of Asia
- Japan developed as a regional extension of British and American Interests
 - After WWI the British substituted the Anglo-Japanese alliance that maintained order in the Far East and constrained Russia, with an Anglo-American alliance
 - Dependent on America for resources and in other respects
- Peking-Hankow rail route across Manchuria
 - Major prize in the region was the railroad concession that was pursued by the American China development corporation, founded in 1895, representing a consortium of American financial interests including, the Morgan's, the Rockefeller's and Kuhn, Loeb, and Co
 - A Russian and Belgian syndicate backed by France and Russia won the concession
 - This led to a more aggressive U.S Asian policy where the US helped to push the Russians out of Manchuria

Japan & Indochina (cont.)

- Japan soundly defeated Russia in 1904 blocking Russia's access to the Pacific
 - Acted as Anglo-American proxy in Japan-Russo War in 1904-5 which was financed by the west
 - Japan wins decisively and quickly before Russia can transfer forces from the West and Sues for peace
 - TR gets peace prize for arranging settlement, congress and public largely ignorant
- With American support Korea was effectively turned over to the Japanese as a colony and Japanese economic interests in Manchuria were widely acknowledged
 - Policy not questioned until Franklin Roosevelt administration
 - Korea which considered itself an ally of the west was betrayed
- Russia and Japan in constant low level war in Manchuria
 - Starting in May of 1939, an armed conflict developed between Russia and Japan on the border with Mongolia which was under Russian control
 - In June and July Russian armaments were upgraded to the latest hardware
 - The Russians could have taken up defensive positions but launched a highly successful blitzkrieg attack against Japan that was executed flawlessly crushing the 6th Army
 - The defeat at Khalkhin-Gol had the desired strategic consequences on Japanese war planning which then avoided any exposure to Russia
- Indochina
 - Appeared to be resource rich – of interest to Japanese
 - Also of interest to Rockefeller's (Standard Oil) and American Dulles Brothers

China and the China Lobby

- Following the Boxer Rebellion (1899-01) China became a failed state run by warlords with a rapidly growing rural population
- First post-rebellion nationalist movement started around 1905
 - One of these was revolutionary leader Dr. Sun Yat-sen who had led two failed uprisings in 1905 and was a wanted man whose political objectives were “*Nationalism, democracy, and people’s livelihood.*”
 - Nationalism in this case meant the dominance of the Han over the Manchu who were the ethnic majority in Manchuria
 - Democracy also meant eventual participation in the government as he didn’t believe that the population was ready for any significant role at that time
- The Song Family (they became household names in America)
 - Charlie Song came to the U.S. as a laborer at 15 but instead of staying on the west coast where there was strong anti-Chinese sentiment fanned by labor unrest, he went to the South
 - So. Methodist took him in and theorized that through Charlie they could possibly win China for Christ
 - Julian Carr took the lead in developing Charlie Song as a tool to spread the faith (creator of the advertising behind Bull Durham Tobacco that utilized huge signs painted on barns which became part of our cultural memory)
 - Song was educated at Trinity Univ. (Duke) and then Vanderbilt
 - Developed business to print and publish Bibles in Shanghai and became very wealthy
 - Diversified into wheat and cotton with Carr continuing to act as his mentor
 - Traveled back and forth with Carr to raise funds

China and the China Lobby (cont.)

