

UNIT 6

The Interwar Years and World War II

1919–1945

45-50-minute classes | 14-17 classes

UNIT PREVIEW

Structure

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Why Teach the Interwar Years and World War II

The “war to end all wars” did not live up to its name. Although during the 1920s the United States enjoyed a decade of economic prosperity, the rest of the world endured an uneasy peace marked by portents of future tumult and anxiety. Then Americans would suffer their own crash and a Great Depression that changed American government and economics in ways that broke sharply with the American founding. In retrospect, the Second World War seemed inevitable. The world was hurled into the greatest age of bloodshed known to man, a brutal rebuke to those who imagined that the world was reaching its zenith of enlightenment. But it is miraculous that America, despite the many great upheavals and pressures she faced, largely stood firm in the face of a totalitarian conquest of the world. Students need to grasp what was at

stake in this great conflict and why the key role played by the United States should be a point of enduring pride for all Americans. The totalitarian regimes sought to annihilate the very principles on which human freedom and dignity were founded. It was for these principles, and the way of life to which they gave rise, that Americans sacrificed, and died, and saved the world.

Enduring Ideas from This Unit

1. The 1920s were a decade not only of prosperity and of cultural change but also of a renewal of the principles and practice of limited government that had waned during the Progressive Era.
2. The stock market crash and the Great Depression were predictable economic consequences of normal economic forces exacerbated by government actions.
3. The Roosevelt administration and the New Deal brought much-needed encouragement to Americans living through hardship, while also transforming the size, scope, and power of government in unprecedented ways.
4. World War II was the bloodiest war in human history and demonstrated the potential of new philosophies and technologies to unleash untold horrors.
5. The United States took up the cause of the heroic British and saved civilization from a modern barbarism that trampled on the truth of each person's inherent dignity.

What Teachers Should Consider

While the Progressive Era had critiqued some of America's founding ideas—particularly about government, economics, and human nature—the underlying moral philosophy of the Progressives was largely the same as that held by the founders. The Harding and Coolidge administrations preserved that continuity while dialing back the expansion of government under the Progressives and reasserting principles of limited self-government and the free market. The Roaring Twenties witnessed exceptional prosperity for many, and with this affluence came novel cultural norms, at least for America's well-to-do. For most of the rest, the cultural changes were far less dramatic, and the difficult conditions of farmers and others dependent upon the agricultural economy during the twenties should not be forgotten. Overall, however, life was comfortable, and the standard of living continued to rise.

The second quarter of the twentieth century, however, saw America torn between her founding principles and new ideas that argued those principles were largely outdated. With the Great Depression, a combination of economic forces and unfortunate government actions sank the American and world economies into a decade-long quagmire.

The response in the United States was the New Deal. American society was buoyed by Franklin D. Roosevelt's personality and his unprecedented expansion of government, even though the actual economic effectiveness of these efforts would elicit questions over time. What *is* certain is this: expansion and its many programs would change American government and economics, marking a decisive contrast with America's founding ideas.

Elsewhere in the world, ideologies arose that concentrated on dividing people into groups based on class or race. In trampling on the natural rights of millions of individuals, these totalitarian ideologues rejected America's founding principles, especially the view of the dignity of the human person and the dangers of concentrated power. This assault on principle had its counterpart in the horrendous machines of war that swept through Europe, North Africa, and the Pacific. The world found itself on the cusp of global tyranny, with evil powers aligned against all that the American experiment in self-government had stood for. Americans rose to meet the challenge and to distinguish their country yet again by their commitment to enduring and timeless truths.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

New World Coming, Nathan Miller
The Forgotten Man, Amity Shlaes
Freedom from Fear, David Kennedy
Three New Deals, Wolfgang Schivelbusch
From Isolation to War: 1931–1941, Justus Doenecke
The Second World War, Martin Gilbert
The Second World Wars, Victor Davis Hanson
To Hell and Back, Ian Kershaw
American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

ONLINE COURSES | [Online.Hillsdale.edu](https://online.hillsdale.edu)

The Great American Story
American Heritage
Constitution 101
Constitution 201
The Second World Wars

Lesson Planning Resources

TEACHER RESOURCES

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Short History of World War II, James Stokesbury

STUDENT RESOURCES

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

PRIMARY SOURCES

“The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence,” Calvin Coolidge
Commonwealth Club address, Franklin Roosevelt
First inaugural address, Franklin Roosevelt
Democratic Convention address, 1936, Franklin Roosevelt
“The Conservative Manifesto,” Josiah Bailey
“The Dominant Dogma of the Age,” Walter Lippmann
Annual Message to Congress, 1944, Franklin Roosevelt
“Fifty Years Hence,” Winston Churchill
Fireside chat on National Security, Franklin Roosevelt
Annual Message to Congress, 1941, Franklin Roosevelt
Atlantic Charter, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill

LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND QUIZZES

Lesson 1 — The Roaring Twenties

1919–1929

2-3 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the prosperity that much of America produced and enjoyed during the 1920s, the presidency of Calvin Coolidge, and the cultural transformations that followed America's victory in the Great War.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 276–294

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 265–273

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 166–170

Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story

Lecture 17

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 276–286, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 166–168) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 286–294, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 168–170) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read and annotate Calvin Coolidge's "The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence," and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography and Places

New York City

Harlem

Greenwich Village

Tulsa

Detroit

Greenwood district

Persons

Woodrow Wilson	F. Scott Fitzgerald
Carrie Nation	Al Capone
Susan B. Anthony	William Jennings Bryan
Joseph Stalin	Norman Rockwell
Warren G. Harding	Andrew Wyeth
Andrew Mellon	Frank Lloyd Wright
Calvin Coolidge	Robert Frost
Henry Ford	Irving Berlin
Babe Ruth	Louis Armstrong
Charlie Chaplin	Duke Ellington
Walt Disney	James Weldon Johnson
George Gershwin	Langston Hughes
Charles Lindbergh	Zora Neale Hurston

Terms and Topics

inflation	highways
Spanish Flu	refrigerator
Red Summer	long-term mortgage
18th Amendment	radio
Prohibition	motion pictures
19th Amendment	Hollywood
Russian Civil War	celebrities
Red Terror	advertising
Red Scare	organized crime
Mexican Revolution	flappers
immigration quota laws	fundamentalism
free market	Scopes Trial
laissez-faire	art deco
Great Migration	Empire State Building
Tulsa Massacre	<i>Rhapsody in Blue</i>
Teapot Dome Scandal	jazz
electricity	Harlem Renaissance
automobile	
General Motors	

Primary Sources

“The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence,” Calvin Coolidge

To Know by Heart

“Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of my administration has been minding my own business.” —Calvin Coolidge

Timeline

1918–1921	Russian Civil War
1923	Warren G. Harding dies; Calvin Coolidge becomes president
1928	Herbert Hoover elected

Images

Historical figures and events
 Cities affected by the Spanish Flu
 Women’s suffrage movement
 Painting of Calvin Coolidge being sworn in by his father
 New inventions
 Automobiles
 Professional sporting events
 First motion pictures
 Bootleggers
 Flappers
 Upper class society
 Art deco architecture and art
 Cityscapes
 Map of the Great Migration
 Factories and workers
 Jazz halls and musicians
 Pictures from before and after the Tulsa Race Massacre

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of Susan B. Anthony, Warren G. Harding, and Calvin Coolidge
- Edith Wilson effectively governing the country after Woodrow Wilson’s stroke
- The *Topeka Daily Capital* on Carrie Nation in 1900
- The trial of Sacco and Vanzetti
- The death of Warren G. Harding in San Francisco
- Calvin Coolidge being sworn in by his father
- The *New York Times*’ 1927 account of a television broadcast
- Edwin James’s account of Charles Lindbergh’s arriving in Paris
- Paul Morand’s account of speakeasies in New York City
- The *New York Times*’ 1931 description of the Empire State Building

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How did the Great War change America?
- What challenges did America face domestically following the Great War? Why?
- What were the arguments for Prohibition?
- What was the Russian Civil War about? Who won? Why?
- In the wake of the Great War, what was the main argument for why Congress ended limitless immigration to America?
- What did Warren G. Harding mean by a “return to normalcy”?

- How might Warren G. Harding’s presidency be characterized?
- What economic policies did Warren G. Harding enact with respect to the economy? What was the result?
- Why did the Great Migration begin during the Great War and accelerate during the 1920s?
- What was life like in the Greenwood neighborhood of Tulsa, Oklahoma? What happened to it?
- How might Calvin Coolidge’s presidency be characterized?
- In what ways did Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge offer an answer to the Progressives?
- What technological innovations were most responsible for transforming the pace and busyness of life for Americans during the 1920s?
- How was the 18th Amendment ineffective, and how did it undermine the rule of law?
- To what extent and in what ways did American culture change during the 1920s? Why?
- How universal were changes to American culture?
- What did Charles Lindbergh’s celebrity status reveal about the power of new communication technology and journalism?
- To what was Christian fundamentalism responding in the interwar years?
- How did art and architecture change in America following the Great War? What inspirations and principles shaped the artists who introduced these styles?
- How did American music change?
- How did jazz develop, and what were its main characteristics?
- What was the Harlem Renaissance? What were its origins and main ideas?
- Questions from the US Civics Test:
 - Question 5: How are changes made to the US Constitution?
 - Question 13: What is the rule of law?
 - Question 48: What are two Cabinet-level positions?
 - Question 63: There are four amendments to the US Constitution about who can vote. Describe one of them.
 - Question 99: Name one leader of the women’s rights movement in the 1800s.
 - Question 102: When did all women get the right to vote?
 - Question 118: Name one example of an American innovation.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

The 1920s were another period of great change in American life. First, the transition from wartime to peacetime involved many challenges, including an influenza pandemic, an economic downturn, and fears of anarchist and communist attacks on the American way of life. It was argued that the return to a policy of limited government under the Harding and Coolidge administrations brought a renewed confidence in American entrepreneurship and innovation. The 1920s thus saw tremendous gains in the standard of living and prosperity. New technologies, especially the mass production of the automobile and new forms of mass communication, led to a life for the middle class that has much in common with life in America today. A different kind of culture and lifestyle began to emerge, however, in America’s large cities and among its upper income earners, who enjoyed exceptional wealth and opulence. American cultural norms in these areas began to diverge from traditional morality, while the unenforceable ban on alcohol precipitated a general decline in respect for the rule of law, even outside of cities.

Teachers might best plan and teach The Roaring Twenties with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Discuss the two amendments to the Constitution that were ratified during and after the Great War. Teach about the work of Carrie Nation and Progressives to ratify the 18th Amendment (which prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages); the work of suffragists Susan B. Anthony, Alice Paul, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Ida B. Wells; and the 19th Amendment (which secured women’s right to vote).
- Note the challenges that the end of the war brought to America: a recession coupled with inflation, housing and job shortages for returning soldiers, a summer of riots and violence against African Americans in dozens of cities, and the terrifying epidemic of Spanish Flu.
- Teach about the Russian Civil War, the involvement of Allied and American soldiers on the side of the Whites, and the Red Terror. Amid the chaos left in the wake of the Great War, communist groups attempted to seize power in European nations just as the Bolsheviks had done in Russia. With the upheavals that America was experiencing in the first year following the Armistice, communist and anarchist agitation was also present in the United States, a time that some have dubbed the “Red Scare.”
- Introduce Warren G. Harding as a president who generally moved against the Progressive rhetoric and views on government power, of which many Americans had grown weary under Woodrow Wilson. His promise of a “return to normalcy” in America represented a restoration of limited constitutional government after Progressivism. The cutting of taxes and streamlining of regulations in particular unleashed the productive capacity of the American economy. Harding’s administration was overshadowed, though, by a series of scandals among government officials, most notably the Teapot Dome scandal.
- Teach students about the condition of African Americans in various parts of the country, including the beginning of the Great Migration of African Americans from southern states to northern cities. Show the students why these cities became hotbeds of social tension. Highlight, for instance, the racial violence directed against African Americans in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma. The Tulsa Massacre showed that the American principles of the rule of law and equal protection under the law could be fragile, and that it was the responsibility of the American constitutional order to prevent such events and to bring to justice those who committed such atrocities.
- Explore with students Warren G. Harding’s policies regarding African Americans serving in federal positions and his statements on lynching, the introduction of federal anti-lynching bills in 1922, and a comparison of party platforms, especially regarding lynching and civil rights.
- Teach about Warren G. Harding’s sudden death in 1923 and Calvin Coolidge’s assuming the presidency. Coolidge continued many of Harding’s limited government policies while openly defending the principles of the American founding against the Progressive view that they had been made obsolete by social changes. Read with students Coolidge’s “The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence.”
- Present a canvas of America during the 1920s. Begin with the transforming effects of mass automobile ownership, thanks to Henry Ford’s assembly line system, and the proliferation of faster means of communication. The ability to watch motion pictures and to listen to recorded music and the radio complemented the changes to American life brought about by the car. Students should be asked to imagine life before these inventions and how these inventions changed the way Americans experienced life.

- Continue to teach about the efforts to circumvent Prohibition, the rise of organized crime, and the broader lifestyle of the well-to-do, particularly in America's cities. The emergence of the flapper culture, opulence, and open flouting of Prohibition by America's leading politicians and businessmen has come to characterize the America of the 1920s. But it is important for students to recognize that this view of America was based on a select elite on which the journalism of the day focused its writings. The vast majority of America underwent no such overwhelming cultural transformation, aside from what was wrought by the automobile, new forms of communication, larger markets, and mass advertisement. Moreover, most of America's farmers saw little of the prosperity that industry brought and that those in cities were experiencing.
- Spend some time on the art, architecture, music, and literature of the interwar years. Include art deco; writers F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, and William Faulkner; the development of jazz, including the contributions of Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington; and the literature of the Harlem Renaissance, including the work of Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Zora Neale Hurston, Jacob Lawrence, and Faith Ringgold. Students should recognize and understand the ideas informing these changes and developments in art.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment: Explain the ways in which America changed during the 1920s, the reasons for these changes, and the extent to which these changes were universal (2–3 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.1

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Pages 276-286

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Did John Maynard Keynes look hopefully or despondently upon the future after the Great War?
2. What illness killed over 600,000 Americans from 1918-1919?
3. Did Warren Harding eliminate Woodrow Wilson's regulatory agencies or appoint business-friendly people to lead and work in them?
4. Who transformed American transportation with the mass production of the Model T automobile?
5. What new genre and style of music became a nationwide phenomenon during the 1920s?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.2

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Pages 286-294

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What does the author say about advertising in the 1920s?
2. Does the author believe that the cultural changes of the 1920s were equally present in all economic classes?
3. What was outlawed during the 1920s due to a constitutional amendment?
4. Who became president upon the death of President Warren G. Harding?
5. What was one thing Herbert Hoover was known for prior to becoming president?

Lesson 2 — The Great Depression

1929–1939

4-5 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the stock market crash of 1929 and the subsequent Great Depression, including the actions of the federal government under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope

Pages 294–315

Primary Sources

See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope

Pages 273–274, 286–293

A Student Workbook for Land of Hope

Pages 170–171, 182–186

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The Great American Story

Lecture 18

Constitution 101

Lecture 9

Constitution 201

Lecture 5

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 294–302, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 170–171 and 182–183) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 302–315, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 183–186) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read and annotate excerpts from Franklin Roosevelt’s Commonwealth Club address, first inaugural address, and 1936 Democratic Convention speech, and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

Assignment 4: Students read and annotate Josiah Bailey’s “The Conservative Manifesto,” Walter Lippmann’s “The Dominant Dogma of the Age,” and Franklin Roosevelt’s 1944 Annual Message to Congress, and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography and Places

Hoover Dam
Tennessee Valley Authority

Mount Rushmore

Persons

Herbert Hoover
Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Jesse Owens

Ernest Hemingway
Aaron Copland

Terms and Topics

stock market
Federal Reserve System
Federal Reserve rate
speculation
marginal trading
overvaluation
bubble
Black Tuesday
bank run
fractional reserve banking
purchasing power
investment
recession
Smoot-Hawley Tariff
retaliatory tariffs
depression
Great Depression
Hoovervilles
Reconstruction Finance Corporation
Emergency Relief Act
Bonus Army
21st Amendment
New Deal

brain trust
fireside chats
Banking Act
regulation
bureaucracy
public works programs
Civilian Conservation Corps
Works Progress Administration
National Recovery Administration
Agricultural Adjustment Administration
Dust Bowl
Securities and Exchange Commission
Social Security Act
welfare
Tuskegee Experiment
Wagner Act
income tax
Berlin Olympics
court packing
“Roosevelt recession”

Primary Sources

Commonwealth Club address, Franklin Roosevelt
First inaugural address, Franklin Roosevelt
Democratic Convention address, 1936, Franklin Roosevelt
“The Conservative Manifesto,” Josiah Bailey
“The Dominant Dogma of the Age,” Walter Lippmann
Annual Message to Congress, 1944, Franklin Roosevelt

To Know by Heart

“God Bless America” —Irving Berlin

Timeline

Oct. 29, 1929	Stock Market Crash (Black Tuesday)
1930	Smoot-Hawley Tariff
1932	Franklin Roosevelt elected
1937	“Roosevelt recession”

Images

Historical figures and events
 Wall Street on Black Tuesday
 Hoovervilles
 Poverty in cities
 The Bonus Army and its dispersion
 Fireside chat
 The buildings that housed the new federal bureaucracies
 Workers in public works programs
 Hoover Dam
 Mount Rushmore
 Tennessee Valley Authority projects
 The National Recovery Administration’s “Blue Eagle”
 The Dust Bowl
 Jesse Owens on the podium at the Berlin Olympics

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biography and presidential actions of Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- Elliott Bell’s account of the stock market crash of 1929
- Lee McCardell’s account of the US Army dispersing the Bonus Army
- Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes’s diary entries on the Roosevelt administration’s implementation of the New Deal
- Jesse Owens’s gold medal at the 1936 Berlin Olympics in Nazi Germany

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How does the Federal Reserve System work? What is its purpose?
- What is the purpose of buying and selling stocks, both for corporations and investors?
- How does stock trading work? What ultimately determines a stock’s price?
- For what reasons was stock speculation less than careful by the late 1920s?
- For what reasons were many stocks grossly overvalued by the late 1920s?
- What role did the Federal Reserve System play in encouraging speculation and overvaluation? How so?
- What first caused a sell-off in stocks in October 1929?
- How did the sell-off influence other investors?
- What is a bank run? What is its connection to fractional reserve banking?

