Unit VII:

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Peace of Versailles was finally signed in 1919. It left Germany very bitter, defeated and committed to paying $35,000,000,000 in war reparations. The other countries of Europe were in economic and social confusion after the effort of defeating Germany.

The League of Nations was set up, with headquarters in Geneva, even though the United States refused to join. In 1920 and 1921 the major powers began to work out some agreements limiting the size of their navies at the Washington Naval Conference. Several important treaty agreements were reached at Locarno in 1925, and were followed up with the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 in which more than 60 nations agreed not to use war to settle their arguments. In 1926 Germany joined the League of Nations. But the end of the decade saw the Great Depression of 1929.

The 1930's began badly and only got worse. In 1931 Japanese troops invaded Manchuria after an incident at Mukden; in 1932 they invaded Peiping itself after an incident at the Marco Polo Gates. The League of Nations could only accept this fact. In 1933 Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President of the United States; and the same year Adolf Hitler was elected Chancellor of Germany. One of Hitler's first acts was to take Germany out of the League of Nations. In 1935 Mussolini, who had become Generalissimo of Italy in 1922, attacked Ethiopia. In 1936 civil war broke out in Spain.

In the middle of these political developments, the 25-year old Charles Lindbergh had made the first flight across the Atlantic Ocean, flying 3,610 miles in 33 1/3 hours in May 20–21, 1927, from Roosevelt Field in Long Island, New York to Le Bourget Airport near Paris. Later that same year, after a hero's welcome in France and the U.S., Lindbergh flew nonstop from Washington, D.C. to Mexico City (where he met and fell in love with the American Ambassador's daughter, Anne Spencer Morrow). Lindbergh, the pioneer aviator, was one of the first people to realise what these new capabilities of the aeroplane would mean to nations at war.

This unit shows how the United States was drawn into the Second World War. Many people—like the Lindberghs—strongly believed that the U.S. should not participate in another European war. Others—like the Roosevelts—were convinced that it was the U.S.'s duty to help protect Britain.
Draw a time line from 1919-1936:

1919
1920
1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927
1928
1929
1930
1931
1932
1933
1934
1935
1936

and mark in at least one significant event for each year.

VII-1 BATTLESHIPS OVER BOMBERS

Lack of military vision is observed in Admiral Mayo's response to the question asked of him in 1921.

QUESTION: What effect is the airplane going to have on the battleship?

ANSWER: If an airplane has a big enough bomb and drops it on a battleship it is going to make it very interesting for the battleship; but I don't believe that we have got to the point where a bomb dropped from an airplane will destroy a battleship or damage her very much, because the bombs will not go through her decks and will not disturb the turret. There is not one built that can go through a turret of a ship. One must drop these bombs from a place where they cannot be fired at from the battleship. General Mitchell, Chief of the Army Aviation Forces, says his planes can drop bombs on battleships without any trouble at all. Possibly they can, but I think it would be a very difficult thing. In spite of the fact that he says that an airplane is a very hard thing to hit, I think he would find it very different if they ran up against a barrage which has an accepted method of dealing with an airplane attack, or if they were disturbed by airplanes on the other side. It is a very difficult matter to drop a bomb from an airplane at a great height that will strike an object even as large as a super-dreadnought. There are some computations that I heard of a short time ago which were to the effect that a plane at a height of 6,000 feet would have one-half a second of time in which the operator must decide in his mind whether or not he is at the proper point where he must release the bomb in order to make a hit. I do not think that there is any disposition to attempt to underestimate the dangers from an aviation force; on the contrary, their possibilities are realized, and I think it is the purpose in Congress and elsewhere to give it every possible chance to develop, and do everything necessary to be done to get what is possible out of aircraft of all kinds. But I am one of the conservative old cranks who think the battleships are not dead yet.

Admiral Henry T. Mayo, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, World War I.
The famous flyer Charles Lindbergh warns what American involvement in the war will cost.