- Song, Sun, Carr Alliance
 - Song met Dr. Sun for the first time 1894 and the two men found they had a great deal in common. Most importantly, Song would become a financier for the Chinese nationalist movement using his own personal wealth and his contact with many wealthy Americans
 - Song married and had three daughters (Ailing, Chinling, and Mayling) and one son (Tse-ven or T.V.)
 - Three of the four would become key to the Chinese Nationalist movement and celebrities in America. The children were American educated and lived between two cultures
 - In 1913 Sun and Song with their families fled to Japan for their safety. Ailing Song was Sun's personal assistant but left this post due to unwanted advances (Sun was much older)
 - Succeeded by Chinling . Sun initiated a relationship with her and when Charlie Song became aware of this the two old friends split up and apparently never spoke to each other again
 - Song died three years later in 1918. Sun, who was 49 at the time, left his wife and married the 23 year old daughter of his former best friend. Ailing took over her father's financial empire
- A new revolutionary player was Mao Zedong - complicates the movement
 - Communist but fundamentally different from other classical Marxists in that his message was focused on rural peasants as opposed to urban industrial workers
 - He also felt that China was betrayed by the United States and Woodrow Wilson at the end of WWI
 - Loose and inconsistent relationship with Russia who sought principally to oppose Japan
 - The Soviets established a relationship with key Chinese officials and agreed to finance two small factions against the Japanese (***Anglo American proxies – we were starting to fight ourselves***)

China and the China Lobby (cont.)

- Chiang Kai-Shek was the rising star to succeed the aging Sun as the leader of the nationalists
 - He had been trained and educated in Japan and per his own writing saw the west and the principal cause of China's problems (which was undoubtedly true)
 - Chiang Kai-Shek was a traditional Confucian thinker and Mao Zedong was not
 - Chiang was aligned principally with Chinese warlords and banks while Mao was aligned with rural peasants. Chiang's power base was in coastal cities while Mao's was in the interior
 - Chiang's and Mao's combined forces were referred to as the United Front - embarked upon the "*Northern Expedition*" to capture the Yangtze River
- When Sun died, Ailing formed a three point plan to get rid of Mao
 - Ailing told Chiang to appoint her husband H.H. Kung as Prime Minister which would ensure she had political control
 - Chiang was to appoint her younger brother T.V Song as finance minister
 - Ailing offered Chiang Mayling in marriage creating a merger with the Song family
 - Chiang would profess to be a Southern Methodist and Chiang would have to separate from his current wife Jeanne (he would ultimately have many affairs)
 - Son Tat-Sen's widow Chingling was strongly opposed to this plan
- In April of 1927 Chiang moved to crush Mao
 - 20,000 to 30,000 of Mao's followers were killed in Shanghai and the death toll throughout China is thought to have been in the hundreds of thousands but Mao and his forces continued to elude the nationalists in the vast rural areas where Chiang had limited reach
- *Start of the factional ideological fighting that would characterize the cold war era*

The China Lobby and the Media

- The China Lobby grows in prominence
 - The Song family and especially Mayling, became the face of the new “Christianized” and westernized China united under the Nationalist banner
 - The general conditions for the missionaries and western merchants improved significantly under Chiang. American Protestants generally celebrated this apparent victory
 - Grassroots support from American congregations surges
- The media and the China Lobby
 - Beyond the Songs and grassroots fundraising from churches there was a dominant media presence
 - Missionary child Henry Luce was publisher of Time, Life, and Fortune - in a time period where sources of information were very limited and the influence of these publications can hardly be overstated
 - He saw, *“America as the dynamic center of ever widening spheres of enterprise, America as the training center of skilled servants of mankind”*
 - Missionary child, Pearl Buck’s novel *“The Good Earth”* was (best seller for both 1931 and 32). It was a Jeffersonian sort of tale set in rural China that was *more of an idealized view of American history than it was a representation of Chinese reality*
- Within Roosevelt administration two factions started to take shape
 - One followed a course of neutrality which principally consisted of Secretary of State Hull and some high ranking officers while the “wise men”, consisting of Dean Acheson (Secretary of State), George Kennan (intellectual and widely admired Washington insider) and Averell Harriman (diplomat and special envoy), Robert Lovett (Asst. Sec. of War), John McCloy (prominent private citizen), and Charles Bohlen (Ambassador to the Soviet Union) (Issacson & Thomas, 1986) increasingly sided with the Nationalist Chinese and the China Lobby