- To what extent did Herbert Hoover depart from Calvin Coolidge’s policy of limited government and laissez-faire economics?
- What actions by the Hoover administration and Congress may have caused a temporary recession to become the Great Depression? How so?
- What was life like for many Americans during the Great Depression?
- How might one describe Franklin Delano Roosevelt? Why did he appeal to so many Americans, and why did his foes dislike him?
- What were the main ideas behind Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal? How did the New Deal compare to the American founding and the initial Progressive Era?
- What were the main types of government action taken as part of the New Deal?
- What language and images did Franklin Roosevelt use to gain public support for his actions?
- How did the New Deal transform the role and functioning of the federal government?
- How did Franklin Roosevelt conduct politics during his several terms as president?
- How was the National Recovery Administration both unconstitutional, per the Supreme Court, and practically difficult to manage?
- How did the Dust Bowl come about?
- To what extent was the New Deal successful? How so?
- In what ways were people critical of the New Deal, particularly of its public works programs, farming policies, and involvement in the flow of market information?
- What were the similarities and differences between the New Deal and the economic programs of Italy and Germany in the 1930s?
- What caused the recession of 1937, which some called the “Roosevelt recession”?
- Why do some scholars claim that the New Deal may have unintentionally prolonged the Great Depression?
- What was Franklin Roosevelt’s court-packing plan, and why did that plan backfire in public opinion?
- How did the programs enacted through the New Deal change the approach the Democratic Party would take toward assembling democratic majorities?
- Questions from the US Civics Test:
 - Question 53: How many seats are on the Supreme Court?
 - Question 103: What was the Great Depression?
 - Question 104: When did the Great Depression start?
 - Question 105: Who was president during the Great Depression and World War II?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

Rarely in American history can two adjoining time periods be juxtaposed so sharply as the 1920s and the 1930s, as the boom of the Roaring Twenties gave way abruptly to the bust of the Great Depression. Fluctuations in the economic decisions of millions of people are natural, relatively brief, and often clarifying for producers and consumers alike, but the economic abyss into which Americans descended was unlike anything else. Likewise, the response of the federal government was unmatched to any other time in its history. In the presidencies of Herbert Hoover and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a second run of Progressivism rose in response to the laissez-faire approach of the previous decade. Roosevelt’s policies often went far beyond the traditional constitutional limits on government authority in order to win (as he framed it) the war against the Depression. Students should understand the debates over the causes, the

deepening, and the perpetuation of the Great Depression, as well as the types and effectiveness of various government actions in response.

Teachers might best plan and teach The Great Depression with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Review with students the role and functioning of the Federal Reserve System, which Progressives had created via constitutional amendment during the Wilson administration.
- While students should have encountered the workings of the stock market in previous units, spend some time at the outset of this lesson to help them understand how the stock market works. Of particular importance is that they understand the normal function of buying and selling stocks, both for corporations and for investors. Admittedly, many achievements in American life would have been nearly impossible without the raising of capital through the sale of stocks. But students should also learn how the price of a stock can become detached from the hard realities and purposes behind a corporation's offering of stocks. In short, buying and selling stocks can easily become a form of straightforward gambling.
- With this backdrop, help students understand what makes a person less careful in the stock market. Students should be aware of the perception that the gains of the 1920s economy were unstoppable, but they should also learn about the practice of marginal trading and the effects of the rather novel Federal Reserve System's practice of keeping interest rates exceptionally low. This meant an inordinately low cost of borrowing money. By 1929, almost every bet in the stock market seemed sure to gain in value, and the money to borrow to place such bets seemed unending. It was human nature to respond in this way—both for investors and government experts at the Federal Reserve. Nobody thought it would stop, and in the case of the Federal Reserve members, nobody wanted to slow it down.
- Clarify for students what this meant: In the broader economy, much of Americans' savings had been loaned out, with complete confidence that they would be repaid with a sure profit. The capital raised from these savings was readily available and readily spent to expand the production of businesses. This production was responding more to the available capital rather than to the actual quantity of goods and services that Americans wanted. Almost everything was overvalued: the price a person saw a stock or company to be worth was far higher than its actual business success would yield. All it took was somebody to realize this, to attempt to sell their stocks at this higher price before they fell back to their real value, and then for others to notice what this person just did, recognize the underlying discrepancy, and do the same. Then the valuations would crash.
- While it is difficult to pinpoint what caused investors in late 1929 to look into the real value of the companies in which they had invested, a possible alarm might have been the sudden closing of a major investment firm in London that had been charged with fraud. While it did not have a direct impact on the American stock market, the sudden closure may have alerted enough American investors to take a closer look at the companies in which they had invested. What they found was that their stocks were indeed overvalued, and they began to sell.
- Be sure to note for students that a stock market crash and, in this case, the onset of a recession, is made up of the reactions of millions of individuals. In October 1929, that meant that a growing number of investors were frightened by the first sell-offs and began to presume that every stock—even those that were sound—were overvalued or would be affected by other overvalued stocks. It became a race to save something of their original investments.
- Next, begin to explain the various effects of this stock market crash in other areas of the economy, noting how the consequences were something like a trip wire that would then double back and

trigger itself again. As a company's stocks were deflated, the business model and outlook of a company dimmed, production and services halted, and employees were furloughed and then laid off. Now in need of money, the unemployed went to withdraw some of their personal savings from their banks. Here, introduce students to fractional reserve banking. With only a fraction of deposits on hand and the rest loaned out—in many cases, in overvalued stocks and companies—the deposits for all who had savings at a bank were not readily available for everyone all at once, should a bank run occur. As events unfolded, these savings were dissipated with the collapse of each additional business, and news of a limited supply of savings led to further panicked bank runs. With their savings gone, the unemployed and employed alike further lost the means to spend money at businesses and repay loans when businesses and banks were already short on revenue. More businesses closed, more stocks lost value, more people were unemployed, and the pattern repeated, continuing its downward spiral.

- Consider with students how the initial stock market crash did not make the Great Depression inevitable. The crash was harder than most sell-offs and recessions owing to a combination of the Federal Reserve System's monetary policy, overvaluation, and overproduction, but a relatively quick (albeit longer) correction was generally anticipated. Focus, then, on the important actions of the Hoover administration that arguably turned a bad recession into a depression. This series of events runs counter to the perception of Herbert Hoover as a dedicated champion of the free market and limited government. In contrast with Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover believed the American government and large American businesses were capable of using their authority, often in concert, to solve economic problems. But the passage of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff and the consequent retaliatory tariffs by other nations raised prices for the unemployed and underemployed while stifling international trade when the economy was already faltering. The Federal Reserve's belated raising of interest rates further restricted the flow of increasingly scarce dollars and dampened new investments and spending when that is just what businesses needed. Aid to key industries for mortgages and in the form of public works seemed to do little to help. Some argue that it was these events that actually caused the recession to turn into a historic depression.
- Take time to teach about the experiences of those who were suffering during the early days of the Great Depression, comparing it to the great prosperity they had experienced during the 1920s. Help students to see the desperation and disillusionment that so many families endured and the growing demand for some sort of radical solution. With the situation ripe for anarchist, socialist, and communist agitators to gain a sizeable following, things were volatile, to say the least.
- Explain the changes in party constituencies—particularly the Democratic alliance of southerners, western farmers, immigrants, workers in northern urban centers, and some African Americans—and the reasons for these shifts.
- Help students to understand the appeal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in his ideas, his words, and his personality, particularly as they fit the situation America was in by 1932. The fact that he spoke well and affably—combined with his penchant to have the government take action as though it were fighting a war—made him highly successful in garnering support from a downtrodden populace. Consider reading with students Roosevelt's Commonwealth Club address and his First inaugural address.
- Explain the ideas, nature, and products of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. The New Deal had many strands and, considered in its totality, can seem to be a collection of competing policies. But a common principle was that the federal government would not abide by the principles of limited government set forth in the American founding and reasserted during the 1920s but rather would

adopt the Progressive belief in government action to solve problems, confident in the power of bureaucratic expertise. The chief difference between the original Progressives and the Progressives of the New Deal was the dramatic scope of and almost exclusive economic focus of the New Deal. Consider reading Roosevelt's 1936 Democratic Convention address and his 1944 Annual Message to Congress to see his justifications for the New Deal and his efforts to expand the progressive view of rights and associated government powers.

- Lead students through a consideration of the New Deal's various approaches and programs to address the economic struggles America faced. Key areas to focus on include efforts to make banking less volatile and restore investor confidence; the myriad of public works programs; the close cooperation of the federal government and large businesses to fix the prices, wages, and other standards within various industries; the creation of certain limited welfare programs such as Social Security; and the record increase in income tax rates. Be sure to consider with students whether these actions worked as intended, followed the Constitution, and helped or hurt the economy. Chapter 17 of *Land of Hope* may be of help in navigating these questions, as well as for tracking the ebb and flow of Franklin Roosevelt's popularity. Reading Josiah Bailey's "The Conservative Manifesto" and Walter Lippmann's "The Dominant Dogma of the Day" are two sources that demonstrate contemporary critiques of Roosevelt and the New Deal.
- Discuss Franklin Roosevelt's reelection campaigns and the eventual decline in Democratic electoral victories as the Depression dragged on. Roosevelt's plan to pack the Supreme Court hurt him at the polls while many argued that his New Deal policies led to a recession in 1937. A debate has arisen, therefore, over whether Roosevelt's New Deal, if not worsening the Depression, at least inhibited a recovery that was already in the making, as had usually been the case in past economic downturns.
- Be sure students understand and reflect on the tremendous transformations that Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal wrought in the size, purpose, and functioning of the federal government and the place of the presidency. Never had the federal government been so large. The bureaucratic ideals first envisioned by the Progressives expanded greatly. Roosevelt's use of the presidency's bully pulpit surpassed perhaps even that of his cousin Theodore Roosevelt, while his use of government spending and power within political electoral matters marked a new era in national political operations. Students should explore what advantages and risks are inherent in such changes in government power, particularly in light of the principles of the American founding and traditional manner of governance that had formerly defined the United States. They should also consider the fact that Roosevelt and his New Deal provided a psychological boost to millions of suffering Americans.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain how the stock market came about and how the initial recession was turned into the Great Depression (2–3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the various ways the New Deal sought to improve the American economy and the effects of these actions, both on the economy and on the government itself (3–4 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.3

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 2
Land of Hope, Pages 294-302

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What happened on “Black Tuesday”?
2. Where did the Great Depression start? Where did it spread?
3. Describe briefly one of the two main schools of thought about the causes of the Great Depression.
4. What did other countries do in response to the Smoot-Hawley Tariff?
5. What happened to the group of Great War veterans called the “Bonus Army”?

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.4

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 2
Land of Hope, Pages 302-315

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. Why was Franklin Roosevelt's public personality and temperament helpful during the Great Depression?
2. What did Franklin Roosevelt promise to use to stop and reverse the Great Depression?
3. Name one of the actions Franklin Roosevelt took with his New Deal programs.
4. What did the U.S. Supreme Court rule about the National Recovery Administration (NRA)?
5. What caused the "Roosevelt recession"?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 6 | Formative Quiz

Covering Lessons 1-2
10-15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What was the Russian Civil War about? Who won? Why?
2. What did Warren G. Harding mean by a “return to normalcy”?
3. What was life like in the Greenwood neighborhood of Tulsa, Oklahoma? What happened to it?
4. What did Charles Lindbergh’s celebrity status reveal about the power of new communication technology and journalism?
5. How does stock trading work? What ultimately determines a stock’s price?
6. To what extent did Herbert Hoover depart from Calvin Coolidge’s policy of limited government and laissez-faire economics?
7. How did the programs enacted through the New Deal change the approach the Democratic Party would take toward assembling democratic majorities?

Lesson 3 — World War II

1939–1945

6-7 classes

LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the rise of totalitarianism during the interwar years, the outbreak of war in Europe and Asia, and the role of the United States in moving from a position of neutrality to its own entrance into the war and ultimate victory.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

<i>Land of Hope</i>	Pages 316–340
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

<i>A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope</i>	Pages 305–317
<i>A Student Workbook for Land of Hope</i>	Pages 198–205
<i>A Short History of World War II</i>	

Online.Hillsdale.edu

<i>The Great American Story</i>	Lecture 19
<i>The Second World Wars</i>	Lectures 1–7
<i>American Heritage</i>	Lecture 9

STUDENT PREPARATION

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 316–327, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (198–201) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 327–340, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (202–205) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read and annotate excerpts from Winston Churchill’s “Fifty Years Hence,” and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

Geography and Places

Latin America
 Ukraine
 Imperial Japan
 China
 Ethiopia
 Rhineland
 Sudetenland
 Ardennes Forest
 Dunkirk
 Vichy France
 Free France
 English Channel

Yugoslavia
 Caucuses
 Pacific Ocean
 Detroit
 Seattle
 Tunisia
 Sicily
 Normandy
 Bastogne
 Dresden
 Tokyo
 Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Persons

Franklin D. Roosevelt
 Joseph Stalin
 Benito Mussolini
 Adolf Hitler
 Hirohito
 Hideki Tojo
 Francisco Franco
 Neville Chamberlain
 Winston Churchill
 Philippe Pétain
 Charles de Gaulle
 Heinrich Himmler
 Hermann Göring

Reinhard Heydrich
 Adolf Eichmann
 Erwin Rommel
 Bernard Montgomery
 A. Philip Randolph
 George Patton
 Dwight Eisenhower
 Douglas MacArthur
 Chester Nimitz
 Harry Truman
 Albert Einstein
 J. Robert Oppenheimer

Terms and Topics

Treaty of Versailles
 League of Nations
 totalitarianism
 communism
 nationalism
 Cheka
 gulag archipelago
 Great Purge
 Holodomor
 Meiji Restoration
 Weimar Republic
 fascism
 Nazi Party
 Brownshirts

SS
 Reichstag fire
 Gestapo
 Nuremberg Laws
 Kristallnacht
 Neutrality Acts
 Spanish Civil War
 Japanese Invasion of China
 Rape of Nanking
 rearmament
 Luftwaffe
 Austrian Anschluss
 Munich Crisis
 appeasement

Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact	Battle of Guadalcanal
Invasion of Poland	Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam
Allied Powers	resistance/partisan groups
Blitzkrieg	Operation Torch
paratroopers	Operation Husky
Katyn Forest	Italian Campaign
“sitzkrieg”	Gustav Line
Scandinavian Campaigns	strategic bombing
Maginot Line	thousand-bomber raids
Miracle of Dunkirk	US Marines
Axis Powers	island hopping
Royal Air Force (RAF)	amphibious assault
Battle of Britain	Atlantic Wall
The Blitz	Operation Overlord
Ultra decrypting	D-Day
Cash and carry	Battle of Normandy
Destroyers for Bases	Falaise pocket
Atlantic Charter	Operation Market Garden
Lend-Lease	Battle of Leyte Gulf
Hemispheric Defense Zone	Warsaw Uprising
Operation Barbarossa	Battle of the Bulge
Battle of Moscow	Bombing of Dresden
Siege of Leningrad	Battle of Iwo Jima
Attack on Pearl Harbor	Battle of Okinawa
Bataan Death March	concentration/death camps
Big Three	Auschwitz
“Arsenal of Democracy”	The Holocaust
code talkers	genocide
Bracero Program	Battle of Berlin
Japanese Internment	VE Day
<i>Korematsu v. United States</i>	Firebombing of Tokyo
Tuskegee Airmen	Operation Downfall
Battle of the Coral Sea	Manhattan Project
Battle of Midway	atomic bomb
Battle of the Atlantic	<i>Enola Gay</i>
<i>Fanfare for the Common Man</i>	VJ Day
Battle of Stalingrad	

Primary Sources

“Fifty Years Hence,” Winston Churchill
 Fireside chat on National Security, Franklin Roosevelt
 Annual Message to Congress, 1941, Franklin Roosevelt
 Atlantic Charter, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill

To Know by Heart

“December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy.” —Franklin Roosevelt, War Message to Congress

“I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat.” —Winston Churchill to Parliament, May 13, 1940

“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 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, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.” —Winston Churchill to Parliament, June 4, 1940

“[T]he Battle of France is over. I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, ‘This was their finest hour.’” —Winston Churchill to Parliament, June 18, 1940

“Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.”
—Winston Churchill on the Royal Air Force pilots who fought in the Battle of Britain, August 20, 1940

Timeline

1929	Stock market crash; Great Depression begins
1933	Hitler appointed chancellor, named dictator
1938	Austrian Anschluss and Munich Crisis
1939	Germany seizes all of Czechoslovakia
1939–1945	World War II
1939	Sept. 1 Germany and the Soviet Union invade Poland
1940	Fall of France Battle of Britain and the Blitz
1941	Germany invades the Soviet Union
	Dec. 7 Japanese attack Pearl Harbor
1942	Battle of Midway

		Battle of Stalingrad
1943		Battle of Guadalcanal
		Invasions of North Africa and Italy
1944	June 6	Normandy Invasion (D-Day)
		Battle of the Bulge
1945	May 8	VE Day
	Aug. 15	VJ Day

Images

Historical figures and events
 Photographs from the Soviet gulags
 Images and uniforms of Allied and Axis officers and soldiers
 Depictions and photographs of figures at various scenes and moments in battle
 Video footage of soldiers and fighting
 Maps: alliances, overall strategies, specific battles
 Military equipment and weaponry
 War propaganda
 Medical equipment
 Reenactment photos
 Facsimiles of documents and letters
 Home front and factory production
 Japanese internment notices
 Prisoner-of-war and death camps
 Destruction from the war
 Postwar maps