"No people ever had a greater decision to make. We hold our children's future in our hands as we deliberate, for if we turn to war the battles will be hard fought and the outcome not likely to be decided in our lifetime. This is a question of mortgaging the lives of our children and our grandchildren. Every family in the land would have its wounded and its dead.

We start at a disadvantage because we are not a military nation. Ours is not a land of guns and marching men. If we decide to fight, then the United States must prepare for war for many years to come, and on a scale unprecedented in all history. In that case we must turn to a dictatorial government, for there is not military efficiency to be lost.

We should start to build an army of several million men. We will need several hundred thousand airplanes before the battling is over. And we must have a navy large enough to transport this force across the sea. This war we are asked to enter would not be a repetition of the last war. It would be more comparable with the struggle which took place between Athens and Sparta, or Rome and Carthage. It would involve the destiny of America and of Western civilization as far into the future as we can see.

But whatever our decision may be in regard to Europe, we must start now to build our own defenses. We must stop these gestures with an empty gun. In this we are a united nation. The only question that arises concerns how our defense can best be built.

* * *

With an adequate defense, no foreign army can invade us. Our advantage in defending America is as great as our disadvantage would be in attacking Europe. From a military geographical standpoint, we are the most fortunate country in the world. There is no other nation in this hemisphere strong enough to even consider attacking us, and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans separate us from the warring armies of Europe and Asia. As far as invasion by air is concerned, it is impossible for any existing air force to attack effectively across the ocean.

* * *

Shall we submerge our future in the endless wars of the Old World? Or shall we build our own defenses and leave European war to European countries?"

Charles Lindbergh in a broadcast message, June 15, 1940.

1. What do the following words mean in this passage?
   deliberate ______________________-mortgaging ______________________
   unprecedented ______________________-dictatorial________________________
   repetition________________________-destiny__________________________
   hemisphere________________________

2. Why does Charles Lindbergh think that the United States would need a dictatorial form of government if it is to fight in the Second World War?
   ________________________________________________________________

3. What does he mean by “these gestures with an empty gun”?
   ________________________________________________________________

4. Why does he think it will be impossible for any other nation to attack the U.S.A.?
   ________________________________________________________________

5. Was he right or wrong in this analysis?
VII-2a  OVER-AGE DESTROYERS FOR BASES
The President Informs the Congress of the Exchange of Certain United States Over-age Destroyers for British Naval and Air Bases; and Transmits the Correspondence and the Opinion of the Attorney-General Relative Thereto. September 3, 1940.

To the Congress:
I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress notes exchanged between the British Ambassador at Washington and the Secretary of State on September 2, 1940, under which this Government has acquired the right to lease naval and air bases in Newfoundland, and in the islands of Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and Antigua, and in British Guiana; also a copy of an opinion of the Attorney General dated August 27, 1940, regarding my authority to consummate this arrangement.

The right to bases in Newfoundland and Bermuda are gifts—generously given and gladly received. The other bases mentioned have been acquired in exchange for 50 of our over-age destroyers.

This is not inconsistent in any sense with our status of peace. Still less is it a threat against any nation. It is an epochal and far-reaching act of preparation for continental defense in the face of grave danger.

Preparation for defense is an inalienable prerogative of a sovereign state. Under present circumstances this exercise of sovereign right is essential to the maintenance of our peace and safety. This is the most important action in the reinforcement of our national defense that has been taken since the Louisiana Purchase. Then as now, considerations of safety from overseas attack were fundamental.

The value to the Western Hemisphere of these outposts of security is beyond calculation. Their need has long been recognized by our country, and especially by those primarily charged with the duty of charting and organizing our own naval and military defense. They are essential to the protection of the Panama Canal, Central America, the northern portion of South America, the Antilles, Canada, Mexico, and our own eastern and Gulf seaboard. Their consequent importance in hemispheric defense is obvious. For these reasons I have taken advantage of the present opportunity to acquire them.