Russian Revolution, Fall of Trotsky, Rise of Stalin

- The February revolution (Feb 1917) could be seen as a palace coup with many of the Tsars' family and close associates supporting it
 - Closely managed from the British embassy - Danish newspaper noted that British Ambassador Buchannan effectively held the power of “dictator” of Russia
 - established a duly elected provisional socialist government led by Alexander Kerensky
- World’s two most prominent revolutionaries, Trotsky and Lenin, arrive
 - Lenin released from Germany and put on a train to Moscow
 - Trotsky leaves New York, is arrested in Nova Scotia and held for several weeks
 - British Secret Service intervenes, he is released and proceeds to Moscow with financial backing
- The October Revolution
 - Bolsheviks were the smallest and most radical group in Kerensky government
 - Early on the morning of Oct 25th 1917, several regiments of soldiers (many of whom were bribed) take possession of all government buildings and communication centers
 - With neither resistance or consent the country had fallen to a small minority faction
 - Kerensky fled for his life and all provisional government ministers were arrested claiming that the British government had caused the collapse of their government
 - Romanoff family was eventually killed (shot / bayoneted)
- Who were the Bolsheviks
 - Disproportionally Jewish (50% to 85%) and /or with foreign ties (Russia was about 3% Jewish)
 - Representative of European Communism of the era

Russian Civil War

- The outcome of the Russian Civil War is very difficult to explain
 - Red Army had 300,000 fighters who were boxed in by a comparable number of White Army forces
 - White Army supplemented by about 180,000 allied troops including 60,000 British, 70,000 Japanese, plus smaller contingents of Americans, French, and others
 - Winston Churchill was War Secretary at the time (effectively controlled Red Army) and appears to have done all he could to defeat the Red Army and probably would have except that Prime Minister Lloyd George effectively blocked nearly everything he did
 - After five years and 10 million dead, the Red Army conquered Russia and several of the border regions became independent including Finland, Poland, and several Baltic States
- Trotsky unilaterally voids treaty with England
 - Gives English land and vast oil resources in Persia
- American Financial and Technical Support
 - steady stream of large non-competitive contracts from the new Soviet government to British and American businesses
 - Wilson administration sent 700,000 tons of food to the Soviet Union which saved the regime from certain collapse and allowed Lenin to consolidate control over all of Russia
 - This operation was handled by the US Food Administration and was very profitable for the commercial enterprises that were associated with it

Stalin Comes to Power

- Stalin wins power struggle with Trotsky after Lenin's death
 - Trotsky was advocate of world revolution
 - Stalin favored one country communism and regional hegemony
 - Stalin leads rapid industrialization and urbanization
 - This was major factor in agricultural famine in Ukraine (although it was not the only factor)
- Stalin Purges (neither random nor paranoia)
 - Targeted Trotskyites and people with foreign ties (heavily Jewish)
 - Many followers of Trotsky wound up in Europe and America in government and academic positions
 - Caused splinter in American left between Trotskyites and Stalinists
- Russian American relationship generally remains solid
 - However different factions develop in the FDR administration with the "Wise men" generally developing anti-Russian vision and strategy (shaped Cold War)
 - Very high degree of economic and technical exchange – also espionage
- Three Russian Wars prior to start of WWII
 - Spanish Civil War – Supported Republican forces against Franco who was supported by Hitler's forces and lost (Many Americans on Republican side that persecuted Christians)
 - Defeat of Japanese 6th Army in Manchuria (possibly avoided 2nd front in WWII)
 - The Winter War with Finland – Achieved limited objectives with heavy losses crossing fortified defenses