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Life in a Soviet gulag
- Nadezhda Mandelstam's account of a Soviet arrest
- Life during the Holodomor
- Life in Weimar, Germany
- Sefton Delmer's account of the Reichstag fire
- Noel Monks's account of the bombing of Guernica
- The attack by German soldiers dressed as Poles on a German radio station, which Adolf Hitler used to justify invading Poland
- The bombing of Rotterdam
- Erwin Rommel's account of blitzkrieg in France
- The evacuation of the British Army from Dunkirk, mainly using British civilian boats; John Austin's account
- Winston Churchill and the Royal Air Force in the Battle of Britain; Richard Hillary's account
- Frances Faviell's account of the Blitz
- The Russian winter setting in as the Germans were on the outskirts of Moscow
- The mass murders committed by the Soviet Union, Imperial Japan, and Nazi Germany
- Resistance fighting
- Ultra deciphering of the German Enigma Code
- John Garcia's and Daniel Inouye's accounts of the attack on Pearl Harbor

- Bataan Death March
- Doolittle Raid
- Attempted assassinations of Adolf Hitler
- Mitsuo Fuchida's account of the Battle of Midway
- Fighting in the various theaters of war, especially those involving American soldiers
- Stories of American soldiers in various major battles
- Forrest Vosler in a B-17
- John Basilone fighting in the Pacific
- Robert Sherrod's account of the Marines landing at Tarawa
- James Rudder and the Army Rangers attacking Pointe du Hoc
- Robert Edlin's account of fighting at Omaha Beach on D-Day
- Fighting of John Pruitt in Europe
- Dietrich von Choltitz's refusal to destroy Paris
- First reports to the Allies of the "Final Solution," by Gerhart Riegner
- Life in Nazi concentration camps and stories of resistance and survival
- Hermann Graebe's account of a mass execution of Jews
- Sophia Litwinska's account of the gas chambers
- Deaths of Maximilian Kolbe, Edith Stein, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, among others
- Warsaw uprising
- Accounts by Eugene Sledge of fighting in the Pacific
- Jack Lucas fighting at Iwo Jima
- Deaths of Franklin Roosevelt, Benito Mussolini, and Adolf Hitler in April 1945
- The *Enola Gay* dropping the first atomic bomb
- Survivors of strategic bombing and atomic bombing campaigns

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- To what extent did the Soviet Union fulfill its goals of material equality and democratic liberty?
- What forms of political persecution and extermination did the communist Soviet Union inflict on its people?
- What groups of people in Europe especially feared communism during the 1920s and 1930s?
- What is economic fascism?
- How did Imperial Japan become so powerful?
- How did Benito Mussolini come to power in Italy? What did he promise?
- What problems did Weimar, Germany, face? What caused these problems?
- Why were Germans attracted to the ideas of the Nazi Party in the 1930s?
- Why was Adolf Hitler obsessed with a person's race?
- What were Adolf Hitler's goals for those he considered "Aryans"?
- What was the Reichstag fire? How did it come about, and why was it important for Adolf Hitler's dictatorship?
- What are the ways in which communism, socialism, and fascism are similar and different? What roles did nationalism and militarism play in each?
- What military actions did Japan, Italy, Germany, and Spain each take during the 1930s? Why?
- What were Adolf Hitler's foreign policy goals, and how did he try to justify them to the other countries of Europe?
- How did World War II begin in September 1939?

- What were the main components to blitzkrieg?
- What was the situation the world faced at Dunkirk and in the Battle of Britain?
- How significant were the persona and the actions of Winston Churchill, especially during the early years of World War II?
- Why was the Battle of Britain fought?
- What were the ways the United States indirectly but intentionally helped the British in their war with Germany and in their deterrence of Japan in the Pacific?
- Why was Operation Barbarossa so significant?
- Why did Japan attack the United States? What was the strategic goal of the attack on Pearl Harbor? Why was the attack not completely successful?
- How did Nazi Germany, communist Soviet Union, and Imperial Japan treat their own people, the people they conquered, and soldiers they captured? Why?
- How did resistance groups fight the tyrannies under which they lived?
- After Pearl Harbor, what nation did the Allies agree to focus on defeating first? Why?
- How did the Allies gradually win the Battle of the Atlantic? Why was this victory so vital?
- What was strategic bombing? What were the problems with it, both practical and moral?
- How were American industrial might and American generals important to the Allied cause?
- What was fighting like in the Pacific, in North Africa, and in Italy? How were the Allies eventually successful in each theater?
- How did Operation Overlord work?
- What did Nazi Germany do in the Holocaust?
- In addition to the Nazis' primary target, the Jews, who else was targeted and killed in German executions and concentration camps?
- To what extent did average Germans and the outside world know what was happening? Explain.
- As the war drew to a close in Europe, why did territorial gains by each Allied power become an issue among the Allies?
- What happened to Poland and all of Eastern Europe in the final year of the war? How can this development be said to be both tragic and ironic?
- How was the atomic bomb developed?
- What moral quandaries did the Allies face at numerous points in the war?
- Question from the US Civics Test:
 - Question 105: Who was president during the Great Depression and World War II?
 - Question 106: Why did the United States enter World War II?
 - Question 107: Dwight Eisenhower is famous for many things. Name one.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

World War II was one of the monumental events in world history, an epic struggle between good and evil. This is not to say that the Allied war effort was morally perfect. But if there ever was a moment when we can say that an evil regime was set to conquer the world and heroes rose to meet it, World War II was such a moment. The efforts of Americans of the time—from business leaders and workers to generals and citizen soldiers—saved the world. In recognizing these facts, students should be able to acknowledge the gratitude and honor they owe to this “greatest generation” and should rise to conserve what those soldiers sacrificed and died to defend.

Teachers might best plan and teach World War II with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Begin the lesson with a retracing of events in Europe and Asia during the 1920s and 1930s. In addition to the tumult of the global Depression, Europe was slow to recover from the Great War, particularly with respect to the shakiness of its political and traditional institutions and beliefs.
- Spend time with Soviet Russia as the experiment in communism played out. Under both Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin, the Soviet Union was the world's first totalitarian state, combining an atheistic philosophy with modern scientific technology and thus controlling its people and seeking to spread its revolutionary power worldwide. Talk specifically about the gulag death camps, the Holodomor in the Ukraine, the secret police, and the torture of political and philosophical opponents.
- Pivot to discussing the other branch of totalitarianism: fascism. Imperial Japan, Benito Mussolini's Italy, Nazi Germany, and Francisco Franco's Spain were distinct from communism mainly in economic policy. Whereas communism in the Soviet Union owned all business and property, economic fascism sought more to direct or force private businesses and property toward certain state-sanctioned goals. Communism, socialism, and fascism thus are all distinct from the American economic principle of free markets that come with limited constitutional government and capitalism.
- Consider with students that, with the exception of economic policy, the communist and fascist regimes of the interwar years were similar to each other. Discuss with students how this was the case, for even though the specific goals were different, the means were the same. Students may consider, for example, how all three regimes:
 - opposed the free market
 - divided people into superior and inferior groups
 - sought conquest
 - involved enormous centralized government action without enforced constitutions
 - appealed to the common man even as their leaders sacrificed the common man to preserve themselves
 - harnessed both traditional culture and cultural change to mobilize and unite their people
 - held no objective moral principles besides the will to power
 - employed propaganda and restricted free speech
 - appealed to passion instead of reason
 - indoctrinated the youth by dividing them from their parents
 - used science and technology for mass control
 - worked in close concert with military leaders and industries
 - coalesced around a single individual leader
 - took advantage of economic and political crises to gain power
 - employed secret police
 - endorsed gang violence and thuggery
 - persecuted political opponents
- Students should understand the way of life in these regimes, contrasting it with such American principles as freedom of speech, freedom of religion, private property, protection against unreasonable search and seizure, limited government, representative democracy, and the dignity of the human person and natural rights. Exploring the relationship between these ideologies and the new technologies arrived at through science is an important part of this conversation, as captured in Winston Churchill's "Fifty Years Hence," which may be read with students.

- Discuss how Adolf Hitler's Nazi party gained power, at first legally, and the circumstances—for example, inflation from reparations, the humiliations from the Treaty of Versailles, the Great Depression, and fears of a communist revolution—that had made the Nazi platform initially appealing to Germans. Then walk through the various steps Hitler took to gain dictatorial power, including the Nazi-organized Reichstag fire that was used to justify this power grab, the suspension of the constitution, and the violation of rights. At this point in the lesson, students should learn about the Nazis' treatment of Jews and others up through Kristallnacht, waiting to teach about the Holocaust itself until the final years of the war, when the ordinary people of the rest of the world first learned of it (see guidance below).
- Begin the prelude to war with Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, Italy and Germany's involvement in the Spanish Civil War, and Japan's complete invasion of China. Turn to Hitler's violations of the Treaty of Versailles as he rearmed Germany and imposed territorial claims. Students should understand the sources of the European policy of appeasement, even while asking whether the policy was misguided, as Winston Churchill warned. Consider especially how each of Hitler's moves was an admitted gamble in his eyes, as well as the clear actions European powers could have taken to rebut Germany successfully. Be sure to track Churchill's warnings during these years, even as he was not yet prime minister. By the time Hitler invaded Poland, Germany had grown too powerful to be easily checked. Still, a French offensive in the west may have done some good instead of forces waiting behind the Maginot Line.
- Amid the growing belligerence of these powers, note America's general return to the foreign policy of George Washington and subsequent policies that had preceded its involvement in the Great War. A series of Neutrality Acts sought to keep America in this position, one of avoiding any war that was not in the national interest of America, here meaning the preservation of the constitutional government that preserved the natural rights of Americans.
- Have students think through and compare the various advantages and disadvantages each side had at the outset of the war and how these shifted during the war. Have students take simple notes, as a "T-Chart" can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Build students' familiarity with the style of warfare in 1939, and show them plenty of images to do so. Students need this foundation for their subsequent study of battles. This helps them to imagine and understand what happens in battle and to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides. Explain in particular the great changes in technology and tactics.
- Present to students explanations of each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles. Have students track strategy changes on a map of Europe and the Pacific during World War II.
- As with any conflict, dwell on the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war, especially Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle, Erwin Rommel, George Patton, Dwight Eisenhower, and Douglas MacArthur. The Second World War was an exceptionally well-documented conflict, and every battle has plenty of firsthand accounts and stories of individual soldiers that students deserve to learn.
- Teach the war in some detail, especially the major battles and military campaigns. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battle itself, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often and have students track battles and campaigns on maps of Europe, North Africa, and the Pacific. There are many well-documented and engaging battles to teach, so prudence and time will determine which to treat in depth and which to summarize in a lively and telling manner. A

Short History of World War II is a great aid for teaching these battles; students may enjoy reading select accounts of battles from this work.

- Teach the beginning of the war through 1941 with all the speed and drama that defined the time. Matters reached a crisis point at Dunkirk, where the British army was facing almost certain annihilation but executed a miracle evacuation. But the British had appeared merely to forestall the inevitable, as the German army prepared for the invasion of the British Isles and the end to free government on the frontier of Western civilization. Here teachers must help students imagine what they and the world would have been facing. It is not an overstatement to say this: the fate of the world lay in the hands of the British, particularly in their leader, Winston Churchill, their ordinary citizens, and the young men of the Royal Air Force. Their sacrifice in the Battle of Britain and then the Blitz staved off a German victory. Likewise, students should be aware of the crucial folly of Hitler's invasion of Russia.
- Note for students how the rapid German conquest of Europe and the heroism of the British moved the American people, not to outright support for war, but to support material aid to the British. Discuss Roosevelt's unprecedented third term and the various ways he and Congress aided the British and checked the Japanese in the Pacific. With this background and especially the American policy toward Japan, teach the attack on the US Pacific Fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Students may read Roosevelt's Fireside Chat on National Security, his 1941 Annual Message to Congress, and the Atlantic Charter to gain insights into U.S. policy prior to Pearl Harbor.
- Briefly walk through the main ways that America mobilized for war, which had the side effect of lifting America out of the Great Depression, with millions of soldiers leaving the workforce or unemployment rolls to fight, just as demand for workers for the war effort soared.
- Teachers will need to decide whether to teach the war from Pearl Harbor onward in one of two ways. The first way is to teach the European theater and then the Pacific. The other way is to teach the war year-by-year, oscillating between theaters and touching on the other ongoing war efforts, both domestically and in combat, in the process. This latter effort can be more challenging but also presents a fuller and more realistic experience of the course of events.
- Of special import, highlight for students the moments and factors that led to an Allied victory once America entered the war. These factors may include the sheer manpower and industrial might of America, the failure of the Japanese to destroy America's aircraft carriers and oil reserves at Pearl Harbor, the ingenuity that closed the Atlantic Gap, the work of codebreakers, the enterprise and daring of American soldiers and generals in innumerable situations, the hubris of Axis leaders, and the key battles of Midway, Stalingrad, Guadalcanal, small islands in the vast Pacific, Leyte Gulf, D-Day, the Battle of the Bulge, and the resistance efforts of many brave people.
- As the lesson proceeds toward the end of the war, discuss the various conferences and conversations among the "Big Three" concerning the postwar world. As their common enemy was nearing defeat, the awkward alliance was sure to pit a totalitarian regime against those of representative self-government. Students should understand the ideas and maneuverings (or lack thereof) by the Americans and the British, especially Winston Churchill's salient predictions about Joseph Stalin and the Soviet Union.
- Teach students about the Holocaust, beginning with the moment that the Allies began to enter Poland and Germany in 1944 and 1945 and discovered the concentration and death camps. Students should learn about the Nazis' purposes for this genocide—the murder of Jews and others they considered inferior or who stood up to them. Students may be asked to make these reflections in consideration of the moral and political philosophy on which the American

founders established the United States. The Holocaust entailed the total annihilation of natural rights, of freedom, of the dignity of the human person, and of human life itself.

- Likewise, teach about the mass murders of other people by the Soviet Union and Japan.
- Outline the basic terms of the treaties ending the war and the state of affairs among the British and the Americans and the Soviets.
- Discuss with students the moral quandaries of waging a just war, such as the internment of Japanese American citizens, the general foreknowledge by the Roosevelt administration of the Holocaust, and arguments that some have made about strategic bombing and the use of atomic weapons. Students should appreciate the complexities of war, even of just war, and the great questions facing human beings, who, even amid the most just of causes, are nevertheless still fallible.
- Recap the war by considering major statistics, including the number of casualties and deaths on each side, and its effects on America and the world. Considering the civilian death toll and murder of so many noncombatant men, women, and children is also appropriate and sobering. In many ways, the jubilation that America experienced at the end of the war was a rarity in the world.

STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: Explain the rise of totalitarian regimes and the ways that communism and fascism were both similar and different (3–4 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the history of World War II, with particular focus on America's involvement (4–5 paragraphs).

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.5

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 316-327

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was one way Germany struggled after the Great War?
2. What almost happened to the British Army in Europe in 1940?
3. Name one way in which Franklin Delano Roosevelt's policies helped the British and hurt the Germans and Japanese prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor.
4. What from America did Japan rely on in order to project power militarily?
5. Name one failure of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Name _____

Date _____

Reading Quiz 6.6

The Interwar Years and World War II | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 327-340

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. List three things that happened domestically once America declared war.
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.

2. Name two major battles or fields of combat in Europe and North Africa in which Americans fought during World War II.
 - i.
 - ii.

3. Name two major battles or fields of combat in the Pacific theater in which Americans fought during World War II.
 - i.
 - ii.

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Unit 6 Test — Study Guide

Test on _____

TIMELINE

When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

Oct. 29, 1929	Stock Market Crash (Black Tuesday)
1932	Franklin Roosevelt elected president
1933	Adolf Hitler appointed chancellor, named dictator
1939–1945	World War II
1939	Sept. 1 Germany and the Soviet Union invade Poland
1940	Fall of France Battle of Britain and the Blitz
1941	Germany invades the Soviet Union Dec. 7 Japanese attack Pearl Harbor
1942	Battle of Midway Battle of Stalingrad
1943	Battle of Guadalcanal Invasions of North Africa and Italy
1944	June 6 Normandy Invasion (D-Day) Battle of the Bulge
1945	May 8 VE Day Aug. 15 VJ Day

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

Identify the approximate location or field of battle for each on a map.

Battle of Moscow	Operation Torch	Battle of Iwo Jima
Attack on Pearl Harbor	Operation Husky	Battle of Okinawa
Battle of Midway	Operation Overlord	
Battle of Stalingrad	Operation Market Garden	
Battle of Guadalcanal	Battle of the Bulge	

PERSONS

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

Woodrow Wilson	Calvin Coolidge	William Jennings Bryan
Susan B. Anthony	Henry Ford	Robert Frost
Joseph Stalin	Walt Disney	Louis Armstrong
Warren G. Harding	Charles Lindbergh	Duke Ellington
Andrew Mellon	Al Capone	Langston Hughes

Herbert Hoover
 Franklin Delano Roosevelt
 Aaron Copland
 Benito Mussolini
 Adolf Hitler
 Hirohito
 Hideki Tojo
 Neville Chamberlain

Winston Churchill
 Charles de Gaulle
 Heinrich Himmler
 Erwin Rommel
 Bernard Montgomery
 A. Philip Randolph
 George Patton
 Dwight Eisenhower

Douglas MacArthur
 Chester Nimitz
 Harry Truman
 Albert Einstein
 J. Robert Oppenheimer

TERMS AND TOPICS

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

Spanish Flu
 18th Amendment
 Prohibition
 19th Amendment
 Russian Civil War
 Red Scare
 Great Migration
 Tulsa Massacre
 Teapot Dome Scandal
 long-term mortgage
 organized crime
 Scopes Trial
 art deco
 jazz
 Harlem Renaissance
 stock market
 Federal Reserve System
 Federal Reserve rate
 speculation
 marginal trading
 overvaluation
 bubble
 Black Tuesday
 fractional reserve banking
 Smoot-Hawley Tariff
 Great Depression
 Bonus Army
 21st Amendment
 New Deal
 brain trust
 fireside chats
 regulation
 bureaucracy

public works programs
 National Recovery
 Administration
 Dust Bowl
 Social Security Act
 Tuskegee Experiment
 Wagner Act
 court packing
 “Roosevelt recession”
 Treaty of Versailles
 totalitarianism
 communism
 nationalism
 gulag archipelago
 Great Purge
 Holodomor
 Meiji Restoration
 Weimar Republic
 fascism
 Nazi Party
 Reichstag fire
 Gestapo
 Nuremberg Laws
 Kristallnacht
 Neutrality Acts
 Rape of Nanking
 Austrian Anschluss
 Munich Crisis
 Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression
 Pact
 Allied Powers
 Blitzkrieg
 “sitzkrieg”

Axis Powers
 Royal Air Force (RAF)
 Ultra decrypting
 Cash and carry
 Destroyers for Bases
 Atlantic Charter
 Lend-Lease
 Hemispheric Defense Zone
 Bataan Death March
 “Arsenal of Democracy”
 code talkers
 Bracero Program
 Japanese Internment
Korematsu v. United States
 Tuskegee Airmen
 Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam
 Conferences
 Gustav Line
 thousand-bomber raids
 US Marines
 island hopping
 Atlantic Wall
 concentration/death camps
 Auschwitz
 The Holocaust
 genocide
 VE Day
 Manhattan Project
 atomic bomb
 VJ Day

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.

