THE RENAISSANCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

by

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United States History
Mr. John Scroggins
March 26, 1958

Washington Union High School March 26, 1958

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This is a tremendous job!
As a teacher of history, and very
interested myself in this area
I know the amount of work
which went into this
paper and I appreciate it.
This paper is well
written & I hope
you don't let this
talent go to
waste!

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INTRODUCTION

This paper tells three stories: the story of an era; the story of a man; and the story of a nation and its peoples. The era -- the years and events leading up to World War II and Pearl Harbor; the man -- President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt; the nation -- the United States of America.

The paper is divided into five chapters, ranging from the depression to the Declaration of War after the Pearl Harbor attack. In some of these there might be some repitition of facts, but they are necessary to keep the story moving freely.

The bulk of the paper is written around one man, so in order that the reader may understand my points more clearly, I will give a background of this much criticized man:

The Germans called him "the Jew Rosenfeld",[1] and he was probably called many other names that won't be found in any history or dictionary. But in the hearts of the majority of the American people, he was their friend -- a warm close friend, even though they sometimes disagreed with him. The majority of the American people loved him as they loved a member of their own family. And he returned that love by leading, not only our great nation but, along with Winston Churchill, the rest of the world's democracies as well; together they led the non-Axis powers of our Mother Earth through the greatest crisis of

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1. Rene Kraus, Winston Churchill, 1940.

modern times. President Roosevelt did his part from a wheel chair, for he was afflicted with polio for more than twelve years![2]

When he spoke, you knew it was a great man speaking. President Roosevelt was a man who had a tremendous oratorical talent. His speeches were tremendous; his voice, exceptional. When he spoke he had a soft, soothing, calming effect on his audience. He could restore the faith in the hearts of his people; he could give them assurance of their world and nation.

Great is not the word fof him; Franlin Delano Roosevelt was one in a million -- the type of man that arrives when he is needed. President Roosevelt, commonly called "FDR" by his friends, the peoples of the free world, passed out of this world after being elected to a fourth presedential term. His death left the free world in tears; it left his nation in mourning. <u>If ever a man had the right to die with the feeling of a life well led and a job well done, FDR was that man.</u>

President Roosevelt and his administration were constantly hindered by a group of men with "blinders", commonly called isolationists. They were a group of hermits who wanted their nation in their cave -- a cave away from world affairs -- an "invulnerable" cave.

After reading this paper, please do not take it to be a defense of the FDR administration; for neither President Roosevelt nor his administration need any defense of any kind. FDR ran a nation so well that the true history of his administration can

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2. Jane and Burt McConnell, "The 'New Deal' President", <u>Presidents of the United States</u>, 1951, pp. 288-299.

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2. Jane and Burt McConnell, "The 'Not Dead' President", Presidents of the United States, 1981, pp. 288-292.

stand on its own feet and take every punch and insult that any group of radical isolationists and/or Republicans can throw at it. These men that fight FDR -- they really admire him. They won't admit it, but deep down inside they admire that great man.

Roosevelt was a man who almost singlehandedly aroused the U.S.A. from its state of lethargy and enabled its peoples to see the true totalitarianistic crisis ahead of them. He woke them to that terrible crisis and, after Pearl Harbor, led them through the terrible, bloody, inevitable conflict that followed. If any of us ever make it to that paradisal Garden of Eden, chances are we'll find FDR there, too.

Churchill admired him -- Hitler and Mussolini hated him -- <u>and the American people loved him.</u>

[illegible]

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I. THE RENAISSANCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

I. Roosevelt and the Threat to Isolationism

The date: November 9, 1932. Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt was now President-elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He had carried 42 of the 48 states -- a great and terrific victory![1] The ex-governor of New York State was elected to the presidency at one of the worst crisises in American history. The nation was in an economic upheavel -- millions were unemployed. This was late 1932 -- the nation was in a continuation of the Great Depression of 1929. The economic gears of the richest nation in the world were hoplessly out of alignment -- something had to be done; something was done! For the people of the United States had elected one of the greatest men in their history -- a man of courage, honesty, integrity -- and above all, a man of action!

"...the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." This simple logic put new faith into the hearts of the American people. The words were so simple, the logic so elementary; they were so soothing -- the people understood and responded. The Date was March 4, 1933 -- FDR was sworn into the highest office in the land -- President of the United States.[2]

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1. Alden Hatch, Franklin D. Roosevelt: An Informal Biography, 1947, pp. 188.
2. Ibid., p. 202.

THE REVIVAL OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

I. Roosevelt and the Turn to Isolationism

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1. Alden Hatch, Franklin D. Roosevelt: an Informal Biography, 1947, pp. 128.
2. Ibid., p. 228.

And from that day on the people saw action! They saw something was being done. The mask of gloomliness lifted from their faces and was replaced by the characteristic warm glow of an American -- a happy glow.

But behind the scenes -- that same day, March 4, 1933, events were happening that marked the beginning of the end of the peaceful world situation. Japanese troops had stormed through Jehol Pronince to the Great Wall of China and on the next day, "Reichskanzler Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party won an overwhelming majority in the last free election held in Germany." [3]

Roosevelt now had two problems: the economic and domestic situation and how to keep out of the coming international situation.

The President had said in his first inaugural address: "In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor.....the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors." [4] The words were not empty -- they were alive and emotional. Roosevelt meant it -- and he showed it by the way in which he greeted the representatives of foreign governments who visited him after the election.

But it was difficult to be a good neighbor, for FDR was elected at a time when isolationistic sentiment in the

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3. Ibid., p. 202.
4. Ibid. p. 209

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country was probably at a national peak. Before going on, I will give a definition of isolationism and internationalism. An isolationist is "one who favors non-participation in international affairs."[5] So isolationism would be the act or state of a nation's non-participation in international affairs. Internationalism, on the otherhand, is "the principle of cooperation among nations,"[6] or participation in international affairs.

"Internationalists support collective measures against aggression as the best means of securing world peace."[7] That is, they support international actions, when many nations get together to do a job.

President Roosevelt wanted the nation to participate in international affairs. He "held internationalism as an ideal throughout his career."[8] But, as I said before, anti-internationalist sentiment was too great -- nothing could be done.

The United States was partly responsible for the breakdown of collective security. It is my belief that she led or at least began the demolishment of internationalism. After World War I the U.S. was sort of "mixed-up". "Disillusioned about the war, cynical of the treaties, critical of the political jockeying of the continental powers, indifferent to the fate of the new nations she had helped to create and that looked to her for inspiration, she had taken the road to isolationism," and "persisted

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5. Jess Stein, editor, American Everyday Dictionary, 1949.
6. Ibid.
7. Basil Rauch, Roosevelt: From Munich to Pearl Harbor, 1950, pp. 5.
8. Ibid. p. 15.

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5. Jean Black, editor, American American Diplomacy, 1964.
6. Ibid.
7. Ken. Moses, Conservative Free Society Our Foreign Relations 1960, pp. 5.
8. Ibid., p. 18.

on that road for almost two decades."[9]

We had withdrawn from the affairs of the world. Europe and the Far East were, in effect, forgotten. Even our tremendous Latin American ties and interests were slowly weakening. We said, in effect, that the affairs of the rest of the world were "none of our business".[10]

The United States had taken the lead in the abolishment of world cooperation and other democratic nations were following us in the disentegration of collective security.[11]

True, the United States had enough problems of her own, but that was no reason to "curl up in a shell". President Roosevelt, even though he wanted to lift the nation's isolationist cloud, ~~he~~ was more interested in domestic issues at the time of his election.

On March 9, 1933, Roosevelt called a special session of Congress. Beginning that day and continuing for 100 days thereafter, bills were passed -- many bills -- much money was spent, but the situation improved.[12]

Beginning on March 9, FDR put his New Deal program in full swing. On March 12, he gave a simple inspiring talk to the nation explaining the situation, what was being done, and why. Some ingenious American caught the idea and spirit of the talk with the perfect phrase: "A Fireside Chat." In the middle of April

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9. Samuel Ellio Morison and Henry Steele Commager, "The Second World War", The Growth of the American Republic, 1947, p. 642.
10. Ibid., p. 643.
11. Ibid.
12. Hatch, op. cit., p. 205.

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9. Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, "The Second World War", The Growth of the American Republic, 1947, p. 644.
10. Ibid., p. 644.
11. Ibid.
12. Hatch, op. cit., p. 308.

the nation went off the gold standard -- FDR agreed to limited inflation. "This is the end of western civilization," groaned the new Secretary of the Budget, Lew Douglas. But he was soon to be proven wrong.[13] For this helped prevent the end of western civilization.

All in all, it took one hundred days to get the nation back on its feet. Sure, its legs were wobbly, but at least the nation was standing and not crawling as it had been three months before. The New Deal was in full swing -- the wheels of industry began to roll.

I am inclined to heartily disagree with Mr. Raymond Postgate, the man who brought H. G. Wells', The Outline of History, up to the second World war. Mr. Postgate wrote: "The domestic policy of the United States was completely in the hands of a great empiricist. Neither Congress nor the people were disposed to oppose or even criticize any remedies that Franklin Delano Roosevelt proposed; he himself held no systemized philosophy and was deliberately trying one thing after another."[14]

Mr. Postgate has nothing to back up his statements. "...held no systemized philosophy..." is an absurd statement completely without fact. FDR knew what the country needed: jobs for all so that more money would be in circulation and a decrease in the nationwide surplus; he made the banks solvent. It was his bills and policies tht got the nation on its feet, something his predecessor had been unable to do. True, FDR's

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13. Ibid., pp. 205-208.
14. H.G. Wells, The Outline of History, revised by Raymond Postgate, 1956, two volumes, p. 910.

administration was inefficient and records were scanty, but he knew what he had to do and did it. Something need not be on paper in a neat little outline to be systemized. If the idea and outline are in a person's brain, as it was in Roosevelt's, then it is just as systemized as any written plan; perhaps even more so.

The idea -- the belief -- that the great Woodrow Wilson fought and committed "political suicide" for, the great League of Nations, went far, at first, to justify the hopes of its members, even though it had been cast off by its original sponsor, the United States. However, in the 30's the League steadily lost power and prestige. The World Court was made largely ineffective by the United State's failure to join it.[15]

The United States just didn't want to participate in European problems. The average American thought Europe was decaying and that it was "given to wars, secret diplomacy, class conflict, and a tendency to evade payment of just debts."[16]

The average American's attitude toward foreign affairs could be surmized in three words: "avoid foreign entaglements". As ex-president Coolidge said: "We are so snug here. Nothing they do can touch us."[17]

A Senate commitee, investigating World war I, came up with the conclusion that Wall Street and war-mongers tricked the Americans in the war -- a war they reported was unnecessary.[18]

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15. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 643.
16. Ibid. p. 650, 651.
17. Ibid., p. 651.
18. Ibid., p. 652.

This report convinced the American people that they were forced into the war and that our "intervention in any future European war would be a crime." We were convinced that the only way to escape involvement was "to take the profits out of war and the risks out of neutrality."[19]

Hearing and seeing the nationwide isolationistic sentiment of the people, Roosevelt "soon realized that he would have to soft-pedal his enthusiasm for world cooperation" if he were not going to get into the same predictiment that Woodrow Wilson did when he tried to buck the people.[20]

He realized he must undertake a long campaign to re-educate the American people. He knew it would have to be done slowly and very cautiously. Perhaps it was impossible -- but he would never stop trying! Even Roosevelt could not forsee that his program of education would be aided by the efforts and aggressions of Adolf Hitler, Hideki Tojo, and Benito Mussolini.[21]

Soon after his inaugeration, the President looked forward to the coming World Economic Conference. He believed, as did Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State, that it (the conference) would help settle the trouble in Europe; that it would solve the growing international problems, both economic and otherwise; and that it would bring the nations closer together. The President named a delegation composed of men of both parties. The views of this delegation were so different that it could not agree.

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19. Ibid.
20. Hatch, op. cit., p. 232.
21. Ibid.