Germany after Versailles

- Terms of Treaty of Versailles were devastating to Germany
 - lost one-tenth of her people, one-eighth of her territory including prime food growing land, and all of the overseas empire which was third largest prior to the war
 - Lloyd George made good on his promise that Germany would be made to pay the full cost of the war including allied military pensions
 - *“Democracy is more vindictive than cabinets,”* and *“The wars of peoples will be more terrible than those of kings”* Winston Churchill
- Germany wouldn't or didn't pay debt
 - January 1923 French troops moved into the Ruhr which would have crippled German industry
 - led to a general strike in Germany and all reparation payments ceased
 - Dawes Plan that restructured the debt and built foreign financing enabling Germany to make the payments - money poured in mainly from American investors
 - After the US stock market crash, the capability to support the Weimar government faded. All reparations were suspended in 1931 and Hitler came to power
- In Hitler's rise to power, he bluffed, intimidated, and negotiated his way across Europe re-establishing German territory
 - He recognized that western politicians had a sense of guilt about Versailles and was very effective in playing upon it. He was also aided by a fear of Russian communism to the east and the massive land army of the French
 - Stated goals were “breathing space” to the east, reacquiring former German lands, and unification of Germanic or German speaking peoples (No real navy other than U boats or bombers)
 - Nazism was not isolated to Germany and was broadly popular across much of Europe

England between the Wars

- British Empire had emerged the strategic victor in the war with the Hohenzollern, Romanov, Habsburg, and Ottoman empires all eliminated
 - However, cost in “blood and treasure” was very high. The total fatalities suffered by the British Empire were a staggering 921,000 in what was entirely an offensive war
 - Vast debt to America and American banks, Britain’s credibility with the American people had suffered greatly especially amongst those who were not inclined to be cultural anglophiles
- British substituted the previous Anglo-Japanese alliance with an uncertain Anglo-American alliance
 - British and Japanese along with the Russians as regional adversaries in the Far East. Australia and New Zealand, instead of being regional assets became liabilities for a downsized Royal Navy
 - Seen by many historians then and now as colossal blunder (arguable based on perspective)
 - Australians and New Zealanders were particularly displeased by this
- Chamberlain and Conservatives came to power in 1924
 - Hard core opponents of the Soviets with the party having risen to power in 1924 exploiting the “Zinoviev letter” and the Red Scare
 - In 1927 Tory “die hards” succeeded in breaking diplomatic relations with the Soviets and in 1936 conservative foreign secretary Anthony Eden halted rapprochement with the Russians on accusations of “*communist propaganda*”.

America between the Wars

- WWI was unpopular at the time and became more unpopular with the passing of time – League of Nations rejected
 - Gallup poll from 1936 found that app 70% of US population saw WWI as a mistake
 - Progressivism eventually became so unpopular it had to be relabeled as “liberalism”
- Deep depression of 1920 resolved itself quickly without intervention
 - Led to “roaring 20’s” with societal and cultural excesses
 - Country did demobilize after WWI (unlike the end of WWII)
- Depression of 1929 ran on until WWII with worst point in 1934
 - Largely brought on by monetary policies supporting Britain and Europe (there was some general understanding of this at the time)
- More extreme political views common during this period
- No appetite for another European war or foreign adventures
 - “Old Right” forms (Southern Democrats and Western Republicans)
 - Senator Josiah Bailey of North Carolina co-authored a document titled “*The Conservative Manifesto*”
 - Isolationist and small government opposing “Yankee social engineering”
 - Key figures included Joe Kennedy, Herbert Hoover, Charles Beard, and Charles Lindberg
 - Charles Beard predicted a “*perpetual war for perpetual peace*”
- Nationalist Chinese cause had large public support
 - Based on image created by China Lobby that was largely a mirage (book China Mirage)
 - Public didn’t associate this with direct American involvement of associate European and Asian wars