Invasion of Poland	Battle of Midway	D-Day
Miracle of Dunkirk	Battle of the Atlantic	Battle of Normandy
Battle of Britain	Battle of Stalingrad	Operation Market Garden
The Blitz	Battle of Guadalcanal	Battle of the Bulge
Operation Barbarossa	Operation Torch	Battle of Iwo Jima
Battle of Moscow	Operation Husky	Battle of Okinawa
Attack on Pearl Harbor	Italian Campaign	Operation Downfall
Battle of the Coral Sea	Operation Overlord	

PRIMARY SOURCES

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well-prepared.

“The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence,” Calvin Coolidge
Commonwealth Club address, Franklin Roosevelt
Democratic Convention address, 1936, Franklin Roosevelt
“The Dominant Dogma of the Age,” Walter Lippmann
Annual Message to Congress, 1944, Franklin Roosevelt
Annual Message to Congress, 1941, Franklin Roosevelt
Atlantic Charter, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill

TO KNOW BY HEART

Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

“Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of my administration has been minding my own business.” —Calvin Coolidge

“December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy.” —Franklin Roosevelt, War Message to Congress

“[T]he Battle of France is over. I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the

British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, “This was their finest hour.” —Winston Churchill to Parliament, June 18, 1940

“Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.” —Winston Churchill on the Royal Air Force pilots who fought in the Battle of Britain, August 20, 1940

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

- Biographies and the roles of Susan B. Anthony, Calvin Coolidge, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- Life in a Soviet gulag
- Life during the Holodomor
- The evacuation of the British Army from Dunkirk, mainly using British civilian boats
- Winston Churchill and the Royal Air Force in the Battle of Britain
- The mass murders committed by the Soviet Union, Imperial Japan, and Nazi Germany
- Resistance fighting
- Bataan Death March
- Doolittle Raid
- The Army Rangers attacking Pointe du Hoc
- Life in Nazi concentration camps and stories of resistance and survival
- The *Enola Gay* dropping the first atomic bomb

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 1 | The Roaring Twenties

- How did the Great War change America?
- What challenges did America face domestically following the Great War? Why?
- What were the arguments for Prohibition?
- What did Warren G. Harding mean by a “return to normalcy”?
- What economic policies did Warren G. Harding enact with respect to the economy? What was the result?
- Why did the Great Migration begin during the Great War and accelerate during the 1920s?
- What was life like in the Greenwood neighborhood of Tulsa, Oklahoma? What happened to it?
- How might Calvin Coolidge’s presidency be characterized?
- In what ways did Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge offer an answer to the Progressives?
- What technological innovations were most responsible for transforming the pace and busyness of life for Americans during the 1920s?
- How was the 18th Amendment ineffective, and how did it undermine the rule of law?
- To what extent and in what ways did American culture change during the 1920s? Why?
- How did art and architecture change in America following the Great War? What inspirations and principles shaped the artists who introduced these styles?
- How did jazz develop, and what were its main characteristics?

- What was the Harlem Renaissance? What were its origins and main ideas?

Lesson 2 | The Great Depression

- How does the Federal Reserve System work? What is its purpose?
- How does stock trading work? What ultimately determines a stock's price?
- For what reasons was stock speculation less than careful by the late 1920s?
- For what reasons were many stocks grossly overvalued by the late 1920s?
- What role did the Federal Reserve System play in encouraging speculation and overvaluation? How so?
- What is a bank run? What is its connection to fractional reserve banking?
- What actions by the Hoover administration and Congress may have caused a temporary recession to become the Great Depression? How so?
- What was life like for many Americans during the Great Depression?
- How might one describe Franklin Delano Roosevelt? Why did he appeal to so many Americans, and why did his foes dislike him?
- What were the main ideas behind Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal? How did the New Deal compare to the American founding and the initial Progressive Era?
- What were the main types of government action taken as part of the New Deal?
- How did the New Deal transform the role and functioning of the federal government?
- How was the National Recovery Administration both unconstitutional, per the Supreme Court, and practically difficult to manage?
- To what extent was the New Deal successful? How so?
- What was Franklin Roosevelt's court-packing plan, and why did that plan backfire in public opinion?
- How did the programs enacted through the New Deal change the approach the Democratic Party would take toward assembling democratic majorities?

Lesson 3 | World War II

- What groups of people in Europe especially feared communism during the 1920s and 1930s?
- What is economic fascism?
- What problems did Weimar, Germany, face? What caused these problems?
- What was the Reichstag fire? How did it come about, and why was it important for Adolf Hitler's dictatorship?
- What are the ways in which communism, socialism, and fascism are similar and different? What roles did nationalism and militarism play in each?
- How did World War II begin in September 1939?
- What was the situation the world faced at Dunkirk and in the Battle of Britain?
- How significant were the persona and the actions of Winston Churchill, especially during the early years of World War II?
- What were the ways the United States indirectly but intentionally helped the British in their war with Germany and in their deterrence of Japan in the Pacific?
- Why did Japan attack the United States? What was the strategic goal of the attack on Pearl Harbor? Why was the attack not completely successful?
- How did Nazi Germany, communist Soviet Union, and Imperial Japan treat their own people, the people they conquered, and soldiers they captured? Why?

- After Pearl Harbor, what nation did the Allies agree to focus on defeating first? Why?
- How did the Allies gradually win the Battle of the Atlantic? Why was this victory so vital?
- How were American industrial might and American generals important to the Allied cause?
- What was fighting like in the Pacific, in North Africa, and in Italy? How were the Allies eventually successful in each theater?
- How did Operation Overlord work?
- What did Nazi Germany do in the Holocaust?
- As the war drew to a close in Europe, why did territorial gains by each Allied power become an issue among the Allies?
- What happened to Poland and all of Eastern Europe in the final year of the war? How can this development be said to be both tragic and ironic?
- How was the atomic bomb developed?

Name _____

Date _____

Unit 6 | Test — The Interwar Years and World War II

TIMELINE

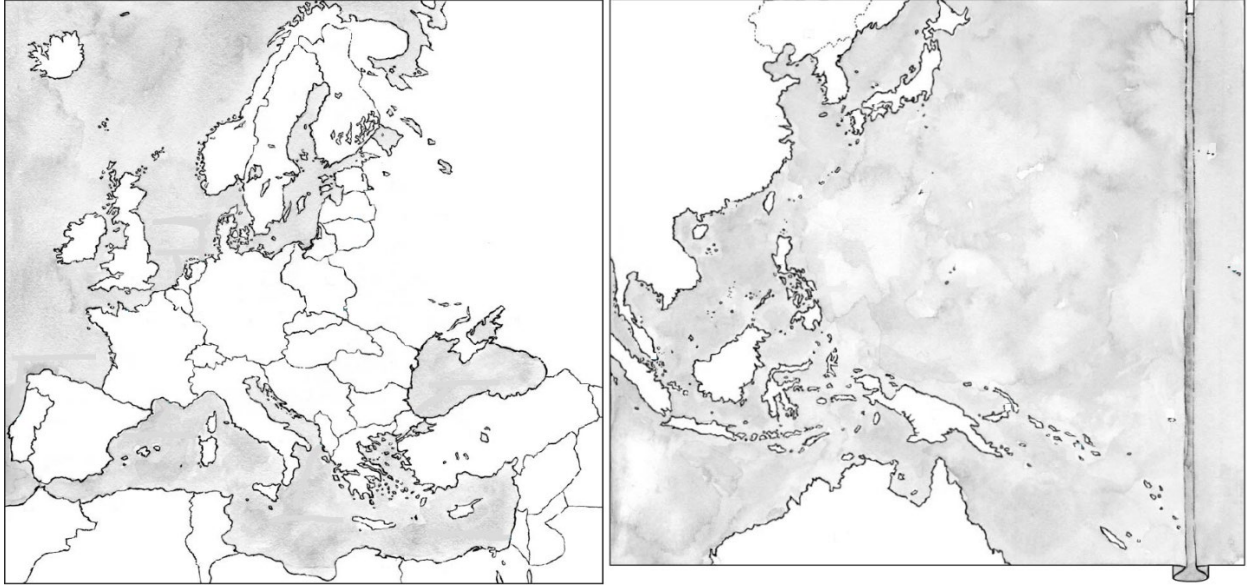
Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

Oct. 29, 1929	_____	
1932	_____	A. Battle of Britain and the Blitz
1933	_____	B. Battle of Guadalcanal
1939–1945	_____	C. Battle of Midway
1939	Sept. 1 _____	D. Battle of Stalingrad
1940	_____	E. Battle of the Bulge
	_____	F. Fall of France
1941	_____	G. Franklin Roosevelt elected president
	Dec. 7 _____	H. Germany and the Soviet Union invade Poland
1942	_____	I. Germany invades the Soviet Union
	_____	J. Hitler appointed chancellor, named dictator
1943	_____	K. Invasions of North Africa and Italy
	_____	L. Japanese attack Pearl Harbor
1944	June 6 _____	M. Normandy Invasion (D-Day)
	_____	N. Stock Market Crash (Black Tuesday)
1945	May 8 _____	O. VE Day
	Aug. 15 _____	P. VJ Day
		Q. World War II

GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Mark the approximate location or field of battle for each on the following maps using the corresponding letters.

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| A. Battle of Moscow | G. Operation Husky |
| B. Attack on Pearl Harbor | H. Operation Overlord |
| C. Battle of Midway | I. Operation Market Garden |
| D. Battle of Stalingrad | J. Battle of the Bulge |
| E. Battle of Guadalcanal | K. Battle of Iwo Jima |
| F. Operation Torch | L. Battle of Okinawa |



Maps courtesy of *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*.

PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank.

2. While women had the right to vote in some states, it was not until the passage of the _____ in 1920 that women's right to vote was guaranteed in the US Constitution.
3. The cultural revival among African Americans known as the Harlem Renaissance also helped give rise to a new, distinctly American genre of music based on rhythm and improvisation known as _____.
4. Beginning in the 1920s, millions of African Americans began moving to northern cities, seeking new opportunities in burgeoning industrial centers in what is known as the _____.
5. In addition to helping to pass the 21st Amendment ending Prohibition and arguing that Americans had "nothing to fear but fear itself," _____ gave further hope to Americans in exchange for greater trust with his weekly radio broadcasts known as _____.
6. Having won a power battle after the death of Vladimir Lenin, _____ became Secretary General of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, where he eliminated political opponents with political purges carried out by his secret police, starved seven million Ukrainians to death when they revolted, and hid the truth of his actions behind endless propaganda.
7. By the time Japan invaded China in 1931, she had undergone the Meiji Restoration, which made her into an industrial and military powerhouse led by the military under the command of prime minister _____.

8. In the 1920s and '30s, Italy and Germany began a new political system which depended on a government-business partnership, a strong sense of race-based nationalism, a conviction that “right makes might,” and a tendency to see other people as scapegoats for their yet unachieved power. These are some of the characteristics of the ideology known as _____.
9. Against the backdrop of the economic troubles of the Weimar Republic, the Treaty of Versailles, and the threat of a communist revolution, Adolf Hitler and the _____ Party gained power in the 1932 elections, with Adolf Hitler appointed chancellor in 1933.
10. Had it not been for the actions of a thousand British private boat-owners who ferried trapped British soldiers from France across the English Channel and to Great Britain during what became known as the _____, the British Army would have been destroyed and the last hope in Europe for a free world left without an army.
11. In June 1941, in pursuance of his plans for Eastern Europe and his hatred of communism, Adolf Hitler launched Operation _____, the largest land invasion in history, in which the German Army invaded the Soviet Union.
12. When America began antagonizing Imperial Japan by taking measures to protect British colonies in the Pacific Ocean, Japan sought to cripple America’s Pacific Fleet by attacking it at the Hawaiian naval base called _____. While the attack killed 2,403 American sailors, sank eight battleships, and destroyed hundreds of warplanes, it did not sink any of America’s aircraft carriers—which had been out to sea. As one Japanese admiral hence feared, “All we have done is to awaken a sleeping giant and fill him with a terrible resolve.”
13. After attacking the US Pacific Fleet, Japan then sent its navy and air force to conquer British and American possessions throughout the Pacific Ocean. When American soldiers were overrun in the Philippines, their Japanese conquerors forced the prisoners to march one hundred miles for seven days without food or water in the scorching South Pacific sun. Those who fell were shot, and thousands of American soldiers died on the _____.
14. Angered at Japan and fearing spies or sabotage, the American government forced thousands of Americans of Japanese descent from their homes and into internment camps, a policy which the Supreme Court ruled was constitutional in the case _____.
15. The Battle of _____ was the largest naval battle of the war. Although the United States lost the aircraft carrier USS *Yorktown*, American planes were able to sink four Japanese carriers and gain naval control of the Pacific Ocean.
16. In 1942, the US Marines conducted an amphibious invasion of the island of _____ in the Solomon Islands. These soldiers’ jungle-fighting against the Japanese resulted in thousands of Marines killed, but also in victory, stopping the Japanese advance and placing the United States on a slow but steady offensive in the Pacific.

17. As the Soviets stopped Hitler's advance into the USSR at the Battle of Stalingrad, by late 1943 the Allies had destroyed the German and Italian armies in North Africa, had invaded Sicily, and were now in bitter mountain warfare in the _____ Campaign. Rome fell to the Allies on June 4, 1944.
18. Allied forces were steadily advancing on the Western Front until the failure of Operation Market Garden, the attempt to finish the war by Christmas 1944 by invading the Netherlands. Then, in December of 1944, Adolf Hitler launched a surprise attack through the Ardennes Forest, driving American soldiers into retreat, and surrounding the 101st Airborne in the city of Bastogne, Belgium, for a month in what was known as the Battle of the _____. The German offensive's eventual failure was the last chance for Hitler to force a peace favorable to Germany.
19. The Pacific theater was a series of deadly, brutal island battles, where invading American soldiers were met by an enemy determined to die rather than surrender. One of the deadliest battles was for the volcanic island of _____, where Americans had to rout tens of thousands of Japanese soldiers from caves in hand-to-hand fighting and by using flamethrowers. Such warfare, in which only two hundred Japanese surrendered, led the new US president, Harry Truman, to consider alternative ways to force Japan to surrender.

MAJOR CONFLICTS

Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.

20. Battle of Britain

21. Battle of Moscow

22. Operation Overlord

KNOW BY HEART

Fill in missing words and identify the source.

23. “Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of my administration has been _____
_____.”

Speaker: _____

24. “Never in the field of human _____ was so much owed by so _____ to so _____.”

Speaker: _____

STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

25. Life in a Soviet gulag

26. The Enola Gay dropping the first atomic bomb

QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and good writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.

27. What economic policies did Warren G. Harding enact with respect to the economy? What was the result?

28. In what ways did Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge offer an answer to the Progressives?

29. How was the 18th Amendment ineffective, and how did it undermine the rule of law?

30. What was the Harlem Renaissance? What were its origins and main ideas?

31. For what reasons was stock speculation less than careful by the late 1920s?

32. What role did the Federal Reserve System play in encouraging speculation and overvaluation in the stock market? How so?

33. What actions by the Hoover administration and Congress may have caused a temporary recession to become the Great Depression? How so?

34. How might one describe Franklin Delano Roosevelt? Why did he appeal to so many Americans, and why did his foes dislike him?

35. What were the main ideas behind Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal? How did the New Deal compare to the American founding and the initial Progressive Era?

36. To what extent was the New Deal successful? How so?
37. What groups of people in Europe especially feared communism during the 1920s and 1930s?
38. What was the Reichstag fire? How did it come about, and why was it important for Adolf Hitler's dictatorship?
39. What are the ways in which communism, socialism, and fascism are similar and different? What roles did nationalism and militarism play in each?
40. How significant were the persona and the actions of Winston Churchill, especially during the early years of World War II?
41. What were the ways the United States indirectly but intentionally helped the British in their war with Germany and in their deterrence of Japan in the Pacific?
42. What was fighting like in the Pacific, in North Africa, and in Italy? How were the Allies eventually successful in each theater?
43. What did Nazi Germany do in the Holocaust?

Unit 6 | Writing Assignment — The Interwar Years and World War II

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 500–800-word essay answering this question:

How did the events of the 1920s, 1930s, and World War II reshape America in terms of its economy, government, and power in the world?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

Calvin Coolidge

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Josiah Bailey

Walter Lippmann

Winston Churchill

PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE (R)

The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence

SPEECH

July 5, 1926
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

BACKGROUND

President Calvin Coolidge delivered this speech at Philadelphia to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the founding of the United States.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What theories and principles does Coolidge say need to be reaffirmed and reestablished?
2. What kind of people were the American revolutionaries, according to Coolidge?
3. Who was the great apostle of the sovereignty of the people in the colonial clergy?
4. What is the relationship between government and ideals according to Coolidge?
5. According to Coolidge, why are Progressives not truly proponents of progress when they reject the principles of the American founding?