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19. Ibid.
20. Hatch, op. cit., p. 88.
21. Ibid.

The other nations represented looked to the U.S. delegation for leadership. When they saw it was all mixed up, the conference became a chaos.[22]

In an attempt to prevent the conference from becoming a complete failure, FDR sent Ray Moley as "a liason officer for the president". Moley got England and France to agree to a weak resolution to stabilize at a future date. He thought it was just what FDR wanted. But the President misinterpreted the proposal and refused it. The conference again became a chaos. It broke up. "From there on it was each nation for itself."[23]

1933 was a year of failure with our European foreign relations but it was a success as far as Latin American relations were concerned. The Pan American Conference held in December in Montevideo was a complete success.[24]

But European relations were soon to improve.

The United States hadn't had any diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. for 16 years, since the Bolshevist Revolution. The President thought it was silly for two great nations not to be on speaking terms just because their systems of government differred. On October 10, 1933 he wrote a letter to Mikhail Kalinin, the president of the All Union Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. Josef Stalin liked it and sent an envoy, Maxim Latvinov, to make the arrangements. So Russia became another neighbor and, later on, an ally.[25]

Even Japan responded -- at least temporarily -- to the new

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22. Ibid., pp. 210-215.
23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., p. 232.
25. Ibid., pp. 232, 233.

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22. Ibid., pp. 111-112.
23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., p. 232.
25. Ibid., pp. 233, 234.

president's friendly foreign policy. Relations were better with the Pacific island nation than they had been in years. However, Joseph C. Grew, our Japanese ambassador, said prophetically: "...the calm before the storm...".[26]

The President gave the world quite a genuine surprise by his decision to give the Phillipine Islands independence. It was something unusual -- something new. Nations just didn't do things like that. But it was done! This was another example of the friendly FDR foreign policy. Some government officials were surprised to hear, however, that Manuel Quezon, the great man in the Islands, conferred with General Douglas MacArthur and then with the President. Quezon, who was a close friend of MacArthur's, then Chief-of-Staff of the nation, asked for a ten year waiting period before independence.[27]

"Without help my people cannot defend themselves against the danger from the North," Quezon said. He asked for a loan of General MacArthur, in order to establish Phillipine defenses. MacArthur volunteered, as he was going to retire anyway -- and the Islands were given ten years.[28]

On March, 1934, an Act on Congress gave the Filipinos full independence after a period of ten years. A Phillipine Constitution was ratified in early 1935.[29]

Roosevelt believed that even a neutral nation should have adequate defenses, just in case it needed them. And if it were not for this belief and for the defense measures FDR got passed,

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26. Ibid., p. 233.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.

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[illegible], p. 139.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Pearl Harbor might have meant the end of our great nation.

The second Roosevelt took office, he began to "over-haul" U.S. defenses, especially his beloved Navy. Congress was reluctant to vote money for defense because of terrific lobbying and public pressure; but FDR did succeed in getting some appropriations. In addition he set aside $238 million out of the Public works fund for the construction of 32 new warships.[30]

"Much could be done by intelligent planning and efficient use of existing material. For the first time in many years, naval officers were conscious of a sympathetic and encouraging attitude on the part of their government. The resultant rise in morale was a giant stride toward bringing the Navy back to fighting trim."[31]

The Army's state was even more pathetic and the Air Force was practically useless. The total manpower of the army in 1933 was 118,000 men -- not even enough to man the permanent fortifications. Mechanization was non-existant. FDR brought the Air Force much improvement but it was extremely difficult to improve the Army. The public didn't feela larger army was necessary. The President was hampered by every crackpot who took the slogan "War Never Settles Anything" to mean that war could not bring catastrophe to the United States even though we did nothing to defend ourselves. Some of the loudest anti-defense noises came from Roosevelt's own supporters![32]

FDR and General MacArthur worked side by side to improve the defense situation. One of MacArthur's aides, Major Dwight

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30. Ibid., p. 235.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.

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30. Ibid., p. 485.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.

D. Eisenhower, greatly assisted them in presenting the Army's need to Congress.[33]

General MacArthur, in a 1935 report, said that Congress had authorized a manpoer increase up to 165,000 men and that "we have initiated a procurement program in modern tanks and combat cars, of which 78 are now in production, and 69 are provided in the current bill."[34]

In Germany factories were running night and day turning out war materials. In Italy, even more so; and from all over our Pacific Coast ports ships sailed loaded with scrap metal for "the armorers of Japan".[35]

FDR was aware of the danger but "he could move no faster toward defense than the popular will allowed," Yet he was still trying to shake off the nation's isolationist cloak.[36]

His wise words in November, 1935 were: "We cannot build a wall around ourselves and stick our heads in the sand."[37]

And in January, 1936: "Peace is threatened by those who seek selfish power."[38]

He also used every other possible means to warn his people -- but they just criticized him for it. It would take more time.

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33. Ibid., p. 235.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., p. 236.

II. The Rise of Totalitarianism:

The Actions of the United States and Other Democracies

"The essence of totalitarianism is the subordination of all individual or social interests to the interests of a 'master race' represented by the state; its object, the division of the world into spheres of influence, each sphere to be controlled by a master nation; its method, the ruthless use of force." [1]

Italy became the first totalitarian state in 1922, under Benito Mussolini and in 1933 Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany; he "improved vastly on the Italian model". [2]

Japan borrowed methods and techniques from Germany and Italy, rather than philosophy; but they were soon to become allies. [3]

Totalitarian governments and ideas dveveloped in the countries that suffered defeat in world War I or in the later treaties or "had expressed economic collapse and social demoralization in the post-war years." These countries thought they needed room so that their surplus populations could expand. Democratic processes were too slow. Totalitarianism promised a solution of domestic problems, international obligations, power, and prosperity. [4]

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1. Samuel Elliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, "The Second World War", The Growth of the American Republic, 1947, p. 644.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

In the early 1930's Japan felt strong enough to strike. She invaded Manchuria in Septemner, 1931 and, crushing Chinese resistance, she set up the puppet state of Manchuko a year later. The U.S. and the League of Nations protested. Japan ignored the protests and withdrew from the League; nothing else was done.[5]

Adolf Hitler's Nationalist Socialist Party promised relief to Germany from the many burdens she had had. Among these: economic disorganization; social demoralization; economic ills; "escape from the 'bondage' of the Versailles Treaty"; and the union of the entire German race under one great government. Many of these "burdens" were the result of their world war I defeat and, even though the United States and Britain tried to help her, the situation was critical by 1931.[6]

The old German President von Hindenburg was persuaded to appoint Hitler to the office of Chancellor in 1933. Several months later all opposition leaders were in jail and the Nazi Party and complete and strong control of the country.[7]

Hitler was determined to make Germany the greatest military and powerful nation in the world. He withdrew from the League of Nations and began a full-scale rearmament program. He also invoked a reign of terror on the Jews, perhaps "to dramatize his dissociation from the moral standards of the Western world".[8]

As early as 1932, Churchill was urging his government not to be misled by the German desire for equal status in Europe --"all these bands of sturdy Teutonic youths, marching through streets

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5. Ibid.p. 645.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

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5. Ibid.p. 645.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
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and roads of Germany, with the light of desire in their eyes to suffer for their fatherland, are not looking for status. They are looking for weapons." This warning came even before Hitler became Chancellor.[9]

Totalitarian governments were expressed after the nations learned that the democracies weren't going to enforce international treaties or law. So naturally, as Fascist governments sprang up, they took advantage of this.[10]

"Goodwill was plenty and cheap; but neither England nor France nor the United States cared to enforce by arms the provisions of the Versailles Treaty or the findings of the League Council or even international law. The democracies, rather, lulled themselves into the belief that trouble could be avoided by abandoning instruments of force."[11]

The Saar was returned to Germany in January, 1935, as a result of a plebiscite provided for in the Versailles Treaty. Hitler then denounced the Treaty, after having used it to his advantage, of course, in March of that year. The dictator then admitted that Germany had openly started compulsory military service and illegily created an air force.[12] This was, in effect, a formal announcement of Germany's re-armament.

The European signers of the Versailles Treat meekly agreed.

"...the democratic peoples for years did not appreciate the fact that the totalitarian philosophy was a threat to world peace and a challenge to all the values of Christian civilization, and to the inherent dignity of man."[13]

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9. John Davenport and Charles Murphy, The Lives of Winston Churchill, 1945, p. 30.
10. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 644.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

FDR realized this but, as I have mentioned previously, isolationist sentiment was too great to enable him to do anything.

"As early as 1927 Benito Mussolini had declared that 1935 would be the turning point in European history and had promised the Italians that when that time came 'we shall be in a position to make our voices felt and to see our rights recognized'."[14]

Ethiopia was said to be rich in raw materials and weak froma military standpoint. She stood in the way between Italian Somaliland and Italian Libya; so naturally, she was a logical choice for Italy's first victim.[15]

But what Roosevelt, nor probably any of the other democratic leaders, did not know was that Premier of France, Pierre Laval, the falsest man in all of France, had made a "deal" with Mussolini allowing the dictator to take over Ethiopia without French interference.[16]

The conquest was completed during the winter of 1935-1936.[17]

The world thus far had seen three aggressive danger signals: 1. The Japanese aggressions in the Far East; 2. The official re-arming of Germnay; and 3 The Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Roosevelt was determined to back the League as far as the law allowed, despite isolationist criticisms.[18]

Ethiopian leader, Haile Selassie, appealed to the League of Nations. After much discussion and debate, the League very meekly called Italy an aggressor nation and stopped the approval

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14. Ibid., p. 646.
15. Ibid.
16. Alden Hatch, Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1947, p. 236.
17. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 646.
18. Hatch, op. cit., p. 237.

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14. Ibid., p. 546.
15. Ibid.
16. Alsen Munson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1947, p. [illegible]
17. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 546.
18. Eaton, op. cit., p. 557.

of arms, credits, and trade embargoes. This was sort of a joke on the League for Italy had enough arms and supplies of its own. This made it very clear that the league was impotent.[19]

Franklin had once asked Congress for the power to embago arms shipments to an aggressor. After the Italian-Ethiopian conflict, the nation demanded more and more neutrality. During the years 1935-37 there was a period of "neutrality legislation". This was designed to prevent the nation from becoming involved in any non-American war at almost any cost. This legislation prohibited credits or loans to "belligerents"; it put a mandatory embargo upon direct or indirect arms shipments or war shipments to belligerents; it madee it harder to export to belligerents; it forbade American citizens to travel on the ships of belligerents; and it forbade the arming of American merchant vessels.[20]

This legislation waived many of the things we fought for in the first World War. In 1937 the legislation w s to be effective on Civial as well as International wars.[21]

Roosevelt watched unhappily at the news of half-naked Ethiopians, spear in hand, were falling in large numbers. He said to visiting Ray Moley: "This thing should be stopped. Why can't the peace-loving nations band together and send these aggressors to Coventry? There ought to be a way to wall them in so that they could do no harm. A cordon sanitaire, just as you would an infectious disease!" The words were said angrily.[22]

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19. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 646.
20. Ibid., pp. 652,653.
21. Ibid.
22. Hatch, op. cit., p. 237.

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10. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. [illegible].
11. Ibid., pp. 622,623.
12. Ibid. [illegible]
13. Baker, op. cit., p. [illegible].