Economic Blocks

- Economy booms in the 1920's except for Germany due to inflation driven by war loans, reparations, other war expenses, and shortages of raw materials
- After Global collapse in 1930 America withdraws lent capital from Germany
 - International trade drops by 60%, German private gross investment drops by 75%, national income by 40%. Export economies in central and southern Europe lose exports
- Industrialized countries begin to shield domestic economies, currencies, and specie from foreign competition (tariffs, import quotas, and other barrier)
 - Banking becomes profitable as before while the economy suffers
 - France does relatively well in part due to reparations. Finance and arm eastern European countries
- Economic Blocs develop
 - Gold Block states consisted of Francs, Switzerland, Belgium, and the Netherlands
 - Currency control states adhered to gold standard but used government controls to manage foreign trade and related financial transactions. These included Germany, Austria, the Soviet Union, and a number of other southeastern European nations (sought non-trade based economies)
 - Last group is Sterling club which included England after they left the gold standard and commonwealth states that were bound to it
- Germany forms trade zone with other countries that have weak currencies and can't get external financing
 - Based on barter system this acquires app 25 countries mainly in Southern Europe and South America and performs strongly threatening international capital system

Poland and the Baltic States

- Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were created at Versailles
 - Ancient peoples but the way the borders were drawn made them multi-ethnic
 - These states were aggressive towards each other and their larger neighbors and played a major role in causing the war
 - In most respects they were clients states to France and England
- After WWI Poland has a larger / stronger military than Germany or Russia
 - Attacks and wins war with Russia in 1920 driving the Russians back 250 km into Russian speaking territory and virtually destroying the Red Army
 - Also attacks Germany but is driven back
- Poland gains even larger minority populations and proceeds to try to remove them
 - This includes 5 million Ukrainians , 2.5 million Jews, 2 million Germans, 1.2 million White Russians, and a variety of other smaller groups
 - Jews were especially problematic as they were largely tied to Polish Communist Party
- Long standing dispute with Germany over Danzig and economic corridor
 - Poland was tied to Britain and France forming an “anti-German Entente”
 - Germany tries to split off Poland but fails, also seeks rapprochement with England
- In 1939 Germany, after prolonged negotiations, invades Poland over Danzig
 - This is where the war started
 - At the time both Poland and Germany were ruled by dictators who persecuted ethnic minorities

The European War Starts

- There are three main events normally cited in the final run up to war in Europe;
 - Those being the militarization of the Rhineland, the Munich Accord, and the British and French promise to defend Poland
- The remilitarization of the Rhineland which was a 50 km area intended as buffer
 - That would allow the French Army to readily occupy the Ruhr which was the center of German industry in the event of a war
 - When Hitler decided to move into this area his forces were relatively weak
 - This may have been the best and last chance to avoid a European war but even Lloyd George opposed any French-British military action in the Rhineland
- Chamberlain's Munich Accord in September of 1938 ceded the Sudetenland in western Czechoslovakia
 - followed the absorption of Austria into Germany. The Sudetenland was majority German population
 - Chamberlain returned to a hero's welcome proclaiming "*peace in our time*" which was a phrase from an Anglican prayer book
 - Churchill, who was Chamberlain's greatest critic, stated in opposition, "*You were given the choice between war and dishonour. You chose dishonour and you will have war*"
- Britain concluded an Anglo-Polish bilateral security agreement on April 6th 1939 followed by Romania and Greece on April 13th then France
 - These countries had absolutely no ability to enforce these agreement
 - German claims had to do with Danzig that was principally German
 - Pole's logic here is hard to explain – Historic enemy of Russia and friendly towards Germany