1. Give words or phrases that mean the same as:

acquired __________________________ lease __________________________
consummate ______________________ inconsistent ______________________
status ____________________________ inalienable ______________________
perogative ________________________ sovereign ______________________
maintenance ______________________ reinforcement ______________________
calculation ______________________ hemispheric ______________________
opportunity ______________________
VII-3 FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT

On January 3, 1936 President Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke to the Congress and explained his policy:

"As a consistent part of a clear policy, the United States is following a twofold neutrality toward any and all Nations which engage in wars that are not of immediate concern to the Americas. First, we decline to encourage the prosecution of war by permitting belligerents to obtain arms, ammunition or implements of war from the United States. Second, we seek to discourage the use by belligerent Nations of any and all American products calculated to facilitate the prosecution of a war in quantities over and above our normal exports of them in time of peace.

* * *

We hope that we are not again at the threshold of such an era [of international trouble]. But if face it we must, then the United States and the rest of the Americas can play but one role: through a well-ordered neutrality to do naught to encourage the contest, through adequate defense to save ourselves from embroilment and attack and through example and all legitimate encouragement and assistance to persuade other Nations to return to the ways of peace and good-will."

1. Give words or phrases that mean the same as:

   consistent ___________________________ calculated ___________________________
   neutrality ___________________________ facilitate ___________________________
   prosecution ___________________________ threshold ___________________________
   belligerents ___________________________ naught ___________________________
   implements ___________________________ embroilment ___________________________

2. What policy was President Roosevelt applying to the troubles of the world in 1936?

   ___________________________
   ___________________________
   ___________________________
   ___________________________
   ___________________________
   ___________________________
VII-4 PROCLAMATION NO. 2159
When Italy attacked Ethiopia in 1935 President Roosevelt warned Americans—in line with our policy of neutrality—not to get involved and not to ship or sell the items below to either country.

A Proclamation against the Export of Arms and Ammunition to Italy and Ethiopia. Proclamation No. 2159. February 29, 1936

CATEGORY I
(1) Rifles and carbines using ammunition in excess of caliber .22, and barrels for those weapons;
(2) Machine guns, automatic or autoloading rifles, and machine pistols using ammunition in excess of caliber .22, and barrels for those weapons;
(3) Guns, howitzers, and mortars of all calibers, their mountings and barrels;
(4) Ammunition in excess of caliber .22 for the arms enumerated under (1) and (2) above, and cartridge cases or bullets for such ammunition; filled and unfilled projectiles or forgings for such projectiles for the arms enumerated under (3) above; propellants with a web thickness of .015 inch or greater for the projectiles of the arms enumerated under (3) above;
(5) Grenades, bombs, torpedoes and mines, filled or unfilled, and apparatus for their use or discharge;
(6) Tanks, military armored vehicles, and armored trains.

CATEGORY II
Vessels of war of all kinds, including aircraft carriers and submarines.

CATEGORY III
(1) Aircraft, assembled or dismantled, both heavier and lighter than air, which are designed, adapted, and intended for aerial combat by the use of machine guns or of artillery or for the carrying and dropping of bombs, or which are equipped with, or which by reason of design or construction are prepared for, any of the appliances referred to in paragraph (2) below;
(2) Aerial gun mounts and frames, bomb racks, torpedo carriers, and bomb or torpedo release mechanisms.

CATEGORY IV
(1) Revolvers and automatic pistols using ammunition in excess of caliber .22;
(2) Ammunition in excess of caliber .22 for the arms enumerated under (1) above, and cartridge cases or bullets for such ammunition.

CATEGORY V
(1) Aircraft, assembled or dismantled, both heavier and lighter than air, other than those in Category III;
(2) Propellers or air screws, fuselages, hulls, wings, tail units, and under-carriage units;
(3) Aircraft engines, assembled or unassembled.