The neutrality legislation to belligerents showed that the "United States would not distinguish between aggressor and victim nations -- which was another way of saying that, as far as we were concerned, there was no moral distinction between them"! [23]

Roosevelt dis-liked the legislation; it was a cowardly compromise. But he signed it anyway because it prevented Italy from continuing her conquest with American arms. In a talk against the legislation, the President said:

> "Our arms embargo played right into the hands of the aggressor nations. The aggressor nations knew that under our arms embargo the peace-loving nations of the world, which had not piled up as much armaments as the aggressors had, were prevented from buying any war materials from us. The aggressors knew that as soon as they would declare war upon their victims, the victims would be shut off from obtaining implements of war from the neutral nations. Of course, the aggressors had spent many years and a large portion of their wealth in piling armaments, and did not have to buy materials outside. The victims of aggression. however, who had not built up armament to the same extent, would have to look to neutral nations to sell the implements of war to them. It was clear, therefore, that so long as our arms embargo statute prevented the United States from helping all beligerents, the aggressor nations were given a tremendous advantage by it, and to that extent were actually encouraged by our laws to make war upon their neighbors." 24

But isolationist sentiment was so great that his wise words fell on "deaf" ears. The United States had just made up its

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23. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 653.
24. Ibid., pp. 653,654.

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25. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 688.
26. Ibid., pp. 688-689.

mind to keep our of foreign wars at <u>any</u> cost; the people followed a "to hell with the rest of the world" philosophy.

The neutrality legislation made one semi-fatal mistake: <u>it assumed that the United States would never be attacked.</u> It believed that the question of war or peace was to be determined wholly by us.[25]

March 7, 1935: Mussolini agrees to "arbitration" on the "principle" of the Ethiopian conquest. That same day Hitler denounced the Locarno Treaty and ordered his army into the demilitarized Rhineland.[26]

The Locarno Treaty of Locarno Pact was signed in 1925 in Switzerland. It was " a series of treaties of mutual guarantee and arbitration entered into by England, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. The majoy treaty guaranteed the West boundaries of Germnay as fixed by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Germany also agreed to demilitarize a strip of the Rhineland ans was guaranteed entry into the League of Nations."[27]

Both Italy and Germnay were on record as impartial to the obligations of international law and of treaties and scornful or contemptful of the League of Nations.[28]

Secretary Hull and FDR were not ready to give up because of the neutrality legislation. As far as was constitutionally possible, they continued to place the influence of the

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25. Ibid., p. 654.
26. Ibid., p. 646.
27. <u>The Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia</u>, , 1953, p. 723. Vol. II.
28. Morison and Commager, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. p. 646.

United States on the side of international law rather than international anarchy. They refused to recognize the Japanese State of Manchuko and refused to accept any modification of the "Nine Power Treay" and the "Four Power Treaty".[29]

The Nine Power Treaty was a series of treaties that guaranteed the integrity and independence of China. The Four Power Treaty was a pact in which the United States, Britain, France, and Japan "agreed to respect one another's rights in the Pacific".[30]

July, 1936 marked the beginning of General Francisco Franco's bloody revolution that was to turn Spain into a Fascist state, thereby giving Hitler and Mussolini a great propaganda victory and much prestige.[31]

Both Germany and Italy supported the Spanish Civil war wholeheartily -- Russia protested the revolt, but could not aid the Loyalists. Germany and Italy gave the Nationalists or rebels all the aid they could.. The isolationist and neutral democracies did nothing; we just watched.[32]

Japan's early successes in Manchuko were followed up by the invasion of Jehol and/with continued efforts to "pry" the North China provinces away from China proper; this didn't work, so in July, 1936, Japan purposely caused the "China incident", "which was to plunge the Far East into a prolonged war".[33]

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29. Ibid., p. 654.
30. Colubia Viking Desk Encyclopedia, op. cit., p. 867.
31. Hatch, op. cit., p. 237.
32. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 647.
33. Ibid.

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29. Ibid., p. 684.
30. Colyle Vikins Dean Encyclopedia, op. cit., p. 607.
31. Hatch, op. cit., p. 287.
32. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 847.
33. Ibid.

As ar esuit of the above, an international conference was hastily called which formally termed Japan an "aggressor" nation, as if this weren't already evident. The conference protested Japan's actions, but again nothing was done. And the ironic part is that Britain and the United States continued to ship oil and scrap iron to the "aggressor" nation;[34] The materials to make the fleet and planes that left Pearl Harbor in ruins.

Nevertheless, Japan was victorius. Chang-kai-shek fought the invaders from the Chinese interior, but resistance was futile. From England and the United States they got sympathy, fewer loans, and still fewer supplies. Russia gave the only substantial aid.[35] This is probably the reson she has such a strong foothold in that area of thw orld at the present time.

But, though the world situation looked gloomy and terrible, there was an event that gave the nation some hope of peace.

In 1937 the Japanese "accidentely" sunk the American gunboat, Panay, Our government immediately demanded apologies and compensation, which were soon received.[36]

Many Americans thought we should just let the aggressors go. Charles A. Beard, a writer of warped American history, "advocated our complete withdrawal from the Far East behind a line of defense running from the Aleutian Islands through Hawaii to the Canal Zone as the only means of avoiding war. "

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34. Ibid., p. 647,648.
35. Ibid., p. 648.
36. Ibid., p. 657.

As an result of the above, an international conference hastily called which formally voted Japan as "aggressor" nation, as Mr. Lin Sen's history already evident. The conference protested Japan's actions, but again showing its feeble and the Irish part is once against and the United States combined to help oil and scrap iron to the "aggressor" nation.[34] The nation is to [illegible] Left Peninsula in ruins.

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33. Ibid., p. 247-248.
34. Lane, p. 248.
35. Ibid., p. 247.

FDR believed that this was probably true, but would the American people stand for it? He thought not -- he hoped not. For this would be an unusual course for our nation to follow -- the nation that "sent Perry to Japan and dared the Bashaw of Tripoli with its infant fleet".[37]

If that were the people's will, he would follow it -- but he had to be sure! So every visitor who came to the White House, from that time on, was asked a long series of questions. Experts on Pacific problems were asked as also were common Americans who didn't really know what was going on. After taking this little "poll" for several years, the President made up his mind "that never would America let Japan make a clean sweep of the Western Pacific." He sicerely believed that Japan must be stopped before she became entrenched and fortified all over the Pacific. Roosevelt also believed that aggression must be stopped in Europe; for if it were not, we might have to fight all alone in two oceans (which was nearly the case).[38]

Some of the reasons for Mr. Beard's attitude, along with many other isolationist-minded Americans probably were: we had always won our wars; we had ocean barriers to protect us; we were powerful and "invulnerable"; Ethiopians were said to be uncivilized; Hitler was against Communism; China could "take care of herself"; the League of Nations wasn't very important (we didn't even join it); we had to much trouble at home without looking for more; etc., etc.[39]

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37. Hatch, op. cit., p. 238.
38. Ibid., p. 239.
39. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 651.

FDR believed that this was probably true, but could the American people stand for it? He thought not -- he hoped not. For this would be an unusual course for our nation to follow -- the nation that "sent Perry to Japan and paved the beaches of Tripoli with its latest lives".[37]

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37. Beard, op. cit., p. 554.
38. Ibid., p. 555.
39. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 681.

As can be seen, a large percentage of these "reasons" are unsatisfactory. They were only used as an excuse to keep out of the coming war; they were not thought out with any logic.

The "official" attitude of the nation was somewhat different: we protested the Japanese invasion of Manchuko in 1931; we protested the Japanese invasion of China in 1937; we generally condemned the use of force in international affairs; relations abroad were built up through reciprocity treaties, recognition of Russia, and the good neighbor policy in Latin America.[40]

But without the people's support, all the wise government could do was protest and make treaties -- nothing definite could be done. The people would not let the government interfere in the affairs of Europe nor Asia nor even to give an authoritive opinion on the aggressive nations.[41] It was a long time before this opinion changed -- and even then it was almost too late!

But in spite of all the difficulty: the clamor of the isolationists, the impotency of the League of Nations, the successes of Japan, Italy, and Germany, the Fascist outcome in Spain, and the appeasement of the democracies, Roosevelt and Hull continued their good neighbor policy and were trying to build up relations between the nations in the Western Hemisphere.

In keeping with the policy, we settled disputes with Mexico, took out troops out of the Carribean islands, signed a treaty with six other Latin American nations of "non-aggression and conciliation". The treaty pledged the signers "not to recognize

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40. Ibid., pp. 651, 652.
41. Ibid., p. 654.

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40. Ibid., pp. 621, 622.
41. Idem., p. 624.

territorial changes affected by force." in 1936, Roosevelt himself attended the very successful Pan American Convention at Montivideo which "provided for mutual consultation on all matters affecting 'hemispheric peace'."[42]

Thus it was quite evident that the government was doing all in its limited power to halt the aggression.

Hitler, seeing the appeasement of the democracies in the Italian and Japanese aggressions, decided to take advantage of it. He moved swiftly to the creation of a "new order" in which she (Germany) would be the dominant nation and the Germans the "master race".[43]

Hitler had been committed from the beginning to three main objectives: (1) "the erection of a totalitarian barrier against Communism; (2) the re-incorporation into a greater Germany of all German people; and (3) the control by Germany of Middle Europe and the road to the Middle East."[44]

The new government's policies, especially the New Deal, came to its biggest test during the election of 1936. The Republican platform, directed against Roosevelt, included such bitter and colorful phrases as "dictatorship", "socialism", "the constitution in peril", "overwheening ambition", and probably many more not fit to be quoted.[45]

The Republican candidate was Governor Alfred E. Landon of

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42. Ibid., p. 655.
43. Ibid., p. 648.
44. Ibid.
45. Hatch, op. cit., p. 225.

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42. Ibid., p. 235.
43. Ibid., p. 242.
44. Ibid.
45. Hatch, op. cit., p. 235.

Kansas, whom FDR had met in 1934 on a trip to the Southwest. Roosevelt saw that he was an honest and good administrator, but he didn't have the imagination to forsee a changing world.[46]

Roosevelt's opposition was large. The conservatives were against him, including the conservative Democrats -- they fought him the hardest. Eighty-five per cent of the press was against him. But in spite of all the opposition and the huge campaigning of the Republican Party (the Democrats were flat broke), Roosevelt's public popularity continued.[47]

As the election returns were tallied, Roosevelt carried all the states except Maine and Vermont. The electoral vote was 523-8 -- the greatest majority since 1816![48] Not since James Monroe had a president received such a majority!

FDR believed more strongly than ever now that the people agreed with his policies, especially the New Deal.

His second inaugural address failed to mention foreign affairs, but domestic issues were soon to be overshadowed by issues of foeign relations and international importance.[49]

1936 marked the date when Hitler called the "Rome-Berlin" Axis into being and the "Anti-Comintern" Pact, an anti-Comunist alliance which soon included Japan, Italy, Spain, and Hungary. It was designed to make totalitarianism look "respectable" to the rest of the world and to scare Russia.[50]

Hitler was now ready to begin!

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46. Ibid., p. 225, 226.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 642.
50. Ibid., p. 648.

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46. Ibid., p. 448, 449.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 880.
50. Ibid., p. 882.

Austria was his first victim. She was small, weak, and the population was mostly German; she also bordered Czeckosiovakia and would be a good "jumping-off" point for the assualt on that nation. It was March, 1938, when the German Army marched uninterrupted through the tiny nation. Without a aingle shot being fired, the nation became Hitler's. It was his without a fight; and it was formally announced as Hitler's on March 13.[51]

Britain and France held useless conferences; Mussolini "hid in a corner". The United States did nothing, but Roosevelt was sure, remembering the Italian-Ethiopian conquest, the Japanese aggression in China, and now the present German aggression, that their plan was to conquer the world. He realized that sooner or later the democracies would have to fight for their freedom, and if we wanted to continue our Eastern policy with China, we would have to fight, too. He was sure of that now -- he didn't want to be -- but he was sure that, unless they were checked immediately, war was inevitable. And he planned in doing everything possible in his power to wake the nation and prepare it for the coming conflict.