Proposed Russian Alliance to Save Europe and Operation Pike

- 1939 discussions began in March between Britain, France, and the Soviet Union of a proposed alliance to counter German expansion
 - Driven principally by the Russians and highly favored by the British public (93%)
 - The Labour and Liberal parties strongly favored such an alliance but so did some conservatives
 - Chamberlain and most other conservatives were hard core opponents of the Soviets with the party having risen to power in 1924 exploiting the “Zinoviev letter” and the Red Scare
 - The Red Army could immediately mobilize 100 divisions while Britain could only put two divisions into France in the first weeks of war - Supported by British General Staff
 - Torres “slow walk” negotiations and also negotiate with Germans
 - Russia eventually signed treaty with Germany that benefited both sides for a while
- Operation Pike was an allied plan to execute a night attack with as many as 100 planes on Soviet oil fields in the Caucus to deny Germans oil
 - flying from airfields in Iran, Syria, and Turkey
 - The planes to be used in this weren’t what were available late in the war like a Lancaster bomber that could carry 7 tons of bombs but were rather the Blenheim that could carry only half a ton
 - Bombing and especially night bombing was a new thing in World War II and this was the very start of the war so some degree of overconfidence may be understandable but this was more on the order of recklessness
 - Planning for Operation Pike reached the point where planes flying from airfields in Iraq photographed oilfields in Baku and Batumi in March of 1940
 - Fortunately this was overcome by events but it highlights British and ally decision making

Germany Invades Russia

- On May 10, 1940, The Germans invaded across the low countries of northern France and Netherlands
 - The Germans routed Dutch, Belgium, French, and British within a couple of weeks leading to the Dunkirk evacuation
- Germany invades Russia with Operation Barbarossa in June of 1941
 - The logic or objectives behind this invasion isn't entirely clear and has been debated since
 - The stated goals were to eradicate communism and to conquer the western soviet regions, including the Ukraine and Belarus, repopulating these areas with Germans creating more "*living space*"
 - "*The purpose of the Russian Campaign was the decimation of the Slavic population by thirty million*"
 - Hitler met with close staff to discuss a "*Russian Problem*" after he perceives threat to oil supply
- Invasion force of 3.8 million men, the largest invasion force in human history
 - Russian front line forces were only about 2.9 million but their overall military was well over 5 million personnel - Russia also had large advantage in tanks and aircraft
 - German invasion force included several countries including Finland, Romania, Hungary, etc..
- The Soviets were initially routed in most areas
 - Soviet command seemed not to understand the gravity of the situation - commanded to attack
 - Within the first week the Luftwaffe had achieved air superiority over all battlefields across the front but was suffering attrition losses and were spread thin over such a vast area
 - The Germans and their allies had encircled large numbers of Soviet troops in Pincer moves resulting in a very large number of POW's but more had escaped
 - By the end of August, German and Finnish troops were only 48 kilometers from Leningrad

Defense of Moscow decides ultimate outcome of War

- German alliance encounters logistics problems and indecisiveness
 - Hitler shifted the attack to economic targets and then shifted back to Moscow
 - Logistics issues across long and deep front (difficult to avoid but underestimated)
 - Army became static and subject to counter attack resulting in the first Russian victory since fighting began in Yelnya Offensive
 - Soviet forces around Kiev were encircled on September 16th of 1941 and surrendered 10 days later
 - Donbass and Crimea also collapsed with Karkhov being captured by the 1st Panzer Army on October 24th
- Defense of Moscow
 - After the fall of Kiev the Russian Army no longer outnumbered the German coalition
 - The Soviet's first line defenses were rapidly defeated and encircled resulting in the loss of the 19th, 20th, 24th, and 32nd Armies producing over 500,000 additional prisoners
 - Germans pause Operation Typhoon on October 31st allowing the Russians to add reservists and consolidate their positions
 - Soviets had organized 11 new armies including 30 divisions of Siberian troops from the east
 - The Wehrmacht came within 24 kilometers of Moscow but there the assault bogged down
 - On December 5th (two days before Pearl Harbor) the Soviet defenders launched a large counter offensive that by January 7th had pushed the Germans back 50 to 100 kilometers from Moscow
 - The Battle of Moscow was lost and it had cost the Wehrmacht 830,000 men (75% to 80% of German losses on Eastern Front largely before US entered war)
 - Russia lost well over 10% of their total population (arguable but as high as 14%)