CATEGORY VI
(1) Livens projectors and flame throwers;
(2) Mustard gas (dichlordiethylsulphide), lewisite (chlorovinyl dichloroarsin and dichlorodivinylchloroarsin), ethyl dichloroarsin, methyl dichloroarsin, ethyliodoacetate, bromobenzylcyanide, diphenylchloroarsin, and diphenyl-cyanarsin.

1. How did this Proclamation stop the American people from becoming involved in a war?
2. What sort of items are forbidden to be exported to Italy and Ethiopia, and why?

3. Do you think this prohibition on export of these items would be successful in stopping the trade? Why?

VII-5  

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH AT CHAUTAUQUA, N.Y., AUGUST 14, 1936

But things only got worse after 1936. The Japanese mounted a full-scale invasion of China in 1937. Germany, Italy and Japan signed the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis the same year. In 1938 German forces invaded Austria and forced its union with Germany (the 'Anschluss'). Then Germany attacked Czechoslovakia. The Russians entered into the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Prime Minister Chamberlain of Britain went to meet Hitler and thought he had come back with an agreement for 'peace for our time.' But on September 1, 1939 Hitler invaded Poland. Great Britain and France declared war on September 3.

"We are not isolationists except insofar as we seek to isolate ourselves completely from war. Yet we must remember that so long as war exists on earth there will be some danger that even the nation which most ardently desires peace may be drawn into war.

I have seen war. I have seen war on land and sea. I have seen blood running from the wounded. I have seen men coughing out their gassed lungs. I have seen the dead in the mud. I have seen cities destroyed. I have seen two hundred limping, exhausted men come out of line—the survivors of a regiment of one thousand that went forward forty-eight hours before. I have seen children starving. I have seen the agony of mothers and wives. I hate war.

I have passed unnumbered hours, I shall pass unnumbered hours thinking and planning how war may be kept from this nation.

I wish I could keep war from all nations; but that is beyond my power. I can at least make certain that no act of the United States helps to produce or to promote war. I can at least make clear that the conscience of America revolts against war and that any nation which provokes war forfeits the sympathy of the people of the United States.

Many causes produce war. There are hatreds, turbulent frontiers, the 'legacy of old forgotten, far-off things, and battles long ago.' There are new-born fanaticisms, convictions on the part of certain peoples that they have become the unique depositories of ultimate truth and right."

Franklin D. Roosevelt, August 14, 1936.

1. List the steps to the Second World War on your time line, for the period 1937–1939.

1937__________________________________________

1938__________________________________________

1939__________________________________________
VII-6 NOT PREPARED FOR WAR
Charles Lindbergh spells out the implications of American entry into the war.

"We demand that foreign nations refrain from interfering in our hemisphere, yet we constantly interfere in theirs. And while we have been taking an ineffective part in the war abroad, we have inexcusably neglected our defenses at home. In fact we have let our own affairs drift along until we have not even a plan of defense for the continent of North America.

We have been doing to England and France what they did to Abyssinia, to Czecho-Slovakia, to Poland, to Finland and to Norway. We have encouraged them to hope for help we cannot send. Yet with these examples before us, we still continue in this course, the same course that led England to failure abroad and weakness at home, a course that will lead us, also, to a disastrous and unsuccessful war if we persist in following it.

When the subject of our participation in war is discussed, most people visualize the war that is now going on in Europe. They think of sending more arms, and possibly some soldiers.

There is still very little understanding of what our entrance into the European war would mean. When we talk of such a war, we must realize that we are considering the greatest struggle the world has yet known, a conflict between hemispheres, one half of the white race against the other half. Before allowing ourselves to become further involved, we should consider the conditions which may exist by the time we are ready for military action. If we enter a war at all, we should prepare to meet the worst conditions rather than the best.

It is useless to talk of sending American troops to Europe now, for we would need months of preparation before we could train and equip even a small army, and small efforts do not effect great movements — witness Norway, Holland and Belgium.