Austria was such a success that Czechosolakia came soon after. The motive was simple -- and there were many: she was an access to the Danubian Valley; she had many natural resources and industry; she had an army and air force good enough to be a "prize" but not good enought to retaliate a German attack; she was a democratic nation and, therefore, a totalitarian rebuke; and she had three million Germans living near her borders who wanted union with their fatherland. With all these

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51. Ibid. p. 648-649.

points in mind, Hitler was ready to demand the Sudeten,[52] a mountain system in Czechoslovakia extending about 170 miles of its North border and, "incidentally", Czechoslovakia's best and only means of defense.[53] Hitler realized that it was risky -- for the little democracy had many friends and allys; France, United States, England, and Russia all helped to extablish her. In September, 1938, after both threatening and flattering British and French officials and scaring the Czechs, he was ready, and demanded the immediate cession of the Sudeten.[54]

Britain, after deliberation, told her to yield; France agreed; the U.S. could do nothing. Her allies and friends failing her, the brave little nation yielded to the Nazi terror.[55] Hitler's ideas were correct -- he assumed that the democracies would again take the cowardly course of appeasement. He was right!

Roósevelt, forseeing all this German aggression and terror, gave a speech in which he startled the nation by denouncing, although not naming, the Axis nations; this was a year earlier in October, 1937.[56] And he choose Chicago, the heart of isolationist sentiment, to say it in!

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52. Ibid. p. 649.
53. Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia, op. cit., p. 1226.
54. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 649.
55. Ibid.
56. Jane and Burt McConnell, "The 'New Deal' President", Presidents of the United States, 1951, p. 296.

points in mind, Hitler was ready to demand the Sudeten,[52] a mountain system in Czechoslovakia extending about 175 miles of its north border and, "incidentally", Czechoslovakia's most and only means of defense.[53] Hitler realized that it was risky -- for the little democracy had many friends and allies; France, United States, England, and Russia all helped to establish her. In September, 1938, after both threatening and flattering British and French officials and scaring the Germans, he was ready, and demanded the immediate cession of the Sudeten.[54]

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52. Ibid., p. 449.
53. Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia, op. cit., p. 1330.
54. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 844.
55. Ibid.
56. Edmund Ruffin McDonnell, "The 'New Deal' Presidents", Presidents of the United States, 1931, p. 346.

The President said:

"Without a declaration of war and without warning of justification of any kind, civilians, including vast numbers of women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered by bombs from the air....ships are being attacked and sunk by submarines without cause or notice..... nations claiming freedom for themselves deny it to others.

"Innocent peoples, innocent nations are being cruelly sacrificied to a greed for power and supremacy.....

"If those things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that America may expect mercy, that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked.....

"If those days come, 'there will be no safety by arms, no help from authority, no answer in science; the storm will rage till every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos.'

"If those days come to pass..... the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles.....

"The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are cfeating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.

"...there must be a recognition of the fact that national morality is as vital as private morality.

"When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins ina quarantine of the patients in order tp protect the community against the spread of the disease.

"War is a contagion.....

".....the will for peace on the part of the peace-loving nations express itself to the end that nations which

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"Innocent peoples, innocent nations are being cruelly sacrificed to a god of war and aggression.....

"If these things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that America may escape scot-free, but this western Hemisphere will not be attacked.....

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"....but will for peace on the part of the peace-loving nations express itself to the end that nations which

> may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a course.
>
> "America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace." 57

The wise and prophetic words were denounced by the isolationists. Their crys echoed across the nation, from sea to sea and back again. Roosevelt was called a "war-monger"; he had been bought out by the DuPonts; he was "looking under the bed for a war that did not exist"; he was the dupe of England, etc.. Even some of his closest friends turned against him. The New Dealers were against him -- they didn't want to see their nice little reform hurt by foreign affairs. FDR knew it was not yet time. He knew he couldn't push or shove the people into what he knew was right. They needed to learn anoter lesson. It would take time. But, watching the sphere of Fascism grow increasingly and alarmingly larger, he wondered <u>just how much time was left</u>.[58] And now, a year later, with the Sudeten in German hands and Czechoslovakia herself being threatened, that time that was left was reduced even further.

Roosevelt continued to do his best, along with Cordell Hull, to enforce our foreign policy. In August, 1938, he said, speaking at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario:[59]

> "We in the Americas are no longer a far away Continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or harm.....

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57. Hatch, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 239-241.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., p. 244.

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87. Hatch, op. cit., pp. 220-221.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid., p. 244.

> "....we can assure each other that this Hemisphere at least shall remain a strong citadel wherein civilization can flourish uni paired.
>
> "The Dominion of Canada is part of the sist rhood of the British Empire. I give you my assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empir." 60

This was a plain pledge to defend Canada against the aggressors. Even the most radical isolationists approved -- the people were slowly learning.[61]

Roosevelt had figured that the second reason Hitler wanted the Sudeten (the first was that it was Czechoslovakia's only defense) was because of the great Skoda arms factory at Pilsen. This was beyond the area he claimed, but after the Sudeten became his, the rest would be easy.[62]

Hitler wanted his Sudeten victory to be more colorful, more dramatic than it was. He wasn't satisified, with the appeasement of the democracies and the yielding to him of his wanted land. So he demanded the complete and immediate surrender of Czechoslovakia itself![63]

The democracies realized something had to be done -- would they do it?

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain swiftly flew to meet with Hitler -- to try to stall; it seemed successful.

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60. Ibid.,
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid., pp. 243, 244.
63. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 649.

> "....we can assure each other that this Hemisphere at least shall remain a strong citadel wherein civilization can flourish and prosper.
>
> "The Dominion of Canada is part of the mainland of the British Empire. I give you my assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if aggression of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empir." [60]

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Roosevelt had figured that the second reason Hitler asked the Sudeten (the first was that it was Czechoslovakia's only defense) was because of the great Skoda arms factory at Pilsen. This was beyond the area he claimed, but after the Munich pact this, the rest would be easy.[62]

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British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain skillfully flew to meet with Hitler — in hopes to really be termed successful.

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60. Ibid.,
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid., pp. 265, 266.
63. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 844.

Then a new crisis arose. Czech Premier Benes said he'd resist Nazi invasion. This resulted in the well known Munich Conference. This time Chamberlain and Daladier, the present French Premier, both went to see Hitler. There they offered the Nazi dictator compromise after compromise; it did no good. Hitler saw he had won and would not back down. So on September 29-30, 1938, Britain and France "abandoned the little democracy to her fate".[64]

"I bring you peace with honor. I believe it is a peace in our time," Chamberlain said on his return to London.[65] The cowardly words were denounced by Winston Churchill, the only man in England whom Roosevely had any faith in.

"Britain and France had to choose between war and dishonor. They chose dishonor. They will have war."! The prophetic words were soon to become true.[66]

"If we have to fight," Chamberlain said, "it must be on larger issues than this." The people in America, England, and France agreed.[67] Could they not see that these were the beginning of the larger issues?

The Munich appeasement again showed that the democracies would not fight. Munich was a terriffic diplomatic and moral triumph for Adolf. He was very confident -- and went on!

Roosevelt sent for his ambassadors to report on the Munich crisis. They all agreed that "..peace for our time" was strictly nonsense; that Germany would strike again -- soon![68]

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64. Ibid., pp. 649-650.
65. Ibid., p. 650.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Hatch, op. cit., p. 245.

The report on France said that the leaders were corrupt, the air force was outmoded, the army was terrible, and her people were emotionless; the whole country was "rotten with inner corruption."[69]

Charles A. Lindbergh, back from an inspection trip of Europe's air forces, reported that he was shown much of the new Luftwaffe and that it "could sweep the skies of the combined aerial navies of the world". This was confirmed by the fact that the German Messerschmidt fighter held the world's speed record of 460 m.p.h. plus; our fastest couldn't even top 325.[70]

Roosevelt warned the appeasers abroad as well as home in an address a few eeks after the Munich surrender: "....peace by fear has no higher or more enduring quality than peace by sword."[71] The warning was ingnored, as had been all his previous ones.

After the Czech surrender, a Senator Borah told a confused U.S. Congress that "this was not a violation of the Pact of Paris"![72]

The Pact of Paris, known officially as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, was an agreement signed August 27, 1928, "condeming war and agreeing to peaceful settlement of international differences." the effectiveness of the Pact was neutralized by "its failure to failure to provide for enforcement."[73]

Mr. Borah does not realize that an army marching through a nation, even though shots are not exchanged, is still far from peaceful. The Senator's statement was another frightened excuse to keep out of war.

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69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Morison and Commager, op. cit. p. 656.
72. Ibid., p. 656-657.
73. Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia, op. cit., p. 654.

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Roosevelt warned the appeasers: "Force is still in the saddle in Europe a few days after the Munich surrender. Peace by force has no higher or more enduring quality than peace by words."[71] The warning was ignored, as had been all his previous ones.

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69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 873.
72. Ibid., p. 880-887.
73. Donald Wilhelm, op. cit., p. [illegible]

From 1937, when he made his famous "anti-isolationist" speech in Chicago, until Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt struggled with the problem of our foreign relations. He didn't want us in a war and yet he didn't want the nation to take a cowardice course. As early as 1937 "it was clear that the American situation demanded an immediate, intensified expansion of our armed forces, the fortification of our strategic commitments in Alaska, Guam, the Phillipines, and Panama, and the formation of arrangements for mutual aid with Great Britain, France, and China-- our obvious allies in an attack which was being prepared against them and against us alike."[74]

The isolationists didn't want the nation to rearm but they declared that the commitments of the United States should not be reduced; that the Monroe Doctrine should be revoked; and that Japan should be left alone. The group adhered, on the whole, to our trans-oceanic commitments. "They devoted their efforts to opposing the alliances which, as is now obvious, we needed in order to validate the commitments."[75]

In other words, isolationism was based on a failure to appreciate the long-established trans-oceanic commitments of the Nation. "Interventionism", on the otherhand, was based on the correct appreciation of those commitments and the realization that alone and without allies, the nation could not sustain its commitments against the totalitarian march.[76]

As in the well-placed words of Walter Lippmann: "The ideal of peace diverted our attention from the idea of national security.

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74. Walter Lippmann, U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic, 1943, p. 45.
75. Ibid., p. 45.
76. Ibid., p. 46.

The ideal of disarmamnet caused us to be inadequately armed." "A nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war."[77]

FDR wanted the repaeal of the Arms Embargo section of the Neutrality Acts to allow Britain and France to purchase munitions from us -- it was impossible! The Congress just wouldn't do it. He regretted ever signing the bills. He had only two things left to do: (1) strengthen Pan-American ties and (2) build up the national defenses.[78] And he began to do all in power to do just that!

On January, 1938, he asked Congress for more money for the Army and Navy. He received authorizations for the purchase of badly needed anti-aircraft material, for the purchase of two cruisers and two more battleships, and $15 million for "the construction of a number of new types of small vessels, such construction to be regarded as experimental....."[79]

The eigth Pan-American Conference meeting in 1938 in Lima, Peru, adopted resolutions proclaiming "..their unshakeable will for peace, their profound sentiment of humanity and tolerance, and their absolute adherence to the principles of international law, of the equal sovereignity of States, and of individual liberty withour religioius or raciel prejudces." These sentiments were re-inforced by a signing of reciprocal trade agreements.[80]

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77. Ibid., p. 47, p. 51.
78. Hatch, op. cit., pp. 245, 246.
79. Ibid., p. 246.
80. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 655.

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77. Ibid., p. 47, p. 51.
78. Nevins, op. cit., pp. 466, 468.
79. Ibid., p. 260.
80. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 1056.

"Hemispherical solidarity" was also developed to the North. The Roosevelt administration tried to strengthen ties between our nation and our Northern neighbor, Canada. The Senate rejected a proposal for a Great Lakes -- St. Lawrence waterway, but a sweeping reciprocal trade agreement was passed which, at least partly, solidified economic cooperation.[81]

Good Friday -- 1939: the dictatorial Fascist state of Italy swallows tiny Albania into its evil kingdom. At the same time, only several months after Munich, Hitler gobbles up the rest of Czechoslovakia.[82] Aggression was to continue!

FDR, in his annual Congressional address, said the wise -- very wise -- words: "This generation will 'nobly save or meanly lose the last besthope of earth....'".[83]

But even as the horrows of Fascism grew into a horrifying tidal wave, ready to smash down and crash on an innocent world, there were some meager signs of peace.