The Initiation of the Pacific War

- The Chinese Nationalist continued to receive funding but made little progress
 - Gave the impression they were engaging the Japanese but targeted Mao's supporters
 - Developed plan to create private air force using American money, planes, personnel
 - The Flying Tigers didn't live up to advertising – air power continued to be over estimated
- Japanese were bogged down in Manchuria
 - And they were economically dependent on US
 - Both the Japanese and Chinese Nationalist were American creations – one understood the use of western media and one did not
- FDR's position on the pacific situation remained ambiguous
 - Different factions within his administration were allowed to pursue different policies
 - He did, however, want very badly to enter European war and agreements and plans existed well prior to US declaration of war (Rockefeller's wanted Pacific war – Morgan's wanted European war)
 - While in Europe Dean Acheson and "wise men" were effectively left in charge and cut off oil supplies from America (San Pedro Ca to be exact) to Japan
 - Move opposed by Sec of State Hull and others
 - Japan develops plan to attack Pearl Harbor based on US military exercise a few year prior
- Most at this point thought Pacific situation could still be managed without war
 - However, because Japan had loose alliance with Germany an event could trigger US engagement
 - Multiple theories exist as to what FDR knew or did

US Enters the War

- FDR requested declaration of War following Pearl Harbor
 - But this didn't guarantee US entry into European war
- Rainbow five leak
 - The truth actually goes much deeper than the single event and turns around the "*Rainbow Five*" leak of the United State's war plan for Europe which was and remains the greatest leak of highly classified military information in the history of the country
 - On December 4, 1941, the Chicago Tribune headline was "FDR WAR PLANS". Other large papers had similar headlines that day
- Public Opinion still largely against war in Europe
 - Roosevelt in 1940 said he would never send America's soldiers to fight another foreign war
 - The news of the attack on Pearl Harbor came down during a large anti-war rally
- Based on reading Rainbow five plan Hitler moved to declare war on US
 - On December 11th Hitler announced at the Reichstag that Germany and Italy had been provoked "*by circumstances brought about by President Roosevelt*" to declare war on the United States
 - German military staff recommended that they pull back to selected defensive positions and terminate the Russian campaign – Hitler initially agreed but then changed his mind (ego)
 - Admiral Raeder and Reich Marshal Goering stated they would have "*their last opportunity to seize and hold control of the whole Mediterranean area and of the near and Middle East.*"
 - With that, Germany's fate was sealed well before the Americans ever entered the war
- Pacific War was second priority and Japan not considered a serious opponent
 - As Frances Perkins said later, "*the Japanese had solved Roosevelt's moral problem*"

The Policy of Unconditional Surrender

- The concept of unconditional surrender was unique in western history, was nearly universally opposed by military and political leaders of the time
 - According to General Eisenhower, the demand for unconditional surrender extended the war by years and cost countless lives (Ike also opposed use of Atomic bombs)
- The election of 1942 went badly for the Democrats
- FDR came up with policy of unconditional surrender as a political measure
 - He announced policy to the press at the Yalta conference
 - At the press conference where he announced his policy he said the idea just “*popped into his head*” but he had notes in his lap that he dictated to prepare for the conference with identical content
 - Prime Minister Churchill had no pre-knowledge of Roosevelt’s announcement and was left to assess the probable impact on the course of the war
 - Shock and dismay on the part of the other British representatives present was even worse
 - The reaction on the part of the American military leadership was more of the same
- As the war ground through its final couple of years, the concept of unconditional surrender gained popularity and acceptance with the American public
 - Polls conducted in the later part of 1943 showed that unconditional surrender had become a popular slogan with the American people that many people identified with a peaceful postwar period
 - General George Marshall and the chiefs of staff submitted a memorandum to Roosevelt urging, “*that a reassessment of the formula of unconditional surrender should be made . . . at a very early date.*”
- Policy ended negotiations with German military and led to decision to invade Japan and then drop atomic bombs when that proved too difficult

The “Vital Center”, Cold War, and the “Old Right”