We must face the fact, regardless of how disagreeable it is to us, that before we can take effective action in a European war the German armies may have brought all Europe under their control. In that case Europe will be dominated by the strongest military nation the world has ever known, controlling a population far greater than our own. If we decide to enter a war we must be prepared to attack that nation. We must prepare to invade a continent which it controls."

Charles Lindbergh in a broadcast message, June 15, 1940.

1. What does Charles Lindbergh mean by saying that the U.S.A. has "been doing to England and France what they did to Abyssinia, to Czecho-Slovakia, to Poland, to Finland and to Norway"?

2. What does Lindbergh mean when he warns that Americans "should prepare to meet the worst conditions rather than the best" if they involve themselves in the European war?

3. Do you think Lindbergh was right in arguing against U.S. participation in the war against Germany?
Einstein advises the President on the possibility of inventing a new weapon—a nuclear bomb.

Albert Einstein  
Old Grove Rd.  
Nassau Point  
Peconic, Long Island  
August 2nd, 1939

F. D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States,  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Some recent work by E. Fermi and L. Szilard, which has been communicated to me in manuscript, leads me to expect that the element uranium may be turned into a new and important source of energy in the immediate future. Certain aspects of the situation which has arisen seem to call for watchfulness and, if necessary, quick action on the part of the Administration. I believe therefore that it is my duty to bring to your attention the following facts and recommendations:

In the course of the last four months it has been made probable—that through the work of Joliot in France as well as Fermi and Szilard in America—that it may become possible to set up a nuclear chain reaction in a large mass of uranium, by which vast amounts of power and large quantities of new radium-like elements would be generated. Now it appears almost certain that this could be achieved in the immediate future.

This new phenomenon would also lead to the construction of bombs, and it is conceivable—that extremely powerful bombs of a new type may thus be constructed. A single bomb of this type, carried by boat and exploded in a port, might very well destroy the whole port together with some of the surrounding territory. However, such bombs might very well prove to be too heavy for transportation by air.

The United States has only very poor ores of uranium in moderate quantities. There is some good ore in Canada and the former Czechoslovakia, while the most important source of uranium is Belgian Congo.

In view of this situation you may think it desirable to have some permanent contact maintained between the Administration and the group of physicists working on chain reactions in America. One possible way of achieving this might be for you to entrust with this task a person who has your confidence and who could perhaps serve in an unofficial capacity. His task might comprise the following:

a) to approach Government Departments, keep them informed of the further development, and put forward recommendations for Government action, giving particular attention to the problem of securing a supply of uranium ore for the United States;

b) to speed up the experimental work, which is at present being carried on within the limits of the budgets of University laboratories, by providing funds, if such funds be required, through his contacts with private persons who are willing to make contributions for this cause, and perhaps also by obtaining the co-operation of industrial laboratories which have the necessary equipment.

I understand that Germany has actually stopped the sale of uranium from the Czechoslovakian mines which she has taken over. That she should have taken such early action might perhaps be understood on the ground that the son of the German Under-Secretary of State, von Weizsacker, is attached to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut in Berlin where some of the American work on uranium is now being repeated.

Yours very truly,

Albert Einstein
I. What was Albert Einstein recommending to President Roosevelt in this letter?

II. MOVING TOWARDS WAR

Again, Charles Lindbergh speaks out against the drift to war.

"Why, then, with 130,000,000 people, are we being told that we must give up our independent position, that our frontiers lie in Europe, and that our destiny will be decided by European armies fighting upon European soil?... No one doubts that we are in the midst of a world crisis. No one denies that our defenses are weak, that our debt is great, that dissatisfaction is rising among us. We do not question the need for rearmament, for reform, for a better economic system. What we do question is the leadership that has brought these conditions upon us. We question that the men who were unable to foresee these conditions in time to avoid them, who could not foresee the war in time to prepare for it, who refused to believe the reports of rearming abroad when there was still time to take action, are now competent to carry this nation successfully through a period of great crisis.