When Japanese Ambassador Saito died in the United States, this nation neighborly offered to ship his remains to his homeland; Japan graciously accepted. As the U.S.S. Astoria anchored in Yokohama harbor on April 17, 1939, Ambassador Grew wrote to Secretary Hull of the "almost hysterical wave of friendship for America that swept over the emotional Japanese people."[84] This was a very good sign but, perhaps, it was simply meant to deceive.

The New York World's Fair in the summer of 1939 was another peaceful event; its theme was "The World of Tomorrow". FDR spoke from his heart when he gave the opening address: "...our wagon is hitched to a star. But it is a star of friendship, a star of progress for mankind.....and, above all, a star of

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81. Ibid.
82. Hatch, op. cit., p. 246.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid., p. 247.

"Hemispherical solidarity" is also developed in one direction.

The President's nonintervention urges to strengthen ties between our nation and our Northern neighbor, Canada. The author rejected a proposal for a direct union -- St. Lawrence waterway, but a specific individual trade agreement was issued which, at least partly, modifies economic cooperation.

Good Friday -- Today the diplomatical "Pearl" above of fully sufficient stay absorbs into its evil dragon. At the same time, only several months after Munich, Hitler goaded up the map of Czechoslovakia.[83] Aggression was unconstitutional.

FDR, in his annual Congressional address, said the time -- very time -- wrote "This generation will 'hardly have to' months from the last testimony of [illegible]".[84]

Yet even as the horrors of Nazism grew into a horrifying, black wave, ready to smash down and crash on an innocent world, there were some ringing signs of hope.

This diplomatic Democrat Sell's dead in the United States. This action neighborly otherwise only [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] upon particularly responsible [illegible] the Latin American [illegible] in business affairs on "good" [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] to Secretary Hull of the United Hyperbolical [illegible] of friendly for America that [illegible] over the [illegible] Japanese people."[85]

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83. Ibid.
84. Moody, op. cit., p. [illegible]
85. Ibid., p. [illegible]

peace....".[85] But just how long would that start continue to exist before a Hitlertarian advance blasts it out of the sky?

On April, 1939, the President sent identical notes to Hitler and Mussolini; the notes suggested a conference to discuss world tension, etc., and also the note asked the dictators to give assurance that their armed forces would not invade the territory or possesions of some 30 countries the President listed.[86]

Roosevelt never got a direct answer. But Hitler answered him indirectly in a public address soon after, mocking FDR by scornfully referring to all 30 countries listed.[87]

A military alliance by Hitler and Mussolin, directed against Britain and France, was signed on May, 1939.[88] This was another danger signal.

It was evident as early as this that Poland would be next -- but no one could be sure -- that is, no one except the crazy dictator himself.

Poland held a non-aggression pact with Germany, but that was meaningless. She was being complained about by the German people. German newspapers started running atrocious stories about Germans living in Poland, etc. But these were just excuses for further aggressiom.[89] The rest of thw owrld knew it, including President Roosevelt -- but he could do nothing. The shouts of the isolationists were still too loud.

The President was positive that Hitler had decided on war when he heard about the Russ-German non-aggression-economic assistance pact. The dat was August, 1939; the news shocked

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85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., p. 248.
87. Ibid.
88. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 657.
89. Hatch, op. cit., p. 248.

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85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., p. 148.
87. Ibid.
88. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 857.
89. Rutch, op. cit., p. 148.

most of the democracies, who thought of Russia as an ally.[90] Roosevelt believed that Russia was stalling, or she was "getting even" for not being consulted at Munich, or that the pact was sincere -- he prayed against the latter.[91]

Hearing of this pact, the President said: "...we are the only democracy that is strong enough to halt the tide of tyranny." This was spoken near the Grand Banks, where he was fishing aboard the Tuscaloosa, when he heard the news.[92]

As Hitler continued to condemn the Poles, FDR was determined to repeal the Arms Embargo. ON July 14 he sent a message to Congress asking for repealment -- it did no good. In another attempt he called a meeting of isolationist leaders and discussed the problem -- still no luck.[93]

The date was September 1, 1939. The President was hastily awakened and handed a telephone. The voice on the other end was Paris Ambasaador Bill Bulitt. "Boss," he said, "the German Army has marched into Poland!"[94]

So there it was. Poland was under seige. Would this wake the American people? This was startling enough to wake any hibernation -- but would it wake the people of the United States? Roosevely sincerly hoped so. He knew the time left had reduced to a precarious minimum. But only time -- the precarious bit that was left -- would tell!

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90. Ibid., p. 250.
91. Ibid,
92. Ibid., p. 251.
93. Ibid., pp. 248, 249.
94. Ibid., p. 252.

III. We Begin To Wake Up -- WW II Begins

As Roosevelt heard the news of the Polish attack, he ordered everyone alerted. There were piles of messages from foreign statesmen and ambassadors. Roosevelt listened intently to all reports. The Germans had moved fast. The Luftwaffe was over Poland -- the Polish Air Force was non-existant. The Polish Army was being slowly trapped.[1]

Two days later, September 3, Chamberlain tells the English peoples that they are at war; France soon followed suit. When FDR heard that Churchill was called back to Lord of the Admiralty, he heaved a big sigh of relief and was thankeful that there was at least one man in England who knew what he was doing.[2]

Immediately after he heard the news, the President sent a note to Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and Poland, even though he knew it wouldn't do any good.[3]

The Polish attack and the beginning of the war gave most Americans a well-earned jolt. The people ardently hoped for a Nazi defeat, but they did nothing to aid it. They believed England and France could bear the war on their shoulders successfully, but we were not willing to give them any assistance of any kind.

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1. Alden Hatch, Franklin D. Roosevelt: An Informal Biography, 1947, p. 252-254.
2. Ibid., pp. 254, 255.
3. Ibid.

III. We begin to make up -- as it begins

As Roosevelt paints the newsprint Polish picture, he encounters everyone's favorite, more pure piece of nonsense also favored businessmen and salesmanors. Roosevelt listened sagaciously to all reports, the opinions had moved fast. The Polish are over Poland -- the Polish Air Force was non-existent, the Polish army was being slowly crushed.[1]

Two days later, September 8, Chamberlain tells the American people that they are at war; France soon followed suit. When FDR heard that Chamberlain was calling once to ward off the inevitably, he heaved a big sigh of relief and his treasured best friend was at least one ten in Britain who knew what he was doing.

Immediately after he means the news, the President took a note to Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and Poland, even though he knew it wouldn't do any good.[2]

The Polish situation was the beginning of the war gave American a well-earned job. The people unanimously hoped for a fast defeat, but they did nothing to aid it. They believed England and France could beat the war on their economies successfully, but we were not willing to give them any assistance of any kind.

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1. Alden Hatch, Franklin D. Roosevelt: An Informal Biography, 1947, p. 32-33.
2. Ibid., p. 236, 238.
3. Ibid.

Hitler's demands to Poland had been the return of the Free City of Danzig and a wide zone across the Polish Corrider. Not wanting to make the same mistake that her brave little neighbor, Czechoslovakia, did, Poland softly said no, but agreed to discuss the matter. Soon she was at war! Hitler continued his demands of the valient, struggling nation. He even offered a "guarantee" to England in return "to do as he pleases" in Poland.[4]

The British replied firmly: "His Majesty's government have obligations to Poland by which they are bound and which they intend to honour."[5] England was at last standing firm.

"When peace has been broken everywhere, the peace of all countries is in danger. I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought. Even a neutral cannot be asked to close his mond or his conscience," the President said in a message to the nation at the beginning of the war.[6]

The Nazi tyranny clobbered Poland for two weeks. Russia moved in from the East, taking what she believed (or wanted to believe) was rightfully hers. The little nation surrendered to the Nazi power at the end of the month -- they held our for one month; neither England nor France gave any aid of any kind; we didn't either.[7]

Blitzkreig was a new synonym for courage. There the last remnants of the Polish Army had grouped themselves around

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4. Samuel Elliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, "The Second World War", The Grwoth of the American Republic, 1947, p. 658
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

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4. General Sikorski written and heavy strong commentary, "The Broken Sword", The Memoir of the Resistance Fighter, 1947, p. 100.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

Warsaw in a gallant but hopeless last stand. They were soon overpowered.[8]

After the Polish surrender, the situation in Europe became quiet -- it was very uncanny. Many Americans laughed the whole thing off as "The Phony War", but Roosevelt wasn't fooled. Shortly after the war, he had declared a Limited National Emergency, which enabled him to temorarily increase the strength of the services. A "Neutrality Patrol" from Maine to Panama was put into operation to prevent German submarines from taking refuge in American waters.[9]

On October 11, 1939, the Presdient did his country an invaluable service by incorporating a necleur research program, the result of which was to end the war. He met with Alexander Sachs, a friend of Albert Einsteins, who told the President about the latest developments in atomic energy with "U235". When FDR heard of the explosive power of this element, he immediately set up a committeetto coordinate necleur research under the chaimanship of President James B. Conant of Harvard.[10]

In November of that year, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to modify the Neutrality Acts so that the Allies could be shipped war goods on a cash-and-carry basis. On January, 1940 he received more money for national defense. The Army and Navy were put on as efficient a basis as the law and Congress allowed.[11]

Britain and France immediate;y took advantage of the Neutrality Act modification by placing through huge orders

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8. Hatch, op. cit. p. 255.
9. Ibid., p. 256.
10. Ibid., pp. 256, 257.
11. Ibid., p. 256.

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8. Davis, op. cit. p. 155.
9. Ibid., p. 270.
10. Ibid., pp. 256, 257.
11. Ibid., p. 286.

of munitions and supplies, but it wuld take time to get American industry rolling ona war munitions basis and it would take a great deal of time before it could egual German production.[12]

Most everything had been quiet in Europe for some time. FDR sent Sumner Welles on a tour of Europe's capitals to study the European situation. Welles' report said that there would be a great German offensive in the spring, one which the Allies were in no condition to meet. Many Frenchmen were singing "tomorrow we die!" and some even welcomed Hitler's rumored arrival. The President knew Welles had a tendency to understatemnent; he believed the Allies' cause was hopeless unless we gave them unrestricted aid.[13]

Meanwhile Russia demanded concessions from Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, which came immediately, and from Finland, which was refused. Russia, claiming she was trying to build up defenses against Germany, sent her military into Finland and, with little or no aid, Finland yielded after four months. The Russ gave her a generous peace. Several months later Russia took over three southern Baltic States and a part of Rumania.[14]

1940 was a presidential election year. After hearing Welles' report, FDR decided to run for a third term. He knew there was no popular and/or qualified Democrat to lead the nation throught the coming crisis and, possibly, war; he certainly didn't want an isolationist-minded Republican heading the country.

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12. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 662.
13. Hatch, op. cit., p. 258.
14. Morison and Commager, op. cit., pp. 258, 259.

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12. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 800.
13. Hatch, op. cit., p. 500.
14. Morison and Commager, op. cit., pp. 458, 800.

The President realized that the third tern tradition would be a terrific barrier. "For the tradition itself, Franklin cared nothing -- he liked to smash traditions in a good cause." [15]

April 8, 1940 -- the Nazi terror storms in and through Denmark and Norway. "They gave no warning; it was naked conquest." [16]

May 9, 1940 -- Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg are mauled by the Nazi claw. Their armies were being ripped apart. The mobile reserve of the French Army and the British Expeditionary Force moved to Belgium's defense. [17]

Americans now fully realized the greatness of the German power, which we had underestimated in the past. It took the falling of Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, Holland, Luxembourg, and Belgium; the occupation of France; and the bombing of England, to wake the nation up. [18]

Winston Churchill was called in to the office of Prime Minister as Neville Chamberlain finally resigned. England now had a leader in her ultimate crisis. [19] He was an inspiration and a giver of courage. "In its hour of mortal peril England had found its soul." [20]

May 14 -- the Germnans crash through the weak French defense at Sedan. FDR received messages saying nothing could stop them from going to Paris now. [21] The French Ninth Army was trapped

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15. Hatch, op. cit., p. 258, 259.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 662.
19. Hatch, op. cit., p. 259.
20. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 660.
21. Hatch, op. cit., p. 260.