Calvin Coolidge, "The Inspiration of the Declaration," in *Foundations of the Republic: Speeches and Addresses* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1926), 441–54.

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We meet to celebrate the birthday of America. The coming of a new life always excites our interest. Although we know in the case of the individual that it has been an infinite repetition reaching back beyond our vision, that only makes it the more wonderful. But how our interest and wonder increase when we behold the miracle of the birth of a new nation. It is
5 to pay our tribute of reverence and respect to those who participated in such a mighty event that we annually observe the fourth day of July. Whatever may have been the impression created by the news which went out from this city on that summer day in 1776, there can be no doubt as to the estimate which is now placed upon it. At the end of 150 years the four corners of the earth unite in coming to Philadelphia as to a holy shrine in grateful acknowl-
10 edgement of a service so great, which a few inspired men here rendered to humanity, that it is still the preeminent support of free government throughout the world.

Although a century and a half measured in comparison with the length of human experience is but a short time, yet measured in the life of governments and nations it ranks as a very respectable period. Certainly enough time has elapsed to demonstrate with a great deal
15 of thoroughness the value of our institutions and their dependability as rules for the regulation of human conduct and the advancement of civilization. They have been in existence long enough to become very well seasoned. They have met, and met successfully, the test of experience.

It is not so much then for the purpose of undertaking to proclaim new theories and prin-
20 ciples that this annual celebration is maintained, but rather to reaffirm and reestablish those old theories and principles which time and the unerring logic of events have demonstrated to be sound. Amid all the clash of conflicting interests, amid all the welter of partisan politics, every American can turn for solace and consolation to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States with the assurance and confidence that
25 those two great charters of freedom and justice remain firm and unshaken. Whatever perils appear, whatever dangers threaten, the Nation remains secure in the knowledge that the ultimate application of the law of the land will provide an adequate defense and protection.

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It is little wonder that people at home and abroad consider Independence Hall as hallowed ground and revere the Liberty Bell as a sacred relic. That pile of bricks and mortar, that mass of metal, might appear to the uninstructed as only the outgrown meeting place and the shattered bell of a former time, useless now because of more modern conveniences, but
5 to those who know they have become consecrated by the use which men have made of them. They have long been identified with a great cause. They are the framework of a spiritual event. The world looks upon them, because of their associations of one hundred and fifty years ago, as it looks upon the Holy Land because of what took place there nineteen hundred years ago. Through use for a righteous purpose they have become sanctified.

10 It is not here necessary to examine in detail the causes which led to the American Revolution. In their immediate occasion they were largely economic. The colonists objected to the navigation laws which interfered with their trade, they denied the power of Parliament to impose taxes which they were obliged to pay, and they therefore resisted the royal governors and the royal forces which were sent to secure obedience to these laws. But the con-
15 viction is inescapable that a new civilization had come, a new spirit had arisen on this side of the Atlantic more advanced and more developed in its regard for the rights of the individual than that which characterized the Old World. Life in a new and open country had aspirations which could not be realized in any subordinate position. A separate establishment was ultimately inevitable. It had been decreed by the very laws of human nature. Man
20 everywhere has an unconquerable desire to be the master of his own destiny.

We are obliged to conclude that the Declaration of Independence represented the movement of a people. It was not, of course, a movement from the top. Revolutions do not come from that direction. It was not without the support of many of the most respectable people in the Colonies, who were entitled to all the consideration that is given to breeding, educa-
25 tion, and possessions. It had the support of another element of great significance and importance to which I shall later refer. But the preponderance of all those who occupied a position which took on the aspect of aristocracy did not approve of the Revolution and held toward it an attitude either of neutrality or open hostility. It was in no sense a rising of the oppressed and downtrodden. It brought no scum to the surface, for the reason that colonial

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society had developed no scum. The great body of the people were accustomed to privations, but they were free from depravity. If they had poverty, it was not of the hopeless kind that afflicts great cities, but the inspiring kind that marks the spirit of the pioneer. The American Revolution represented the informed and mature convictions of a great mass of independent, liberty-loving, God-fearing people who knew their rights, and possessed the courage to dare to maintain them.

The Continental Congress was not only composed of great men, but it represented a great people. While its members did not fail to exercise a remarkable leadership, they were equally observant of their representative capacity. They were industrious in encouraging their constituents to instruct them to support independence. But until such instructions were given they were inclined to withhold action.

While North Carolina has the honor of first authorizing its delegates to concur with other Colonies in declaring independence, it was quickly followed by South Carolina and Georgia, which also gave general instructions broad enough to include such action. But the first instructions which unconditionally directed its delegates to declare for independence came from the great Commonwealth of Virginia. These were immediately followed by Rhode Island and Massachusetts, while the other Colonies, with the exception of New York, soon adopted a like course.

This obedience of the delegates to the wishes of their constituents, which in some cases caused them to modify their previous positions, is a matter of great significance. It reveals an orderly process of government in the first place; but more than that, it demonstrates that the Declaration of Independence was the result of the seasoned and deliberate thought of the dominant portion of the people of the Colonies. Adopted after long discussion and as the result of the duly authorized expression of the preponderance of public opinion, it did not partake of dark intrigue or hidden conspiracy. It was well advised. It had about it nothing of the lawless and disordered nature of a riotous insurrection. It was maintained on a plane which rises above the ordinary conception of rebellion. It was in no sense a radical movement but took on the dignity of a resistance to illegal usurpations. It was conservative

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and represented the action of the colonists to maintain their constitutional rights which from time immemorial had been guaranteed to them under the law of the land.

When we come to examine the action of the Continental Congress in adopting the Declaration of Independence in the light of what was set out in that great document and in the
5 light of succeeding events, we can not escape the conclusion that it had a much broader and deeper significance than a mere secession of territory and the establishment of a new nation. Events of that nature have been taking place since the dawn of history. One empire after another has arisen, only to crumble away as its constituent parts separated from each other and set up independent governments of their own. Such actions long ago became
10 commonplace. They have occurred too often to hold the attention of the world and command the admiration and reverence of humanity. There is something beyond the establishment of a new nation, great as that event would be, in the Declaration of Independence which has ever since caused it to be regarded as one of the great charters that not only was to liberate America but was everywhere to ennoble humanity.

15 It was not because it was proposed to establish a new nation, but because it was proposed to establish a nation on new principles, that July 4, 1776, has come to be regarded as one of the greatest days in history. Great ideas do not burst upon the world unannounced. They are reached by a gradual development over a length of time usually proportionate to their importance. This is especially true of the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence. Three very definite propositions were set out in its preamble regarding the
20 nature of mankind and therefore of government. These were the doctrine that all men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that therefore the source of the just powers of government must be derived from the consent of the governed.

If no one is to be accounted as born into a superior station, if there is to be no ruling class,
25 and if all possess rights which can neither be bartered away nor taken from them by any earthly power, it follows as a matter of course that the practical authority of the Government has to rest on the consent of the governed. While these principles were not altogether new in political action, and were very far from new in political speculation, they had never

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been assembled before and declared in such a combination. But remarkable as this may be, it is not the chief distinction of the Declaration of Independence. The importance of political speculation is not to be underestimated, as I shall presently disclose. Until the idea is developed and the plan made there can be no action.

5 It was the fact that our Declaration of Independence containing these immortal truths was the political action of a duly authorized and constituted representative public body in its sovereign capacity, supported by the force of general opinion and by the armies of Wash-
ington already in the field, which makes it the most important civil document in the world. It was not only the principles declared, but the fact that therewith a new nation was born
10 which was to be founded upon those principles and which from that time forth in its development has actually maintained those principles, that makes this pronouncement an incomparable event in the history of government. It was an assertion that a people had arisen determined to make every necessary sacrifice for the support of these truths and by their practical application bring the War of Independence to a successful conclusion and
15 adopt the Constitution of the United States with all that it has meant to civilization.

The idea that the people have a right to choose their own rulers was not new in political history. It was the foundation of every popular attempt to depose an undesirable king. This right was set out with a good deal of detail by the Dutch when as early as July 26, 1581, they declared their independence of Philip of Spain. In their long struggle with the Stuarts the
20 British people asserted the same principles, which finally culminated in the Bill of Rights deposing the last of that house and placing William and Mary on the throne. In each of these cases sovereignty through divine right was displaced by sovereignty through the consent of the people. Running through the same documents, though expressed in different terms, is the clear inference of inalienable rights. But we should search these charters in
25 vain for an assertion of the doctrine of equality. This principle had not before appeared as an official political declaration of any nation. It was profoundly revolutionary. It is one of the corner stones of American institutions.

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But if these truths to which the declaration refers have not before been adopted in their combined entirety by national authority, it is a fact that they had been long pondered and often expressed in political speculation. It is generally assumed that French thought had some effect upon our public mind during Revolutionary days. This may have been true.

5 But the principles of our declaration had been under discussion in the Colonies for nearly two generations before the advent of the French political philosophy that characterized the middle of the eighteenth century. In fact, they come from an earlier date. A very positive echo of what the Dutch had done in 1581, and what the English were preparing to do, appears in the assertion of the Reverend Thomas Hooker of Connecticut as early as 1638,
10 when he said in a sermon before the General Court that—

“The foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people.

“The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God’s own allowance.”

This doctrine found wide acceptance among the nonconformist clergy who later made up the Congregational Church. The great apostle of this movement was the Reverend John

15 Wise, of Massachusetts. He was one of the leaders of the revolt against the royal governor Andros in 1687, for which he suffered imprisonment. He was a liberal in ecclesiastical controversies. He appears to have been familiar with the writings of the political scientist, Samuel Pufendorf, who was born in Saxony in 1632. Wise published a treatise, entitled “The Church’s Quarrel Espoused,” in 1710, which was amplified in another publication in 1717.
20 In it he dealt with the principles of civil government. His works were reprinted in 1772 and have been declared to have been nothing less than a textbook of liberty for our Revolutionary fathers.

While the written word was the foundation, it is apparent that the spoken word was the vehicle for convincing the people. This came with great force and wide range from the successors of Hooker and Wise. It was carried on with a missionary spirit which did not fail to
25 reach the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina, showing its influence by significantly making that

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Colony the first to give instructions to its delegates looking to independence. This preaching reached the neighborhood of Thomas Jefferson, who acknowledged that his “best ideas of democracy” had been secured at church meetings.

5 That these ideas were prevalent in Virginia is further revealed by the Declaration of Rights, which was prepared by George Mason and presented to the general assembly on May 27, 1776. This document asserted popular sovereignty and inherent natural rights, but confined the doctrine of equality to the assertion that “All men are created equally free and independent.” It can scarcely be imagined that Jefferson was unacquainted with what had been done in his own Commonwealth of Virginia when he took up the task of drafting the
10 Declaration of Independence. But these thoughts can very largely be traced back to what John Wise was writing in 1710. He said, “Every man must be acknowledged equal to every man.” Again, “The end of all good government is to cultivate humanity and promote the happiness of all and the good of every man in all his rights, his life, liberty, estate, honor, and so forth....”

15 And again, “For as they have a power every man in his natural state, so upon combination they can and do bequeath this power to others and settle it according as their united discretion shall determine.” And still again, “Democracy is Christ’s government in church and state.” Here was the doctrine of equality, popular sovereignty, and the substance of the theory of inalienable rights clearly asserted by Wise at the opening of the eighteenth century, just as we have the principle of the consent of the governed stated by Hooker as early
20 as 1638.

When we take all these circumstances into consideration, it is but natural that the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence should open with a reference to Nature’s God and should close in the final paragraphs with an appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world
25 and an assertion of a firm reliance on Divine Providence. Coming from these sources, having as it did this background, it is no wonder that Samuel Adams could say “The people seem to recognize this resolution as though it were a decree promulgated from heaven.”

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No one can examine this record and escape the conclusion that in the great outline of its principles the Declaration was the result of the religious teachings of the preceding period. The profound philosophy which Jonathan Edwards applied to theology, the popular preaching of George Whitefield, had aroused the thought and stirred the people of the Colonies in preparation for this great event. No doubt the speculations which had been going on in England, and especially on the Continent, lent their influence to the general sentiment of the times. Of course, the world is always influenced by all the experience and all the thought of the past. But when we come to a contemplation of the immediate conception of the principles of human relationship which went into the Declaration of Independence we are not required to extend our search beyond our own shores. They are found in the texts, the sermons, and the writings of the early colonial clergy who were earnestly undertaking to instruct their congregations in the great mystery of how to live. They preached equality because they believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. They justified freedom by the text that we are all created in the divine image, all partakers of the divine spirit.

Placing every man on a plane where he acknowledged no superiors, where no one possessed any right to rule over him, he must inevitably choose his own rulers through a system of self-government. This was their theory of democracy. In those days such doctrines would scarcely have been permitted to flourish and spread in any other country. This was the purpose which the fathers cherished. In order that they might have freedom to express these thoughts and opportunity to put them into action, whole congregations with their pastors had migrated to the colonies. These great truths were in the air that our people breathed. Whatever else we may say of it, the Declaration of Independence was profoundly American.

If this apprehension of the facts be correct, and the documentary evidence would appear to verify it, then certain conclusions are bound to follow. A spring will cease to flow if its source be dried up; a tree will wither if its roots be destroyed. In its main features the Declaration of Independence is a great spiritual document. It is a declaration not of material but of spiritual conceptions. Equality, liberty, popular sovereignty, the rights of man—these

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are not elements which we can see and touch. They are ideals. They have their source and their roots in the religious convictions. They belong to the unseen world. Unless the faith of the American people in these religious convictions is to endure, the principles of our Declaration will perish. We can not continue to enjoy the result if we neglect and abandon
5 the cause.

We are too prone to overlook another conclusion. Governments do not make ideals, but ideals make governments. This is both historically and logically true. Of course the government can help to sustain ideals and can create institutions through which they can be the better observed, but their source by their very nature is in the people. The people have to
10 bear their own responsibilities. There is no method by which that burden can be shifted to the government. It is not the enactment, but the observance of laws, that creates the character of a nation.

About the Declaration there is a finality that is exceedingly restful. It is often asserted that the world has made a great deal of progress since 1776, that we have had new thoughts and
15 new experiences which have given us a great advance over the people of that day, and that we may therefore very well discard their conclusions for something more modern. But that reasoning can not be applied to this great charter. If all men are created equal, that is final. If they are endowed with inalienable rights, that is final. If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, that is final. No advance, no progress can be
20 made beyond these propositions. If anyone wishes to deny their truth or their soundness, the only direction in which he can proceed historically is not forward, but backward toward the time when there was no equality, no rights of the individual, no rule of the people. Those who wish to proceed in that direction can not lay claim to progress. They are reactionary. Their ideas are not more modern, but more ancient, than those of the Revolution-
25 ary fathers.

In the development of its institutions America can fairly claim that it has remained true to the principles which were declared 150 years ago. In all the essentials we have achieved an equality which was never possessed by any other people. Even in the less important matter

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of material possessions we have secured a wider and wider distribution of wealth. The rights of the individual are held sacred and protected by constitutional guarantees, which even the Government itself is bound not to violate. If there is any one thing among us that is established beyond question, it is self-government—the right of the people to rule. If there is any failure in respect to any of these principles, it is because there is a failure on the part of individuals to observe them. We hold that the duly authorized expression of the will of the people has a divine sanction. But even in that we come back to the theory of John Wise that “Democracy is Christ’s government....” The ultimate sanction of law rests on the righteous authority of the Almighty.

10 On an occasion like this a great temptation exists to present evidence of the practical success of our form of democratic republic at home and the ever-broadening acceptance it is securing abroad. Although these things are well known, their frequent consideration is an encouragement and an inspiration. But it is not results and effects so much as sources and causes that I believe it is even more necessary constantly to contemplate. Ours is a government of the people. It represents their will. Its officers may sometimes go astray, but that is not a reason for criticizing the principles of our institutions. The real heart of the American Government depends upon the heart of the people. It is from that source that we must look for all genuine reform. It is to that cause that we must ascribe all our results.

20 It was in the contemplation of these truths that the fathers made their declaration and adopted their Constitution. It was to establish a free government, which must not be permitted to degenerate into the unrestrained authority of a mere majority or the unbridled weight of a mere influential few. They undertook the balance these interests against each other and provide the three separate independent branches, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial departments of the Government, with checks against each other in order that neither one might encroach upon the other. These are our guarantees of liberty. As a result of these methods enterprise has been duly protected from confiscation, the people have been free from oppression, and there has been an ever-broadening and deepening of the humanities of life.

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Under a system of popular government there will always be those who will seek for political preferment by clamoring for reform. While there is very little of this which is not sincere, there is a large portion that is not well informed. In my opinion very little of just criticism can attach to the theories and principles of our institutions. There is far more danger of
5 harm than there is hope of good in any radical changes. We do need a better understanding and comprehension of them and a better knowledge of the foundations of government in general. Our forefathers came to certain conclusions and decided upon certain courses of action which have been a great blessing to the world. Before we can understand their conclusions we must go back and review the course which they followed. We must think the
10 thoughts which they thought. Their intellectual life centered around the meeting-house. They were intent upon religious worship. While there were always among them men of deep learning, and later those who had comparatively large possessions, the mind of the people was not so much engrossed in how much they knew, or how much they had, as in how they were going to live. While scantily provided with other literature, there was a wide
15 acquaintance with the Scriptures. Over a period as great as that which measures the existence of our independence they were subject to this discipline not only in their religious life and educational training, but also in their political thought. They were a people who came under the influence of a great spiritual development and acquired a great moral power.

No other theory is adequate to explain or comprehend the Declaration of Independence. It
20 is the product of the spiritual insight of the people. We live in an age of science and of abounding accumulation of material things. These did not create our Declaration. Our Declaration created them. The things of the spirit come first. Unless we cling to that, all our material prosperity, overwhelming though it may appear, will turn to a barren scepter in our grasp. If we are to maintain the great heritage which has been bequeathed to us, we
25 must be like-minded as the fathers who created it. We must not sink into a pagan materialism. We must cultivate the reverence which they had for the things that are holy. We must follow the spiritual and moral leadership which they showed. We must keep replenished, that they may glow with a more compelling flame, the altar fires before which they worshipped.