Under their leadership we have alienated the most powerful military nations of both Europe and Asia, at a time when we ourselves are unprepared for action, and while the people of our nation are overwhelmingly opposed to war.

* * *

On a clearly American issue we stand a united nation. It is only when we are asked to take part in the quarrels of foreign countries that we divide; only when we are asked to merge our destiny with that of other lands; only when an attempt is made to transfer loyalty to America to loyalty for some other nation.

* * *

Instead of Washington warning us against the wiles of foreign influence and excessive partiality for any nation, we are told that our frontiers lie in Europe.

Instead of a Lincoln telling us that if danger ever reaches us it must spring up amongst us, and that it cannot come from abroad, we are informed that we may be invaded from the ice-bound mountains of Greenland; and by fleets of non-existent transatlantic bombers.

Charles Lindbergh in a broadcast message, October 15, 1940.

1. What does Lindbergh think Americans agree about? ____________________________

2. What does he think they disagree about? ____________________________

3. Do you think the parallels Lindbergh draws between Roosevelt and Washington and Lincoln are fair?

THE SECOND WORLD WAR 119
4. Do you think Lindbergh was right or wrong in his argument? 

VII-9 MRS. ROOSEVELT REMEMBERS HOW IT BEGAN

The President’s wife recalls how the momentum to war in Europe caught up with the United States.

“When the news finally came that Hitler’s troops had gone into Poland, Franklin called me at Hyde Park. It was about five o’clock in the morning. Mrs. George S. Huntington, an old friend of mine, was staying with me at the time, and she and Miss Thompson and I could not go back to bed, for a sense of impending disaster was on us. The thing we had feared had finally come, and we seemed to know that sooner or later we would be dragged into the vortex with all the European countries. I do not think Franklin ever felt that war was inevitable, and he always said he hoped we could avoid it, but I had a feeling that once the war started, there was not much chance for any part of the world to escape it, though in the meanwhile one hoped for some miracle.”

Eleanor Roosevelt, This I Remember, Harper & Row, N.Y. 1949.

1. What did Mrs. Roosevelt mean when she wrote that ‘sooner or later we would be dragged into the vortex with all the European countries’? 

2. If you had been alive in 1939, would you have thought it inevitable that the U.S. must be drawn into the Second World War? 

VII-10 BE PREPARED, OR ELSE!
The President's wife recalls his efforts to keep the peace while preparing for war.

"As I look back over that whole year of 1939, it seems to me that my husband's major efforts were bent on trying to avert total war in Europe and to awaken us here to the need for preparation. Perhaps he might have saved himself the trouble of these various efforts, yet one would not like to feel that the president of this country had not done all he could to try and change the threatening course of history. His actions during this year and the next were only a continuation of the line of action he had begun to follow as far back as 1936. Immediately after the failure of the London Naval Conference, for instance, he had secured from Congress money to construct additional battleships and airplane carriers. The following year, in his quarantine speech in Chicago, he warned the country of the worsening political situation abroad and of the dangers it held for the United States; and he tried to persuade the people that this country should make a definite and positive effort to preserve the peace. The opposition this speech aroused was so great that Franklin realized the people were not yet ready to go along with any drastic steps toward international cooperation. All through the Czech crisis in 1938 he continued his attempts to save the peace, through appeals to Hitler and the heads of other countries. After Munich, he blamed Neville Chamberlain for weakness, but said that England had let her defenses go down so much that there was perhaps nothing else the prime minister had felt he could do. To insure that our country would never be found similarly unprepared was now Franklin's greatest concern."

Eleanor Roosevelt, This I Remember.

1. How had President Roosevelt tried to prevent war in Europe?

VII-11 LAST PEACE APPEALS
A firsthand glimpse of F.D.R.'s attempts to convince Adolf Hitler not to start a war.