The Frenchman realized that the Nazis were traditional foes in a terrible battle. "For the Nazis the struggle against Prussian culture, nothing -- he liked to say -- traditions in a good cause."[15]

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15. Hutton, op. cit., p. 228, 229.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 88.
19. Hutton, op. cit., p. 230.
20. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 880.
21. Hutton, op. cit., p. 230.

and the Germnas were working on a plan to trap the British. The French army was broken. The Germans were supreme.[22]

The news of the breakthrough at Sedan hit most Americans pretty hard. They felt they had lost their first line of defense -- that the nation was in danger. Just two days after the German breakthrough had showed a great and tremendous change in the American people. They were beginning to wake up! They cheered their leader and waited for him to lead the way.[23]

In response to this national change, Roosevelt said: "Let us measure our strength without self-delusion." He told about the horrors of war and how important national defense was. He called for a production schedule of 50,000 planes per years, a number far in excess of any German boast. The people cheered -- Republicans included. He demanded $1,182,000,000 additional funds for the Army and Navy. "Defense cannot be static.....Defense must be dynamic and flexible." When the talk was over, Representative Joe Martin, Pepublican Leader of the House, said simply: "We're for the program."[24]

Instead of going to Paris, the Germans made some tactical maneuvers in which they trapped the best French divisions and the whole British Army. It looked like this was the end! Then came Dunkirk! The British Army retreated farther and farther, until only the ocean was left to retreat on. Then a plea was

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22. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 659.
23. Hatch, op. cit., p. 261.
24. Ibid.

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23. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 666.
24. Rosen, op. cit., p. 401.
25. Ibid.

was sent to the mother country for all sailing craft to come to the immediate rescue, The people obliged; all the boats in the Isles left for Dunkirk. It was these civilian craft that took over 90 percent of the British manpower off the beach and safely home. The British Army was saved. But all artillery, guns, supplies, etc., were left behind. The R.A.F. provided cover for the rescue: a heavy fog aided very well, also.[25]

After the Dunkirk escape, Americans finally began to believe that it was possible for Britain herself to fall. We had always been content woth a Pacific Navy, for we knew we could always rely on the British Atlantic fleet. But the American began, finally, to think: what if the British Navy were destroyed? what if it fell in German hands? what if we were attacked at the same time on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts?[26]

The American people now wanted sincerly to rearm -- it was about time! Congress was "prodded" bu FDR to vote huge sums of money for a two-ocean Navy, tens of thousands of planes, and the equiping of a huge army. Within a year after the Low Countries were invaded, Congress voted 37 billion dollars to rearm and aid for the Allies. But all things take time! We depended on Britain to hold out until 1945, when our two-ocean Navy would be ready.[27] Could she hold out that long? Was it possible? Roosevelt thought not but hoped the opposite.

Lord Lothiam, the British Ambassador, begged FDR for help. He said that if Germany could cross the Channel, a

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25. Ibid., p. 262.
26. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 662.
27. Ibid.

was sent to the mother country for all nothing could be done to the immediate rescue, the people obliged all the bonds in the land left for America. It was been civilian traffic that took over 90 percent of the British shipping all the beaches safely home. The British army was saved. But all artillery, guns, munitions, etc., were left behind. The Russian provisions for the reserve: a navy for about very small amount.

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26. Ibid., p. 460.
27. Education and Conquest, op. cit., p. 80.
27. Ibid.

single panzer (tank) division could conquer England. FDR consulted his advisors. There were huge stocks of world war I rifles and ammunition and about 1000 old 75's (75 millimeter cannons). They could be declared surplus and sold to Britain and France very cheaply. But his advisors were against the idea. They knew France was going and believed, perhaps, England would soon fall; they thought that if this happened, even those few war materials would be lost. The President wanted to ship them the guns, but he didn't want to scoff his advisors -- he waited.[28]

Another question in people's minds was what would happen to the French fleet if the Germans were vistorious. The new French Premier, Paul Reynaud, said France would never surrender her fleet. The French Navy's Commander-in-Chief said he'd sink the vessels before allowing the Nazis to have them.[29] This news eased the American people somewhat.

One of the greatest speeches in world history, probably second only to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and FDR's War Message to the Nation, was given by Winston Churchill, now Prime Minister of England, in regards to the Dunkirk crisis. The President listened in his study: the date was June 4, 1940.[30]

> "We shall prove ourselves once again able to defend our island home, to ride out the storm of war, and to outlive the menace of tyranny, if necessary for years, if necessary alone....Even though

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28. Hatch, op. cit., p. 262.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., pp. 262, 263.

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One of the greatest speeches in world history, probably second only to Lincoln's Gettysburg address and FDR's 1941 message to the Nation, was given by Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of England, in response to the London crisis. The President listened to his speech; the date was June 4, 1940.

> We shall prove ourselves worthy of this hour. We shall defend our island home, whatever the price may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not believe, this island or a great part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, sets forth to the rescue and liberation of the old.[30]

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28. Burns, op. cit., p. 404.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., pp. 405, 406.

> many old and famous States have fallen or may fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag or fail, we shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island or a large portion of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the new world, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and liberation of the old." 31

"...until...the new world.....steps forth to the rescue and liberation of the old." This was the last of Mr. Churchill's great speech. Would America answer this call, this plea?

After hearing Churchill's great words, Roosevelt said: "I guess they rate those guns." [32]

As the Germans moved south, they cut the French Army to pieces. On June 10, Mussolini entered the war on Germany's side to get his vulture's share of the French remains. [33]

As the President heard this, he became extremely angry. He was to speak at the University of Virginia that day in

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31. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 661.
32. Hatch, op. cit., pp. 262, 263.
33. Ibid., pp. 263, 264.

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31. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 844.
32. Morgan, op. cit., p. 188.
33. Ibid., pp. 188, 189.

Charlottsville; he rewrote his prepared speech and gave a hot talk condemning Mussolini. Alden Hatch can say it so well that I will use his condensation and interpretation of FDR's great words:

"At Charlottsville, Roosevelt declared that American institutions were in peril in a world-wide arena; and that we must not become 'a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force.' That, he said, was to him and to the overwhelming majority of Americans a nightmare, 'the helpless nightmare of a people without freedom -- the nightmare of a people lodged in prison, handcuffed, hungry, fed through the bars from day to day by the contempuous unpitying masters of other continents.'

"He then described the negotiations that he had personally conducted with Mussolini to induce Italy to remain at peace; and their failure. Then he spoke the bitter words that expressed his horror of the deed:

"'On this tenth day of June, 1940, the hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor.'

"Now, at last, Roosvelt voiced the intention that had been forming in his mind since that day on the Grand Banks: '...we will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation....'

"He ended with the declaration of his supreme faith:

"'And the love of freedom is still fierce and steady in the nation today.'" [34]

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34. Ibid., p. 264.

Characteristically, he relates his personal mission and purpose to this concerning statement, which further can only be so that I will see the connection and interrelationship of King's great sermon:

"At Gheriolanyville, Food was lacking and the political institutions were in peril in a world-wide energy crisis so much so become in long lasting in a world controlled by the philosophy of force." That, he said, was to him as to the overwhelming majority of Americans a nightmare. "The nightmare nightmare of a people without freedom -- the nightmare of a people living in prison, beneficiaries hungry, fed through the bureaucracy, to day by the condescending unfeeling wishes of those sensitive."

"He then described his relations that he had personally conducted with Kissinger to induce Israel to remain in Israel; and their failures. Then he spoke the strong words expressed the sorrow of the death:

"On this tragic day of June, 1968, the long arm reached and cancer has struck in into the heart of the nation."

"Now, at last, Kennedy voiced the intention that he had been forming in his mind since the day on the Lincoln Bridge:

"...we will address ourselves to the concerns of those the underprivileged resources of this nation...."

"He ended with the conclusion of his expressed faith:

"And the hope of freedom in still flicker and shine in the nation today."[56]

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56. Ibid., p. 248.

On June 14 the Germans terrorized their way into Paris: the following day the French capital fell. Reynaud of France appealed to the President for "clouds of planes" -- FDR could do nothing and France had no money.[35] On the 16th, Reynaud resigned and old Marshal Henri Petain took his place; Petain then surrendered Occupied France to the Germans. The French government, after gypsying around all over the country, took up its headquarters at Vichy.[36]

Now England stood alone!

On the same day as the French surrender. Japanese war-mongers were eying the Indies very greedily: Pearl Harbor was alerted and Admiral J. O. Richardson was sent to sea with the Fleet. In Washington the President asked Congress for over four billion dollars for a two-ocean Navy and an Amy of 1,200,000,000 men. Later he agreed with Bill Bullitt, our Fremch ambassador, that we shoud recognize the Vichygovernment.[37]

In June, 1940, the Republican National Convention "nominated the greatest Republican of his time," Wendell L. Wilkie.[38]

Wilkie "beat-out" the Republican hopefuls: Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, Senator Arthur Vandenburg of Michigan, and District Attorney Thomas Dewey of New York.[39]

The President knew Wilkie well; they were on opposite sides of the fence on the T.V.A. question. FDR dislike him,

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35. Ibid., p. 266.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., pp. 267, 268.
38. Ibid., p. 268.
39. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 664, 665.

but had a great deal of respect for him.[40]

At the Democratic National Convention, the President was opposed by those who did not favor breaking the third term tradition; however, FDR was nominated on the first ballot. As a friend told him: "You're the only Democrat who can be elected in 1940." FDR got Henry Wallace nominated for vice-president -- whom he felt could take over the presedential duties if necessary.[41]

The President wanted and accepted the nomination because he felt a tremendous responsibility to the nation and the people. He was tired -- terribly tired -- even though he didn't show it; the campaign was his only relaxation in the deepening stress. He had led the nation since the beginning of the Nazi aggressions. He knew much about Nazi treaties and had remarkably prophezied Nazi plans in the past; he also had his hunches on their plans for the future. He felt he should continue leading the nation until the entire crisis was over with. It can be doubtlessly said, he was the <u>only</u> person in the nation who could successfully lead the nation through the coming crisis and, possibly, war!

After being nominated, the President said: "...in the face of danger which confronts our time, no individual retains or can hope to retain the rights of personal choice which free men enjoy in times of peace. He has a first obligation....to serve his country in whatever capacity his country finds him useful."[42]

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40. Hatch, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 268.
41. Ibid.
42. Morison and Commager, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 661.

but was a great deal of support for him.[40]

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40. Hatch, op. cit., p. 408.
41. Ibid.
42. Davidson and Lawrence, op. cit., p. 304.

As the election returns came in, the popular vote was 22 million for Wilkie, 27 million for Roosevelt. It was very close! The electoral vote, on the otherhand, was 449-82 -- in favor of FDR. Wilkie had carried ten states; Roosevelt, 38. The third term tradition had been shattered. And the nation continued to have her great leader![43]

The President made a non-political move before the election -- July, 1940. Seeing that the English political parties had become united for that nation's common defense, he believed the same should be true in the U.S. In accordance with this belief, he asked two well known Republicans to accept the positions of Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy. For the Navy he choose Colonel Frank A. Knox, and Henry L. Stimson became Secreatary of War.[44]

At about this time, the President wanted to give all possible aid to Britain. She needed ships desperately. Most of the ships that were involved at Dunkirk were being repaied or were in need of repair. He also wanted to get more off shore island bases so that we would be ready to intercept any enemy attack -- just in case.[45]

Both of these wants were incorporated into the President's measure, called "The Destroyer Deal". He would trade 50 old, over-age destroyers for a 99 year lease on the rights to bases in British possesions from Newfoundland to British Guiana.