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)

Commonwealth Club Address

SPEECH EXCERPTS

September 23, 1932

Commonwealth Club of California | San Francisco, California

BACKGROUND

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, won the Democratic nomination for President in 1932 and delivered this campaign speech a month and a half before the election.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What happened to the “equality of opportunity?”
2. What does the situation in America call for?
3. What is the “task of government,” according to Roosevelt?
4. What does Roosevelt say about America’s contract?
5. What does Roosevelt say about property?

Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Commonwealth Club Address,” September 23, 1932. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/commonwealth-club-address-2/>.

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. . . A glance at the situation today only too clearly indicates that equality of opportunity as we have known it no longer exists. Our industrial plant is built; the problem just now is whether under existing conditions it is not overbuilt. Our last frontier has long since been reached, and there is practically no more free land. More than half of our people
5 do not live on the farms or on lands and cannot derive a living by cultivating their own property. There is no safety valve in the form of a Western prairie to which those thrown out of work by the Eastern economic machines can go for a new start. We are not able to invite the immigration from Europe to share our endless plenty. We are now providing a drab living for our own people.

10 Our system of constantly rising tariffs has at last reacted against us to the point of closing our Canadian frontier on the north, our European markets on the east, many of our Latin-American markets to the south, and a goodly proportion of our Pacific markets on the west, through the retaliatory tariffs of those countries. It has forced many of our great industrial institutions which exported their surplus production to
15 such countries, to establish plants in such countries, within the tariff walls. This has resulted in the reduction of the operation of their American plants, and opportunity for employment.

Just as freedom to farm has ceased, so also the opportunity in business has narrowed. It still is true that men can start small enterprises, trusting to native shrewdness and
20 ability to keep abreast of competitors; but area after area has been pre-empted altogether by the great corporations, and even in the fields which still have no great concerns, the small man starts under a handicap. The unfeeling statistics of the past three decades show that the independent business man is running a losing race. . . .

Clearly, all this calls for a re-appraisal of values. A mere builder of more industrial
25 plants, a creator of more railroad systems, an organizer of more corporations, is as likely to be a danger as a help. The day of the great promoter or the financial Titan, to whom we granted anything if only he would build, or develop, is over. Our task now is

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not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to reestablish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of
5 distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come. . . . can we fix this hanging line?

As I see it, the task of Government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order.
10 This is the common task of statesman and business man. It is the minimum requirement of a more permanently safe order of things. . . .

The Declaration of Independence discusses the problem of Government in terms of a contract. Government is a relation of give and take, a contract, perforce, if we would follow the thinking out of which it grew. Under such a contract, rulers were accorded
15 power, and the people consented to that power on consideration that they be accorded certain rights. The task of statesmanship has always been the re-definition of these rights in terms of a changing and growing social order. New conditions impose new requirements upon Government and those who conduct Government. . . .

The terms of that contract are as old as the Republic, and as new as the new economic
20 order.

Every man has a right to life; and this means that he has also a right to make a comfortable living. He may by sloth or crime decline to exercise that right; but it may not be denied him. We have no actual famine or dearth; our industrial and agricultural mechanism can produce enough and to spare. Our Government formal and informal,
25 political and economic, owes to everyone an avenue to possess himself of a portion of that plenty sufficient for his needs, through his own work.

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Every man has a right to his own property; which means a right to be assured, to the fullest extent attainable, in the safety of his savings. By no other means can men carry the burdens of those parts of life which, in the nature of things, afford no chance of labor: childhood, sickness, old age. In all thought of property, this right is paramount; all other property rights must yield to it. If, in accord with this principle, we must
5 restrict the operations of the speculator, the manipulator, even the financier, I believe we must accept the restriction as needful, not to hamper individualism but to protect it.

. . . The Government should assume the function of economic regulation only as a last resort, to be tried only when private initiative, inspired by high responsibility, with such assistance and balance as Government can give, has finally failed. As yet there has been
10 no final failure, because there has been no attempt; and I decline to assume that this Nation is unable to meet the situation. . . .

Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves demand that we recognize the new terms of the old social contract. We shall fulfill them, as we fulfilled the obligation of the apparent Utopia
15 which Jefferson imagined for us in 1776, and which Jefferson, Roosevelt and Wilson sought to bring to realization. We must do so, lest a rising tide of misery, engendered by our common failure, engulf us all. But failure is not an American habit; and in the strength of great hope we must all shoulder our common load.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)

First Inaugural Address

SPEECH

March 4, 1933
U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

Franklin Delano Roosevelt delivered this address upon his inauguration in 1933.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What ought to be feared, according to Roosevelt?
2. How does Roosevelt describe American's situation?
3. How can America be restored?
4. What is happiness?
5. What is the "greatest primary task"?
6. Can the Constitution be changed?

Franklin D. Roosevelt, "First Inaugural Address (1933)," Presidential Message, March 04, 1933. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/first-inaugural-address-fdr>.

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I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today.

5 This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself – nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which
10 is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious
15 curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the
20 dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a
25 generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated.

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Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

5 True they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

10 The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

15 Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

20 Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot
25 live.

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Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by
5 the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to
10 provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the
15 demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about
20 it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

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There are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States.

5 Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

10 The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in all parts of the United States – a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery
15 will endure.

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor – the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others – the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

20 If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we can not merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready
25 and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that

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the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

5 Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has
10 met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary
15 departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

20 But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis – broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded
25 by a foreign foe.

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For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

5 We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of the national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life.

10 We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)

On Accepting the Presidential Nomination

SPEECH EXCERPTS

June 27, 1936

Democratic National Convention
Franklin Field | Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

BACKGROUND

Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered this address to commence his reelection campaign following his selection as the 1936 Democratic candidate for the presidency.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. To what struggle in American history does Roosevelt compare his struggle against big businesses and the wealthy?
2. Why does Roosevelt argue that most Americans are not really free?
3. What kind of language does Roosevelt adopt in explaining this struggle?
4. Which Christian virtues does Roosevelt redefine for his argument?
5. Is Roosevelt worried about the government making mistakes? Why or why not?

Franklin D. Roosevelt. "Acceptance Speech at the Democratic National Convention (1936)". Speech, June 27, 1936. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/acceptance-speech-at-the-democratic-national-convention-1936/>.

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... [F]reedom, in itself and of necessity, suggests freedom from some restraining power. In 1776 we sought freedom from the tyranny of a political autocracy—from the eighteenth century royalists who held special privileges from the crown. It was to perpetuate their privilege that they governed without the consent of the governed; that
5 they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they restricted the worship of God; that they put the average man's property and the average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power; that they regimented the people.

And so it was to win freedom from the tyranny of political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought. That victory gave the business of governing into the hands of
10 the average man, who won the right with his neighbors to make and order his own destiny through his own Government. Political tyranny was wiped out at Philadelphia on July 4, 1776.

Since that struggle, however, man's inventive genius released new forces in our land which reordered the lives of our people. The age of machinery, of railroads; of steam
15 and electricity; the telegraph and the radio; mass production, mass distribution—all of these combined to bring forward a new civilization and with it a new problem for those who sought to remain free.

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists carved new dynasties. New kingdoms were built upon concentration of control over material things. Through new
20 uses of corporations, banks and securities, new machinery of industry and agriculture, of labor and capital—all undreamed of by the fathers—the whole structure of modern life was impressed into this royal service.

There was no place among this royalty for our many thousands of small business men and merchants who sought to make a worthy use of the American system of initiative
25 and profit. They were no more free than the worker or the farmer. Even honest and

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progressive-minded men of wealth, aware of their obligation to their generation, could never know just where they fitted into this dynastic scheme of things.

It was natural and perhaps human that the privileged princes of these new economic dynasties, thirsting for power, reached out for control over Government itself. They
5 created a new despotism and wrapped it in the robes of legal sanction. In its service new mercenaries sought to regiment the people, their labor, and their property. And as a result the average man once more confronts the problem that faced the Minute Man.

The hours men and women worked, the wages they received, the conditions of their labor—these had passed beyond the control of the people, and were imposed by this
10 new industrial dictatorship. The savings of the average family, the capital of the small business man, the investments set aside for old age—other people’s money—these were tools which the new economic royalty used to dig itself in.

Those who tilled the soil no longer reaped the rewards which were their right. The small measure of their gains was decreed by men in distant cities.

15 Throughout the Nation, opportunity was limited by monopoly. Individual initiative was crushed in the cogs of a great machine. The field open for free business was more and more restricted. Private enterprise, indeed, became too private. It became privileged enterprise, not free enterprise.

An old English judge once said: “Necessitous men are not free men.” Liberty requires
20 opportunity to make a living—a living decent according to the standard of the time, a living which gives man not only enough to live by, but something to live for.

For too many of us the political equality we once had won was meaningless in the face of economic inequality. A small group had concentrated into their own hands an almost complete control over other people’s property, other people’s money, other

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people's labor – other people's lives. For too many of us life was no longer free; liberty no longer real; men could no longer follow the pursuit of happiness.

5 Against economic tyranny such as this, the American citizen could appeal only to the organized power of Government. The collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was. The election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it. Under that mandate it is being ended.

10 The royalists of the economic order have conceded that political freedom was the business of the Government, but they have maintained that economic slavery was nobody's business. They granted that the Government could protect the citizen in his right to vote, but they denied that the Government could do anything to protect the citizen in his right to work and his right to live.

Today we stand committed to the proposition that freedom is no half-and-half affair. If the average citizen is guaranteed equal opportunity in the polling place, he must have equal opportunity in the market place.

15 These economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to take away their power. Our allegiance to American institutions requires the overthrow of this kind of power. In vain they seek to hide behind the Flag and the Constitution. In their blindness they forget what the Flag and the Constitution stand for. Now, as always, they stand for
20 democracy, not tyranny; for freedom, not subjection; and against a dictatorship by mob rule and the over-privileged alike.

The brave and clear platform adopted by this Convention, to which I heartily subscribe, sets forth that Government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are protection of the family and the home, the
25 establishment of a democracy of opportunity, and aid to those overtaken by disaster.

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But the resolute enemy within our gates is ever ready to beat down our words unless in greater courage we will fight for them.

For more than three years we have fought for them. This Convention, in every word and deed, has pledged that that fight will go on.

5 The defeats and victories of these years have given to us as a people a new understanding of our Government and of ourselves. Never since the early days of the New England town meeting have the affairs of Government been so widely discussed and so clearly appreciated. It has been brought home to us that the only effective guide for the safety of this most worldly of worlds, the greatest guide of all, is moral principle.

10 We do not see faith, hope and charity as unattainable ideals, but we use them as stout supports of a Nation fighting the fight for freedom in a modern civilization.

Faith—in the soundness of democracy in the midst of dictatorships.

Hope—renewed because we know so well the progress we have made.

15 Charity—in the true spirit of that grand old word. For charity literally translated from the original means love, the love that understands, that does not merely share the wealth of the giver, but in true sympathy and wisdom helps men to help themselves.

We seek not merely to make Government a mechanical implement, but to give it the vibrant personal character that is the very embodiment of human charity. . . .

20 In the place of the palace of privilege we seek to build a temple out of faith and hope and charity. . . .

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Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted in different scales.

5 Better the occasional faults of a Government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a Government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.

There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of other generations much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny.

10 In this world of ours in other lands, there are some people, who, in times past, have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy.

15 I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great and successful war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralization. It is more than that; it is a war for the survival of democracy. We are fighting to save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and for the world.

I accept the commission you have tendered me. I join with you. I am enlisted for the duration of the war.

REP. JOSIAH BAILEY (R-NC)

An Address to the People of the United States

NEWSPAPER TRANSCRIPT ON AN UNDELIVERED SPEECH

December 16, 1937
The New York Times

The Conservative Manifesto

BACKGROUND

More conservative members of both the Republican and Democratic parties, including former allies of Franklin Roosevelt, were represented by Representative Josiah Bailey in this undelivered speech drafted by Bailey and leaked to *The New York Times* before it was delivered.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Bailey fear is happening to the American economy?
2. What are the “paramount principles” that ought to govern public policy?
3. What is the proper function of government as it relates to economic activity?
4. What is the “tradition” that Bailey hopes to protect?

Josiah Bailey, “10 Points Drafted,” Article by Turner Catledge, December 16, 1937. From The New York Times. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1937/12/16/96765994.pdf?pdf_redirect=true&ip=0.

A sudden and extensive recession in business, industry, employment, prices and values demands instant attention of all in positions of responsibility. To arrest it, to reverse it and to avert its consequences is the common task. In this as Senators we have a duty, and in partial discharge of it we have determined upon this statement.

- 5 We have now not only the problem of caring for the unemployed pending opportunity for their employment, but also the task of preventing many now employed from losing their jobs.

We believe that a policy of cooperation by all concerned upon sound lines will suffice to set the country as a whole on its accustomed way toward higher ground. This cooperation is the objective of this address to the American people. This is no time for alarm or pessimism. We have come to the inevitable period of transition, and fortunately the underlying conditions are favorable.

We are concerned now only with our duty in view of the conditions that confront us, in order that full activity of employment and commerce may be had. To avoid controversy and make for unity, we may dispense with appraisals of policies or arguments. The past is experience, and is of value only for its lessons. We propose no criticism, no politics.

Private Investment the Key

We consider that the time has come when liberal investment of private savings in enterprise as a means of employment must be depended upon and, without delay, heartily encouraged by the public policy and all Americans.

Public spending, invoked in the recent emergency, was recognized as a cushion rather than as a substitute for the investment of savings by the people. To this latter all have looked at length. We believe that an encouraging public policy will ensue quickly in expanding enterprise, in active business, in widespread employment and in abundant demand for farm products.

Without criticism of the public spending policy attendant upon the former emergency, we recognize that a repetition of that policy would not serve again and moreover is out of the question. It ought to be borne in mind that private enterprise, properly fostered, carries the indispensable element of vigor.

- 5 The present unemployed and employed, and the young men and women about to enter upon careers, rightly desire and must have the opportunity which is afforded only by private enterprise. The President recently informed the Congress of the instant and obvious task of inducing the investment of private funds. We perceive, as does he, the necessity for the transition, gradual, to be sure, but distinct. And we propose to do our part to
- 10 accomplish this objective in full cooperation.

Submits List of Essentials

In order to do this, we recognize that the public policy must conform to certain paramount principles, and without undertaking to specify all, we submit the following as essential at this time:

- 15 1. The capital gains tax and undistributed profits tax ought thoroughly to be revised at once without reducing revenue so as to free funds for investment and promote the normal flow of savings into profitable and productive use, not for the sake of capital, but for the consequences in expanding business, larger employment and a more active consumer demand for goods.
- 20 2. Steady approach must be made toward a balance of the public revenue with the public expenditure, a balanced national budget, and an end of those fears which deter investment.

The public credit must be preserved or nothing else matters. To undermine it is to defeat recovery; to destroy the people upon inflationary high living costs, and particularly to ruin

25 those of our people who are on relief. There is nothing but a sound public credit between them and disaster, because they have no other reliance for their subsistence.

This means reduced public expenditure at every point practicable. We must have certainty of taxation and stability of the currency and credit. Before increasing taxes or broadening the base, we would exhaust the resources of an intelligent application of economy. We intend that a consistent progress toward a balanced budget shall be made—so consistent
5 that none may question the consummation in due season. It must be a paramount objective, since it underlies certainty, stability and confidence.

As to Labor Relations

3. We propose just relations between capital and labor, and we seek an end at once of a friction engendered by more favorable conditions, that now serves none but
10 injures all. We advise that government take a hand only as a last resort, and if it must, that it shall be impartial. We insist upon the constitutional guarantees of the rights of person and of property—the right of the worker to work, of the owner to possession, and of every man to enjoy in peace the fruits of his labor.

The maintenance of law and order is fundamental. It does labor no good to obtain
15 new benefits if an orderly society in which to enjoy them is destroyed. Coercion and violence in labor relationships must stop, no matter by whom employed. Enlightened capital must deal with labor in the light of a new conception of legitimate collective bargaining and the right to organize. Enlightened labor must deal with capital in a due appreciation of mutual responsibilities for the success of
20 enterprise indispensable to both.

Against Government Competition

4. Relying upon the profitable investment of private savings in enterprise, we oppose every government policy tending unnecessarily to compete with and so to discourage such investment. If the government proposes to compete in any field,
25 due notice ought to be given in order that private investment may avoid it. For the government and private investment cannot occupy the same field.

We favor the principle recently suggested for the White House to the end that private funds on the basis of fair return upon prudent investment may be made available without delay.

5 We urge that the railroads shall enjoy an income appropriate to prudent investment value.

We favor also a constructive and encouraging attitude toward all legitimate institutions operating to assist the flow of funds into investment—with the view to a broad credit at low rates.

10 We favor the encouragement of housing construction, recognizing that this is also one of the larger fields for investment of private funds in durable goods—precisely the instant need.

Reasonable Profit Essential

5. We recognize that the value of investment, and the circulation of money, depends upon reasonable profit, not only to protect the investment and assure confidence,
15 but also to provide increasing employment, and consumption of goods from farm to factory. We favor the competitive system as against either private or government monopoly, as preventing unreasonable profit and demanding vigor of enterprise. Our American competitive system is superior to any form of the collectivist program. We intend to preserve and foster it as the means of employment, of
20 livelihood, and of maintaining our standard of living.

6. The sources of credit are abundant, but credit depends upon security—the soundness and stability of values; and these are governed by the profitable operation of the concerns in which stocks are certificates of interest or in which bonds are evidences of debt. If, therefore, the reservoirs of credit are to be tapped,
25 we must assure a policy making for the sense of the safety of the collateral which is the basis of credit.