"In January [1939] he [FDR] asked Congress for funds to expand our air force and construct new naval air bases. In April, he warned the country of the approach of war in Europe and sent a personal message to both Hitler and Mussolini, appealing for a ten-year pledge not to attack or invade other countries. In late August, Russia and Germany signed their non-aggression pact. Franklin, who was on a fishing trip off Canada aboard the "Tuscaloosa," returned hurriedly to Washington and sent a peace appeal to Hitler, King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, and President Moscicki of Poland, urging settlement of the Danzig-Polish Corridor issue. On the following day he sent another message to Hitler. Then Hitler invaded Poland. Convinced that further peace efforts would be unsuccessful, Franklin on September 21 urged Congress to repeal the embargo on the shipment of arms under the Neutrality Act, which he had signed very reluctantly in 1937, at the time of the Spanish Civil War."

Eleanor Roosevelt, This I Remember.

1. How had the world situation changed to make the 1937 Neutrality Act a deterrent to the future welfare of the world?

2. How has F.D.R. changed his position?
3. Why do you think he changed his position?

VII-12 ARMING EUROPE

America's Hero, aviator Charles Lindbergh, argues for neutrality.

"...we must not confuse the question of national defense with the question of entering a European war... arming to attack the continent of Europe would necessitate that the lives and thoughts of every man, woman and child in this country be directed toward war for the next generation, probably for the next several generations. We cannot continue for long to follow the course our government has taken without becoming involved in war with Germany. There are some who already advocate our entry into such a war. There are many perfectly sincere men and women who believe that we can send weapons to kill people in Europe without becoming involved in war with these people. Still others believe that by gestures and applause we can assist France and England to win without danger to our own country.

In addition to these, however, there are men among us of less honesty who advocate stepping closer and closer to war, knowing well that a point exists beyond which there can be no turning back. They have baited the trap of war with requests for modest assistances. This latter group is meeting with success at the moment.

There is a saying that grew in the old West to the effect that a man who enjoys life should never touch his gun unless he means business; that he should never draw unless he is ready to shoot, and that he should never shoot unless he is ready to kill. Those old pioneers of ours knew from long experience that there can be no successful dabbling with death.

But the red-blooded wisdom of the old West is gone from American politics today. Our present danger results from making gestures with an empty gun after we have already lost the draw. Fortunately, the wide wall of the Atlantic stands between us and the shooting that is going on. This dabbling we have been doing in European affairs can lead only to failure in the future as it has in the past. It is not a policy that we can continue to follow and remain a great nation. Let us look at our position today. Our leaders have lost the influence we could have exerted as the world’s greatest neutral nation.

The dribble of munitions we have sold to England and France have had a negligible effect on the trend of the war, and we have not sufficient military strength available to change that trend."

Charles Lindbergh in a broadcast message, June 15, 1940.

1. What does Charles Lindbergh mean when he uses the following words:

   - necessitate ________________________ neutral ________________________
   - generation ________________________ munitions ________________________
   - advocate ________________________ negligible ________________________

2. What does Charles Lindbergh want America to do?

3. What is Lindbergh trying to say with his reference to the old West saying about a man and his gun?

4. How does Lindbergh think the United States can protect itself?
HELPING BRITAIN FIGHT WITH LEND-LEASE

The President explains how and why the U.S. should help Britain even though the U.S. is not yet in the war.

"Is it possible—I will put it that way—for the United States to take over British orders, and, because they are essentially the same kind of munitions that we use ourselves, turn them into American orders. We have enough money to do it. And thereafter, as to such portion of them as the military events of the future determine to be right and proper for us to allow to go to the other side, either lease or sell the materials, subject to mortgage, to the people on the other side. That would be on the general theory that it may still prove true that the best defense of Great Britain is the best defense of the United States.