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43. Ibid., p. 667.
44. Hatch, op. cit., p. 270.
45. Ibid., pp. 270, 271.

At the election results came in, the popular vote was 22 million for Willkie, 27 million for Roosevelt. It was very close: the electoral vote, on the contrary, was 449-82 in favor of FDR. Willkie had carried ten states; Roosevelt, 38. The slim margin of victory has been interpreted as the nation's conclusion to have her great leader.[43]

The President made a non-political move before the election — July, 1940. During that the regular political problem had become muddled for the Republicans during wartime, he believed the time should be true in the U.S. In accordance with this belief, he asked two best known Republicans to accept the positions of Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy. For the Navy he chose Colonel Frank A. Knox, and Henry L. Stimson became Secretary of War.[44]

As events this year, the President further to [illegible] possible and to Britain. She needed quite cooperation. Hope of the Allies that were involved in Europe were being repeated or more in need of repairs. He also wanted to get more off shore bases so that it would be ready to encourage any enemy attack — just in case.[45]

Both of these moves were incorporated into the President's message, called "The Destroyer Deal". In return for 50 over-age destroyers for a 99 year lease on the strategic bases in British possessions from Newfoundland to British Guiana.

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43. Ibid., p. 867.
44. Morris, op. cit., p. 474.
45. Ibid., p. 474, 475.

But a "deal" such as this required great political and diplomatic "maneuvering". The isolationist were constantly giving anti-foreign-aid speeches all over the nation. The President knew that it would take a "semi-eternity" to get the deal through Congress. The nation was just getting over its scare and isolationist sentiment was already slowly multiplying. FDR realized that if England were to be saved, she must have help fast! It was Cordell Hull and Frank Knox who fashioned the final plans.[46]

The "deal" was announced on September 3, 1940, but had already been enacted and the ships were on their way.[47]

It was "an epochal and far-reaching act of preparation for continental defense in the face of grace danger," said the President in defense of the measure, adding, "the most important actin in the reinforcement of our national defense that has been taken since the Louisian Purchase."[48]

The Destroyer Deal was not well approved. It was argued that it was unconstitutional and dictatorial -- agreed, it was illegal -- but without it England din't have much of a chance to exist; and if we were to keep out of the war, <u>England must exist</u>!

Congress had authorized the President to call out the National Guard and a peacetime draft was enacted, "Scouts" were sent to the European scene. One of the scouts reported: "The British have a 50-50 chance." In September, the Germans began their aerial attack. The brave, courageous, and meager R.A.F. turned

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46. Ibid., p. 271.
47. Ibid.
48. Morison and Commager, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 663.

them back; the Germans resorted to night bombing. "The first round of the Battle of Britain was won."[49]

As Japan began "going wild" in the Pacific, Ambassador Grew worte advising firmness. Immediately, the President cut-off all scrap iron shipments to the "Pacific Nazi".[50]

In October, Admiral Richardson, Commander-in-Chief, United States Fleet (CINCUS) perturbed of Pearl Harbor, "conferized" with the President. As they began to speak, the Admiral said: "I think it's foolish to keep the Fleet at Pearl Harbor;" he continued, "It is in danger of a sudden Jap attack. I want to withdraw it to the Pacific Coast to refit."[51]

The President said he believed that the presence of a fleet in Pacific waters was having a restraining effect on Japanese aggression. Richardson disagreed. "I can be convinced that the Fleet ought to be brought back to the West Coast," the President said, "if you can give me a good statement that will con ince the American people and the Japanese Government that in doing so we are not stepping backward."[52]

"Are we going to war?" asked Richardson.

The President answered: "Not now, even if the Japs attack Thailand, the Kra Penninsula, or the Dutch East Indies. But they can't always avoid making mistakes, and if they start this thing and them make a mistake that arouses American public opinion, we will go to war."[53]

Richardson replied, "In that case you better get ready."[54]

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49. Hatch, op. cit., p. 272.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., p. 273.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., p. 274.

The President was worried. Ambassador Grew had written advising against any appeasement of any kind, or anything that even resembled appeasement, towards Japan. But if the Fleet were in danger....what would he do? He sent for the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Stark. In answer to Roosevelt's question, Stark answered: "If the Japs can get as far as Hawaii, they can go all the way," he continued, "it is my belief that the Fleet is safer at Pearl Harbor." [55]

The President felt better. As Stark left, he repeated: "It's safe at Pearl Harbor." [56]

The event that probably made the President really feel good was when the ONI (Office of Naval Intelligence) reported they had cracked the Japanese codes! Not only that, but they had also duplicated the Jap code machine, which enabled them to easily make the necessary changes whenever the Japanese code itself was changed. This was a great achievement for we would now be warned of any possible attack; Grew had written that if the Japanese decided on war with us, it was rumored that Pearl Harbor would be attacked. If the Japanese didn't find out about "Magic", as the system was called, at least we would have warning. [57]

Would that warning be necessary...would they attack? If so, could we retaliate?

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55. Ibid., p. 275.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.

IV. America's Fully Awakened:

Lend Lease -- Atlantic Conference

England was being mercilessly clobbered. The time was soon arriving when she would not be able to purchase war munitions from us but would desperately need them. Roosevelt saw that if England fell, the rest of the world would probably fall with her. He knew he must do something.

At one of His weekly press conferences on December 17, 1940, he expressed the beginning of Lend-Lease:

> "Suppose my neighbor's house catches fire, and I have a length of garden hose four or five hundred feet away. If he can take my garden hose and connect it up eith his hydrant, I may help him to put out the fire.
>
> "Now what do I do? I don't say to him before that operation, 'Neighbor, my garden hose cost me $15; you have to pay me $15 for it.'
>
> "What is the transaction that goes on? I don't want $15 -- I want my garden hose back after the fire is over....." 1

On December 29, he intensified the new idea in his "Fireside Chat": "There is danger ahead -- danger against which we must prepare. But we cannot escape danger by crawling into bed and pulling the

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1. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Lend-Lease: Weapon for Victory, 1944, pp. 1-4.

covers over our heads.....If Britain should go down, all of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun, a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military. We must produce arms and ships with every energy and resource we can command.....we must be the great arsenal of Democracy." [2]

This talk described the world as the Nazis wanted it. The President desribed the future world -- a world free of terror and aggression -- when he gave his "Four Freedom's Speech" -- his annual address to Congress. In the address he pictured the future world -- a world founded:

> "...on four essential human freedoms:
> "The first is freedom of speech and expression -- everywhere in the world.
> "The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- everywhere in the world.
> "The third is freedom from want -- everywhere in the world.
> "The fourth is freedon from fear -- everywhere in the world." (3)

This speech dramatized the great foresight of the great President, and also his leadership.

England needed two things: material and morale. She could not buy them and the isolationists and Congress would not allow gifts. The President began to devise a plan which came to be tagged "Lend-Lease". We would not lend money or give supplies -- but we would loan the supplies themselves. Those used against

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2. Winston S. Churchill, "The Gathering Storm, from set The Second World War, 1948, p. 573.
3. Alden Hatch, Franklin D. Roosevelt: An Informal Biography, 1947, p. 276.

severe over our heads....If Britain should go down, all of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun, a gun loaded with explosive bullets, concerned as well with military, naval pressure and subversion with every energy and resource we can command....We must be the great arsenal of democracy."[8]

This talk described the world as Roosevelt saw it. The President described the future world -- a world free of terror and aggression -- when he gave his "Four Freedom's Speech" -- his annual address to congress. In the address he pictured the future world -- a world founded:

> "...on four essential human freedoms:
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England needed two things, material and morale. She could not buy them, nor the facilities and dangerous work to obtain them. The President began to devise a plan which was to be called "cash-and-carry" so Britain can send money overseas supplies -- but not to risk loss she's polled themselves. These were another

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8. Samuel S. Rosenman, "The Democratic Nomination and The Second Inaugural", 1944, p. 372.
9. Alden Hatch, Franklin D. Roosevelt: An Informal Portrait, 1947, p. 270.

the aggressors would be though of as being used in our service -- those not used would be returned to us after the war.[4]

Four days after his four freedom's speech, the President submitted the bill to Congress. It authorized the President to "sell. transfer, exchange, lease. lend" any defense articles to he government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of our own nation. The bill also made American ports, docks, and shipyards available to the Allies for epair and reconditioning. The proposal created a heated debate but it was passed by substantial majorities in both houses and became law on March 11. This act, in effect, really made the United States "the great arsenal of Democracy".[5]

The bill made 18 billion dollars in arms, food, and services available to the "fighting democracies". It also geared U.S. production to war needs about a year earlier than would have otherwise been possible. It resulted in the official abandoning of neutrality.[6]

We were much better prepared to fight a war after Pearl Harbor than we would have been withour Lend-Lease.[7]

During the proposal of lend-lease and its debate, Roosevelt sent Harry Hopkins to England -- early in January, to talk with Winston Churchill. Roosevelt had great faith in Hopkins and sort of regarded him as a "twin-brother".

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4. Ibid., p. 277.
5. Samuel Elliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, "The Second World War", The Growth of the American Republic, 1947, pp. 667, 668.
6. Ibid., p. 668.
7. Stettinius, op. cit., pp. 4, 5.

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The bill made $8 billion dollars in arms, food, and services available to the "fighting democracies". It also provided U.S. production to our needs about a year earlier than could have otherwise been possible. It resulted in the official abandonment of neutrality.[6]

We were much better prepared to fight by our other ports earlier than we would have been without Lend-Lease.[7]

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4. Ibid., p. 277.
5. Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, "The American Republic", The Growth of the American Republic, 1947, pp. [illegible]
6. Ibid., p. 666.
7. Stettinius, op. cit., pp. 4, 5.

The English people liked Hopkins -- he was sympathetic towards them and understood their problems.[8]

Meanwhile, Wendell Wilkie asked the President's permission to go to England to study conditions. So Roosevelt sent him as one of his "representatives"; the British felt that the U.S. was politically dis-united. So to send a Republican leader, England's greatest opposition in the U.S., would convince the British that the U.S. was united. Wilkie, knowing the party wouldn't like it, agreed to go anyway![9]

Reaching England, Wilkie found that Churchill was slightly distrustful of Roosevelt. Churchill was a conservative; Roosevelt, a liberal. But Wilkie thoroughly convinced the Prime Minister of Roosevelt's great actions and ideas that Churchill changed his opinion about the American President.[10]

"He's the second greatest guy I've ever met," Hopkins said about Churchill on his return home. It was then that Roosevelt and Hopkins thought about a meeting of the two great leaders.[11]

Germany's recent victims had been Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, and Jugoslavia. All Europe was now in Nazi hands except Russia.[12]

Saturday, June 21, 1941 -- Roosevelt was awakened with th news tht Germany had attacked Russia! Our military experts prophesized Russia's fall in about a month. Roosevelt sent Hopkins to determine whether or not lend-lease should be

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8. Hatch, op. cit.
9. Ibid.
10, Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.