Taxes Blamed for Farm Plight

- 5 7. The spread between the prices of paid farmers and the prices paid by consumers for their products is notorious. One explanation of the difference is the fact that the amount of annual taxes, Federal, State and local, comes to at least one-fourth of the national income. It is the price to the consumer, with the burden of taxes therein, which accounts for consumer resistance, depresses demand for goods, and tends to pile up unmarketable surpluses. There ought to be reduction in the tax burden, and if this is impossible at the moment, firm assurance of no further increase ought to be given.
- 10 8. In a country so large and so complex as ours it is always difficult to fix uniform national standards for universal application in respect to the lives and livelihoods of our people. Except where State and local control are proven definitely inadequate, we favor the vigorous maintenance of States rights, home rule and local self-government. Otherwise we shall create more problems than we solve.

15 **Would Give Work to Needy**

- 20 9. We propose that there shall be no suffering for food, fuel, clothing and shelter; and that pending the contemplated revival of industry useful work shall be provided to an extent consistent with the principles of this address. The deserving must be provided for when and if their resources of energy, skill, or funds cease to avail. To be done well, this must be done economically with the view to encouraging individual self-reliance, the return to self-dependence at the first opportunity, the natural impulses of kinship and benevolence, local responsibility in county, city and State, and without the slightest catering to political favor. The administration of relief ought to be non-political and non-partisan, and temporary.

- 25 We hold to the conviction that private investment and personal initiative properly encouraged will provide opportunity for all who are capable, and we propose employment for all who are capable as the goal of our efforts to justify the investment of savings in productive enterprise.

Rely on the American System

10. We propose to preserve and rely upon the American system of private enterprise and initiative, and our American form of government. It is not necessary to claim perfection for them. On the record they are far superior to and infinitely to be preferred to any other so far devised. They carry the priceless content of liberty and the dignity of man. They carry spiritual values of infinite import, and which constitute the source of the American spirit. We call upon all Americans to renew their faith in them and press an invincible demand in their behalf.

We can and will erect appropriate safeguards under the common law principles of free men without surrendering in any degree the vital principles and self-reliant spirit on which we must depend.

Our economic system must be such as to stimulate ambition, afford opportunity, and excite in each boy and girl a sense of responsibility to produce to his capacity.

Through individual self-reliance and service only can abundance, security, and happiness be attained.

Pledging ourselves to uphold these principles, we summon our fellow citizens, without regard to party, to join with us in advancing them as the only hope of permanent recovery and further progress. They will serve to take us safely through the period of transition now suddenly thrust upon us as they have taken us through every emergency. They will not fail us, if we adhere to them. But if we shall abandon them, the consequences will outweigh in penalty the sacrifices we may make to our faith in them.

The heart of the American people is sound. They have met every emergency and demand. We will meet those of today and so hand down to our children our most precious heritage enhanced by a new and major trophy of free institutions. Let us not be dismayed but press on in the great liberal tradition and in its spirit of courageous self-reliance which has won through all the vicissitudes of a great

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period, and has made our country the strongest, the most progressive and the best of nations.

WALTER LIPPMANN

“The Dominant Dogma of the Age”

CHAPTER 1 FROM *THE GOOD SOCIETY*

September 1937

Little, Brown and Company | Boston, Massachusetts

BACKGROUND

American writer and reporter Walter Lippmann publish his book *The Good Society* in 1937 amidst the Great Depression, Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal, and the rise of and military actions by totalitarian regimes in Europe and the Pacific.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Does Lippmann think people and countries will only fight over important and significant differences?
2. What is the “dogma” that other dogmas presuppose?
3. According to Lippmann, who do totalitarians and progressives alike presume must have an increase in power in order to improve the condition of men?
4. Lippmann argues that western man has sought for two thousand years to find a law superior to arbitrary power. What does he say this law is?

Walter Lippmann, "The Dominant Dogma of the Age," in *The Good Society* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938), 3–6.

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“There will be some fundamental assumptions which adherents of all the various systems within the epoch unconsciously presuppose. With these assumptions a certain limited number of types of philosophic systems are possible, and this group of systems constitutes the philosophy of the epoch.”

5 — Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, page 69

In the violent conflicts which now trouble the earth the active contenders believe that since the struggle is so deadly it must be that the issues which divide them are deep. I think they are mistaken. Because parties are bitterly opposed, it does not necessarily follow that they have radically different purposes. The intensity of their antagonism is no measure of the
10 divergence of their views. There has been many a ferocious quarrel among sectarians who worship the same god.

Although the partisans who are now fighting for the mastery of the modern world wear shirts of different colors, their weapons are drawn from the same armory, their doctrines are variations of the same theme, and they go forth to battle singing the same tune with
15 slightly different words. Their weapons are the coercive direction of the life and labor of mankind. Their doctrine is that disorder and misery can be overcome only by more and more compulsory organization. Their promise is that through the power of the state men can be made happy.

Throughout the world, in the name of progress, men who call themselves communists,
20 socialists, fascists, nationalists, progressives, and even liberals, are unanimous in holding that government with its instruments of coercion must, by commanding the people how they shall live, direct the course of civilization and fix the shape of things to come. They believe in what Mr. Stuart Chase accurately describes as "the overhead planning and control of economic activity." This is the dogma which all the prevailing dogmas presuppose. This
25 is the mold in which are cast the thought and action of the epoch. No other approach to the regulation of human affairs is seriously considered, or is even conceived as possible. The recently enfranchised masses and the leaders of thought who supply their ideas are almost completely under the spell of this dogma. Only a handful here and there, groups

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without influence, isolated and disregarded thinkers, continue to challenge it. For the premises of authoritarian collectivism have become the working beliefs, the self-evident assumptions, the unquestioned axioms, not only of all the revolutionary regimes, but of nearly every effort which lays claim to being enlightened, humane, and progressive.

5 So universal is the dominion of this dogma over the minds of contemporary men that no one is taken seriously as a statesman or a theorist who does not come forward with proposals to magnify the power of public officials and to extend and multiply their intervention in human affairs. Unless he is authoritarian and collectivist, he is a mossback, a reactionary, at best an amiable eccentric swimming hopelessly against the tide. It is a strong
10 tide. Though despotism is no novelty in human affairs, it is probably true that at no time in twenty-five hundred years has any western government claimed for itself a jurisdiction over men's lives comparable with that which is officially attempted in the totalitarian states. No doubt there have been despotisms which were more cruel than those of Russia, Italy, and Germany. There has been none which was more inclusive. In these ancient centres of
15 civilization, several hundred millions of persons live under what is theoretically the absolute dominion of the dogma that public officials are their masters and that only under official orders may they live, work, and seek their salvation.

But it is even more significant that in other lands where men shrink from the ruthless policy of these regimes, it is commonly assumed that the movement of events must be in the same
20 general direction. Nearly everywhere the mark of a progressive is that he relies at last upon the increased power of officials to improve the condition of men. Though the progressives prefer to move gradually and with consideration, by persuading majorities to consent, the only instrument of progress in which they have faith is the coercive agency of government. They can, it would seem, imagine no alternative, nor can they remember how much of what
25 they cherish as progressive has come by emancipation from political dominion, by the limitation of power, by the release of personal energy from authority and collective coercion. For virtually all that now passes for progressivism in countries like England and the United States calls for the increasing ascendancy of the state: always the cry is for more officials with more power over more and more of the activities of men.

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Yet the assumptions of this whole movement are not so self-evident as they seem. They are, in fact, contrary to the assumptions bred in men by the whole long struggle to extricate conscience, intellect, labor, and personality from the bondage of prerogative, privilege, monopoly, authority. For more than two thousand years, since western men first began to think about the social order, the main preoccupation of political thinking has been to find a law which would be superior to arbitrary power. Men have sought it in custom, in the dictates of reason, in religious revelation, endeavoring always to set up some check upon the exercise of force. This is the meaning of the long debate about Natural Law. This is the meaning of a thousand years of struggle to bring the sovereign under a constitution, to establish for the individual and for voluntary associations of men rights which they can enforce against kings, barons, magnates, majorities, and mobs. This is the meaning of the struggle to separate the church from the state, to emancipate conscience, learning, the arts, education, and commerce from the inquisitor, the censor, the monopolist, the policeman, and the hangman.

Conceivably the lessons of this history no longer have a meaning for us. Conceivably there has come into the world during this generation some new element which makes it necessary for us to undo the work of emancipation, to retrace the steps men have taken to limit the power of rulers, which compels us to believe that the way of enlightenment in affairs is now to be found by intensifying authority and enlarging its scope. But the burden of proof is upon those who reject the ecumenical tradition of the western world. It is for them to show that their cult of the Providential State is in truth the new revelation they think it is, and that it is not, as a few still believe, the gigantic heresy of an apostate generation.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)

Annual Message to Congress

SPEECH

January 11, 1944
U.S. Congress | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

President Franklin Roosevelt outlined his second or “economic Bill of Rights” while delivering his state of the union address to Congress looking forward to post-war policies.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What does Roosevelt consider our “political rights”?
2. Why are those political rights no longer adequate, according to Roosevelt?
3. How would the government go about securing things such as a right to a decent living or recreation?
4. What or who in America does Roosevelt label as Fascistic?
5. Who is the source for all these rights?

Franklin Roosevelt, “Message on the State of the Union,” 11 January 1944, in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, Vol. 13, ed. Samuel Irving Rosenman (New York: Harper, 1950), 40-42.

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It is our duty now to begin to lay the plans and determine the strategy for the winning of a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever before known. We cannot be content, no matter how high that general standard of living may be, if some fraction of our people—whether it be one-third or one-fifth or one-tenth—
5 is ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and insecure.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights—among them the right of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

10 As our Nation has grown in size and stature, however—as our industrial economy expanded—these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous men are not free men." People
15 who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, race, or creed.

Among these are:

20 The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

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The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

- 5 The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

10 All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

15 One of the great American industrialists of our day—a man who has rendered yeoman service to his country in this crisis—recently emphasized the grave dangers of "rightist reaction" in this Nation. All clear-thinking businessmen share his concern. Indeed, if such reaction should develop—if history were to repeat itself and we were to return to the so-called "normalcy" of the 1920's—then it is certain that even though we shall have conquered our enemies on the battlefields abroad, we shall have yielded to the spirit of Fascism here
20 at home.

I ask the Congress to explore the means for implementing this economic bill of rights—for it is definitely the responsibility of the Congress so to do. Many of these problems are already before committees of the Congress in the form of proposed legislation. I shall from time to time communicate with the Congress with respect to these and further proposals.

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In the event that no adequate program of progress is evolved, I am certain that the Nation will be conscious of the fact.

Our fighting men abroad—and their families at home—expect such a program and have the right to insist upon it. It is to their demands that this Government should pay heed
5 rather than the whining demands of selfish pressure groups who seek to feather their nests while young Americans are dying.

The foreign policy that we have been following—the policy that guided us at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran—is based on the common sense principle which was best expressed by Benjamin Franklin on July 4, 1776: "We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all
10 hang separately."

I have often said that there are no two fronts for America in this war. There is only one front. There is one line of unity which extends from the hearts of the people at home to the men of our attacking forces in our farthest outposts. When we speak of our total effort, we speak of the factory and the field, and the mine as well as of the battleground—we speak of
15 the soldier and the civilian, the citizen and his Government.

Each and every one of us has a solemn obligation under God to serve this Nation in its most critical hour—to keep this Nation great—to make this Nation greater in a better world.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT (CONSERVATIVE PARTY)

Fifty Years Hence

ARTICLE

Mclean's | November 15, 1931

BACKGROUND

Winston Churchill, after leaving leadership positions in Parliament, wrote this article in 1931, first published in a Canadian magazine of current affairs.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Does Churchill believe human nature progresses?
2. What is the cause of the last century's progress? Does Churchill think such progress is a good thing?
3. In what ways does Churchill think science could be dangerous to free government?
4. What questions are beyond science's reach, according to Churchill? What is needed to go beyond science?
5. What are difficulties with democracy that Churchill sees when faced with the problem of managing science and progress?

Winston Churchill. "Fifty Years Hence". Essay, December, 1931. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/fifty-years-hence/>.

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The great mass of human beings, absorbed in the toils, cares and activities of life, are only dimly conscious of the pace at which mankind has begun to travel. We look back a hundred years and see that great changes have taken place. We look back fifty years and see that the speed is constantly quickening. This present century has witnessed an enormous revolution in material things, in scientific appliances, in political institutions, in manners and customs. The greatest change of all is the least perceptible by individuals: it is the far greater numbers which in every civilized country participate in the fuller life of man. 'In those days,' said Disraeli, writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, 'England was for the few and for the very few.' 'The twice two thousand for whom,' wrote Byron, 'the world is made' have given place to many millions for whom existence has become larger, safer, more varied, more full of hope and choice. In the United States scores of millions have lifted themselves above primary necessities and comforts, and aspire to culture – at least for their children. Europe, though stunned and lacerated by Armageddon, presents a similar if less general advance. We all take the modern conveniences and facilities as they are offered to us without being grateful or consciously happier. But we simply could not live if they were taken away. We assume that progress will be constant. 'This 'ere progress,' Mr Wells makes one of his characters remark, 'keeps going on. It's wonderful 'ow it keeps going on.' It is also very fortunate, for if it stopped or were reversed, there would be the catastrophe of unimaginable horror. Mankind has gone too far to go back, and is moving too fast to stop. There are too many people maintained, not merely in comfort but in existence, by processes unknown a century ago, for us to afford even a temporary check, still less a general setback, without experiencing calamity in its most frightful form.

When we look back beyond a hundred years over the long trails of history, we see immediately why the age we live in differs from all other ages in human annals. Mankind has sometimes travelled forwards and sometimes backwards, or has stood still even for hundreds of years. It remained stationary in India and in China for thousands of years. What is it that has produced this new prodigious speed of man? Science is the

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cause. Her once feeble vanguards, often trampled down, often perishing in isolation, have now become a vast organized united class-conscious army marching forward upon all the fronts towards objectives none may measure or define. It is a proud, ambitious army which cares nothing for all the laws that men have made; nothing for their most
5 timehonoured customs, or most dearly cherished beliefs, or deepest instincts. It is this power called Science which has laid hold of us, conscripted us into its regiments and batteries, set us to work upon its highways and in its arsenals; rewarded us for our services, healed us when we were wounded, trained us when we were young, pensioned us when we were worn out. None of the generations of men before the last two or three
10 were ever gripped for good or ill and handled like this.

Man in the earliest stages lived alone and avoided his neighbours with as much anxiety and probably as much reason as he avoided the fierce flesh-eating beasts that shared his forests. With the introduction of domestic animals the advantages of co-operation and the division of labour became manifest. In the neolithic times when cereals were
15 produced and agriculture developed, the bleak hungry period whilst the seeds were germinating beneath the soil involved some form of capitalism and the recognition of those special rights of landed proprietors the traces of which are still visible in our legislation. Each stage involved new problems legal, sociological and moral. But progress only crawled, and often rested for a thousand years or so.

20 The two ribbon States in the valley of the Nile and the Euphrates produced civilizations as full of pomp and circumstance and more stable than any the world has ever known. Their autocracies and hierarchies were founded upon the control and distribution of water and corn. The rulers held the people in an efficiency of despotism never equalled till Soviet Russia was born. They had only to cut off or stint the water in the canals to
25 starve or subjugate rebellious provinces. This, apart from their granaries, gave them powers at once as irresistible and as capable of intimate regulation as the control of all food supplies gives to the Bolshevik commissars. Safe from internal trouble, they were vulnerable only to external attack. But in these states man had not learnt to catalyse the

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forces of nature. The maximum power available was the sum of the muscular efforts of all the inhabitants. Later empires, scarcely less imposing but far less stable, rose and fell. In the methods of production and communication, in the modes of getting food and exchanging goods, there was less change between the time of Sargon and the time of
5 Louis XIV than there has been between the accession of Queen Victoria and the present day. Darius could probably send a message from Susa to Sardis faster than Philip II could transmit an order from Madrid to Brussels. Sir Robert Peel, summoned in 1841 from Rome to form a government in London, took the same time as the Emperor
10 Vespasian when he had to hasten to his province of Britain. The bathrooms of the palaces of Minos were superior to those of Versailles. A priest from Thebes would probably have felt more at home at the Council of Trent two thousand years after Thebes had vanished than Sir Isaac Newton at a modern undergraduate physical society, or George Stephenson in the Institute of Electrical Engineers. The changes have been so sudden and so gigantic that no period in history can be compared with the last
15 century. The past no longer enables us even dimly to measure the future.

The most wonderful of all modern prophecies is found in Tennyson's 'Locksley Hall':
For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic
sails, Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;
20 Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind
rushing warm With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunderstorm;
Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world. Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion creeping
25 nigher, Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly-dying fire.

These six couplets of prediction, written eighty years ago, have already been fulfilled. The conquest of the air for commerce and war, the League of Nations, the Communist movement—all divined in their true sequence by the great Victorian—all now already

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- in the history books and stirring the world around us today! We may search the Scriptures in vain for such precise and swiftly vindicated forecasts of the future. Jeremiah and Isaiah dealt in dark and cryptic parables pointing to remote events and capable of many varied interpretations from time to time. A Judge, a Prophet, a
- 5 Redeemer would arise to save His Chosen People; and from age to age the Jews asked, disputing, 'Art thou he that should come or do we look for another?' But 'Locksley Hall' contains an exact foretelling of stupendous events, which many of those who knew the writer lived to see and endure! The dawn of the Victorian era opened the new period of man; and the genius of the poet pierced the veil of the future.
- 10 There are two processes which we adopt consciously or unconsciously when we try to prophesy. We can seek a period in the past whose conditions resemble as closely as possible those of our day, and presume that the sequel to that period will, save for some minor alterations, be repeated. Secondly, we can survey the general course of development in our immediate past, and endeavour to prolong it into the near future.
- 15 The first is the method of the historian; the second that of the scientist. Only the second is open to us now, and this only in a partial sphere. By observing all that Science has achieved in modern times, and the knowledge and power now in her possession, we can predict with some assurance the inventions and discoveries which will govern our future. We can but guess, peering through a glass darkly, what reactions these
- 20 discoveries and their applications will produce upon the habits, the outlook and the spirit of men.