- The American Left at the end of the Roosevelt era had three branches
 - The first were the communists or “travelers” who were especially prominent in academia
 - The Progressives were the second and dominant in the New Deal. They sought radical changes in American society and were willing to work with the communists and communist groups and organizations giving a more appealing appearance to communist thought
 - The liberals were the third group and were most moderate while still supporting progressive economic and social reform and were to become dominant
 - Liberals weren’t well organized and Communists and Progressives dominated the intellectual left
 - FDR’s declining health led to “wise men” effectively running the govt. after 1944
- Fall of the Nationalist Chinese
 - Immediately after the surrender of Japan the Nationalist forces could have moved against Mao
 - General Marshall blocked this which allowed the Maoists to resupply and take up better positions
 - This was alternately seen as either a strategic blunder or practical recognition that Chaing Kai-Shek could never control China – Mao gradually consolidates power
 - Russia provided support to Maoists but never controlled them and became adversaries later
 - Led to expression “*Who lost China*” which was very significant through the Viet Nam era
 - The reality is we never had it to lose in the first place
- Rise of Liberalism and The Vital Center
 - Wise men had for some time seen Russia as a military and economic challenge especially in Asia
 - Seemed to be a specific interest in Indochina related to oil, gas, precious metals
 - Key people created centrist consensus that also attracted establishment Republicans (Eastern Republicans – Rockefeller wing)

Key People behind the Vital Center

- American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr
 - reformed Socialist and had become a critic of Protestant liberalism
 - was associated with the Evangelical and Reformed Church which had largely a Luther heritage
 - He delivered a series of lectures in 1944 that became the basis for *The Children of the Light and the Children of the Darkness*
 - Niebuhr still supported the idea of world community but considered its chances of success slim due to a realistic understanding of human nature
- New York Times publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger
 - “I do not believe that free people can afford to trust dictatorships whether they be of the middle, or of the right, or of the left”
 - Concluded that communism had to be fought both at home and abroad which effectively initiated a purge of one of the three legs of the old left
- Harvard historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr - penned the term “Vital Center”
 - American communists as warped individuals who received from the party, “the social, intellectual, and even sexual fulfillment they cannot obtain in existing society”
- George Kennan – member of “Wise Men”, career diplomat, renown historian
 - pragmatist and less of an ideologue who opposed the creation of NATO as well as US post Cold War
 - “Long Telegram” sent Feb. 22nd of 1946. The cable was 8000 words long, which was very unusual, and first used the word or concept of “containment” with regard to the Soviet Union
 - Creator of CIA which he later referred to as his greatest mistake
- Note that reformed Marxists that came to Vital Center were Trotskyites and not Stalinists

Struggle for the Control of the Republican Party

- Vital Center policies necessarily led to state of permanent mobilization
 - Created permanent “Military Industrial Complex” that economically benefitted from continuous wars
- Old Right was reborn after the war
 - Some academic appointments and writing platforms
 - Political leadership was Senator Taft, Senator Bickle, Herbert Hoover, Joe Kennedy
 - Generally affiliated with Christian Restoration movement and orthodox Protestantism
 - At least one successful newspaper, that being the Santa Ana Register in Orange County California
 - In 1943 Ann Rand wrote a novel, *The Fountainhead*, a paean to individualism that became an underground best seller
- Korean War
 - Truman took extra-constitutional measures
 - Opposed by Old Right with Hoover and Kennedy giving back to back national speeches with large audiences but ultimately couldn’t alter the course of events
- Election of 1952
 - Eisenhower with backing of eastern Rockefeller faction of the party win the primary against Taft
 - Uncommitted convention delegates play a major role in this prompting allegations that election was effectively bought by financial and corporate interests
 - Eisenhower in his farewell address coins “military industrial complex” term
- This was the end of the Old Right
 - But conflict between isolationists and advocates of global hegemony has remained active since