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Germany's recent victories had been dangerous, Britain's Russia, Greece, and Yugoslavia. All Europe was in Hitler's hands except Russia.[13]

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9. Hopkins, op. cit.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

enacted to her. On his way, Hopkins topped to see Churchill. They were talking about some sort of meeting.[13]

To get caught up with the little events up to this time; a few eeks after lend-lease passed, the U.S. seized all Axis shipping in American ports; in April we took Greenland under our protection and announced that the American Navy would patrol sea lanes in the defense zones; in May 50 oil tankers were transferred to Britain; the Robin Moor, an American freighter, was sunk by the Germans and the President declared an Unlimited National Emergency; in June all Axis consulates were closed; and on June 24, the President announced that lend-lease would be extended to our new ally -- Russia.[14]

Hitler expected to confuse the democracies in his march to Russia by posing "as a leader in a crusade against Communism." He was might disappointed, for the democracies were NOT confused. "Churchill told his people that whoever marched with Hitler was afoe, whoever fought him an ally." As can be already seen, FDR took the same position.[15]

England's morale was now beginning to lift. She found an ally in Russia, a nation that had resources in men and courage. And too, with the lend-lease bill and the U.S. coming closer and closer to actual involvement in the war, the New world was finally stepping forth "to the rescue and liberation of the old."[16]

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13. Ibid. p. 281.
14. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 669, 270.
15. Ibid.

anxious to keep out of his way, hoping happily to see Churchill. They were talking about some sort of meeting.[13]

To get caught up with the little events up to this point, a few weeks after lend-lease passed, the U.S. secretariat began shipping American ports in April as work Britainers under our protection and announced that the American Navy would patrol sea lanes by the defense zones; in May 50 warships were transferred to British; the "Atlantic Ocean," an American "Maginot," was sunk by the Germans and the President declared a national emergency; in June all axis consulates were closed; and on June 24, the President announced that lend-lease would be extended to Russia.[14]

Hitler expected to confuse the democracies in this manner to Russia by posing "as a leader in a crusade against communism." He was slightly disappointed, for the democracies were not confused. "Churchill told his people that whoever marches with Hitler was a foe, whoever fought against him was an ally." As can be already seen, FDR took the same position.[15]

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13. Ibid., p. 221.
14. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 884, 886.
15. Ibid.

After a German attack on the U.S. destriyer Greer, the President ordered the Navy to "shoot on sight!" The public enthusiastically approved.[16]

When the President left New London on Auguat 3 for a fishing trip no one thought much about it -- but it was odd.[17]

The President was aboard the USS Augusta in a Newfoundland harbor. As the President waited, someone shouted "Ship ahoy!" Roosevelt looked through a pair of binoculars and could see the HMS Prince of Wales coming toward him -- and, on the bridge of the great ship, he could make out the bulky figure of Sir Winston Churchill; alongside him was Hopkins.[18]

Ad Churchill stepped aboard the Augusta he said, with an outstretched hand, "At long last, Mr. President!"[19]

Roosevelt replied: "Glad to have you aboard, Mr. Churchill." But formalities were soon to be forgeotten.[20]

As they stood their with their hands joined, it was a s if the nations of Great Britain and the United States were shaking hands; the work began at once.[21]

They discussed the Japanese situation in the Pacific. The necleur research efforts of both nations were coordinated. But the world remembers this historic meet, not for the above, but for the great docuement that they wrote together on the last day of this meeting -- August 12.[22]

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16. Hatch, op. cit., p. 289.
17. Ibid., p. 281.
18. Ibid., p. 283.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p. 284.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., pp. 285, 286.

After a dozen strokes on the U.S. warship *Quincy*, the President ordered the Navy to "shoot on sight." The public authoritatively improved.[16]

When the President left Yalta on August 9 for a fishing trip no one thought much about it -- but it was over.[17]

The President was aboard the USS *Augusta* in a Mediterranean harbor. As the President waited, someone shouted "Ship ahoy!" Roosevelt looked around a pair of binoculars and could see the *HMS Prince of Wales* coming toward him -- and, on the bridge of the great ship, he could make out the ruddy figure of Sir Winston Churchill alongside him in the dingy.[18]

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16. Hatch, op. cit., p. 202.
17. Ibid., p. 204.
18. Ibid., p. 205.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p. 224.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., pp. 209, 224.

It was in this docuement -- the free world's Magna Carta, that they wrote piece by piece, word by word, phrase by phrase -- sometimes aguing, sometimes agreeing. In this great manuscript the policies and ideas of two great men and their respective nations were meshed into one.[23]

When the historic docuement was completed they went their separate ways. Churchill to London, where he was desparately needed; Roosevelt to Washington, where he was very much in need, also.[24]

After their hand clasp, watching each other get farther and farther away, the two great leaders felt relived -- they now had someone with which to share their burdens -- someone who could advise wisely -- someone who knows. As the two men sped away, they both realized it was the parting of a growing relationship -- one that would save the free world -- one united against Nazi aggression. A great, deep friendship, only to be broken by death!

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23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.

V. December 7, 1941

Peace negotiations had been going on since April; Hull had presented his ten-point program; and Roosevelt had even sent a personal appeal to the Japanese government -- but it was useless. The peace talks were futile.[1]

"Magic" had just finished decoding the Japanese answer to Hull's ten-point program -- it looked bad!

> "Obviously it is the intention of the American Government to conspire with Great Britain and other countries to obstruct Japan's efforts toward the establishment of peace throught the creation of a new order in East Asia....
>
> "The Japanese Government regrets to have to notify hereby the American Government that in view of the attitude of the American Government it cannot but consider that it is impossible to reach an agreement though further negotiations."[2]

"It looks like the break," Hopkins said. Roosevelt agreed.

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1. Alden Hatch, Franklin D. Roosevelt: An Informal Biography, 1947, pp. 288-290.
2. Ibid., p. 290.

But he thought that his recent personal appeal to the Japanese Government might change things.

Both the War and Navy Departments expected the Japanese to strike southward -- if they did strike; their ship and troop movements pointed in that direction. Malaya or the Indies seemed possible targets....perhaps the Phillipines. [3]

The State Department sent a message to Roosevelt saying that the Japanese enyoys had asked for a two o'clock appointment. [4]

It was 1:46 -- the President ate lunch. At 1:47 the telephone rang. Roosevelt answered. "No," said the President. "No!" he repeated. "NO!" he said a third time! Roosevelt was pale -- shocked. 5

"A Dream Come True," -- for the Japanese, anyway. Ten months of careful, top-secret, synchronized planning and training all rained down through the break in the clouds over our Pacific fortress. It was early Sunday morning -- 7:55 Pacific time, to be exact. The date was December 7, 1941. [6]

353 Japanese aircraft were spitting flaming terror and destruction at the American defenses. [7]

"Hell! -- I didn't even know they were sore at us!" commented a puzzled American sailor. [8]

The situation was the same all over the Islands.

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3. Ibid., p. 291.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Walter Lord, Day of Infamy, 1957, pp: parts taken from whole book.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 65.

But he thought that his recent personal appeal to the Japanese Government might change things.

Both the Army and Navy Departments expected the Japanese to strike somewhere -- if they did attack, their ship and troop movements pointed to that conclusion. Only an Imperial message possible targets, perhaps the Philippines.[3]

The State Department sent a message to Roosevelt saying that the Japanese envoys had asked for a one o'clock appointment.[4]

It was 1:20 -- the President was lunch. At 1:47 the telephone rang. Roosevelt answered. "No," said the President. "No!" he repeated. "No!" he said a third time! Roosevelt was pale -- shocked.[5]

"A bomb from Tokyo," -- for the Japanese, simply the meaning of words, pre-coded, arrangements planning and ordering all notes destroyed, passed by radio across over our Pacific fortress. It was early Sunday morning -- 7:55 Pacific time, to be exact. The date was December 7, 1941.[6]

350 Japanese aircraft were spitting flaming horror and destruction at the American defenses.[7]

"Hell -- I didn't even know they were sore at us!" commented a wounded American sailor.[8]

The attention was the same all over the Islands.

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3. Ibid., p. 401.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Walter Lord, Day of Infamy, 1957, pp. passim based from .Lord.
7. Ibid.
8. Lord, p. 66.

It was an Army pratice run -- it was a huge celebration -- it as a Navy pratice -- an explosion in one of the ships -- an "accidentel" plane crash -- crazy Army and Navy pilots -- the varied ideas ran on endlessly, all far from the truth.[9]

By the time it was realized it was a full scale Japanese surprise attack, the harm had been done.[10]

It began at 7:55 a.m. and ended at about 10 a.m. Just a little over two hours. Two hours that ended in the loss of 2403 lives, the loss of 18 great ships, the loss of 188 planes, plus all the other uncalculated civilian as well as military losses.[11]

A terrible shattering blow to the United States of America. Her Pacific aerial armada was destroyed, her great Pacific fleet was practically useless, her great Hawaiian Islands were in ruins.[12]

The attack was perfect -- it was excellent -- a great and huge success; the ten months had been worth it.

But for the United States, the attack was disastrous; the defeat terrible -- the blow to our morale, shattering.

After the three initial stages had been passed -- shock, fear, and anger[13] -- the American people were ready. The renaissance of the American people had been completed!

At 12:29 p.m. in Washington, D.C., the following day,

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9. Ibid., exverpts of entire book or ideas taken from said book.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

It was an Army position too -- it was a huge celebration --

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an "accidental" plane crash -- nearly every Navy plane --

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A terrible shattering blow to the United States of America.

Her Pacific world dreams are destroyed, her great Pacific

fleet was practically useless, her great Hawaiian Islands are

in ruins.[12]

The attack was repulsed -- it was cancelled -- a great

and magnificent day the 200 months has been worth [illegible]

But for the United States, the nation was disarmed,

the greatest terrible -- the bloody [illegible] morning, [illegible].

After the three initial swipes has been produced -- weak,

[illegible], and super [illegible] the American people were ready. The [illegible]

of the American people had been completed!

As Hitler [illegible] in Washington, D.C., the following day,

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a. Ibid., excerpts of entire book is taken from said book.
b. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, walked into Congress. There was an applause, an introduction, then silence as the President began:

"Yesterday, December 7, 1941 -- a date that will live in infamy -- the United States of America was attacked by the naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

"The United States was a peace with that nation.....

"The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives had been lost.

"Yesterday the Japanese Government launched an attack against Malaya.

"Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

"Last night Japanese forces attacked the Phillipine Islands.

"Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

"This morning the Japanese attacked Midway....

"Always will we remember the character of the attack against us.

"No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

"I believe that I interpt the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost, but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

"Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that out people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

"With confidence in our armed foces -- with the unbounded determination of our people -- we will gain the inevitable triumph -- so help us God.

"I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack on Sunday, December Seventh, a state of war has existed between the United State s and the Japanese Empire." (14)

It had been only six minutes since the President had begun to speak. He left the Chamber and stood on the portico of the Capitol. His standing there was an inspiration to the people -- he was courage -- he was their valient leader![15]

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14. Hatch, op. cit., p. 295.
15. Ibid., p. 296.

the President of the United States, formally and officially, walked into Congress, where, to applause, an impromptu throng gathered to hear the President speak:

"Yesterday, December 7, 1941 -- a date that will live in infamy -- the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

"The United States was at peace with that nation and, being at peace with all other nations, was not expecting any attack or any form of war. The Japanese government has deliberately chosen December 7th for a surprise attack upon the American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost.

"Yesterday the Japanese government launched an attack against Malaya.

"Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

"Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

"Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

"This morning the Japanese attacked Midway.

"Always will we remember the character of the attack against us.

"No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

"I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we -- not only will we prosecute to a successful conclusion the war thus forced upon us by the Japanese, but also that we will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

"Hostilities exist. There is no question as to the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

"With confidence in our armed forces -- with the unbounded determination of our people -- we will gain the inevitable triumph -- so help us God."

In all of the Congress' records that since the Declaration of Independence, December Seventh is the date that will live in infamy, the United States and the "Japanese Empire" (14)

It has been only six minutes since the President had begun to speak. Half of the Congress and some of the judges of the Supreme Court, his preceding stand was an inspiration to the people -- he was courage -- he was their valiant leader! (15)

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14. Baton, op. cit., p. 266.
15. Ibid., p. 266.

On December 9, FDR delivered his war message to the nation, reminding them that "this was not a war for the survival of the nation but for the survival of all those spiritual values which Americans had from the beginning of their history cherished and defended."[16]

"The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as againts immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers -- we are builders.

"We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

"We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

"And in the dark hours of this day -- and through dark days that may be yet to come -- we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us -- for, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God." (17)

The great words were spoken. The nation was at war. But never again would they allow themselves to be unprepared. They had learned -- at a terrible cost -- but the lesson would last. Their renaissance would continue to be, it would endure it would not be forgotten.

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16. Samuel Elliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, "The Second World War", The Growth of the American Republic, 1947.

17. Ibid.

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