- Whereas formerly the utmost power that man could guide and control was a team of horses or a galleyful of slaves, or possibly, if they could be sufficiently drilled and harnessed, a gang of labourers like the Israelites in Egypt; it is today already possible to
- 25 control accurately from the bridge of a battle cruiser all the power of hundreds of thousands of men, or to set off with one finger a mine capable in an instant of destroying the work of thousands of man-years. These changes are due to the substitution of molecular energy for muscular energy, and its direction and control by

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an elaborate, beautifully perfected apparatus. These immense new sources of power, and the fact that they can be wielded by a single individual, have made possible novel methods of mining and metallurgy, new modes of transport and undreamed-of machinery. These in their turn enable the molecular sources of power to be extended and used more efficiently. They facilitate also the improvement of ancient methods. They substitute the hundred-thousand kilowatt turbo-generators at Niagara for the mill-wheel of our forefathers. Each invention acted and reacted on other inventions, and with ever-growing rapidity that vast structure of technical achievement was raised which separates the civilization of today from all that the past has known.

10 There is no doubt that this evolution will continue at an increasing rate. We know enough to be sure that the scientific achievements of the next fifty years will be far greater, more rapid and more surprising, than those we have already experienced. The slide-lathe enabled machines of precision to be made, and the power of steam rushed out upon the world. And through the steam-clouds flashed the dazzling lightning of electricity. But this is only a beginning. High authorities tell us that new sources of power, vastly more important than any we yet know, will surely be discovered. Nuclear energy is incomparably greater than the molecular energy which we use today. The coal a man can get in a day can easily do five hundred times as much work as the man himself. Nuclear energy is at least one million times more powerful still. If the hydrogen atoms in a pound of water could be prevailed upon to combine together and form helium, they would suffice to drive a thousand horsepower engine for a whole year. If the electrons, those tiny planets of the atomic systems, were induced to combine with the nuclei in the hydrogen the horsepower liberated would be 120 times greater still. There is no question among scientists that this gigantic source of energy exists. What is lacking is the match to set the bonfire alight, or it may be the detonator to cause the dynamite to explode. The Scientists are looking for this.

The discovery and control of such sources of power would cause changes in human affairs incomparably greater than those produced by the steam-engine four generations

ago. Schemes of cosmic magnitude would become feasible. Geography and climate would obey our orders. Fifty thousand tons of water, the amount displaced by the Berengaria, would, if exploited as described, suffice to shift Ireland to the middle of the Atlantic. The amount of rain falling yearly upon the Epsom racecourse would be
5 enough to thaw all the ice at the Arctic and Antarctic poles. The changing of one element into another by means of temperatures and pressures would be far beyond our present reach, would transform beyond all description our standards of values. Materials thirty times stronger than the best steel would create engines fit to bridle the new forms of power. Communications and transport by land, water and air would take
10 unimaginable forms, if, as is in principle possible, we could make an engine of 600 horsepower, weighing 20 lb and carrying fuel for a thousand hours in a tank the size of a fountain-pen. Wireless telephones and television, following naturally upon their present path of development, would enable their owner to connect up with any room similarly installed, and hear and take part in the conversation as well as if he put his
15 head in through the window. The congregation of men in cities would become superfluous. It would rarely be necessary to call in person on any but the most intimate friends, but if so, excessively rapid means of communication would be at hand. There would be no more object in living in the same city with one's neighbour than there is today in living with him in the same house. The cities and the countryside would
20 become indistinguishable. Every home would have its garden and its glade.

Up till recent times the production of food has been the prime struggle of man. That war is won. There is no doubt that the civilized races can produce or procure all the food they require. Indeed some of the problems which vex us today are due to the production of wheat by white men having exceeded their own needs, before yellow
25 men, brown men and black men have learnt to demand and become able to purchase a diet superior to rice. But food is at present obtained almost entirely from the energy of the sunlight. The radiation from the sun produces from the carbonic acid in the air more or less complicated carbon compounds which give us our plants and vegetables. We use the latent chemical energy of these to keep our bodies warm; we convert it into

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muscular effort. We employ it in the complicated processes of digestion to repair and replace the wasted cells of our bodies. Many people, of course, prefer food in what the vegetarians call 'the secondhand form', i.e. after it has been digested and converted into meat for us by domestic animals kept for this purpose. In all these processes, however,
5 ninety-nine parts of the solar energy are wasted for every part used.

Even without the new sources of power great improvements are probable here. Microbes, which at present convert the nitrogen of the air into the proteins by which animals live, will be fostered and made to work under controlled conditions, just as yeast is now. New strains of microbes will be developed and made to do a great deal of
10 our chemistry for us. With a greater knowledge of what are called hormones, i.e. the chemical messengers in our blood, it will be possible to control growth. We shall escape the absurdity of growing a whole chicken in order to eat the breast or wing, by growing these parts separately under a suitable medium. Synthetic food will, of course, also be used in the future. Nor need the pleasures of the table be banished. That gloomy Utopia
15 of tabloid meals need never be invaded. The new foods will from the outset be practically indistinguishable from the natural products, and any changes will be so gradual as to escape observation.

If the gigantic new sources of power become available, food will be produced without recourse to sunlight. Vast cellars in which artificial radiation is generated may replace
20 the cornfields or potato-patches of the world. Parks and gardens will cover our pastures and ploughed fields. When the time comes there will be plenty of room for the cities to spread themselves again.

But equally startling developments lie already just beyond our finger-tips in the breeding of human beings and the shaping of human nature. It used to be said, 'Though
25 you have taught the dog more tricks, you cannot alter the breed of the dog.' But that is no longer true. A few years ago London was surprised by a play called Rossum's Universal Robots. The production of such beings may well be possible within fifty

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years. They will not be made, but grown under glass. There seems little doubt that it will be possible to carry out in artificial surroundings the entire cycle which now leads to the birth of a child. Interference with the mental development of such beings, expert suggestion and treatment in the earlier years, would produce beings specialized to thought or toil. The production of creatures, for instance, which have admirable physical development, with their mental endowment stunted in particular directions, is almost within the range of human power. A being might be produced capable of tending a machine but without other ambitions. Our minds recoil from such fearful eventualities, and the laws of a Christian civilization will prevent them. But might not lop-sided creatures of this type fit in well with the Communist doctrines of Russia? Might not the Union of Soviet Republics armed with all the power of science find it in harmony with all their aims to produce a race adapted to mechanical tasks and with no other ideas but to obey the Communist State? The present nature of man is tough and resilient. It casts up its sparks of genius in the darkest and most unexpected places. But Robots could be made to fit the grisly theories of Communism. There is nothing in the philosophy of Communists to prevent their creation.

I have touched upon this sphere only lightly, but with the purpose of pointing out that, in a future which our children may live to see, powers will be in the hands of men altogether different from any by which human nature has been moulded. Explosive forces, energy, materials, machinery will be available upon a scale which can annihilate whole nations. Despotisms and tyrannies will be able to prescribe the lives and even the wishes of their subjects in a manner never known since time began. If to these tremendous and awful powers is added the pitiless sub-human wickedness which we now see embodied in one of the most powerful reigning governments, who shall say that the world itself will not be wrecked, or indeed that it ought not to be wrecked? There are nightmares of the future from which a fortunate collision with some wandering star, reducing the earth to incandescent gas, might be a merciful deliverance.

It is indeed a descent almost to the ridiculous to contemplate the impact of the tremendous and terrifying discoveries which are approaching upon the structure of Parliamentary institutions. How can we imagine the whole mass of the people being capable of deciding by votes at From the Report of the Committee With Studies of

5 Administrative Management in the Federal Government lections upon the right course to adopt amid these cataclysmic changes? Even now the Parliaments of every country have shown themselves quite inadequate to deal with the economic problems which dominate the affairs of every nation and of the world. Before these problems the claptrap of the hustings and the stunts of the newspapers wither and vanish away.

10 Democracy as a guide or motive to progress has long been known to be incompetent. None of the legislative assemblies of the great modern states represents in universal suffrage even a fraction of the strength or wisdom of the community. Great nations are no longer led by their ablest men, or by those who know most about their immediate affairs, or even by those who have a coherent doctrine. Democratic governments drift

15 along the line of least resistance, taking short views, paying their way with sops and doles, and smoothing their path with pleasant-sounding platitudes. Never was there less continuity or design in their affairs, and yet towards them are coming swiftly changes which will revolutionize for good or ill not only the whole economic structure of the world but the social habits and moral outlook of every family. Only the Communists

20 have a plan and a gospel. It is a plan fatal to personal freedom and a gospel founded upon Hate.

Certain it is that while men are gathering knowledge and power with ever-increasing and measureless speed, their virtues and their wisdom have not shown any notable improvement as the centuries have rolled. The brain of a modern man does not differ in

25 essentials from that of the human beings who fought and loved here millions of years ago. The nature of man has remained hitherto practically unchanged. Under sufficient stress—starvation, terror, warlike passion, or even cold intellectual frenzy—the modern man we know so well will do the most terrible deeds, and his modern woman will back him up. At the present moment the civilizations of many different ages co-exist

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together in the world, and their representatives meet and converse. Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Americans with ideas abreast of the twentieth century do business with Indians or Chinese whose civilizations were crystallized several thousands of years ago. We have the spectacle of the powers and weapons of man far outstripping the march of
5 his intelligence; we have the march of his intelligence proceeding far more rapidly than the development of his nobility. We may well find ourselves in the presence of 'the strength of civilization without its mercy'.

It is therefore above all things important that the moral philosophy and spiritual conceptions of men and nations should hold their own amid these formidable scientific
10 evolutions. It would be much better to call a halt in material progress and discovery rather than to be mastered by our own apparatus and the forces which it directs. There are secrets too mysterious for man in his present state to know, secrets which, once penetrated, may be fatal to human happiness and glory. But the busy hands of the scientists are already fumbling with the keys of all the chambers hitherto forbidden to
15 mankind. Without an equal growth of Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love, Science herself may destroy all that makes human life majestic and tolerable. There never was a time when the inherent virtue of human beings required more strong and confident expression in daily life; there never was a time when the hope of immortality and the disdain of earthly power and achievement were more necessary for the safety of the children of
20 men.

After all, this material progress, in itself so splendid, does not meet any of the real needs of the human race. I read a book the other day which traced the history of mankind from the birth of the solar system to its extinction. There were fifteen or sixteen races of men which in succession rose and fell over periods measured by tens of millions of
25 years. In the end a race of beings was evolved which had mastered nature. A state was created whose citizens lived as long as they chose, enjoyed pleasures and sympathies incomparably wider than our own, navigated the interplanetary spaces, could recall the panorama of the past and foresee the future. But what was the good of all that to them?

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What did they know more than we know about the answers to the simple questions which man has asked since the earliest dawn of reason—'Why are we here? What is the purpose of life? Whither are we going?' No material progress, even though it takes shapes we cannot now conceive, or however it may expand the faculties of man, can
5 bring comfort to his soul. It is this fact, more wonderful than any that Science can reveal, which gives the best hope that all will be well. Projects undreamed-of by past generations will absorb our immediate descendants; forces terrific and devastating will be in their hands; comforts, activities, amenities, pleasures will crowd upon them, but their hearts will ache, their lives will be barren, if they have not a vision above material
10 things. And with the hopes and powers will come dangers out of all proportion to the growth of man's intellect, to the strength of his character or to the efficacy of his institutions. Once more the choice is offered between Blessing and Cursing. Never was the answer that will be given harder to foretell.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)**Fireside Chat on National Security**

RADIO BROADCAST EXCERPTS

December 29, 1940

The White House | Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

President Franklin Roosevelt addressed the nation during one of his “fireside chats” radio broadcasts six months after Nazi Germany conquered France and amidst the Battle of Britain.

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5 This is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk on national security; because the nub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now; and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence and all of the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years ago to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

10 I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the girl behind the counter; the small shopkeeper; the farmer doing his spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

15 I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to

Franklin Roosevelt. “Arsenal of Democracy” Speech, December, 1940. From Mount Holyoke College. <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/WorldWar2/arsenal.htm>.

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them in their daily lives.

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

We met the issue of 1933 with courage and realism.

- 5 We face this new crisis—this new threat to the security of our Nation—with the same courage and realism.

Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

- 10 For, on September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations—a program aimed at world control—they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

- 15 The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

- 20 Three weeks ago their leader stated, "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other." Then in defiant reply to his opponents, he said this: "Others are correct when they say: 'With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves.' . . . I can beat any other power in the world." So said the leader of the Nazis.

In other words, the Axis not merely admits but proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.

In view of the nature of this undeniable threat, it can be asserted, properly and categorically, that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace until

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the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

At this moment, the forces of the states that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom are being held away from our shores. The Germans and Italians are being
5 blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British, and by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from subjugated countries. The Japanese are being engaged in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

In the Pacific is our fleet.

Some of our people like to believe that wars in Europe and in Asia are of no concern to
10 us. But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that European and Asiatic war-makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead to this hemisphere.

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was conceived by our Government as a measure of defense in the face of a threat against this hemisphere by an alliance in continental Europe. Thereafter, we stood on guard in the Atlantic, with the
15 British as neighbors. There was no treaty. There was no "unwritten agreement".

Yet, there was the feeling, proven correct by history, that we as neighbors could settle any disputes in peaceful fashion. The fact is that during the whole of this time the Western Hemisphere has remained free from aggression from Europe or from Asia.

Does anyone seriously believe that we need to fear attack while a free Britain remains our
20 most powerful naval neighbor in the Atlantic? Does any one seriously believe, on the other hand, that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbor there?

If Great Britain goes down, the Axis powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas—and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all

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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 should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run by threats of brute force. To survive in such a world, we would
5 have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of war economy.

Some of us like to believe that, even if Great Britain falls, we are still safe, because of the broad expanse of the Atlantic and of the Pacific.

But the width of these oceans is not what it was in the days of clipper ships. At one point
10 between Africa and Brazil the distance is less than from Washington to Denver—five hours for the latest type of bomber. And at the, north of the Pacific Ocean, America and Asia almost touch each other. Even today we have planes which could fly from the British Isles to New England and back without refueling. And the range of the modern bomber is ever being increased....

15 Any South American country, in Nazi hands, would always constitute a jumping-off place for German attack on any one of the other republics of this hemisphere....

There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. This is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that
20 the Nazis have proclaimed, time and again, that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. And most important of all, the vast resources and wealth of this hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all the world....

The British people are conducting an active war against this unholy alliance. Our own future security is greatly dependent on the outcome of that fight. Our ability to "keep out
25 of war" is going to be affected by that outcome.

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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
5 object of attack in another war later on.

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit 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
10 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 our security. Emphatically we must get these weapons to them in sufficient volume and quickly enough, so that we and our
15 children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure.

Let not defeatists tell us that it is too late. It will never be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

Certain facts are self-evident.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of
20 resistance to world conquest. They are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human gallantry.

There is no demand for sending an American Expeditionary Force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your Government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

25 Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.

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Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided, and must be more greatly aided, by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. It is no more unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, Russia, and other nations near Germany to send steel and ore and oil and other war materials into Germany every day. We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations resisting aggression.

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic military policy, based on the advice of our military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts and the members of the Congress and the administration have a single-minded purpose—the defense of the United States.

This Nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency—and with all possible speed. This great effort requires great sacrifice....

American industrial genius, unmatched throughout the world in the solution of production problems, has been called upon to bring its resources and talents into action. Manufacturers of watches, of farm implements, linotypes, cash registers, automobiles, sewing machines, lawn mowers, and locomotives are now making fuses, bomb-packing crates, telescope mounts, shells, pistols, and tanks.

But all our present efforts are not enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes—more of everything. This can only be accomplished if we discard the notion of "business as usual". This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements for defense.

Our defense efforts must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible consequence of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared.

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After the present needs of our defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peacetime needs will require all of the new productive capacity-if not more.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense.

- 5 I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the Nation to build now with all possible speed every machine and arsenal and factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men the skill, the wealth, and above all, the will.

- 10 I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield to our primary and compelling purpose.

- 15 I appeal to the owners of plants, to the managers, to the workers, to our own Government employees, to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint. And with this appeal I give you the pledge that all of us who are officers of you Government will devote ourselves to the same whole-hearted extent to the great task which lies ahead.

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your Government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend this hemisphere. The decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and how much shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our overall military necessities.

- 20 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.

We have furnished the British great material support and we will furnish far more in the future.

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There will be no "bottlenecks" in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination.

5 The British have received invaluable military support from the heroic Greek Army and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

10 I believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason for hope—hope for peace, hope for the defense of our civilization and for the building of a better civilization in the future.

15 I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

20 As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this Nation which we love and honor and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)

Annual Message to Congress

ADDRESS

January 6, 1941
U.S. Congress | Washington, D.C.

Four Freedoms Speech

BACKGROUND

As Great Britain's Royal Air Force fended off the German Luftwaffe during the Battle of Britain, President Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered this message to Congress, as required annually by the Constitution.

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...We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

- 5 We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war....

- 10 As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they—not we—will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

That is why the future of all the American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, "State of the Union Address (1941)," Presidential Message, January 06, 1941. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/state-of-the-union-address-129/>.

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That is why every member of the Executive Branch of the Government and every member of the Congress faces great responsibility and great accountability.

5 The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

10 Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

15 Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

20 Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

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In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious
5 danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production....

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what
10 we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations....

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who
15 man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been
20 done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

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Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

5 For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

10 The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

15 These are the simple, basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

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We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

5 We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

10 A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I shall recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

15 In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon 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.

20 The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

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The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

- 5 That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

- 10 To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

- 15 Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

- 20 This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose. To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT & PRIME MINISTER WINSTON CHURCHILL

Joint Declaration by the President and the Prime Minister

INTERNATIONAL JOINT STATEMENT

August 14, 1941
Atlantic Conference

Naval Station Argentina | Dominion of Newfoundland, British Empire

Atlantic Charter

BACKGROUND

While the United States remained officially out of World War II, American President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill articulated a joint policy plan for the post-war world.

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The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

5 First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

10 Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Franklin D. Roosevelt. "The Atlantic Charter". Presidential Message, August 14, 1941. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/atlantic-charter/>.

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

- 5 Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

- 10 Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

- 15 Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable
20 measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Winston S. Churchill