Well, let me give you an illustration: Suppose my neighbor’s home 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 with his hydrant, I may help him to put out his 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. All right. If it goes through the fire all right, intact, without any damage to it, he gives it back to me and thanks me very much for the use of it. But suppose it gets smashed up—holes in it—during the fire; we don’t have too much formality about it, but I say to him, ‘I was glad to lend you that hose; I see I can’t use it any more, it’s all smashed up.’ He says, ‘How many feet of it were there?’ I tell him, ‘There were 150 feet of it.’ He says, ‘Alright, I will replace it.’ Now, if I get a nice garden hose back, I am in pretty good shape.

In other words, if you lend certain munitions and get the munitions back at the end of the war, if they are intact—haven’t been hurt—you are all right; if they have been damaged or have deteriorated or have been lost completely, it seems to me you come out pretty well if you have them replaced by the fellow to whom you have lent them.”

President Roosevelt, December 17, 1940.

1. What was the President’s reasoning behind the Lend-Lease scheme?
President Roosevelt appeals to the American public to support his plans to help Britain.

"'The American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and France. They tell you that the Axis powers are going to win anyway; that all this bloodshed in the world could be saved; that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a dictated peace, and get the best out of it that we can.

They call it a 'negotiated peace.' Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surrounds your community and on threat of extermination makes you pay tribute to save your own skins?

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is far less chance of the United States getting into war, if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their defeat, submit tamely to an Axis victory, and wait our turn to be the object of attack in another war later on.

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit that there is risk in any course we may take. But I deeply believe that the great majority of our people agree that the course that I advocate involves the least risk now and the greatest hope for world peace in the future.

The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters which will enable them to fight for their liberty and for our security. Emphatically we must get these weapons to them in sufficient volume and quickly enough, so that we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.'"

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Fireside Chat on National Security, December 29, 1940.

1. Why did President Roosevelt feel that the United States must be the 'great arsenal of democracy' in December, 1940?

2. Give words or phrases that mean the same as:

   appeasers ___________________________ extermination ___________________________
   acquiesce ___________________________ implements ___________________________
   freighters ___________________________ volume ___________________________
   arsenal ___________________________ resolution ___________________________
VII-15  CHURCHILL: ENGLAND’S PLEDGE

Prime Minister Winston Churchill gratefully accepts America’s help to keep back the Nazi armies, and pledges to continue the struggle.

"The other day, President Roosevelt gave his opponent in the late Presidential Election a letter of introduction to me, and in it he wrote out a verse, in his own handwriting, from Longfellow, which he said 'applies to you people as it does to us.' Here is the verse:

... Sail on, O Ship of State!
   Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
   Humanity with all its fears,
   With all the hopes of future years,
   Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

What is the answer that I shall give, in your name, to this great man, the thrice-chosen head of a nation of a hundred and thirty millions? Here is the answer which I will give to President Roosevelt: Put your confidence in us. Give us your faith and your blessing, and under Providence, all will be well.

We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle, nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job."

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Britain, in a radio broadcast, February 9, 1941.

1. What did Prime Minister Churchill want from President Roosevelt and the Americans?

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________
VII-16 DECLARATION OF WAR

Below is President Roosevelt's message to Congress requesting that a state of war with Japan be declared.

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

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American Naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.
Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.
Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.
Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.
Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.
And this morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island. Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area.

. . . I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, December 8, 1941.

1. What led President Roosevelt to ask the U.S. Congress for a declaration of war?

2. Against whom did the U.S. declare war?

VII-17 AMERICA GOES TO WAR

Charles Lindbergh’s response to Pearl Harbor.

"We have been stepping closer to war for many months. Now it has come and we must meet it as united Americans regardless of our attitude in the past toward the policy our government has followed. Whether or not that policy has been wise, our country has been attacked by force of arms and by force of arms we must retaliate. Our defenses and our own military position have already been neglected for too long. We must now turn every effort to building the greatest and most efficient Army, Navy and Air Force in the world. When American soldiers go to war it must be with the best equipment that modern skill can design and that modern industry can build."

Charles Lindbergh in a broadcast message, December 8, 1941.

1. What is his policy now that war has begun?